



Åbo Akademi
University

Heli Aaltonen

Fe y Esperanza

Women's Road to Leadership and Ministry
in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador 1952-2009





Heli Aaltonen

Heli Päivikki Aaltonen (née Inkinen) was born in 1957 in Sippola, Eastern Finland, but has spent most of her life living and working in Turku, on the Western coast. Since 1994, she has been working as an Executive Secretary for Education in the Chapter of the Archdiocese of Turku, Evangelical Lutheran Church in Finland. She completed her Master's thesis in Theology at Åbo Akademi University in 1982, and was ordained into the Ministry in 1989.

Åbo Akademi University Press
Tavastgatan 13, FI-20500 Åbo, Finland
Tel. +358 (0)2 215 3478
E-mail: forlaget@abo.fi

Sales and distribution:
Åbo Akademi University Library
Domkyrkogatan 2-4, FI-20500 Åbo, Finland
Tel. +358 (0)2 -215 4190
E-mail: publikationer@abo.fi

FE Y ESPERANZA



Fe y Esperanza

Women's Road to Leadership and Ministry in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador 1952–2009

Heli Aaltonen

Åbo Akademis förlag | Åbo Akademi University Press
Åbo, Finland, 2013

CIP Cataloguing in Publication

Aaltonen, Heli.

Fe y esperanza : women's road to leadership and ministry in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador 1952–2009 / Heli Aaltonen. - Åbo : Åbo Akademi University Press, 2013.

Diss.: Åbo Akademi University.
ISBN 978-951-765-710-5

ISBN 978-951-765-710-5
ISBN 978-951-765-711-2 (digital)
Gosmo Oy
Åbo 2013

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This research would never have been written without the wonderful, interesting and helpful women and men in El Salvador and without the partnership between the Lutheran Church of El Salvador and the Archdiocese of Turku, Evangelical Lutheran Church in Finland. Several trips to El Salvador connected to the partnership relationship and a development programme have been sponsored by the Chapter of the Archdiocese of Turku. Some of the trips connected mainly with the research have been sponsored by *Tieteen ja taiteen kristillinen tukisäätiö* (the Christian Foundation of Science and Arts), the Finn Church Aid and the Foundation of the University Åbo Akademi. I am very grateful for these institutions, because without this aid my understanding of the life in El Salvador and especially in the Lutheran Church would have been narrower and the interviews fewer.

Visiting El Salvador and hosting several Salvadoran guests in Finland has made it possible to interview many people and meet them several times and also complete the information electronically. I wish to indicate my gratitude to Medardo Gómez, Abelina Gómez, Victoria Cortez, Vilma Rodríguez, Cecilia Alfaro, Gloria de Martínez, Ciro Mejía, Miriam Gaspár, Blanca Irma Rodríguez, Norma Castillo, Blanca Marina Méndez de Recinos, Concepción Ángel, Guadalupe Córtes, Jon Sobrino, Héctor Fernández, Silke Kapteine, Tapani Ojasti, Nora Maria Hernández, Armida Ponce, Josefina Menjivár, Alicia Emelina de Marcia, Ms. Maldeviña, Magdalena Mendoza, Larry José Madrigal Rajo, Yolanda Karina Cabezas Gutiérrez and Gloria Elizabeth Alfaro de Salgado, - all of whom have offered their time and histories. Special thanks to Christian Chavarría and Riku Laukanen for interpreting in some of the interviews and to Marcos Berndt, who has transcribed the majority of the interviews.

Reetta and Tapio Leskinen offered me, at the very beginning, their material and experience of having worked and lived in El

Salvador. Archbishop Jukka Paarma helped me with the history and material of his first visit to El Salvador in 1994, which was the seed for the partnership. Special thanks to Christoph Jähnel and Uta Andrée who offered me their manuscripts of their doctoral theses concerning the Lutheran Church of El Salvador at an early stage of my research. Betty Kempff, Erkki Koskenniemi, Douglas L. Rutt, Elaine Neuenfeldt, Elizabeth Arciniegas de Lara and Joanna Bornat have afforded me information via e-mails. Thank you all!

While visiting El Salvador a number of times alone, doña Maria Luisa and doña Trinidad have taken care of me at Casa Concordia, the guest house of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. Abelina and Medardo Gómez have twice taken me into their home and family to live with them. I am very thankful for this warm Salvadoran kindness and hospitality!

The Chapter of the Archdiocese of Turku has enabled my study by granting me a sabbatical year in 2005, when I started to gather material for this research by visiting El Salvador and Nicaragua for the first time. I also spent one month in Erlangen with the support of the Finnish Church Council and enjoyed access to their magnificent library concerning Latin America. The sabbatical year also included one month at the *Institutum Romanum Finlandiae* (the Rome Institute of Finland), *Villa Lante* in Rome, which enabled me to take a close look at the Roman Catholic Church, which has been the majority church in El Salvador. In addition, I participated in a Latin America Conference in Roskilde, Denmark, in 2010, with the aid of the Foundation of the University Åbo Akademi. In addition to some shorter study leaves, I was awarded a one year's study leave in 2012-2013 to finalise my thesis. This enabled me to have the necessary time to concentrate on writing. My study leaves has been financially possible thanks to scholarships from the Foundation of the University Åbo Akademi, one of these scholarships was

conferred by the rector of Åbo Akademi, Jorma Mattinen, and the final scholarship furnished by *Koulutusrahasto* (the Education Fund).

Long lasting, faithful, and friendly support in the research process has been given by Professor Ingvar Dahlbacka and University teacher Kim Groop of Åbo Akademi. They have encouraged me and not spared their time in helping me progress. My warm thanks to you! Other people, who have given valuable advice during this process, have been Päivi Salmesvuori, co-researcher in *Villa Lante*, Professor Harriet Silius, gender researcher at Åbo Akademi, and Professor Risto Saarinen, specialist in ecumenism, who directed me to the magnificent library of Theology at the University in Leuven, Belgium. In addition, the evaluators of my research, Auli Vähäkangas and Karin Sarja, have given valuable advice, which I have taken into account. I appreciate also the help of Anne Engblom, who helped me with creating the statistics.

During the study, a friend offered a summer cottage for use in a few summer holidays as a suitable place for reading and writing. Laura Tuukkanen, my daughter in law, Olavi Luotonen, my fiancé, Kate Dechaene and Elizabeth Nyman have checked my English spelling. Kanerva Rautio, Pirjo Salomäki, Jouni Heikkilä and Anita Ojanotko have taken care of my condition to write and smile. Dear friends, Pirjo Vahtola, Kristiina Saloniemi, Kirsti Vainio, Marja Ingström, Erja Teeristö, Amalia Cos and Kate Dechaene have taken care that I did not only write in my free time.

Eight years have included many changes in the personal life. My father, Heikki Inkinen, died on Christmas Eve in 2011 and my mother, Heljä Inkinen, now suffers from Alzheimer's. I am forever grateful to them for encouraging me to educate myself, and when I chose the rather uncommon career of a woman pastor. I also have become engaged to my beloved fiancé, Olavi

Luotonen, who has encouraged me enormously. In our home in Brussels, Belgium, I could concentrate on finalising my thesis during my last study leave. I will also like to affirm my love and gratitude for my children, Miika and Minna Aaltonen, and to Isabella Ilona Aaltonen, who made me a grandmother in May 2013!

I would like to dedicate my book to my granddaughter Isabella Ilona as a woman of the future.

15th of September 2013, in Turku, Finland
Heli Aaltonen

FOREWORD

“Gracias a Dios! Thanks to God! God has given me a new day and I am alive!” This was the response every morning to my good morning wishes from sunny Maria Luisa, who served in the guest house of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador, in the Salvadoran capital San Salvador in 2006. Her response revealed the uncertain conditions of life in El Salvador but also her faith in God and hope for a better future. She has been for me an enduring example of *fe y esperanza*, faith and hope.

My second memory highlights Victoria Cortez, Bishop of Nicaragua, sitting in her office connected to the church in Managua, and telling me her story about when she had to suddenly flee from El Salvador to Nicaragua during the Salvadoran civil war. With other Salvadoran refugees she established a Lutheran church in Nicaragua carrying the name *Fe y Esperanza*, according to the Salvadoran refugee centre *Fe y Esperanza* near San Salvador where she had worked as a lay leader.

My third image focuses on Blanca Irma Rodríguez explaining to me peacefully in the Salvadoran heat how she returned from a parish in Chile to serve in a Salvadoran Lutheran parish, where a former pastor couple the Carrillos had just been murdered. I could sense the presence of *fe y esperanza* in her being.

These three memories arise as three images reflecting my many encounters with Salvadoran women. I have been acquainted with people of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador since 1996, first in connection with a project, and since 2003 as a partnership church. My work in the Lutheran Archdiocese of Turku has made it possible for me to meet and host Salvadoran guests and also to visit El Salvador in the course of the partnership co-operation and of my research. Salvadoran Lutheran people have had a strong impact on me. Fear, faith and hope have varied in their lives, but Christian faith and hope, *fe y esperanza*, have carried them forward.

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments	5
Foreword	9
1 INTRODUCTION	12
1.1 Aim of the Research	12
1.2 Previous Research	14
1.3 Sources	25
1.4 Theoretical Framework and Methods	33
1.5 Position as a Researcher and Limitations	40
1.6 Disposition	44
1.7 Terminology	45
2 MISSIONARY WIVES IN AND FUNDADORAS IN THE EMERGING LUTHERAN CHURCH (1952-1973)	50
2.1 Political and Religious Context	50
2.2 Missouri Synod and the First Lutheran Congregations in El Salvador	57
2.3 Impact of Women in the Emerging Lutheran Church	73
3 LAYWOMEN IN THE YOUNG LUTHERAN CHURCH (1975-1985)	94
3.1 Political and Religious Context	94
3.2 Church and Women in the Middle of the Civil War	104
3.3 Women as Lutheran Lay Leaders	114
4 WOMEN AS PASTORS AND PROGRAMME LEADERS IN THE LUTHERAN CHURCH (1986-2003)	138
4.1 Political and Religious Context	138
4.2 Women as Deacon Pastors and Presbyterian Pastors and Reactions	150
4.3 Women in Ministry – Discussion and Reasons	172

5 WOMEN IN THE MIDDLE OF THE STRUCTURAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH (2004-2009)	208
5.1 Political and Religious Context	208
5.2 <i>Mutirão</i> Process in the Lutheran Church	227
5.3 Women in the Lutheran Church – Excluded or Empowered?	239
6 CONCLUSION	250
PHOTOS	257
LIST PHOTOS OF MAPS AND TABLES	259
ABBREVIATIONS	260
BIBLIOGRAPHY	265
APPENDICES	306

1 INTRODUCTION

Aim of the Research

Under scrutiny in this research is a small, but extraordinary part of Latin American history, namely the Lutheran Church of El Salvador and the position of the women in this church. The foundations for a Lutheran Church of El Salvador were laid in the early 1950s by a theologically conservative mission, the North American Missouri Synod. In 1969, the Lutheran Church of El Salvador was founded and in 1986 the church made a rather radical decision to open up the ministry to women.

The aim with this research is to investigate a part of the history of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador; namely the position and growing recognition and responsibility of the women in this church. The overarching task is to study the road of the women to leadership and ministry in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador in 1952-2009. Particular attention will be given to three areas.

1. *The internal factors.* The internal actors are characterised by the impact of several key people and their contributions in important turning points of the development and history of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador.

2. *The external factors.* The external factors are characterised by foreign factors and theological tendencies and their effects on women's position in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador.

3. *The context.* The development of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador has occurred in a specific time and place. The context is characterised by the political and socio cultural realities in El Salvador and their impact on the Lutheran church.

The first Lutheran parish in El Salvador was established in 1952, and this is the historical starting point for my study. Since then, Lutheran women have had various roles in different eras of the emerging Lutheran Church of El Salvador. Opening the

ministry to women was interesting especially because, on the one hand, the society of El Salvador was marked by a strong *macho* culture and, on the other hand, the Lutheran Church of El Salvador had from its beginning been characterised by a conservative theology until the 1980s. In 2009, women had more significant posts on several levels in the church than ever before. In the same year, the responsibility for the *Mutirão* process, which aimed at the restructuring of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador, was transferred from the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) to the Lutheran Church of El Salvador itself. This turning point in 2009 serves as the final point of my research.

Map 1 of El Salvador and Central America



1.2 Previous research

Several researchers have investigated El Salvador from a political or sociological point of view. Theological surveys have been conducted mainly concerning the liberation theology in the Catholic Church of El Salvador, but only a few theologians have studied the Lutheran Church of El Salvador.

Christoph Jahnel has researched the history of Protestantism in Central America especially the part dealing with the history of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. His doctoral thesis, *Die Lutherische Kirche in El Salvador. Kirchwerdung im Kontext von US-amerikanischer Mission, denominationellem Pluralismus, sozialer Anomie und politischer Unterdrückung*, includes the history of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador from 1952 until 1992. He states that the growth of Protestantism correlates with the political and social crisis and social injustices in El Salvador.¹ Jahnel's research has offered me a view of the Central American Protestant context, to which the Lutheran Church of El Salvador belongs. His study also illuminates in detail the historical development of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador and its first forty years as well as the history of the Lutheran churches in other Central American countries. Jahnel challenges the Lutheran Church of El Salvador to a dialogue with the Pentecostal movement, which, *de facto*, the Lutheran church has tried to conduct, but with no response.

In *Die Kirche der Armen. Eine kirchliche Bewegung zwischen Volks- und Befreiungsorganisationen und der verfassten Kirche. Darstellung der historischen Zusammenhänge in der Zeit von 1962 bis 1992 und der politischen, sozialen und ekklesiologischen Probleme in ihrem Umfeld* Diethelm Meissner concentrates on the activities of the Catholic Church, when the base communities were developing and, on Óscar Romero as Archbishop of El Salvador, as well as on the activities of Romero's predecessor Chávez y Gonzáles and successor Rivera y Damas. Meissner

1 Jahnel 2005, 385.

states that the Church of the Poor lived on in the 1970s as a social reform movement in the Catholic Church of El Salvador, but ceased in 1980 (when Romero was murdered) and changed into, what he calls, a “*Kirche der Ämter*”.² Meissner’s research has advanced my knowledge of the parallel development in the Catholic Church of El Salvador during part of the same period of time as my study. Although his focus is not on the Salvadoran women, his investigation of the base community movement in El Salvador has been important for me, because several women joined the Lutheran church from the base communities in the early 1980s.

In her dissertation, *Die Theologie des Lebens. Die Lutherische Kirche in El Salvador auf dem Weg des Friedens und der Gerechtigkeit*, Uta Andréé, surveys the Theology of Life of Bishop Medardo Gómez and the Lutheran Church of El Salvador from the perspective of systematic theology and in the context of liberation theology in Latin America.³ Andréé first analyses the theology arising from the praxis of the revolutionary groups; secondly, the theology arising from the praxis of the Catholic base communities; and thirdly, the theology arising from the pastoral work of the Lutheran church. As per Andréé, the theology emerging from the praxis of the base communities and from the pastoral work is a theology, which stems from the praxis of the Salvadoran people, i.e. the Theology of Life. According to Andréé, liberation theology and Lutheran theology are the traditions in which Medardo Gómez anchors his theology of life in the Salvadoran context.⁴ This profound study has helped me to better understand the thinking behind the theology of life, which has been important in the history of women in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. Furthermore, Andréé’s book has

2 Meissner 2004, 410-421. In the German language there is a word-play: die Kirche der Armen means the Church of the Poor and die Kirche der Ämter means the Church of the Posts.

3 Andréé 2005.

4 Andréé 2005, 478-479.

encouraged me to examine the role of the Salvadoran Lutheran women in the theology of life, because this view is missing in her study.

The Deanery of Munich has had a special co-operation since 1990 with the Lutheran Church of El Salvador initiated by several young people of the Lutheran parishes of Munich.⁵ The Lutheran Church of Bavaria similarly has had a partnership agreement with the Lutheran Churches of Central America and with the Lutheran Church of El Salvador since 1995.⁶ Additionally, the North Elbian Evangelical Lutheran Church has had a partnership with the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. The co-operation between Germany and El Salvador has resulted in the exchange of a number of workers - pastors, deacons and volunteers - between the churches, and has generated the doctoral theses regarding El Salvador, which I have presented above. In line with the German tradition of theological research, these three studies are extremely detailed and profound.

Hans Damerou from Sweden has published a study *Ärkebiskopen är mördad! Predikan som den levande teologins ort* on Archbishop Óscar Romero, and focuses on his sermons during the years 1977-1980. Damerou outlines how Romero, during his time as Archbishop, became a *prophetic voice* and prepared his sermons in dialogue with the Salvadoran people. Romero's sermons were broadcast and often functioned as the only authentic media to other Latin American countries in the tense situation of the civic society, when the military and the government limited open communication. Damerou challenges his own church, the Church of Sweden, to utilise more the contextual model of a sermon, as Óscar Romero did.⁷ There is no doubt that studying El Salvador and its history does not make much sense without acknowledging the significance of Óscar Romero. He had an influence on the whole society, not only on the Catholic Church

5 CILCA 2005, 27.

6 CILCA 2005, 27.

7 Damerou 2000, 272-273.

of El Salvador. Indeed, Damerau has helped me to understand, why Romero has often been called *a prophetic voice* or *voice of the voiceless* of El Salvador - and why the ordinary Salvadoran people consider him the Saint of Latin America.

Barbara Potthast from Germany offers a view on the history of women in Latin American societies from the conquistador time until the beginning of the new millennium in her book *Von Müttern und Machos. Eine Geschichte der Frauen Lateinamerika*.⁸ Although Potthast does not discuss El Salvador, the social development and the initiation of the women's movement have similarities in all Latin American countries including El Salvador. Additionally, a book "*Género, feminismo y masculinidad en América Latina*", edited by Marina Sandoval, has opened my understanding concerning the relationships between NGOs, the feminist movement, domestic violence, and gender issues during the two final decades of the last century in Latin America.⁹

Julie D. Shayne from the USA, studies feminism and the gender question in the revolutionary struggles in El Salvador, Chile and Cuba in her research *Revolution Question: Feminisms in El Salvador, Chile, and Cuba Compared*. She discusses the women's roles in the armed and unarmed sectors of the opposition movement in El Salvador: 1) the union sector, through discussion about the teachers union, *Asociación Nacional de Educadores Salvadoreños* (ANDES);¹⁰ 2) the human rights sector, as embodied by *Comité de Madres y Familiares de Presos, Desaparecidos y Asesinados de El Salvador* (CO-MADRES),¹¹ and *Comité Cristiano Pro Desplazados de El Salvador* (CRIPDES);¹² and 3) the guerrilla sector via *Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación* (FMLN).¹³ As per Shayne, the gender composition was not intentional, but in El

8 Potthast 2003.

9 Sandoval ed. 2001.

10 The National Association of Salvadoran Educators.

11 The Committee of the Mothers of the Disappeared.

12 The Christian Committee for the Displaced People of El Salvador.

13 The Front of Farabundo Martí for the National Liberation.

Salvador, the majority of the school teachers and refugees were women, as were naturally the mothers and wives, who formed the CO-MADRES.¹⁴ Finally, Shayne emphasises, that despite the preponderance of women in each of these organisations, they should not be considered as women's organisations and certainly not feminist in nature, but rather organisations in the popular movement largely comprised of women. In this respect, the members of the CO-MADRES and their efforts were, of course, gendered, as they organised as mothers, wives, grandmothers, and so on. However, the result in all three cases, whether gender dominated explicitly as in the CO-MADRES or implicitly as in CRIPDES and ANDES, the organisations played a special role within the popular movement.¹⁵ Undoubtedly, Shayne's material offers an interesting study of the relationship between the popular movement and the women's movement during the civil war in El Salvador. Furthermore, it is evident that these movements affected numerous Salvadoran Lutheran women.

A similar type of theme i.e. feminist NGOs – is discussed by Irina Carlota Silber (USA) in her book *Everyday Revolutionaries. Gender Violence, and Disillusionment in Postwar El Salvador*.¹⁶ She conducted the fieldwork during 1993 and 1996-1997 in Chalatenango, an area in the northern part of El Salvador, but limits her observations to the waves of migration of Chalatecos and other Salvadorans to the USA, where she continued to make her transnational research until 2009. Silber stresses that analysing a call for historical memory as a discourse of disillusionments is a central concern of the book.¹⁷ She further states that her focus on grassroots experiences of development under a neoliberal democracy and the unanticipated journey from wartime warriors to post war migrants exposes the disarray of post war times.¹⁸

14 Shayne 2004, 24-25.

15 Shayne 2004, 33.

16 Silber 2011.

17 Silber 2011, 15.

18 Silber 2011, 15.

Close to the themes of Silber, comes Karen Kampwirth (USA) with her comparative study *Feminism and the Legacy of Revolution*. She studied the possible connections between feminism and guerrilla movements before, during, and after the civil wars in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Peru (Chiapas).¹⁹ Both Silber's and Kampwirth's studies have widened my understanding of the very special view of feminism during the civil war in El Salvador, although the authors sometimes seem to admire women's activities as guerrillas. However, in my opinion, Kampwirth tries to draw rather direct conclusions concerning the transition from feminist women to women as guerrillas.

Peterson, Vásquez, and Williams, have edited a book *Christianity, Social Change, and Globalization in the Americas*.²⁰ The individual studies are related to the various women's roles in some Christian churches in El Salvador after the civil war in the 1990s. The churches examined in the book are the Popular Church (Catholic), the Catholic Charismatic Renewal movement, Pentecostalism, and the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. As a conclusion, Anna Peterson remarks that access to leadership has helped the Lutheran church to attract a number of talented and energetic young women who may find the church appealing as the only site where they can bring together religious commitments, political activism, and professionalism.²¹ This analysis has offered me an interesting hypothesis concerning Salvadoran Lutheran women in the 1990s.

Gunvor Lande from Norway in her doctoral thesis, *Visjonen om Likeverdet. Det ökumeniske tiåret 1988-1998. Kyrkjer i solidaritet med kvinner i El Salvador og Norge, Kenya og Japan*, has compared the literary material of the women's study circles of El Salvador, Norway, Kenya and Japan. She studies how the theme of human like-worthiness, solidarity, and participation of women were linked in the context of each church. The Ecumeni-

19 Kampwirth 2004.

20 Peterson et al.2001. See also Vásquez et al.2003.

21 Peterson 2001, 41.

cal Decade of Women, 1988-1998, pronounced by the World Council of Churches, forms the main frame for her study. In El Salvador, the material for the groups was prepared together with the leaders of the study circles in co-operation with the Lutheran Church of El Salvador and the Lutheran World Federation. Lande summarises that the churches express their understanding of human like-worthiness in accordance with distinct models of contextual theologies. Implicitly, the thesis shows that the emerging patterns of women's leadership are conditioned by various priorities of theology and ethos in the churches.²² In many respects, Lande's case study concerning the study circles of the Salvadoran Lutheran women in the 1990s serves as an excellent source of interpretation regarding what kind of feminist theological thinking was taking place in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. Because Lande's research is based on the literary study material, it lacks any narratives as regards the experiences of the Salvadoran Lutheran women concerning the courses.

Elina Vuola in *Limits of Liberation. Praxis as Method in Latin American Liberation Theology and Feminist Theology* and Pauliina Kainulainen, both from Finland, in *Maan viisauks* have examined some aspects of liberation theology and Latin American feminist theology. According to Vuola, everyday life (*vida cotidiana*) is an important point of departure for Latin American feminist theology. This perspective brings a critical element to both Latin American liberation theology and feminist theology. She states that Latin American feminist liberation theologians bring the "praxis" or "experience" of poor Latin American women as a critical corrective to both the homogenous poor in liberation theology and the universal female subject in feminist theology. Vuola emphasises that the absence of *vida cotidiana* in the form of, for example, sexual ethics concerning women and their lives raises critical questions regarding the content of the praxis as defined in liberation theology.²³ The purpose of

22 Lande 2002.

23 Vuola 1997, 222.

Kainulainen's study *Maan Viisaus* is to examine the concept of *knowing* in the ecofeminist theology of the Brazilian Catholic philosopher and theologian Ivone Gebara. Kainulainen names Gebara's theology "praxis-oriented wisdom theology" or today's "ethical mysticism". Kainulainen's analysis shows that Gebara's theological background lies in the Latin American liberation theology, and Kainulainen refers to the phenomenological, feminist, and ecofeminist sources. Gebara's methodological elements reveal a tendency towards concreteness and spirituality. In particular, Kainulainen claims that Gebara takes a step towards transforming the Christian tradition in an ecologically sensitive direction.²⁴ On the whole, the works of Vuola and Kainulainen have acquainted me with the Latin American liberation feminist theologians. In my view, Salvadoran Lutheran women identify themselves with many of these theologians.

Through Her Eyes. Women's Theology from Latin America, edited by Elsa Tamez, a Methodist from Costa Rica has opened a window for many into the Latin American feminist theology of the 1980s.²⁵ The book is a collection of articles written by several Latin American feminist theologians, who are "adding significantly to the concern of women around the world declaring that women will be empowered in church and society. And this empowerment will be used in the service of poor women who are apt to be the most oppressed of the oppressed".²⁶ Furthermore, the hermeneutics of *Mary, Mother of God, Mother of the Poor* by Brazilian Catholic theologians, sister Ivone Gebara and Maria Clara Bingemer, offer an interpretation of Mary in the Bible based on their experience with poor women in the base communities.²⁷ Additionally, Ivone Gebara has concentrated on eco feminist theology (which Pauliina Kainulainen has studied) especially in her book *Longing for Running Water. Ecofeminism*

24 Kainulainen 2005, 5-6.

25 Tamez 1989.

26 Tamez 1989, viii.

27 Gebara and Bingemer 1989.

and Liberation.²⁸ These studies of Latin American feminist theologians have helped me to better understand, the settings in which the identity is developing of feminist theologically oriented Latin American women.²⁹

Two Salvadoran pastors, Abelina Gómez and Blanca Irma Rodríguez de Herrera, have examined women in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador from different perspectives. Gómez studies in her bachelor's thesis *El reconocimiento y la participación de la mujer en la Iglesia Luterana Salvadoreña periodo 1972-1992*³⁰ the recognition and participation of women in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador during the years 1972-1992. Gómez emphasises that the Lutheran Church of El Salvador has educated many women, all of whom have experienced difficult times during the civil war. She continues that this has led to strong bonds within the women's community in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. Ultimately, Gómez suggests that the praxis of women has created a women's theology, which has received its inspiration from the theology of life.³¹ Nevertheless, she does not study what this women's theology is, but leaves it to other scholars. However, the bachelor's thesis of Gómez offered me considerable information about the history of women in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador and a valuable, comprehensive perspective by a person, who has lived and worked in that church since 1972.

Rodríguez de Herrera studies the theology of life in her Master's thesis *Teología de la Vida*³² as a faith experience from the Lutheran Salvadoran perspective. She also includes the question of women in the theology of life in her thesis. She concludes that the theology of life is nothing new and not exclusively owned by

28 Gebara 1999.

29 Gebara 1999.

30 The recognition and Participation of Women in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador 1972-1992. Author's translation. Gómez 2003.

31 Gómez 2003, 65-68.

32 Theology of Life. Author's translation.

the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. She states that it is rather an experience of a religious and social movement and a search for a new and dignified way to be a human being.³³ Indeed, the study of Rodríguez de Herrera has offered me a personal interpretation of a Salvadoran Lutheran woman pastor regarding the theology of life, and how she interprets the history and theology of her church. Her study ends in year 1999.

Academic research in Latin America concerning women's ordination has been rather limited. Irene de Foulkes and Elsa Tamez have contributed to the discussion about women's ministry with the study material, *Pastoral de la Mujer. Una Antología*, which they edited as book in 1985 in *Seminario Bíblico Latinoamericano* in San Jose, Costa Rica.³⁴ Since 1991, the Faculty of the Lutheran World Federation, Evangelical Lutheran Church of Lutheran Confession in Brazil, has had a chair of feminist theology. Wanda Deifelt and Elaine Neuenfeldt as professors after each other have guided studies concerning feminist theology and women pastors. Valburga Schmiedt Streck and Marcia Blasi have conducted a study "*Questões de genero e a Igreja Evangélica de Confissão Luterana no Brasil – IECLB*"³⁵. They scrutinise the history of women in the Lutheran Church of Brazil starting with the Deaconess Movement initiating from Germany and pastor's wives in Brazil to the ordination of women as pastors, deacons, catechists and missionaries.³⁶ Márcia Paixão as a coordinator and Ligiane Müller Fernandes as a research assistant have conducted a study *Women in the Ordained Ministry: History, Experience, Witness*.³⁷ The research is based partly on the interviews of ordained women, which in the Lutheran Church of Brazil includes ordination as

33 Rodríguez de Herrera 1999, 128.

34 De Foulkes and Tamez 1985. The Seminary belongs to the network of the ecumenical training institutions of the World Council of Churches.

35 Schmiedt Streck and Blasi 2009. Issues of Gender and the Evangelical Church of Lutheran Confession – IECLB. Author's translation.

36 Schmiedt Streck and Blasi 2009.

37 Paixão and Müller Fernandes 2009.

pastors, deacon, catechists and missionaries. The researchers make no difference between the ordination of pastors and the ordination of deacons (deacons, catechists and missionaries). The aim of the survey was to explore, "whether anything has changed, when a woman leads an activity in the parish".³⁸ On the one hand, the study discusses the need for further education as expressed by the ordained women, and on the other hand, discrimination against women by male colleagues.³⁹ I will return to a closer look at these studies in chapter 4.

Discussion and research concerning women's ordination has been lively in Europe and in the USA. In this area, the difference between the number of theologians and the financial resources, which make the research possible, reveals the inequality between churches. Theologians in the Nordic countries and in the USA have produced numerous studies concerning the ordination, experiences of women pastors, and women's co-operation with male pastors.⁴⁰ These studies also include arguments both against and in favour of women's ordination as pastors. Additionally, there are several Masters' theses in theology, for example, in Finland concerning experiences of women pastors in: pastoral care, motherhood, ministry, comparative research between speeches of women and men, building the identity of a woman pastor etc. I also have familiarised myself with British, North American, and Nordic research concerning missionary wives, women missionaries, and gendered views on mission studies.⁴¹

Numerous studies have been conducted concerning the history of the churches in Latin America, political changes, women's movements, liberation theology, feminist theology, and

38 Paixão and Müller Fernandes 2009, 10-11.

39 Paixão and Müller Fernandes 2009, 11-12.

40 See, for example, Lehtiö 2004, Saarinen 2005, Molina 2010, Närhi 2012, Odenberg 2008, Jones et al. 2008.

41 Bowie et al. 1993, Huber et al. 1999, Kena 2000, Helander 2001, Sarja 2002, Hodgson 2005, Smith 2007.

Protestantism. Several of these studies have offered me useful orientation material for my research, although El Salvador is sometimes omitted or mentioned only briefly.⁴² The civil war in El Salvador in 1980-1992, its consequences as well as the history of the Catholic Archbishop of El Salvador, Óscar Romero, have interested several researchers, particularly from the point of view of human rights violations.⁴³ These studies have opened a window for me into the lives of the Salvadoran people during the civil war.

In the above, I have presented several research studies concerning El Salvador from a church historical, systematic, dogmatic, and feminist point of view as well as some research presenting a wider perspective on Latin America. However, there is no research at a Doctoral level, which especially investigates the path of Salvadoran Lutheran women towards leadership and ministry in their church. I hope that my research will provide a valuable contribution in filling this gap.

1.3 Sources

At a quite early point in my research it became obvious that finding literary sources concerning the Lutheran Church of El Salvador would be challenging. Much of the church's archive was destroyed in a bomb attack aimed at the church office during the civil war in 1988. Furthermore, it became apparent that after the civil war, the filing and organising of archives has not been a priority task for the church. However, some literary sources regarding the Lutheran Church of El Salvador were accessible. The written sources consist of both unpublished and published material. From the handwritten minutes of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador for the years 1972-2006 I was able to verify some

42 Richard 1987, Jaquette ed. 1989, Azzi et. al 1990, Saraneva 1991, Bonino 1997, Peeler 1998, Tombs 2002, Latvus 2003, Petrella ed. 2005, Koschorke et al. 2007, Prien 2007.

43 White 1987, Barry 1990, Carnage again 1989.

important dates and decisions concerning the history of the Lutheran Church. The original minutes are located in the church office of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador in San Salvador and the copies with the author. Nevertheless, the information in the minutes is rather minimal, due to the dangerous conditions during the civil war 1980-1992. During that period of time, lists of persons active in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador (and in other churches as well as in many organisations) caused danger for the people concerned. However, several books written by Medardo Gómez – mostly in the 1990s – have offered valuable first hand information on the history of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. Additionally, Gómez' interviews, especially in German journals and several issues of the papers of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador, *The Lutheran Herald* and *Solo por Fe*, which were published in the 1990s, have revealed valuable details. Electronic information letters concerning the partnership churches and other e-mails have complemented the other written sources.

Copies of letters and reports about relationships between North American Lutheran Churches and the Lutheran Church of El Salvador during 1970-1980 have been obtained from the archives of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America (ELCA) in Chicago. They have offered interesting information regarding the tense political connection between El Salvador and the USA, and how this situation affected the relationships between the churches. Additionally, the articles and letters related to the first Lutheran missionary of the Missouri Synod in El Salvador, Robert Gussick, have opened a valuable window to the start of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. Material concerning the development of the co-operation between the Missouri Synod and the Lutheran Church of El Salvador was possible to receive only in very limited amounts from the Concordia Historical Institute archives in St. Louis because of their shortage of personnel. The minutes and reports from the 1970s and 1980s concerning El Salvador by the committee for Latin American matters of the

Church Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Finland have offered important background material from a Finnish point of view.

Amongst the published sources, the annual reports (1995-2008) of the work of the Department of World Service of the Lutheran World Federation (LWF/DWS) in El Salvador and Central America, have offered valuable information about the society, churches – especially the Lutheran Church of El Salvador – and non-governmental organisations. I also have gathered reports by human rights' and women's organisations. The electronic material offered by the Lutheran World Federation includes a number of documents useful for this research.

Printed booklets, which served as material for two courses held in San Salvador for women, offered first-hand information on the content of these courses. The aim of the courses was to encourage women to serve as pastors. Minutes of the *Mutirão* meetings during 2004-2009 have clarified many details of this transformation process of the Lutheran church. Reports pertaining to trips, elections, partnership encounters, and presentations have offered an insight into the personal experiences of the people concerned. A few Bachelor's and Master's theses written by Salvadoran theologians have opened windows to their thinking regarding, for example, the theology of life and women. In connection with interviews a few notes written by the interviewees were delivered. They have offered valuable information and also Salvadoran understanding of the history of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. The books, booklets, copies of the minutes, reports, theses, copies of small stories, and copies of all the material mentioned above are with the author.

The opportunity to visit El Salvador several times has offered me the possibility to make personal observations of the country and civil society and, especially, of the parish life in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador.

Being part of two group trips with the Archbishop of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland has offered me the possibility to meet politicians, as well as the members of the ecu-

menical council, participate in a partnership church meeting, visit the Lutheran World Federation office in San Salvador, and see a glimpse of the programmes of the LWF. For example, I visited a jail with *Mara* gang members, and a village destroyed after a hurricane and mudslide and, of course, festive Sunday services. Apart from this high profile programme arranged for the partnership delegation, as a single fieldworker I have seen everyday ecclesiastical life and events. I also have met employees and parishioners on official and unofficial occasions. Observing meetings of parish workers and women's meetings, visiting homes in San Salvador and in rural areas has opened an opportunity to live in the middle of the community of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. Baptising a child in the *Resurrección* church and participating at one or two funerals have been important windows to the pastoral work in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. This possibility to live in the middle of the church life has enabled to make observations concerning gender and power relationships in the everyday life of the Lutheran church. The development co-operation between the Lutheran Archdiocese of Turku, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Finland and the Lutheran University of El Salvador has opened new windows and doors for me to see, for example, homes and families of students from rural areas.

The notes in my field diary have been important, when writing this study. The field diaries from the visits to El Salvador in 2005-2011 consist of seven handwritten notebooks with approximately 400 pages. I also had the opportunity to conduct a workshop concerning my research issues with Lutheran Salvadoran pastors in San Salvador in 2009. The notes from the workshop as well as the field diaries are with the author.

As well as the literary sources, observations, and notes from the field, interviews have been significant sources for my study. I have conducted 30 interviews, most of them in El Salvador but also a few in Nicaragua, Germany and Finland. All the interviewees have spoken their mother tongue during the interviews.

Additionally, I have received significant information through informal discussions with employees and volunteers of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador during my visits to El Salvador between 2005 and 2011, and with Salvadoran visitors in Finland. These discussions are not recorded and transcribed as are the interviews, but I have handwritten or typed notes of the most interesting topics in the discussions in my field diaries.

My interview material includes a considerable number of women's and men's histories in diverse situations in El Salvador. There are memories of the dawn of the parishes in El Salvador, life histories of women's paths to the Lutheran Church and histories of women's activities during the war. The stories include recollections of persecution, violence, and exile. The histories of younger, educated women and their lives in El Salvador during the time of peace complete my Salvadoran interview material. The life histories, including memories of the joy and sorrow, pain and hope of these women have guided my insight into their lives in El Salvador.

I have classified the interviews presented in this research into three groups:

1) Seven of the 30 interviews could be viewed as *preparatory interviews*.⁴⁴ The questions to the individuals concerned were rather open and general concerning El Salvador as a country and its churches – especially the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. Five of the individuals, with whom I discussed at the preparatory stage of the research, are non-Salvadorans, who have worked in El Salvador or visited the country several times. These people have guided me forward to locate more information and to find written sources and literature. They have helped me to find past and present key people of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador, from whom I chose several individuals for discussions. These individuals also told me their own experiences of their time in El Salvador. I have met some individuals in Helsinki and Turku,

44 See, for example, Vähäkangas' categories in Vähäkangas 2004.

Finland, one person in Munich, Germany, and four people in San Salvador for the surveys. The preparatory interviews also include discussions concerning the analysis of the history of the churches and society in El Salvador. For this purpose, I had an opportunity to meet with a Catholic liberation theologian at the Catholic University (UCA)⁴⁵ in San Salvador and discuss with him together with a group. An interview with the former head of the Lutheran University of El Salvador (ULS)⁴⁶ served also the same purpose. These interviews offered me interesting and useful views concerning the social context in El Salvador as well as the significance of the churches in the civil society. Two of these surveys were conducted with an interpreter. The preparatory interviews were made in 2004-2005 and one in 2006. The individuals were from 40-60 years old. Notes, recordings, and transcriptions of the interviews are with the author.

2) *Interviews with representatives of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador* concern conversations with fourteen people. These were several central women and men of the Lutheran church. Some of the individuals again suggested more people for further discussion. The majority of the people in this group have been active in the Lutheran church since the 1980s, in other words, during the civil war. Others have joined the Lutheran church later. Twelve of the fourteen interviewees have been pastors in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador and one of the twelve served at the time of the interview as a bishop in Nicaragua. One of the individuals of this group was a *fundadora* and one was an active lay pastor. I have asked open questions about how these people became Lutherans and Lutheran pastors in El Salvador and how they have experienced their service as a volunteer or as a pastor. During the discussions I have asked specific questions concerning the items these people have chosen to talk about. Some of the women and men concerned have complemented

45 Universidad Centroamericana José Simeon Cañas

46 Universidad Luterana Salvadoreña.

the interviews with short written memories. I have met these people face-to-face several times, clarified some issues by asking new questions, held group discussions and meetings with women pastors and complemented some details also through e-mails. The majority of these interviews are recorded and transcribed - most of them by an assistant. The rest of the interviews are only typed.⁴⁷ I have tried to arrange the environment for the conversations as conveniently as possible for a confidential talk. Most of the interviews were conducted in San Salvador without any interpreter in quiet office rooms, at the church guest house or in homes. Two interpreters have helped me with some of the interviews in 2005 and 2006. However, the majority of the interviews in this group were conducted in 2006-2007. The people concerned were from 40-60 years old. Notes, recordings, and transcriptions of the interviews are with the author.

3) Nine interviews could be classified as *interviews with representatives of NGOs*. Eight of them were women and one with a man. The importance of the NGOs in the Salvadoran society and for the churches is significant. They have also affected women in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. I have asked these people mainly about activities and the history of their organisations. Because several of the NGOs were women's associations, gender issues have been central in the discussions. Additionally, I was interested in the possible contacts of the NGO representatives with the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. These, and a few other interviews with women, include portrayals of women's lives and activities during the civil war and afterwards, as well as stories of persecution and marginalisation. All these nine interviews were

47 Some technical problems occurred with recording the interview with one woman pastor and that is the reason why another person has completed that interview. Additionally, I have asked complementary questions with e-mails and through discussions. Only one interview was not conducted by me, and pastor Riku Laukkanen conducted it. This situation may have affected the answers in some way. I will reflect on this case later.

conducted in San Salvador in confidential and peaceful places. An interpreter assisted at one interview. These interviews were conducted in 2006-2007. The interviewees were between 20-50 years old. Notes, recordings, and transcriptions of the interviews are with the author.

In the footnotes in this research, I use remarks “e-mail interview” and “e-mail”. With e-mail interviews I refer to complementary interviews to the face-to-face interviews with several questions. With e-mails I refer to rather short mails, where details are clarified. Additionally, I will not separate the nationalities in groups two and three here, because these include some women who were born in other countries, but have lived most of their lives in El Salvador or vice versa. For clarifications of the different groups of interviews and the number of women and men in each group, see the table below.

Table 1 The Groups of the Interviews

	1. Preparatory interviews	2. Interviews with representatives of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador	3. Interviews with representatives of NGOs	Total
Women	2	11	8	21
Men	5	3	1	9
Total	7	14	9	30

The table shows that within 1. The *preparatory interviews*, two were conducted with women and five with men, which gives seven interviews altogether. 2. Eleven of the *interviews with representatives of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador* were conducted with women and three with men, altogether 14 interviews. 3. Eight of the *interviews with representatives of NGOs*, were conducted with women and one with a man, altogether nine interviews. Of the 30 interviews, a total of 21 were conducted with women and a total of nine with men.

1.4 Theoretical Framework and Methods

My approach in this research is church historical. While studying women in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador, I utilise a historical method of research. Women have long been almost invisible or have received limited attention in the history writing. At the end of the twentieth century, new generations of historians started to take more interest in studying the history and life of ordinary people, of women and of marginalised groups. The feminist orientated historians presented women from the past and studied the significance of gender in different times.⁴⁸ In this research, I study chronologically the history of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador from 1952 to 2009 with the main aim of discovering what women have contributed to the church, who they were and, how they were positioned in the church. Where possible, I will also scrutinise their experiences especially in at turning points in their lives, which have been tangential with the transformation of the Lutheran church.

With the purpose of searching for the historical facts connected to women's history inside the history of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador, I have utilised oral sources as well as written sources in this research. The interviews are mainly thematic with the questions focusing on the women's path to leadership and ministry in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador.⁴⁹ Two of the most important dialogues are included as examples in the

48 Scott 1996, 3, Ahola 2002, 9. At the same time as feminist history the oral history view spread amongst scholars. It is often called history from below, because it is interested in women's and labour history as well in ethnic and sexual minorities' histories. Thompson 1988, 72-100. See also www.history.ac.uk/makinghistory/resources/articles/oral_history.html (6.6.2013), Thor 2006, 14, Fingerroos and Peltonen 2006, 12.

49 Thematic interviews belong to the framework of qualitative research methods. Qualitative research emphasises interviews and observations and also other complementing material such as writings and biographies.

appendix (in Spanish). A few of the interviews developed to become *life histories*, which belong to the domain of *oral history*. Life histories in this research mean that these individuals related in a confidential dialogue told much more of their life than was needed for a thematic interview.

Oral history has been defined in several ways. One of the pioneer organisations in *oral history*, the North American *Oral History Association*, defines oral history as follows: “Oral history refers both to a method of recording and preserving oral testimony and to the product of that process”.⁵⁰ According to Joanna Bornat, editor of the British *Journal of the Oral History Society*: “Oral history is researching the past through recording memory.” In this way oral history is presented both as empirical data and as a method.⁵¹ A Finnish oral historian Ulla-Maija Peltonen defines oral history as: “Oral history is information, which is not based on literary sources but on the memory of the interviewee. It is considered as reliable, when the informant tells of her/his own experiences. Concerning the research issue, there are several equivalent statements as a requirement for reliability.”⁵² All the definitions of oral history emphasise memories, life histories or experiences, which the interviewees relates to the interviewer and which the interviewer records in one way or another for

50 www.oralhistory.org/about/principles-and-practices/#intro (24.9.2012). In Finland oral historians include to oral history also the written material, which people have written about everyday life or about special topics. Fingerroos and Haanpää 2006, 27. Alistair Thompson performs four paradigm transformations in oral history beginning with the postwar renaissance of memory as source for people’s history going through the positivist approaches to memory and subjectivity from the late 1970s to the transformation in perceptions about the role of the oral historian as interviewer and analyst from the late 1980. Finally, he arrives at the digital revolution and of the late 1990s and early 2000s. *The Oral History Review*. Vol.34, Issue 1, pp.49-71, 2007.

51 E-mail from Joanna Bornat to the author (18.9.2012). See also www.oralhistory.org.uk/ (6.6.2013).

52 Peltonen 2006, 8. Author’s translation.

the research. In Finland, particularly in the last decade, utilising oral history as a method in theological research has become popular.⁵³ I locate myself in this continuum.

Oral history has encountered criticism concerning its reliability as a source. One of the pioneers of oral history, Alessandro Portelli, meets this criticism as follows: “Oral history tells us more about the meanings of events than about what actually happened. This does not mean that oral history would not aim at the truth. The interviews often reveal unknown histories or new aspects of the already known histories.”⁵⁴ Portelli also points out that the memories of the past are not conserved in a box but the memory processes them actively. He continues that “these changes reveal the attempt of the interviewee to create a meaningful past and to put the interview and the story in the historical context.”⁵⁵

I have conducted the majority of the interviews during 2005-2007. Had I conducted them in 2013, they might have been different depending on the life situations of the interviewees. Referring to Portelli, the memory actively processes memories, and this process can produce different life histories at different times.⁵⁶ To quote Silber, who has conducted around two hundred interviews in El Salvador “In each telling the aim may be different: performative for authenticity, for solidarity, for re-

53 See, for example, Vähäkangas 2004, Saarinen 2005, Närhi 2012, Snellman 2011.

54 Portelli 2006, 55. Author’s translation. Thompson considers that an oral source is a better and fuller record than, for example, a written minute of a meeting. Thompson 1988, 108. Near source critics comes Paul Ricoeur’s discussion about “true narrative” and “fictional narrative”. Ricoeur 1990 a, 51-87, 227.

55 Portelli 2006, 59. Author’s translation. See also Thor 2006, 30, Heikkinen 2002, 15, Kristensson Ugglå 2011, Snellman 2011.

56 Portelli 2006, 59. Marander-Eklund confirms the same notion. She has interviewed women about the births of their babies for her doctoral thesis and for an article. Marander-Eklund 2003, 72.

membering, for being”⁵⁷ Concerning my source material - criticism of the source is sometimes challenging. The oral sources as well as the written sources can sometimes be contradictory and differ significantly from each other, for example, concerning names and dates. I have tried to solve source liability problems by comparing several oral as well as written sources.⁵⁸ The written sources, thematic interviews, and other interviews contribute to a well-balanced entity of sources for a church historical study. Furthermore, especially the interviews related through the oral historic view, offer significant material as to what kind of meanings women give to their positions in the church and, particularly, to the changes in women’s positions.

In qualitative research, the situation of the interviews is often analysed from several perspectives. It may be that it is appropriate to make some remarks concerning this issue. The presence of an interpreter in some of the interviews may have affected the answers of the interviewees in one way or another. On the one hand, in my opinion, the support of an interpreter in some interviews has helped me to clarify the questions and answers between me and the interviewees at a moment when my Spanish was not yet sufficiently fluent. Evidently, it has also been easier for the interviewees to answer in their own mother tongue in those situations. On the other hand, the presence of a male interpreter while interviewing women may have had an effect on the women’s way of answering the questions.

Concerning the gender in oral history studies, as an interviewer, I have had the experience that for me as a woman interviewer it was easier in general to win the confidence of the women interviewees than of the men. Nevertheless, as a researcher I also gathered the information I needed through interviews with men. Concerning interviews with women, we went quite quickly beyond the facts to a level of personal experiences and emo-

57 Silber 2011, 72.

58 Peltonen 2006, 8. See also Marander- Eklund 2003, 72.

tions. The interviews with younger women were more information centred in general than the interviews with older women. Not only does gender matter, but also the common Christian faith within the interviews in general, as it is a connective factor.

Leydesdorff, Passerini, and Thompson discuss that oral historians “have noted the gendered nature of memory from the very early on and that the two movements, oral history and feminism, were growing together”. They continue: “Both the initial stage in the 1970s was dominated by the idea of rescuing a hidden history”.⁵⁹ Alasuutari refers to his own experiences and notes that women and men as interviewers ask about different issues, and women and men as interviewees talk about different issues. Alasuutari and Leydesdorff, Passerini and Thompson seem to agree that women relate more than men in interviews.⁶⁰ This kind of gendering has been criticised as essentialist, for example, amongst women autobiographers.

Women’s identity is one of the important issues in this study. Paul Ricoeur has discussed memory and memories, but also identity and narrative. Amongst other themes he has studied “narrative identity”.⁶¹ Ricoeur stresses that the narrative identity can include change and mutability within the cohesion of one lifetime. He continues that the, “subject then appears both as a reader and the writer of its own life. [...] Subjects recognise themselves in the stories they tell about themselves.”⁶² My interpretation of Ricoeur’s idea of the narrative identity is, that concerning the histories, which my interviewees have told about their lives, it both strengthens their identity at the time the incident happened as well as the identity of the interviewee at the moment of the interview.

59 Leydesdorff, Passerini and Thompson 1996, 2.

60 Alasuutari 2011, 145-146, Leydesdorff, Passerini and Thompson 1996, 12, “Again and again, where the men seemed hesitant, even blank, the women, could easily produce full and vivid recollections.”

61 Ricoeur 1990c, 246.

62 Ricoeur 1990c, 246-247.

Björn Vikström discusses the issue of narrative identity in his research about Ricoeur.⁶³ He refers to the Latin terms used by Ricoeur: *ipse* for selfhood and *idem* for sameness. According to Vikström, Ricoeur suggests that a person can stay the same, *sameness*, although his *selfhood* can change during his life time. This means that a person is responsible for his deeds and words in the future – for example in front of the law - although the person's life situation may change.⁶⁴ My understanding is that the person can be the same although the histories told by an individual can vary, this is because of the process of the memory and because of the changes in life.⁶⁵ However, an individual can have several identities in different situations. Identity can also be defined as a role in a social network or in symbolic interaction, as Hammarén and Johansson suggest.⁶⁶ Furthermore, Vivian Burr specifies the role as a concept that works on a collective level (or at least as a dyad) and not on an individual level. This understanding of a role always involves at least two individuals.⁶⁷ When I categorise women studied for this research as *missionary wives and fundadoras, lay women and lay leaders, pastors and programme leaders*, I mainly emphasise their professional identities or roles such as those by which they have defined their identity to me or how the roles have appeared to me. Additionally, having had the possibility of observing the life of several interviewees for several years, I have followed their possible professional – and sometimes personal - development.

While researching women in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador, it has become evident that in the interviews the ques-

63 Vikström 2000, 260-263. See also Vähäkangas 2004, 57.

64 Vikström 2000, 260-263.

65 Vikström 2000, 260. See also Alasuutari 1999, 2 and Vähäkangas 2004, 57.

66 Hammarén and Johansson 2009, 27.

67 Burr 2007,85. According to Burr, in emphasising the reciprocity of roles, the view extends the idea of a role as a social status, which requires individuals to see themselves through the eyes of others. Burr 2007, 227.

tions of gender and power in the structures of the church and society have been at the forefront. Therefore, I will complement the church historical approach with a few words on gender and power.⁶⁸ Power can be defined in several ways. According to Max Weber, power is the probability that one person will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance.⁶⁹ This kind of thinking is often connected with strategies of armies and with other hierarchical leadership strategies. Furthermore, the theses of Michel Foucault are quoted in several branches of science, especially by the feminist researchers.⁷⁰ According to Faubion and McNay, Foucault insists that power is active in any relationship between individuals or groups in which one wishes to direct the behaviour of the other.⁷¹ Foucault claims, according to Faubion and McNay that power relationships are rooted in the whole network of social relationships, and even that all people are captive in the power net.⁷² Thus, Foucault draws the power

68 Schüssler-Fiorenza 1983, 85. The feminist theology includes women's interpretation of the Bible, underlines women's experiences and strives for gender equality in the church. According to the German-American feminist theologian, Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, the feminist theology aims – amongst other goals - to reveal sexism and power structures in the history of the church. The standpoint towards this history is two-fold: on the one hand, the positive side is presented, which includes revealing the forgotten history of women; on the other hand, the negative side is presented, which includes analysing the deeds, statements, and opposition to women.

69 Weber 1968 1, 53. Weber makes a distinction between power and domination. He defines domination as the probability that a command with a given specific content will be obeyed by a given group of people. Discipline, according to Weber, is the probability that by virtue of habituation a command will receive prompt and automatic obedience in stereotyped forms, on the part of a given group of people. See also Svensson 2002, Rundqvist 2004 and Alasuutari 2011.

70 Bernauer and Rasmussen 1988, McNay 1992, Varis 1989, Seppä 2003.

71 Faubion 2002, 326-348, McNay 1992, 3.

72 What people ordinarily call power, Foucault describes as a "state of domination, where people have no freedom and therefore no choice. Bernauer and Rasmussen 1988, 3, 11, 19. See also Thomsson 2002,

definition from Weber's war terminology into a sociological and more human level. It is evident that Salvadoran Lutheran women and men have been involved in the power network defined by Foucault during the different periods of the history of the Lutheran Church.

1.5 Position as a Researcher and Limitations

Church historians seldom present their positions as scholars. However, in qualitative and gender studies this is required.⁷³ Owing to the fact that I utilise considerable interview material, I feel obligated to express my position as a scholar.

I am both a woman pastor in the Finnish Evangelical-Lutheran Church and a mother. Through my work in the Lutheran Archdiocese of Turku, I have become acquainted with the Lutheran Church of El Salvador from 1996 onwards. The Archdiocese of Turku had a project (1996-1998) with the Lutheran Church of El Salvador concerning international *diaconia*.⁷⁴ Since 1996, I have been a member and later the secretary of the committee for the co-operation with the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. Furthermore, since 2003 the Archdiocese of Turku has had a partnership agreement with the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. Through these activities, I have met and hosted several guests from El Salvador and organised a number of group excursions to El Salvador and personally visited the country several times. Additionally, the Archdiocese of Turku had a Salvadoran scholarship holder studying in Finland 2006-2009 and a scholarship programme with the Lutheran University

80-84, Faubion 2002, 326-348, McNay 1992, 3, Järvinen 2005, 20-21.

73 Fingerroos and Haanpää emphasise that a researcher should utilise self-reflection, methodological and epistemological reflection and finally reflect her/his external and ethical commitments within the research thesis. Fingerroos and Haanpää 2006, 41. See also Pesonen, 1997, 114-129, Ronkainen 1999, 23. Heikkinen 2002, 188, Erkkilä and Mäkelä 2002, 48, Tuomaala 2006, 278-281 and Alasuutari 2011, 144-149.

74 Aaltonen 2004, 3.

of El Salvador (ULS) in co-operation with the Foreign Ministry of Finland and the Foundation of St. Henrik 2009-2012.⁷⁵

Through all these connections, I have befriended many people in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador and in some organisations in El Salvador. That is, I have the privilege to share the joys and sorrows of especially the women and have acquired wonderful Salvadoran friends. I have even twice had the privilege of living for several weeks in the house of Bishop Medardo Gómez and Reverend Abelina Gómez and their family, while visiting El Salvador alone. Consequently, I have had a positive attitude towards the Salvadoran people, although I also have seen many negative sides of the Salvadoran society.

Similar to many other researchers, at the beginning of the research, I had a “romance” with my field, the Lutheran Church of El Salvador, and did not want to see any of the negative sides.⁷⁶ However, as in all romances, I started to see the shadows, which all people and institutions have. However, as a woman pastor in the Finnish Lutheran Church I have attempted to understand and interpret the history of women in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador in a context totally different from my own.

I live in a reasonably rich and peaceful democracy, where the gap between rich and poor people is considerably smaller than in El Salvador. Additionally, in Finland the polarisation between the political left and right has not been as sharp as in El Salvador. The equality between the genders has advanced considerably in Finland and a women’s right to her own body is acknowledged, for example, by legal abortion. The quality of the medical care, both for pregnant women and during the birth procedures, is considered to be among the highest in the world. In El Salvador the education of sexual health has been sporadic, rape and domestic violence are common, abortion is illegal and child mortality figures are high.

75 Pyhän Henrikin Säätiö. Author’s translation.

76 For example, Silber describes her “romance” with El Salvador and her research theme. Silber 2011, 28.

As a Lutheran woman pastor, I work in a majority church, and because women's ordination has been possible in Finland since 1986/1988, I have over nine hundred women pastor as colleagues in Finland.⁷⁷ In contrast, my Lutheran colleague sisters in El Salvador work in a small, minority church in a country, where the majority of the inhabitants are Catholics and, where they live in the middle of machism. As a mother, I empathise with mothers in El Salvador, but cannot imagine how it feels to lose children to civil war, street violence, or natural disasters.

Evidently, I cannot claim to understand the context in which the Salvadoran women live, but I can listen to their histories, read literature and papers, and make my own interpretation of the Lutheran Salvadoran women's history. I believe that no scholar can remain completely neutral or objective in her or his research – neither can I. Additionally, during the research process, a scholar has to constantly choose, which material she or he will utilise, and which will be left out. Furthermore, the scholar is dependent on the available material. This also concerns the people interviewed and their choice as well as what they choose to tell or not to tell the researcher. Portelli points out, that perhaps the most valuable information is that which the interviewee leaves out or decides not to tell.⁷⁸ Similarly, Alasuutari states that the interviewee always considers the aim of the interviewer, and tries to modify her/his answer according to that.⁷⁹

As noted by several researchers, the interviewer's personality always affects the interview situation.⁸⁰ I admit that my position as a representative of a partnership diocese on the one hand – which has included some financial aspects - may have affected the people I interviewed. However, on the other hand, I have befriended several Salvadoran women and they may have told

77 Kirkon tilastollinen vuosikirja 2012, 29.

78 Portelli 2006, 58.

79 Alasuutari 2011, 149. See also Mizrachi 1999, 144.

80 For example, Erkkilä and Mäkelä 2002, 53. Additionally, Erkkilä and Mäkelä state that the researcher does not merely represent her own personality to the teller, but may also represent the larger audience to whom the story is addressed. See also Alasuutari 2011, 146.

their story more openly for me than for an unknown researcher. My experience is that it has been easier for women interviewees to tell their story to a woman. Sometimes the interviews with women have been emotional - and telling about difficult incidents in their lives has brought tears to their eyes – and now and then also to the interviewer’s eyes. These experiences raise the issue of the importance of interpreting the non-verbal language in the communication.⁸¹ A few life stories, including first person stories of torture, were challenging for me even to listen to as an interviewer. After those experiences, I had to distance myself from the interview material for a while, before I could continue with the research.⁸²

Maybe because of the friendships and emotional ties with the interviewees I have carried Salvadoran Lutheran women and men in my mind – and heart - during the long process from the times of the interviews until the completion of this research. However, as a researcher I have attempted to be critical regarding all the information I have received – and not received – and drawn conclusions, which serve the aims of this study. I hope

81 According to Alasuutari 2011, 146, it seems that a more equal interview situation is when, e.g., a woman interviews a woman. See also Stier 2004, 44-58.

82 Paul Thompson has added a chapter Memory and the Self in his second edition of *The Voice of the Past*. There he discusses amongst other things, how, on the one hand, telling one’s life story can be an empowering experience for many people. On the other hand, telling difficult – and sometimes hidden memories – can be traumatic experiences for the interviewees. Now and then, a professional therapist might be needed to help a person to work through the difficult memories (for example concerning family secrets, war, or persecution). Thompson 1988, 157. In this respect, interviewing is a delicate method; as an interviewer you never know before hand what kind of memories the interviewee will relate to you and how the history will affect you and the interviewee. The question of power comes once again into the picture here. Tracy E. K’Meyer and A. Glenn Crothers discuss a large number of ethical challenges regarding oral history interviews in an article in *The Oral History Review*. Vol. 34, Issue 1, pp 71-93.

that by being critical – as is the way in Western theology - I will not hurt my Salvadoran friends. In the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church it is often said, “Our walls are wide and the ceiling is high”. The phrase means that we tolerate a considerable amount of highly critical argumentation inside the church without consequences. The situation is different in a minority church, like the Lutheran Church of El Salvador, where competition for members prevails in the society, which has a history of an extreme polarisation. Adoption of a middle course in the society has been almost impossible. Therefore, highly critical opinions are relatively uncommon in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador and because of that I present a few comments without names. I think that in a confidential atmosphere and when discussing sensitive issues, some of the interviewees may have forgotten that they gave their permission to utilise their names in connection with the interview material in this research. The above described situation sets limitations on my research, because I have tried to protect my interviewees.

1.6 Disposition

The study at hand consists of six chapters including an introduction and conclusion. Because I focus on the Salvadoran Lutheran women and their road to leadership and ministry in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador, the chapters will reflect changes in their history - rather than developments in the church or nation. In each main chapter, (2-5), I *first* introduce the Salvadoran political and religious context as a background for the period concerned. *Second*, I study the history of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador and especially the women in it. *Third*, I analyse women’s participation and position in the history of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador.

In chapter two (1952-1974), I concentrate on the history and women’s involvement in the establishment of the first Lutheran parishes in El Salvador. The parishes were *La Santísima Trinidad* in Pasaquina in the eastern part of El Salvador and

Cristo Nuestro Salvador as well as *La Resurrección* in San Salvador.

In chapter three (1975-1985), I examine women's activity and the situation of the young Lutheran church in the middle of the civil war, and survey, how the church changed its practice and theology and finally, how women became lay leaders.

In chapter four (1986-2003), I study the history of the transition from war to peace in El Salvador, and how that period of time affected the Lutheran women. This chapter also emphasises the decision of opening the ministry to women in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador and the installation of the first women as deacon pastors as well as the ordination of the first women as presbyter pastors. I also analyse the reasons which led to the opening of the ministry to women, the installation of women as deacon pastors and the ordination of women as presbyter pastors.

In chapter five (2004-2009), I explore the history of the *Mutirão* the transformation process, and its demands on the restructuring of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador, as well as the effects this had on the women.

1.7 Terminology

A few terms and expressions appear often in my research. Therefore, I will define some of them here.

The German Neo Lutheran immigrants established the *Missouri Synod or the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod* (LCMS) in 1847, in Chicago, with the name The German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and other States.⁸³ In this research I utilise the term Missouri Synod.

The Lutheran Church of El Salvador is the English name for *Iglesia Luterana Salvadoreña* (ILS). The researchers Jahnel and Andréé use this name in German and in English. Some part-

83 Deutsche Evangelisch Lutherische Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten.

ner churches and the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America (ELCA) in addition to the name *The Lutheran Church of El Salvador* use the name *The Salvadoran Lutheran Church* or *The Salvadoran Lutheran Synod*, but refer to the name *Iglesia Luterana Salvadoreña* (ILS) more often than to *Sínodo Luterana Salvadoreña* (SLS) for the Lutheran Church of El Salvador.⁸⁴ The Lutheran World Federation (LWF) uses all the names mentioned above and refers to the name *Iglesia Luterana Salvadoreña* (ILS). In 2012, the church had a website for *Sínodo Luterana Salvadoreña* (SLS), but there is also a website for *Iglesia Luterana Salvadoreña* (ILS). The official name is *Sínodo de las Iglesias de Confesión y Ritos Luteranos*, which seldom appears in the documents of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador.⁸⁵ As a conclusion, it can be stated that there is not simply one name or only one correct name for this church. In this research I prefer the name, *The Lutheran Church of El Salvador*, and the shorter; *The Lutheran church*.

In the Lutheran Church of El Salvador, people use the term *iglesia* meaning the national church including the church building and the parish. Sometimes they call the parish *congregación* or *comunidad*. In this study, I will refer to the national Lutheran church as a church and the local community of the church as a *parish* or *congregation*. For the local parishes in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador I will utilise their Spanish names, for example, the parish of *La Santísima Trinidad*.⁸⁶

Diaconia signifies the social work of the churches and is an expression commonly in use in the Lutheran World Federation and in the member churches of the LWF.

Fundadora is the Spanish word utilised in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador for the women, the founder mothers, who established the parishes of *Cristo Nuestro Salvador*⁸⁷ and

84 The Salvadoran Lutheran Church or Synod.

85 The Synod of the Lutheran Churches of Confession and Rites.

86 Holy Trinity.

87 Christ Our Saviour.

*La Resurrección*⁸⁸ in San Salvador. I prefer the Spanish expression *fundadoras*.

By *missionary wives* I mean the wives of male missionaries. They could also be named pastors' wives, but because the main aim of the Lutheran male pastors concerned was to do missionary work, I call their wives missionary wives.

In contrast to the majority of other Lutheran churches, in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador all church workers, professional or voluntary, are called *pastores* or *pastoras*. This inclusive practice is an expression of a very special and strong interpretation of the Lutheran doctrine of *priesthood of all believers*. However, in a closer study, there are presbyter pastors, deacon pastors, evangelists, catechists etc. I will specify the names of the posts, whenever possible. I will discuss the meaning of this doctrine later in the research.

Pastoral is a term recurring frequently in the research. In the daily usage of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador this term can include several meanings: sometimes it means ordinary parish work, sometimes the work of a pastor. In connection to *Pastoral de las Mujeres*, Women's Pastoral, the term can signify the parish work of the women pastors or the parish work among women or specialised gender work with women.

A *Patriarchal* society is signified by a male-dominated power structure throughout an organised society and in individual relationships. The expression *patriarchal* appears rather often in the research, because the patriarchal tradition has been so common in El Salvador – as much in civil society as in the churches. Patriarchal gender hierarchy, according to Mary Holmes, can be divided into private patriarchy and public patriarchy. Private patriarchy signifies a social system in which men as a group dominate women (paid work, household, production, culture, sexuality and violence). Public patriarchy means that the decisions affecting women's lives are made by

88 Resurrection.

groups of men in the public arena (politicians, heads of big corporations and judges).⁸⁹

Machismo is an expression denoting strong male chauvinism, which is very common in Latin America. It means men's superiority over women, which often leads to domestic violence and to families without fathers.⁹⁰ According to a common definition in Latin America, the roots of machismo are deeply-seated in patriarchy, originating over five hundred years ago, when the conquistadors came to the continent. Those, who had the power, always had the authority over others - Spanish conquistadors over the indigenous, landlords over servants, men over women, parents over children.⁹¹

Historical churches is an expression widely known in El Salvador to mean the old Protestant churches such as the Lutheran Church of El Salvador, the Episcopal Church, the Reformed Church, the Methodist Church, and the Baptist Church.⁹² These churches have cooperated since the civil war and formed the National Council of Churches in 1991.⁹³

With *Oligarchy* I refer to the small rich elite that has ruled the country alongside the Salvadoran government.⁹⁴ In El Salvador, the fourteen richest families, who founded the coffee industry in the early 19th century, formed the Salvadoran oligarchy and they have often been called *Catorce*, the fourteen. It is due to the

89 Holmes 2009, 62-63.

90 Bird, Delgado, Madrigal, Ochoa, Tejeda 2007, 111. According to Bird, Delgado, Madrigal, Ochoa, Tejeda: "The hegemonic model of masculinity under which men in El Salvador grow up and live, emphasises control, physical force and rational intelligence."

91 Abelina Gómez, 2003, 34, discussions with Silke Kapteine 2006 and Larry Madrigal 2007.

92 *Iglesia Episcopal Anglicana de El Salvador, Iglesia Reformada Calvinista de El Salvador Iglesia Bautista Emanuel, Iglesia Metodista de El Salvador*. Schäfer 2006, 2.

93 *Consejo Nacional de las Iglesias*.

94 Oligarchy is a common, old expression, also outside El Salvador, for a small governing elite.

fact that in the 19th century they owned the majority of the land in El Salvador, that there are fourteen counties in El Salvador.⁹⁵

Concerning the names of the Salvadoran organisations I prefer the Spanish names. The abbreviations are usually formed by the Spanish names and there are not always official English translations of the names. The translations are found in the footnotes.

95 In the early 21st century, the oligarchy has transformed to eight large business groups controlled by the offsprings of the former fourteen families.

2 MISSIONARY WIVES IN AND FUNDADORAS IN THE EMERGING LUTHERAN CHURCH (1952-1973)

In this chapter, I will study how the first three Lutheran congregations of El Salvador were established; *La Santísima Trinidad*⁹⁶ in Pasaquina, a rural area in the eastern part of El Salvador as well as *Cristo Nuestro Salvador*⁹⁷ and *La Resurrección*⁹⁸ in the capital, San Salvador. During this period the mission work from Pasaquina also reached the city of San Miguel and a mission parish *El Divino Redentor*⁹⁹ was established there. However, I will concentrate on the three parishes already mentioned because of their importance in the history of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. Apart from scrutinising the history of the establishment of the three Lutheran parishes, I will also investigate women's involvement in the emerging Lutheran Church. However, first it is necessary to take a look at the political and religious context during 1952-1973.

2.1 Political and Religious Context

Politically this period, 1952-1973 in El Salvador, was a time of instability and coups and a time of increasing influence from the USA. One symptom of the *cold war* was the strengthened opposition against communism in El Salvador. The landowning *oligarchy*, which consisted of fourteen families, owned the majority of the land, and, in the name of anti-communism, the peasants on the coffee fields had no right to form unions. President Óscar Osorio, with his military junta, reigned El Salvador during 1950-1956. After Osorio, El Salvador was ruled by sev-

96 Holy Trinity.

97 Christ Our Savior.

98 Resurrection.

99 Divine Redeemer.

eral military juntas and their presidents, for example, 1956-1960 José María Lemus. The revolution in Cuba in 1959 generated some smaller coups in El Salvador at the end of the presidential period of José María Lemus.¹⁰⁰ In 1961-1967 Julio Rivera and 1967-1972 Fidel Sánchez Hernández ruled the country.¹⁰¹ During the period of these presidents and military juntas a few formal promises concerning, for example, more equal possibilities to own land and, some improvements to the labour rights were given. However, they were not carried out and dissatisfaction with the government grew among the Salvadorans.¹⁰²

The war between Honduras and El Salvador (known also as the Football war) in 1969, brought about the return of approximately 20 000-50 000 Salvadoran people from Honduras to El Salvador. The Salvadorans had been working in the Honduran banana fields and living in Honduras for decades. Suddenly, the five day war rapidly changed the lives of thousands of Salvadorans.¹⁰³ The repatriating Salvadorans caused major economic problems in the country. This change had two major consequences. Firstly, the Communist Party of El Salvador, which was established in the 1930s, started to split; a militarist party *Fuerzas Populares de Liberación – Farabundo Martí* (FPL) was founded in 1971. Secondly, a paramilitary organisation *Organización Democrática Nacionalista* (ORDEN)¹⁰⁴ supported by the government was established in the early 1970s, with the

100 Valtonen 2001, 307-308.

101 Valtonen 2001, 307-308.

102 Valtonen 2001, 307.

103 White 1987, 235-241. Thousands of Salvadoran peasants and workers had been living for decades in Honduras. Since there was not enough work on the banana farms, they had started to cultivate on state owned land. The hostility grew among Honduran people and the war began after two football games between Honduras and El Salvador. According to Meissner, in 1969 there were approx. 300 000 Salvadoran living in Honduras. Meissner 2004, 113.

104 Nationalist-Democratic Organisation ORDEN was formed in 1965 by President Rivera. *Imágenes para no olvidar* 2002.

purpose of keeping the peasants calm and to prohibit them from organising themselves.¹⁰⁵

In the religious field, the Catholic Church, to which about 80 % of the Salvadoran population belonged in the 1950s, encountered a transformation. The main reason for this reformation was the Second Vatican Council (Vatican II) 1962-65. Pope John XXIII was a reformer, who wanted to modernise the Catholic Church and bring it into the twentieth century. It was especially important for Latin America that Vatican II recognised poverty, unemployment, hunger, and violations against human rights as challenges of the church, and saw it as its duty to encourage the Catholics to strive for a more just society.

The first Bishops Conference of Latin America (CELAM)¹⁰⁶ was held in Rio de Janeiro during the time of Pope Pius XII in 1955. Shortly after the first Bishops Conference, the first Pastoral Institute of Latin America was founded in Quito in Ecuador, where the first liberation theologians were teaching: José Comblin, Juan Luis Segundo, Gustavo Gutiérrez, Enrique Dussel and Segundo Galilea.¹⁰⁷ In August 1968, the second Bishops Conference of Latin America was held in Medellín, Colombia. The documents of the second Bishops Conference reveal the prediction of a new theology. In the documents issues were discussed such as justice, peace, the priesthood of the people, and the poverty of the church. Gustavo Gutiérrez introduced the concept of *liberation with the preference of the poor* for the first time in Medellín.¹⁰⁸ In Medellín, the bishops proclaimed hunger and

105 Valtonen 2001, 308-309. The name Farabundo Martí appears often in the names of several organisations. Farabundo Martí was a communist leader, who in the early 1930s tried to make a coup in the cities in El Salvador, but failed and was captured. Immediately afterwards, a peasant revolt broke out and which was crushed in a bloody manner by the army. Around 10 000- 40 000 peasants lost their lives. Valtonen 2001, 305.

106 *Conferencia Episcopal Latinoamericana*. Dussel, 1993, 284.

107 Dussel, 1993, 284. See also González, 2007, 240-269.

108 Vuola 1997, 38. The Catholic theologian Gustavo Gutiérrez from

poverty as "structural sin" and the only way to peace as justice, which the church has to fulfil in its own structures, or otherwise the message of the church is not relevant.¹⁰⁹ The documents of Medellín, via Vuola, state that liberation from the sin of poverty implies that the church itself has to become a church of the poor. Vuola continues by saying:

"Pastorally, the primary obligation of the church must be the poor and the oppressed. Theoretically, this means openness to the social sciences and their analysis of the structures that produce poverty, at that time especially the 'situation of dependency'. Theologically, it means going back to the Bible, its prophetic tradition and, Jesus' teaching and practice."¹¹⁰

As a conclusion, the Medellín documents suggest, via Vuola, that "if poverty is understood as a structural injustice, one also has to accept the logical consequences: poverty is not going to disappear with charity but through structural, that is, political and economic changes."¹¹¹ Several researchers emphasise that since Gustavo Gutiérrez, liberation theology is not a new theme for reflection but a new way of doing theology.¹¹²

Peru is named as the father of liberation theology. Other noticeable liberation theologians in Latin America were Juan Luis Segundo from Uruguay, Argentine-Mexican Enrique Dussel, Leonardo Boff and his brother Clodovis Boff from Brazil. Jon Sobrino who is of Spanish Basque origin, but has been living in San Salvador, was still in 2009 teaching at the Catholic University of Central America (UCA). See also Koschorke 2007, 391-403, Vuola 1991. The main theme – and slogan – for liberation theology has been *preference of the option for the poor*. Gustavo Gutiérrez discussed his theology in his book *A Theology of Liberation* (1971).

109 Vuola 1997, 38.

110 Vuola 1997, 38-39

111 Vuola 1997, 39. See also Latvus 2002, 24.

112 Koschorke 2007, 304. Jarmo Kokkonen has discussed Gutiérrez theology in his Master's thesis in theology in 1993. Kokkonen concludes that the difference concerning the theological understandings between the Vatican (the official Catholic Church) and Gutiérrez has

Before the formulation of liberation theology, the base community movement, *comunidades eclesiales de base* (CEB),¹¹³ had already begun in 1961, in northeast Brazil inspired by Paulo Freire and his *pedagogy of the oppressed*.¹¹⁴ The goal of the pedagogy of the oppressed was to teach people to read and write, and also to teach people to analyse their own situation and the political and economic situation from a critical consciousness perspective. The CEBs were like small communities in the parishes. Jukka Raunu defines the base communities as:

“groups of poor Catholic people, who wanted to develop their faith with meditation and prayer towards a faith, which is socially and politically orientated. They were religious groups aiming to increase the activity of people, not only in the church but also in the society.”¹¹⁵

The movement was also a response to the lack of Catholic priests.¹¹⁶ While the CEBs were expanding, the Bible movement spread through a method of contextualising the texts of the Bible with the surrounding reality.¹¹⁷

The transformation in the Catholic Church in El Salvador was notable. On the one hand, the Catholic bishops and priests in El Salvador wanted to carry out the ideas of Vatican II through

not been in the opinions or in doctrines but in the perspective, in the horizon of theology. According to Kokkonen, “the understanding of Vatican concerning removing poverty and injustice is founded on the activities of rich nations and social classes. In theology this is seen as a division between grace and nature, as reduction of structural sin as a sum of individual sins and as minimalising the political aspect of faith.” Kokkonen 1993, 133.

113 Base communities.

114 Dussel 1993, 285.

115 Raunu 2004, 199. Author’s translation. See also Raunu 2008.

116 Koschorke 2007, 397.

117 Pope John XXII already taught the method of See-Judge-Act, but the Bible movement and the pedagogy of the oppressed of Paulo Freire started to practice the method for the contextualisation of the Bible and for critical consciousness.

a process of re-evangelisation of the Salvadorans, but they considered it necessary to first train the priests for this new challenge. Since 1965, the Salvadoran Catholic priests met monthly in San Salvador for *Pastoral Conjunto* studies.¹¹⁸ Moreover, new models of parish work spread to El Salvador from Honduras, Panama and Ecuador. The Bible groups and the ideas of critical consciousness of Paulo Freire expanded, and soon some parishes in the rural areas and in the slums of the capital, San Salvador, called themselves *Comunidades Cristianas*¹¹⁹ or *Comunidades Eclesiales de Base*.¹²⁰ A simple and practical method was that the progressive priests taught people in the countryside to read, and especially read the Bible and to reflect on the message in their situation in life.¹²¹ The economic and social problems in El Salvador, according to Meissner, were the basis for the development of the *Church of the Poor*, which is another name for the base community movement.¹²² The Catholic Church of El Salvador witnessed a new liberation theology, which was spreading in Latin America. These parallel developments, re-evangelisation and the base movement, brought with them signs of the division between the progressive and traditional Christians of the Catholic Church. In 1969, Archbishop Chávez y González warned the clergy against secularising themselves.¹²³ Meissner insists

118 Common Pastoral. Meissner 2004, 104-112.

119 Christian Communities.

120 Base Communities. Meissner 2004, 130.

121 Meissner 2004, 130.

122 Meissner 2004, 74-78. Some lay movements were developed to help with these problems: 1. The Lay Apostolate; 2. The Catholic Action; 3. The Social Action. Meissner has studied the Church of the Poor as a church movement between the popular and liberation movements and the official Catholic Church during 1962-1992. Pope John XXIII mentioned the *Church of the Poor* in 1962, before Vatican II. Meissner 2004, 46. According to Vuola, the Catholic Action, which was founded after the First World War, had a strong influence on the early formation of liberation theology. Vuola 1996, 31. See also chapter 5 in this research.

123 Meissner 2004, 111.

that the consciousness of the clergy grew, and many priests became more critical of the political leaders of the country and of their bishops.¹²⁴

One consequence of the political opening of the government of El Salvador towards the USA since the 1950s has been to make access for the Protestant churches from the USA to El Salvador much easier. Three of the historical Protestant churches started their work in El Salvador after the Second World War: the Missouri Synod, the Protestant Episcopal Church, and the Conservative Christian Reformed Church. Despite many efforts by a number of Protestants the church in El Salvador remained very small in contrast to the Catholic Church: in 1935, only 2, 7 % of the population was Protestant and in 1970, the number was 5, 5 %, according to Jahnel.¹²⁵

José Míguez Bonino, has described Protestantism in Latin America as having four different faces: the *liberal face*, the *evangelical face*, the *Pentecostal face* and the *ethnic face* of Latin American Protestantism.¹²⁶ The *Pentecostal face* of Latin America shows, according to Bonino, the popular face of Protestant Latin America from the 1950s. Until the 1940s, the Protestant mission had tried to attempt to influence the "leaders" and in-

124 Meissner 2004, 111

125 Jahnel 2005, 56.

126 Bonino 1997, v. With the *liberal face* Bonino means the struggle after the independence war 1860 for liberal modernisation within Latin American sectors, which impelled the process of "liberation associations" such as labourers' associations, groups of intellectuals, and para political societies. Missionaries needed to secure an opening for the freedom of conscience and worship. Latin American leaders, in turn, found in this alliance a support for their struggle against clerical opposition to the reforms they wished to introduce. With the *evangelical face* of Latin American Protestantism Bonino means the consequences of the mission of North American and British Methodists, Presbyterians and Baptists with the theology of pietism and of the Great Awakening of the eighteenth century. They arrived in Latin America from the 1840-decade and onwards. Bonino 1997, 4, 35-36.

tellectuals, but forgot the masses. Latin American Protestantism did not take notice of what was happening until the Pentecostal congregations began to multiply in their neighbourhoods.¹²⁷ Finally, Bonino stresses, that during the second half of the 19th century three processes converged in Latin America: the liberal system, the predominance of the USA and the entrance of Protestantism.¹²⁸ Protestantism has been accused of being the religious legitimisation of the economic, political and cultural penetration of the USA into Latin America and being an instrument of the neo-colonial project.¹²⁹

The Lutheran Church of El Salvador was established and developed in a politically unstable country with turbulence in the Catholic Church and in the middle of a multi-faced and fast spreading – mainly evangelical - Protestant churches

2.2 The Missouri Synod and the First Lutheran Congregations in El Salvador

The Lutheran Church of El Salvador was established as a result of the mission of the North American Missouri Synod, not as a result of German immigrant churches as most of the Latin American Lutheran churches were. The Missouri Synod itself, however, was established by German Neo Lutheran¹³⁰ immi-

127 Bonino 1997, 57. In 1938, there were 14 500 Pentecostals in Latin America, 1 million in 1950, 37 million in 1980 and about 65 million Pentecostals by 2000. The *ethnic face* of Protestantism shows in Latin America in the form of ethnic churches. The distinctive characteristics of these churches are their ethnic homogeneity, for example, the Toba United Church in Argentina or the Miskito Moravian indigenous churches in Argentina. Bonino 1997, 82.

128 Bonino 1997, 2.

129 Bonino 1997, 3.

130 Jahnel 2005, 98. The Neo Lutherans have their roots in the group of the Pietistic Neo Lutherans in Sachsen, Germany, where a revival movement, which emphasised a theology based on personal faith experience, touched several Lutheran pastors. They also demanded that the scholarly working theologians should convert. See also

grants in 1847 in Chicago with the name *Deutsche Evangelisch Lutherische Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten*.¹³¹ Until the First World War, the Missouri Synod was characterised by theological conservatism and also until the First World War by isolation from the North American society, culture, language, and economics. Because of the rather poor image of Germany after the wars and the opening up of North American society, the name was changed to the *Lutheran Church – Missouri Synod* (LCMS) and the language changed into English. The Missouri Synod also started to co-operate with other Lutheran churches in the USA.¹³²

After the Second World War, the foreign mission of the Missouri Synod expanded, and in 1947 pastor Robert F. Gussick was sent as a missionary to Guatemala.¹³³ In 1952, the Missouri Synod initiated mission work in El Salvador, and the mission station in Guatemala served as a base.¹³⁴ The work began in the countryside, where the Catholic Church was weak. Gussick utilised radio programmes and Bible colporteurs as tools in the mission work.¹³⁵ The mission strategy of Robert Gussick followed the commonly accepted principle of the *three selves* in mission: *self-government, self-propagation* and *self-support*.¹³⁶ Training

Gritsch 2010, 197-202.

131 The German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and other States. Jahnel 2005, 104.

132 Jahnel 2005, 109-111.

133 Robert Gussick lived 1917-2007.

134 Rutt 1996, 185. Notes written by Mauro Recinos (three pages), *Reseña Histórica de la Iglesia Luterana en El Salvador, Centro America*, 26.7.2001 (the Recent History of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador, Central America, 26.7.2001). The notes were given to the author by his widow, pastor Blanca Marina Méndez de Recinos, in Febr. 2006. See also Jahnel 2005, 108, 114, 133.

135 The Lutheran radio station, the Lutheran Hour, broadcast a programme Christ for all the Nations (*Cristo para todas las naciones*) in Central America. Jahnel 2005, 128-129.

136 Gussick 1955, 13. Henry Venn (1796-1873) from Great Britain was the "creator" of the three-self principles: self-supporting, self-governing,

national workers and establishing an indigenous church were also guiding principles for Gussick in this mission work in Guatemala and El Salvador.¹³⁷

Aldrich Forbes, an independent Baptist colporteur and evangelist in Central America, converted to the Lutheran church and visited the village of Pasaquina in the Eastern part of El Salvador in the region of La Union at least twice during the years 1950-1951.¹³⁸ Through listening to the radio programme the *Lutheran Hour*¹³⁹ and meeting Robert Gussick and Kenneth Mahler, he was convinced and converted to Lutheranism at the end of the 1940s. In Pasaquina, he met a community, which had been part of a Pentecostal movement, *Assemblies of God*.¹⁴⁰ The Pentecostal leaders had left the parishioners because the parishioners did not like the ecstatic services with glossolalia.¹⁴¹ The believers had reunions in the pharmacy of the wealthy pharma-

and self-extending as a goal for developing indigenous churches on the mission fields. His American counterpart was Rufus Anderson. Thomas 2005, 207.

- 137 Gussick 1955, 13. Indigenous church is an expression of Gussick. He understands by this a national church with national workers, not, for example, American pastors in El Salvador. However, indigenous and national are rather wide expressions in this context. In the Central American Lutheran churches belonging to the Missouri Synod, the co-workers were mainly Central American, not always specifically national.
- 138 Notes (four pages) written by Ciro Mejía, 11.2.2006, and given to the author, 12.2.2006. Aldrich Forbes was born in the Caribbean coast in Nicaragua. According to Mejía, he was a *garifuna* (a descendant of Carib, Arawak and West African people). See also Jahnel 2005, 150.
- 139 The *Lutheran Hour* radio programmes were founded in 1930 by the International Lutheran Laymen's League in a close co-operation with the Missouri Synod. In 1940, the *Lutheran Hour* started broadcasting in Spanish. www.lhm.org/about/ourhistory.asp (23.5.2013).
- 140 *Asambleas de Dios*. Kenneth Mahler was a vicar of the Missouri Synod serving in Zacapa. Guatemala. Jahnel 2005, 150-151. See also the notes of Mejía (11.2.2006).
- 141 Author's interview with Ciro Mejía (12.2.2006). See also Jahnel 2005, 151.

cist Octavio Simon Crúz. Forbes told them about the Lutheran Church and promised that with the help of the North American Lutherans, they could have in the future a church, a school, and a health centre, like in Zacapa, Guatemala. When Forbes arrived in Zacapa, Guatemala, he told the missionary of the Missouri Synod, Robert Gussick, about the parish in Pasaquina and their interest in the Lutheran Church. He also brought to Gussick an invitation letter from the congregation.¹⁴²

The pharmacist and lay leader of the parish in Pasaquina, Octavio Crúz, had taken another initiative, according to Ciro Mejía, parallel to the visits of Forbes and travelled to San Salvador to ask the leaders of the *Central American Mission* (CAM), an evangelical mission organisation, to send a Protestant pastor to Pasaquina.¹⁴³ CAM responded positively and sent Ciro Mejía Andrade (better known as Ciro Mejía) to Pasaquina to investigate the situation of the parish.¹⁴⁴ During a fifteen day visit, Ciro Mejía with his wife Martha Julia Ramos Japon (better known as Martha Mejía), became acquainted with the parish in Pasaquina.¹⁴⁵ A more experienced CAM- evangelist, a seventy year old woman, Jesus Álvarez, was also sent with Ciro and Martha Mejía to Pasaquina. After the short visit, they returned to San Salvador. Ciro Mejía reported about the situation in Pasaquina to the leaders of CAM in San Salvador. After negotiations with the pastor of CAM, he returned to Pasaquina to serve the congre-

142 Notes of Mejía (11.2.2006). See also Jahnel 2005, 150-151. The father of Robert Gussick came originally from Poland and was Catholic, but he married the mother of Robert Gussick, who was a Lutheran belonging to the Missouri Synod. Because of the marriage he converted to Lutheranism. Author's interview with Tapani Ojasti (14.3.2007).

143 Notes of Mejía (11.2.2006). See also Jahnel 2005, 151. About the Central American Mission, CAM, see also www.caminoglobal.org/about-us/who-we-are/ (23.5.2013).

144 Ciro Mejía lived 1925-2011. Author's interview with Ciro Mejía (12.2.20106).

145 Martha Mejía lived 1920-2008. Author's interview with Ciro Mejía (12.2.2006) and notes of Mejía (11.2.2006).

gation for some months. Martha Mejía followed her husband after finishing the term of her music teaching at a school in San Salvador.¹⁴⁶

When Robert Gussick received the invitation letter from Pasaquina, unaware of the actions of CAM, he decided to travel with his colleague, missionary Gerhard Kempff, in May 1952, to Pasaquina.¹⁴⁷ Before their journey to Pasaquina, they informed the lay leader Octavio Cruz about their arrival plans. Ciro and Martha Mejía were first confused about the double invitations of the parish, but decided to welcome Robert Gussick to Pasaquina.¹⁴⁸ Gussick and Kempff stayed there for some days teaching and preaching, and they left some literature for Mejía and the congregation. The parish of some fifty people was suspicious at first regarding the liturgy, child baptism,

146 Author's interview with Ciro Mejía (12.2.2006). See also the notes of Mejía (11.2.2006).

147 Notes of Mejía (11.2.2006). Jahnel 2005, 152-153. According to Mejía's interview, he moved to Pasaquina in October 1952, his wife Martha Mejía in January 1953 and, Gussick and Kempff came in May 1953. The confusion in the sources concerning exact dates has been frequent, when doing this research. In this case, I choose the year given by Mejía in his notes and by Jahnel. The dates given in the oral interview may sometimes be recalled incorrectly. The Lutheran Church of El Salvador commonly holds the year 1952 as the year the first Lutheran parish in Pasaquina was established. See, for example, *Identidad Luterana Salvadoreña* 2012. Gerhard Kempff lived during 1926-2008. Despite his German name Gerhard Kempff was born in USA. E-mail from Betty Kempff to the author (20.4.2010).

148 Ciro and Martha Mejía noticed that they could offer to the parishioners the word of God, but not a school and a health centre, as Forbes had told the parishioners. Ciro Mejía told also that he had once seen Robert Gussick in Guatemala, where he was studying. Gussick had held a service in the seminary building and, the Lutheran hymns sung in German had made an impact on Mejía. He also had listened now and then to the Lutheran Hour and its Spanish programme *Cristo para toda las naciones*. Author's interview with Ciro Mejía (12.2.2006). See also notes (three pages) written by Mauro Recinos (30.5.1978).

and the teaching of the Holy Communion, meaning that the Lutheran liturgy and sacraments resembled too closely those of the Catholic Church. Nevertheless, according to the mission strategy of Gussick, after “sowing the word” Gussick and Kempff returned to Guatemala.¹⁴⁹ Ciro Mejía recalled the incident:

“We started to study the theology of Müller and the Catechism and the psalms and other type of literature like ‘The Justification of Faith’ of Luther and so on. Six months passed. And I, who should only have been an assistant, emerged a new Lutheran, because I had understood very well the doctrine of the baptism and the Holy Communion. I said: I cannot any more stay in that church, where I am now, because I don’t believe anymore, what they teach.”¹⁵⁰

After studying the catechism and other literature for half a year, Ciro and Martha Mejía were ready to convert to Lutheranism.¹⁵¹ Ciro and Martha Mejía parted with their former church, the Central American Mission, and travelled to Guatemala to discuss their conversion with Gussick. Contrary to Ciro Mejía’s views with regards to baptism and Holy Communion, Jahnel suggests that the Lutheran Church in the early 1950s in Central America, did not differ much from the evangelical CAM. The justification through faith was central in both churches.¹⁵² It seems that this fact helped the Mejías to convert from CAM to the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod. After meeting Robert Gussick and after some training, Ciro Mejía was sent at the beginning of 1953 to Pasaquina as a *lay pastor* of the Missouri Synod. The converted Lutheran parish in Pasaquina was named *La Santísima Trinidad*.¹⁵³

149 Gussick 1955.

150 Author’s interview with Ciro Mejía (12.2.2006). Author’s translation.

151 Author’s interview with Ciro Mejía (12.2. 2006).

152 Jahnel 2005, 163. Jahnel remarks that Gussick was a relatively undogmatic missionary and for him building a Christian indigenous church was more important than building a Lutheran church.

153 Author’s interview with Ciro Mejía (12.2. 2006).

In the meanwhile, when Ciro and Martha Mejía were in Guatemala (in 1952) meeting Robert Gussick and studying, the Pentecostal community, the Assemblies of God, had returned to Pasaquina. Although an American vicar, Leonard Stalke, was serving the Lutheran parish, the former lay leader of the congregation, pharmacist Octavio Simon Crúz, attempted to take the parishioners back to the Assemblies of God. Crúz accused the Lutheran liturgy of being crypto-catholic.¹⁵⁴ Crúz and the other villagers had been Catholics before their conversions to Protestantism (the Pentecostal Assemblies of God, the evangelical CAM and the Lutheran-Church Missouri Synod). In 1953, the conflict led to a division of the congregation. Some of the parishioners returned to the Assemblies of God with the lay leader Octavio Crúz, and the rest stayed in the Lutheran parish, *La Santísima Trinidad*, with Ciro Mejía.¹⁵⁵ Mejía continued his evangelisation work with Stalke's help in the countryside extending as far as the city of San Miguel and appointed voluntary leaders and evangelists, who would teach the catechism and preach. Ciro and Martha Mejía served the parish in Pasaquina for seven years. In 1959, the Mejías moved to Zacapa in Guatemala to serve the Lutheran parish there. In 1961, Ciro Mejía was ordained in Guatemala as the first Salvadoran Lutheran pastor. In 1973, Ciro and Martha Mejía moved back to El Salvador and established a parish in Santa Ana in Ahuachapán.¹⁵⁶ The mission goal of Robert Gussick to provide indigenous pastors for the Lutheran mission churches of the Missouri Synod was coming to fruition.

154 Jahnle 2005, 154. Mejía claimed the songs of the Pentecostals were world music.

155 Jahnle 2005, 151-155, Crúz was given the church, which was under construction on his property, and the Missouri Synod gave Mejía money for building a new church.

156 Author's interview with Ciro Mejía (12.2.2006) and the notes of Mejía (11.2.2006).

After the first Lutheran parish, *La Santísima Trinidad*, had been established in Pasaquina, the next goal of the Missouri Synod was to bring Lutheranism to the people in the capital, San Salvador. In 1957, the Missouri Synod sent missionary Gerhard Kempff with his wife Betty Kempff and their children from Guatemala to San Salvador.¹⁵⁷ Kempff's task was to establish a congregation there and to work as a supervisor to the Lutheran Mission in the country.¹⁵⁸ Gerhard Kempff was not working alone. Two Salvadoran women, Juana Antonia Sandoval Abrego (known also as doña Juanita) and Carmen Acosta (known also as doña Chave) assisted him. According to Jahnel, two evangelist friends, Héctor Fernández and Raul Alemán, from Mejía's service time in CAM lived in San Salvador - Mejía's teaching concerning the Lutheran catechism and doctrine had influenced these men. They became convinced of the need to leave the CAM and to start working as voluntary Lutheran evangelists in San Salvador. Héctor Fernández, after having served for sixteen years as a pastor of the CAM, started to teach the Lutheran catechism to a small group of people from his former parish in Santa Tecla in a suburb of San Salvador.¹⁵⁹ Juana Antonia Sandoval and Miguel Angel Estrada belonged to this group led

157 Jahnel 2005, 182. According to Betty Kempff, it was the Guatemalan Council, which consisted of USA missionaries and national (Guatemalan) pastors, which decided to send Gerhard Kempff from Guatemala to El Salvador. E-mails from Betty Kempff to the author (20.4.2010 and 21.4.2010).

158 In Pasaquina, an American missionary from the Missouri Synod, Leonard Stalke, served for a while, when Ciro Mejía was studying, and in 1964 a Salvadoran Raúl Alemán came to officiate in the parish *La Santísima Trinidad*. Since 1967/69 pastor Mauro Recinos ministered in Pasaquina. Some evangelists and catechists were serving in San Miguel and in 1964 Pastor Héctor Fernández was placed there. In other words, the training and work of the evangelists, catechists and the work of the Lutheran pastors was under the supervision of Pastors Gerhard Kempff in El Salvador 1957-1964. Jahnel 2005, 182. Notes of Mauro Recinos 2001.

159 Jahnel 2005, 182.

by Fernández. Kempff invited the group and the other former CAM evangelist, Raúl Alemán, to the Lutheran services at his home. The Lutheran parish, *Cristo Nuestro Salvador*, began as a small parish in the home of the missionary family Kempff in 1959 in San Salvador.¹⁶⁰

Napoleón Artigas had worked, according to Jahnel, with Robert Gussick since 1958 in Panama. In 1961, Gussick, as a Mission leader of the Missouri Synod for Central America, sent Artigas to San Salvador.¹⁶¹ Artigas assisted Gerhard Kempff with parish work, and his wife Eunice assisted Betty Kempff with the work with the children at the Sunday school.¹⁶² Kempff, after the ordination of four men in 1964, including Napoleón Artigas, gave the responsibility of the parish, *Cristo Nuestro Salvador*, in San Salvador, to Artigas.¹⁶³ This was in line with Gussick's mission principle of an indigenous church. As a consequence, Kempff could concentrate on guiding and training the co-workers on a national level.

The parish *Cristo Nuestro Salvador* grew, and in 1964, four men – Héctor Fernández, Raul Alemán, Napoleón Artigas and Tapani Ojasti - were ordained as Lutheran pastors of the Missouri Synod.¹⁶⁴ After the ordination, Héctor Fernández served first in Pasaquina, and later in the parish in San Miguel. The parish *El Divino Redentor* in the city of San Miguel had grown as a result of the mission work conducted from Pasaquina. Raul Alemán served as a pastor in the jails of San Salvador and later

160 Jahnel 2005, 182.

161 Jahnel 2005, 183.

162 According to Betty Kempff, the new house for worship was located near that place where the church *La Resurrección* was located in 2009. That suburb of San Salvador is named San Miguel (the same name as the city San Miguel in El Salvador). E-mail from Betty Kempff to the author (20.4.2010).

163 *The Lutheran Herald* 1992. Memories of a Founding Member of “*La Resurrección*” Lutheran Church.

164 Author's interview with Tapani Ojasti (14.3.2007). See also Jahnel 2005, 188.

in the parish *La Santísima Trinidad* in Pasaquina. Napoleón Artigas assisted Gerhard Kempff and was responsible for the parish *Cristo Nuestro Salvador*. The Finnish pastor Tapani Ojasti was the only one who had been Lutheran from childhood, and he had studied theology at a Missouri Synod Seminary in Argentina. After his ordination, he served as a missionary of the Missouri Synod in Costa Rica and elsewhere in Central America until 1975. Apart from Ojasti, the ordained men had a rather modest theological education, in particular, in Lutheran dogma. Apparently, the Missouri Synod acknowledged the former education and long experience of Fernández and Alemán by CAM. Artigas had co-worked with the Lutheran missionary Gussick in Panama, as mentioned earlier. In my view, the urgency of ordaining indigenous pastors for the Lutheran mission in El Salvador was obvious. That urgency overshadowed the requirement of a proper education for the Lutheran pastors.¹⁶⁵ Furthermore, the Catholic Church had activated its members and pastors with a re-evangelisation programme in line with the aims of the Vatican II and the Catholic base community movement was spreading from Brazil to El Salvador. It is apparent that the competition concerning gaining parishioners was hard for the Lutheran church in the middle of the activated Catholic Church and other Protestant churches.

The sources give various information regarding the year, number, and names of the ordained men. The data concerning the parishes of the new pastors is also confused. Andrée claims that Alemán and Fernández were ordained in 1966 and, Juana Sandoval recalls that the year was 1969. According to Juana Sandoval, Fernández served in San Miguel and, Mejía was sent to

165 It was important for Martin Luther that every baptised Christian should study the Small Catechism and the pastors should at least know their Large Catechism and other Lutheran Confessions. Additionally, the wisdom and praxis of old Benedictines, “pray and work” were central for Luther. The Large Catechism, <http://bookofconcord.org/lc-1-intro.php> (6.6.2013).

Zacápa after the ordination in 1969.¹⁶⁶ However, Tapani Ojasti, who was himself ordained in that ceremony with three other men, recalls the date as being the 26.11.1964.¹⁶⁷ Concerning the parish of Héctor Fernández, his son, Héctor Fernández Jr. recalls that his father was serving in San Miguel before the ordination, then in Pasaquina and later in San Miguel again.¹⁶⁸ Because San Miguel was a mission parish for Pasaquina, there was a considerable amount of co-operation. Andrée suggests that Pasaquina and San Miguel served as training parishes for the new evangelists and pastors.¹⁶⁹

The ordination of the new Lutheran pastors was organised in a theatre with the idea of making the Lutheran church known to a larger public.¹⁷⁰ According to Juana Sandoval many people from the neighbourhood came and took part in the Lutheran ordination service and the subsequent reception.¹⁷¹ In the same year as the ordination took place, 1964, Gerhard and Betty Kempff moved with their children to Honduras to work for the Lutheran mission of the Missouri Synod.

166 *The Lutheran Herald* 1992. Memories of a Founding Member of “*La Resurrección*” Lutheran Church. Juana Antonia Sandoval recalls in this article, that the following pastors were ordained 1969 in that theatre: Raul Alemán, for the church in Pasaquina, Héctor Fernández, for the Church in San Miguel, Ciro Mejía, for the church in Zacapa, and Napoleón Artigas, for the church in San Salvador.”

167 Author’s interview with Tapani Ojasti (14.3.2007).

168 Héctor Fernández started the missionary work in San Miguel in 1963. His wife, sons David Ernesto and Miguel Angel and daughter Vilma Elisabeth assisted at least as catechists. Author’s interview with Héctor Fernández jr. (10.9.2007).

169 Andrée 2005, 60.

170 Author’s interview with Tapani Ojasti (14.3.2007). The ordained pastors were four, but apparently for the parish members and guests it was difficult to distinguish who was being ordained and which of the pastors were assisting. See also Jahnel 2005, 182-186.

171 Offering coffee and biscuits to the parishioners after services is still in use in many Lutheran parishes in El Salvador – like in many European Lutheran churches.

It seems that after the Kempff's left El Salvador, the Lutheran mission church in El Salvador lacked a structure. The pastors and parishes were left rather alone. In 1969, Raul Alemán was exiled from Pasaquina to the USA, and a convert from the Central American Mission (CAM), Mauro Recinos López (known also as Mauro Recinos) from Guatemala, who had been studying Lutheran theology in Mexico, was sent by a Lutheran umbrella organisation *Consejo de Iglesias Luteranas en Centro América y Panamá* (CONPAP) to Pasaquina.¹⁷² Andrée notes that Mauro Recinos and the five other pastors met each other regularly with the purpose of keeping their Lutheran identity alive. They also formed an unofficial group The Salvadoran Lutheran Council.¹⁷³ CONPAP was established in 1968 and the Missouri Synod was its largest member church.¹⁷⁴ Nevertheless, CONPAP made decisions concerning the mission in Central America rather independently from the *Board for Missions* of the Missouri Synod.¹⁷⁵ Artigas criticised, according to Jahnel, the constitution of CONPAP. Artigas found the ecumenical openness, civic activities, and social work of CONPAP too liberal. He and some other pastors claimed that CONPAP “waters down the pure Lutheran dogma”.¹⁷⁶ Artigas' criticism grew gradually, although in June

172 Notes of Mauro Recinos in 2001. The Council of the Lutheran Churches in Central America and Panama. Jahnel 2005, 194.

173 *Consejo Luterano Salvadoreño*. Andrée 2005, 61.

174 According to Jahnel, there were 108 representatives from 13 Latin American countries in the constitutive conference in Lima, Peru. Before CONPAP, and since 1965, the umbrella organisation for the Lutheran mission in Central America was *Distrito Misionál del Caribe*, DIMICAR, with Kenneth Mahler as the chair. Jahnel 2005, 192.

175 Jahnel 2005, 191-192. The full name was: *Board for Missions in South and North America*.

176 Jahnel 2005, 192-194. Artigas participated in the fourth Latin American Lutheran Conference, *Congreso Luterano Latinoamericano* as a representative of the emerging Lutheran Church of El Salvador in 1965 in Lima. The message from that conference was also an ecumenical opening and an activity in social matters in civil society. Jahnel 2005, 194-195.

1970, he still was present at the constitutional meeting of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador.¹⁷⁷ Approximately at the end of 1970, Artigas decided to join the Lutheran Wisconsin Synod, and the parish, *Cristo Nuestro Salvador*, was divided. The Wisconsin Synod practiced “closed” communion and the doctrine from the ministry and gender roles were more conservative than in the Missouri Synod.¹⁷⁸ Artigas took the majority of the parish members with him to the new church. Juana Sandoval, who had been active in establishing the parish, *Cristo Nuestro Salvador*, was very disappointed with pastor Artigas and criticised his actions as having been economically motivated.¹⁷⁹

Artigas’s actions reflected the tensions which were growing inside the Missouri Synod. Burkee discusses the contradictions inside the Missouri Synod between the moderates and conservatives.¹⁸⁰ In his critical analysis of the developments, he de-

177 André 2005, 61. Héctor Fernández was elected as the first president of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador in the constitutional meeting. See also Jahnel 2005, 242 and *Las Actas*, the minutes of the synodal meetings of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador.

178 Jahnel 2005, 183. The name of Artigas’ was still mentioned in the synod meeting of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador on the 2nd of February, 1971. Thus, although not in the list of the participants, he did receive three votes as secretary in the election for the administration of the Lutheran church. In the minutes, it is also mentioned that no delegation from San Salvador was representing the Lutheran parish. *Las Actas*, number 2, 2-5. See also www.wels.net (September 2008). Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod (WELS), is theologically conservative, and the third largest Lutheran church body in America. WELS was established in 1850, when three German pastors met in Milwaukee. E-mail from Erkki Koskenniemi to the author (7.2.2011). See also www.wels.net/what-we-believe (6.6.2013).

179 Sandoval meant by this accusation that Artigas had received the training and the ordination from the Missouri Synod and gained his education and position from them, but soon left in favour of another church, namely Wisconsin Synod.

180 Burkee 2011 *Power, Politics and the Missouri Synod. A Conflict that changed the American Christianity*. The author, James C. Burkee, belonged himself to the Missouri Synod and worked in 2013 as a

scribes the contradictions as an “open war” inside the church.¹⁸¹ In the mid 1950s, according to Burkee, the “smaller churches on its right” – the Wisconsin Evangelical Synod (WELS) and the tiny Evangelical Lutheran Synod (ELS) – were critical of the Missouri Synod for being too ecumenical.¹⁸² In 1961, the Wisconsin Synod terminated the alliance with the Missouri Synod because of the differences in the doctrine and practice of church fellowship. In the mid 1960s, the Missouri Synod developed into being active in social issues concerning, for example, civil rights and racial issues, stating opinions against the Vietnam War and having dialogue with other Christians. In opposition to the decisions of the Missouri Synod convention, the upcoming opposition leader, Herman Otten, claimed every civil rights activist to be a communist.¹⁸³ Jack Preus was elected president of the Synod with the votes of the conservatives in the Missouri Synod convention in Denver in 1969. Contrary to expectations, during his chairing the convention confirmed, for example, the socially active mission and fellowship with the *American Lutheran Church* (ALC).¹⁸⁴ After this, the controversies between the conservatives and moderates grew considerably.¹⁸⁵ Given this background, choosing to join the Wisconsin Synod (WELS) was a predictable choice for Artigas, who already had developed in a conservative direction.

When the Lutheran parish in San Salvador, *Cristo Nuestro Salvador*, was divided, five women Juana Antonia Sandoval, Tula Quiteno (known also as Ester Gertrudis Quiteno), Gloria de Martínez, Carmen Acosta and her mother Maria Acosta decided to rebel against Artigas by not signing the membership

Professor in Concordia University, Wisconsin.

181 Burkee 2011, 168-172.

182 Burkee 2011, 40.

183 Burkee 2011, 40, 53-59.

184 Burkee 2011, 92-93.

185 Burkee 2011, 156.

paper for the new parish.¹⁸⁶ According to Gloria de Martínez, there were five women, but she mentions only three names in addition to herself: “Tulita Quiteno, doña Juanita and doña Carmen”.¹⁸⁷ Mauro Recinos mentions “doña Juanita, doña Gertrudis and doña Gloria Mejía” in his notes.¹⁸⁸ Some interview sources mentions that quite soon Tula Quiteno left the parish. She accused Medardo Gómez’ of being a communist. Her place was soon replaced, when Margarita Espino joined the group of five women.¹⁸⁹ Andrée mentions the group of five women but no names.¹⁹⁰ As can be seen, the Salvadoran way of using names is often confusing and may result in misunderstandings. However, the majority of the sources emphasise the significance of five women, who acted firmly by not signing a membership paper for a new parish of Wisconsin Synod. These women wished to

186 The list of the names of these five women were included in an article in the paper *The Lutheran Herald* October 1994, 4, reporting the 22nd anniversary celebration of the congregation *La Resurrección*, names the following: Juana Antonia Sandoval, Ester Gertrudis Quiteno, Gloria de Martínez, Carmen Acosta and her mother Maria Acosta. The article goes on to report that later on Margarita Espino was incorporated into the church; Margarita Acosta is the mother of Carmen Acosta. The author’s interview with Ciro Mejía and Gloria de Martínez (12.2.2006). In conversation with Abelina Gómez 2002. Margarita Espino was described as the grandmother of pastors Miguel, David Fernandez and Héctor Fernández. Her son was Pastor Héctor Fernández (Senior). Concerning the names: sometimes the same person is meant by a different name, this is because the Salvadorans might be using their second names this time. For example, the full name of Abelina Gómez is Abelina Conrado Centeno de Gómez, but she also uses Abelina Gómez de Centeno, and for Europeans just Abelina Gómez. The name Centeno comes from her mother and Gómez from her husband.

187 Author’s interview with Gloria de Martínez (12.2.2006).

188 Mauro Recinos had written notes (three pages) on 26.7.2001, with the title *Reseña histórica de la Iglesia Luterana en El Salvador, Centro America*.

189 Conversation with Abelina Gómez 2002.

190 Andrée 2005, 62.

receive a new Lutheran pastor from the Missouri Synod.

In fact, after Artigas' transition to the Wisconsin Synod, there were only two Lutheran pastors of the Missouri Synod in El Salvador: Mauro Recinos in Pasaquina – where he had started to provide aid to the repatriating Salvadorans from Honduras as a consequence of the Football war in 1969 - and Héctor Fernández in San Miguel.¹⁹¹ The instability and riots in the country had led to the exile of other pastors. According to Juana Sandoval, pastor Mauro Recinos visited the parish of the five women every Thursday and then studied Bible with them.¹⁹² The group of five women, decided to request a new Lutheran pastor from the Missouri Synod to San Salvador. One of the women, Gloria de Martínez, was sent to Guatemala, to convince the Missouri Synod to send them a new pastor. Gloria de Martínez, as pastor Ciro Mejía's sister, went to Zacapa, Guatemala, to inform her brother about the situation and ask for help. Mejía could not leave the congregation in Zacapa, where he was serving at that time, but suggested that the women write to the Missouri Synod and request them to send a newly graduated Salvadoran pastor, Medardo Gómez (Medardo Ernesto Gómez Soto), with his Mexican wife Abelina (Abelina Conrado Centeno de Gómez), to San Salvador.¹⁹³ The women wrote a letter, and in 1972, CON-PAP responded positively by sending Medardo Gómez with his

191 Andrée 2005, 61. See also Jahnel 2005, 245 and the notes of Mauro Recinos in 2001.

192 *The Lutheran Herald* 1992. Memories of a Founding Member of *La Resurrección* Lutheran Church. See also the notes written by Mauro Recinos in 2001.

193 Abelina and Medardo Gómez were at that moment having their wedding in Mexico, but Medardo Gómez had conducted his theological practicum in Zacapa under the guidance of Ciro Mejía. Author's interview with Ciro Mejía (12.2. 2006). See also the notes of Mejía (11.2.2006) and *The Lutheran Herald*. April 1992. Both Abelina and Medardo Gómez were born in 1945. The sister in law of Gloria Martínez accompanied her to Guatemala. Author's interview with Gloria de Martínez (12.2.2006).

family from Zacapa to San Salvador.¹⁹⁴ Medardo Gómez was born in San Miguel, El Salvador, in 1945, converted from being a Catholic to a Lutheran and was confirmed in San Miguel in 1964. He was ordained pastor in Guatemala in 1971.¹⁹⁵

Pastor Medardo Gómez held his first Sunday service in San Salvador in September 1972 in the house of Juana Carmen Acosta. Families Sandoval, Quiteno, Estrada, Rosales and Rodríguez took part in the first service. In addition the Fernández family came from San Miguel to the opening service of the new parish, *La Resurrección*. Juana Carmen Acosta rented out her house, and there the new parish started to form.¹⁹⁶

2.3 The Impact of Women in the Emerging Lutheran Church

Women in mission history

For a long time mission histories have concentrated on the mission and the development of the mission mainly on the level of the organisation and the decision makers. This has led to the

194 Author's interview with Gloria de Martínez (12.2.2006). See also Jahnel 2005, 246. The presence of the missionaries of Missouri Synod reduced during the 1960s. Gerhard Kempff was the last one and withdrew from El Salvador in 1964. Nevertheless, the decisions to ordain pastors and the other guidelines for the work were made by Missouri Synod. The Missouri Synod had yet to subordinate their decisions to the Council of Lutheran Churches of Central America and Panama (CONPAP), *Consejo de Iglesias Luteranas en Centro América y Panamá*, which was established in 1968. André 2005, 61. Mauro Recinos was elected chairman of CONPAP in the beginning of the 1970s. He was the first non North American chairman in that organisation. In 1972, the Missouri Synod/CONPAP also sent Miguel Angel Fernández to serve in San Miguel and its surroundings and help his father Héctor Fernández and his brother David Fernández. In 1975, he was sent to the Western part of El Salvador, Ahuachapán.

195 Gómez' presentation to a Finnish group visiting El Salvador (25.1.2005). Author's field diary. André 2005, 67-68.

196 *Solo por Fe*, 14/1996, 3. The name of the new parish *Resurrección* describes the new birth of the Lutheran parish.

marginalisation of local people, women, and other groups in the history writing.¹⁹⁷ The invisibility of women in the sources has caused problems for the research concerning women and, in extension, also for the research of mission history.¹⁹⁸ This appears to be the case also in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. In the few notes and stories, even in previous research regarding the Lutheran Church of El Salvador, women are often mentioned only through their connections to men, in other words, as wives and mainly without names.¹⁹⁹ The idea that women and children were the enclosures of men clearly arose in the investigations of Gunvor Lande and Eila Helander concerning the roles of the missionary wives and women missionaries after the Second World War.²⁰⁰ Helander notes that in some old reports from the mission fields it is not evident that there were any wives, because only missionary men and single women missionaries were mentioned by name.²⁰¹ Unsurprisingly, the history of the founding of the parish of *La Santísima Trinidad* has mostly been told and written as a story of men: Octavio Cruz, Robert Gussick, Gerhard Kempff and Ciro Mejía. Finding the central women and their names - Alicia de Cruz, Jesús Álvarez, Betty Kempff and Martha Mejía - needed supplementary inquiries in this process.

197 See, for example, Helander 2001, 10.

198 Kirkwood 1993, 28, Kena 2000, 9.

199 I refer to the short stories written by Ciro Mejía and the books of Jahnel (2005) and Andrée (2005) especially those concerning the founding of the parish *La Santísima Trinidad* in Pasaquina. The majority of stories concerning the establishment of the parishes *Cristo Nuestro Salvador* and *La Resurreccion* in San Salvador are based on the memories of Juana Sandoval in the newspaper of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador and on the interview with Gloria de Martínez. Because they were involved with the establishing of the two parishes, the women are better represented in the memories of Juana Sandoval.

200 Lande 2005, 30-32, Helander 2001, 132.

201 Helander 2001, 132. When the first women became heads of some mission fields, married women were mentioned with their names and as belonging to the missionary staff.

Within the policy of the Missouri Synod in the 1950s, only men could be missionaries.²⁰² Indeed, the practices in the Missouri Synod reflected the traditional and general patriarchal gender roles. This policy confirms the idea that women have been the *Second Sex* and the *Other* compared with men.²⁰³ In other words, men have been the norm, the normal, and women the exceptions.

In contrast to the history of the parish *La Santísima Trinidad* in Pasaquina, the early stories of the parishes *Cristo Nuestro Salvador* and *La Resurrección* in San Salvador are mainly based on the memories of Juana Sandoval in the newspaper *The Lutheran Herald* of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador and on the author's interview with Gloria de Martínez. Because Juana Sandoval and Gloria de Martínez, were both involved with the establishing of these two parishes, the women are better represented in the parish histories concerned. Furthermore, the author's interview with Abelina Gómez has clarified the establishment of the parish *La Resurrección*.

In spite of the challenges in finding women with names and histories in the context of the emerging Lutheran Church of El Salvador, several capable women were found, who I have classi-

202 The evangelical missions, for example, the China Inland Mission, already sent women in the 19th century to the mission fields. At the end of the 19th century in USA, a women's mission movement developed as the world's largest women's movement. Kena 2000, 111, 112.

203 Schüssler Fiorenza discusses the ideas of Simone de Beauvoir and Mary Daly. The message of the *Second Sex* was that men have been the normal and women the exception. Schüssler Fiorenza 1983, 22-25. Schüssler Fiorenza also argues that women are neglected in the writing of history, although the effects of their lives and actions are a reality in history. "Ideas of men about women, therefore, do not reflect women's historical reality, since it can be shown that ideological polemics about women's place, role or nature increase whenever women's actual emancipation and active participation in history become stronger." Schüssler Fiorenza 1983, 85. Furthermore, the British anthropologist Fiona Bowie finds it necessary that "the authentic experience of women is revealed and their presence made visible". Bowie 1993, 18.

fied according to their activities and social roles into *missionary wives* and *fundadoras*.

The Woman question

According to the guidelines of the Missouri Synod, it was not possible for a woman to preach or teach adults in the parish. In other words, women had no entry into the ministry. In the Missouri Synod, the discussion concerning *the woman question* in the church took place predominantly in the 1950s and 1960s.

The question of women became urgent in the Missouri Synod as in many countries and churches in general after the first *suffragettes* began to demand women's rights at the end of the nineteenth century. The woman question had appeared in the Missouri Synod as a question of women's suffrage in the church for a long time.²⁰⁴ The Missouri Synod documents show that the question of women's right to vote is often connected with the question of women's right to preach and teach in the church. Until 1969, the answer to both these questions was a clear "no". In 1967, the convention of the Missouri Synod in New York addressed the issue of the responsibility of the *Commission on Theology and Church* to investigate women's suffrage and "to establish a policy for congregations of the Synod and to provide guidance in the matter of full membership on the part of women on synodal boards, commissions, and committees."²⁰⁵ While preparing the document for the convention of the Missouri Synod in Denver in 1969, the Commission studied the former documents and arguments in the light of the Bible. This history offers an interesting view on the theological thinking of the Missouri Synod concerning women in the church. According to the convention of the Missouri Synod in San Francisco in 1959, Scripture teaches that for the administration of these matters two principles must not be violated: "(a) women must not engage in preaching or in publicly teaching men in the church;

204 *Woman Suffrage in the Church 1968*, [3].

205 *Woman Suffrage in the Church 1968*, [1].

(b) whatever participation of women in congregational affairs is granted, the principle must be upheld that women do not usurp authority over men, 1 Cor.11: 2-16; 14:34-36; 1 Tim.2: 11-15”²⁰⁶ The most important principle was that “women are not to hold any such offices in the congregation as would directly involve women in ‘the public administration of the Office of the Keys’. [...] This stricture would apply specifically to the pastoral office and membership on the board of elders.”²⁰⁷

The arguments were, as seen, that if women were to hold a pastoral office or hold any other kind of office in the institutional structures of the church, they might involve women in a violation of the order of creation.²⁰⁸ In other words, men were expected to hold the authority over women especially in marriage and in the church.²⁰⁹ The advice of Paul in the New Testament that women should be quiet in the congregation was often used as an argument (1 Cor.14: 33-36).²¹⁰ There was fear among the leaders of the Missouri Synod that if women were given the right to vote in the parish meetings and the right to sit on the parish board, women would usurp authority over men and that would be against the order of creation. Significantly emphasised was the argument of the “glorious position of woman in marriage and in the home”.²¹¹ This recommendation clarifies directly what was supposed to be the vocation of a woman in the

206 *Woman Suffrage in the Church* 1968, [10].

207 *Woman Suffrage in the Church* 1968, [24].

208 *Woman Suffrage in the Church* 1968, [2].

209 *Woman Suffrage in the Church* 1968, [16].

210 *Woman Suffrage in the Church* 1968 [17]. A pietistic Lutheran mission society, the Norwegian Missionary Society, came to another interpretation of Paul’s verses already in 1904: “What Paul meant [...] was that women were not to participate as preachers in ecclesiastical services. Since Paul did not explicitly forbid women to hold administrative positions, however, the leadership concluded that women could participate in organizational management. [...] it made its decision to grant women the right to vote [...]”. Nyhagen Predelli 1999, 95.

211 *Woman Suffrage in the Church* 1968, [9].

churches of the Missouri Synod: marry a man and - implicitly understood - raise children at home. We could say that the argumentation of the Missouri Synod was – especially concerning women – biblically literal.

The issues of power, ministering, serving and authority are discussed in the documents. Serving each other is set as a Christian ideal, but it is admitted that everyone having an office is using some kind of power. In 1969, the Missouri Synod convention eventually decided to give suffrage to women in the churches belonging to the Missouri Synod.²¹² The idea that women, who received the right to vote, would think that they could use this right in favour of gaining power is denied through the following warnings in the document:

“It is also evident from the definition of the franchise that it does not give to those, who have the right of suffrage, the power to lord it over others. On the contrary, the right of suffrage is given in order to prevent individuals or small groups from usurping authority over others.”²¹³

The warnings continued:

“The temptation to abuse power, of course, is always present. The Scripture passages we have examined contain the extra caution to women that they are not to use their positions of responsibility and service as instruments for lord-ing it over men.”²¹⁴

As seen in the document *Woman Suffrage in the Church*, women needed extra warnings to avoid using power or authority towards other adults, especially over men. At the end of the 1940s, and at the beginning of the 1950s, when the Missouri Synod sent missionaries to Guatemala, El Salvador and other Central American countries, the guideline regarding women in the parishes was: no women pastors or women teaching men and no

212 Burkee 2011, 93.

213 *Woman Suffrage in the Church* 1968, [23].

214 *Woman Suffrage in the Church* 1968, [24].

suffrage for women in the congregational meetings or matters of the Synod. After 1969, women could vote in the congregational meeting, but could not hold any office in the church.

Missionary wives

In the establishment of the parish *La Santísima Trinidad* in Pasaquina in 1952, three women were involved: the teacher Alicia de Cruz, the missionary Jesús Álvarez, and the missionary wife Martha Mejía. Alicia de Cruz worked as a teacher at the state school in Pasaquina. As a teacher she had considerable authority in the village, and as a wife of the pharmacist she possessed a relatively high social status in the community. De Cruz converted with her husband no less than four times. When the division of the first small Lutheran parish in Pasaquina occurred, she followed her husband Octavio Cruz to the Assemblies of God; therefore, I have not traced her any further. The seventy-year old woman missionary Jesús Álvarez from the Central American Mission (CAM) only visited Pasaquina for fifteen days, when she accompanied the young couple Martha and Ciro Mejía to the community with the purpose of assessing the situation of the parish. After the short visit, she returned to San Salvador. The traces of her also end there. Martha Mejía was the only one of these three women, who remained within the Lutheran church. Therefore, concerning the parish *La Santísima Trinidad*, I have concentrated only on Martha Mejía, who was the first Lutheran missionary wife in El Salvador.

Martha Mejía studied at the same evangelical Bible seminary of the Central American Mission (CAM) in Guatemala, her home country, as her husband Ciro Mejía. Women were allowed to study at the Bible seminary, and as single women they could serve as missionaries. If they were married, serving as a missionary was not officially allowed, but assisting was possible. As seen, in Pasaquina Martha Mejía assisted her husband in the parish. She had studied the Bible and music, and with the social status of a missionary wife, she assisted her husband with many

tasks in the parish. Assisting included teaching the children at the Sunday schools and serving as a musician at the Sunday services. During the years, Martha Mejía became a mother of twelve adopted children. The large number of adopted children is notable in the Mejía's family.²¹⁵ The social expectations in the 1950s in Western society were strongly gendered and included the fact that women should act as caretakers and, in the first instance, take care of their husband and children.²¹⁶ It is possible that the case of a family not having their own children seemed not been to have been problematic, because in the poor countryside people had plenty of children; therefore a respected couple taking care of children was more than welcome. According to one of their adopted children, Pastor Blanca Marina Méndez de Recinos, Martha Mejía's caretaking and assistance also included nursing the parishioners.²¹⁷

Caretaking as a women's task has been scrutinised by numerous scholars. On the one hand, the essentialists consider that the capacity for empathy and caretaking belongs to women and is given to them by creation.²¹⁸ However, feminist researchers have strongly criticised this view.²¹⁹ Additionally, a few scholars have researched caretaking as a form of utilising power. Ewa Rundqvist has studied power from a caring science perspective and concentrates on case studies of the work of nurses. She em-

215 In the 19th century, having many adopted children in a Protestant missionary family belonged to the mission strategy. Kena 2000, 69-73. See also Sarja 2002.

216 Holmes 2009, 62. See also Kirkwood 1993, 25.

217 Pastor Blanca Marina Méndez de Recinos is one of the children of Martha and Ciro Mejía, and she has been serving the parish *La Santísima Trinidad* in Pasaquina with her husband Mauro Recinos since 1969. Pastor Mauro Recinos died in 2006, but Pastor Blanca Marina Méndez de Recinos was still serving the parish in 2009. Conversation with Pastor Blanca Marina Méndez de Recinos in Pasaquina in 2006. Blanca Marina Méndez de Recinos was born in 1942.

218 See, for example, Rotkirch 2003, 1-15.

219 Smith 1998, 8-10.

phasises that although power usually is associated with people's hold over other people, power can also be described as a positive capacity for using one's own resources or power as a charge to act on behalf of other, that is, on authority. She defines authority as the granting of permission to a person, who then is allowed the authority to act on somebody else's behalf.²²⁰ Similarly, Kerstin Svensson has studied power from a caring science perspective. She investigates the concept of caring power, punishment, and social work in the supervision of offenders. Svensson discusses Michel Foucault's concept of *pastoral power*, which the Dutch researchers, Fry and Butler, renamed *caring power* for two reasons: in order to emphasise the double secularisation involved and in order to underline the importance of care as a technique of power.²²¹ *Pastoral power*, according to Svensson, originates from medieval Christianity where it was aimed at individual salvation in the hereafter. Later, pastoral power became a promise of well being in the life. Later in the nineteenth century, the secular goals of a caring power gradually replaced the religious goals. Care was carried out by a growing number of social workers, psychologists, educators, and so forth.²²² Through a strong caretaker's role in the field of social relationships, it is possible to use such caring power over people positively by helping and caring for them and, doing well for them. The negative usage of caring power is to refuse to help people, even if a person has the ability to help and care.²²³

Rundquist's and Svensson's studies about caring and power raise questions concerning missionary wives' role as caretakers in relation to power. Caring, helping, and nursing are not commonly combined with power in the Christian churches; however, when taking care of the family, parishioners and, especially in the case of the Mejias, deciding which children to adopt, power

220 Rundqvist 2004, 176,181,185.

221 Svensson 2001, 44-45.

222 Svensson 2002, 72-73.

223 Svensson 2002, 73.

is continuously present. This kind of power is often hidden and unconscious. This reminds us, from Foucault's view that power is active in any relationships between individuals or groups.²²⁴ The concept of caring power places the missionary wives - and Martha Mejía as their first representative - in a new light regarding the guidelines of the Missouri Synod, which aimed at locating women as almost powerless creatures in the parish. From the perspective of being a carer of a large family and parish, Martha Mejía was quite a powerful and respected woman and Lutheran missionary wife in El Salvador. Her central role in the parish *La Santísima Trinidad* in Pasaquina was strengthened because of her musical skills. Accompanying and leading the hymns in the Sunday services, she had a central status in the ecclesial life.

Because Martha Mejía was ill for a long time before her death in 2008, I am dependent on the interviews with her husband, Ciro Mejía and with their daughter. These third person interviews give information about Martha Mejía, but are at the same time distant.²²⁵ I have not had the possibility to learn how she herself felt and experienced her position and role as a missionary wife. However, the interview with Ciro Mejía gave me the impression that Martha Mejía was quite pleased with her role as a missionary wife, as an assistant to her husband and, as a mother of a large family.²²⁶ Ciro Mejía's descriptions of their mutual appreciation in the marriage and the co-operation with his wife in several parishes in El Salvador, Guatemala and in the USA, confirms that impression.²²⁷ Ciro Mejía told me about their time in Santa Ana, Ahuachapán, El Salvador, where they together also established a parish in 1973 and, supported almost 200 children with the help of a German scholarship programme for eleven

224 Faubion 2002, 326-348.

225 A third person interview means that I have not personally had any discussion with Martha Mejía, but received the information from a third person, for example, her husband and daughter.

226 Author's interview with Ciro Mejía (12.2.2006).

227 Author's interview with Ciro Mejía (12.2.2006).

years. After that, they worked for nine years in New York with Latin American Lutherans. From their period in New York, Mejía related that sometimes Martha Mejía after the Sunday service called the people who had not attended and, recommended that they should not forget the service next time.²²⁸ This story of Martha Mejía draws a picture of a determined and committed woman, who did “shepherd” the parish together with her husband. Ciro Mejía complemented the picture of Martha Mejía by recounting how she taught the children every week at the Sunday school and gave English lessons to the children as well as music lessons. Additionally, she worked voluntarily with the women in the parish.²²⁹ Although these histories stem from their time in the USA, they give a glimpse of the character of Martha Mejía and her way of being a Christian woman in her context in Guatemala, El Salvador and in the USA. Martha Mejía seemed to have been a determined, hard working woman with good self-esteem and a strong will to help, especially children. It is possible that the common evangelical background of the Mejías first in the Central American Mission and then in a long period of serving in the Missouri Synod, both with traditional gender roles, strongly affected their roles as husband and wife - as a couple complementing each other. In Pasaquina, Martha and Ciro Mejía with their children formed something of a model as the first Lutheran family in El Salvador and at the same time, they were a new occurrence in the middle of the Catholic countryside.

On the whole, Martha Mejía represented a model of a Lutheran woman, mother, and wife in the 1950s in the eastern part of El Salvador. She obtained the position of a pioneering Lutheran missionary wife in El Salvador.

The second central Lutheran missionary wife in El Salvador was *Betty Kempff*. She moved to San Salvador with her husband Gerhard Kempff in 1957 and lived there until 1964. Gerhard

228 Author’s interview with Ciro Mejía (12.2.2006) and the notes of Mejía 2006.

229 Author’s interview with Ciro Mejía (12.2.2006).

Kempff had visited Pasaquina with Robert Gussick in the early history of the parish *La Santísima Trinidad*, but for the North American Betty Kempff, the country was new. However, the Central American culture and the Spanish language were familiar to her after their time in Guatemala. Betty Kempff became friends with, for example, Juana Sandoval and Carmen Acosta, who also helped establish the first Lutheran parish *Cristo Nuestro Salvador* in San Salvador. According to Betty Kempff, Juana Antonia Sandoval and Carmen Acosta “joined our small group, which began to worship in our home. I taught children and had many discussions with the women who attended. The women visited the neighbourhood and invited others to the Sunday services.”²³⁰ As a mother of nine children, Betty Kempff needed to consult her Salvadoran friends regarding a number of practical matters and, she also discussed the Lutheran faith with them.²³¹ Furthermore, she took care of the home and her children, but also did her catechetical work with her own and other children and – apparently – encouraged the local women to evangelise.²³²

230 E-mail from with Betty Kempff to the author (20.4.2010). Juana Antonia Sandoval Abrego lived from 1913-2001, Carmen Acosta 1920-2010 and, Betty Kempff was born in 1926. The dates concerning Juana Antonia Sandoval Abrego and Carmen Acosta are from Abelina Gómez’ e-mail to the author (19.3.2011).

231 Author’s e-mail interview with Betty Kempff (20.4. 2010). Betty Kempff mentioned Juana Sandoval and Carmen Acosta with friendship and told, how she, for example, asked them about the Salvadoran food.

232 Juana Antonia Sandoval recalled the events as follows: “Pastor Kempff came to live behind one factory, and in that place the Lutheran parish began to form with three other families. Reverend Kempff played the accordion to accompany the hymns, directed the service, and preached the gospel. Within a short time, many people participated the services, but since he lived in the same house with his wife Betty and their nine children, there was no longer room to worship in that place.” *The Lutheran Herald* 1992: Memories of a Founding Member of *La Resurrección* Lutheran Church. Author’s translation.

The Lutheran parishes in Pasaquina and San Salvador started to gather in homes in a familiar atmosphere and, the importance of the family supporting the mission goals was obvious. In San Salvador, the home of the Kempff family soon became too small for the family and the parish. The growing parish moved to a separate building.²³³ Betty Kempff's memories reveal more details of her responsibilities in the emerging parish. Besides home and children and discussions with women, she co-worked with Eunice de Artigas, who was the wife of the catechist and newly ordained Lutheran pastor Napoleón Artigas. Betty Kempff and Eunice Artigas together took responsibility of the catechetical work with the children in the parish. Thus, their co-operation remained short (1961-1964), because the Kempff family moved from El Salvador to Honduras in 1964. As an experienced Lutheran and missionary wife, the guidance of Betty Kempff seems to have been like a form of mentoring to the younger Lutheran pastor's wife, about women's voluntary duties in the parish.

As Sunday school teachers and catechists for the children and young people, educators of other women, and as mentors of women colleagues, missionary women, like Betty Kempff, made an effort which had far reaching consequences. In studies of religious education the importance of Christian education in childhood and its effects on the child's whole life is commonly emphasised.²³⁴ Therefore, missionary wives could utilise a considerable amount of their pastoral and educative knowledge and skills as missionary wives and, at the same time, usurp pastoral and educative power amongst children and women.

As the only North American Lutheran missionary wife belonging to the Missouri Synod and living in El Salvador, Betty Kempff was a model of a Lutheran mother and wife for the Lutheran women in the capital, San Salvador, in the late 1950s and early 1960s²³⁵

233 E-mail from Betty Kempff to the author (20.4.2010).

234 Niemelä 2006, 165-168.

235 During the time Betty and Gerhard Kempff were living El Salvador, there were several Lutheran Salvadoran families being formed. The

Abelina Gómez, moved from Guatemala to San Salvador with her husband Medardo Gómez in 1972. She is the third central missionary wife studied in this research. Abelina Gómez would have other positions later, but in the 1970s she was a missionary wife. She was born in Mexico into a Baptist family and studied and worked first as a teacher, but received a vocation to study theology at the Baptist section of the ecumenical Protestant seminary in Mexico.²³⁶ After three years of studies she became acquainted Medardo Gómez, who studied theology at the Lutheran Seminary in Augsburg, which was connected with the seminary, where Abelina was studying.²³⁷ After their graduation, Medardo Gómez was called to work in Zacapa, Guatemala, where he served during 1971-1972. During that time Medardo and Abelina Gómez married and Abelina converted and assisted her husband. The firstborn of their six children was also born in Guatemala.²³⁸ In 1972, the Gómez family was sent to San Salvador.

Abelina Gómez, like the missionary wives Martha Mejía and Betty Kempff, moved out of her home country with her mis-

family Fernández joined the parish of Christ our Saviour: first the grandmother Margarita Espino; then her son Héctor (senior), who was ordained as pastor in 1964, and then the children of Héctor and Mercedes Pino de Fernández, Vilma, Miguel, David and Héctor (jr.) They were all later ordained as pastors. Mercedes de Fernandez assisted her husband very much even in the pastoral work in San Miguel and their daughter, Vilma Elisabeth worked later as well as a Sunday school teacher and evangelist in San Miguel. The other families in the emerging parish of Christ our Savior were the family of Miguel Angel Estrada and the family of Juana Sandoval.

236 Author's interview with Abelina Gómez (5.1.2006).

237 *Seminario Luterano Augsburg*. The Missouri Synod cooperated in the 1960s with the Baptist, Congregationalist, Episcopal and Methodist churches in the training of students in Mexico. Jahnel 2005, 200-201. The Theological seminary was established in Mexico in 1964, together with the Missouri Synod and the American Lutheran Churches (ALC). Robert Gussick was the father of this Protestant ecumenical seminary.

238 Conversation with Abelina Gómez in 2002 and author's interview with Abelina Gómez (5.1.2006).

sionary husband. Similar to Martha Mejía, also Abelina Gómez converted from being a Baptist to a Lutheran. Martha converted together with her husband. Abelina Gómez, like Martha Mejía and Betty Kempff, were occupied with educational work with the children. Later Abelina Gómez was in charge of the Lutheran primary school in San Salvador. As a former teacher, she appreciated this responsibility. Together with women from the parish *La Resurrección* Abelina Gómez had a Bible study group and she taught women as well in a sewing group. The spiritual teaching of women and preparing handicrafts has been a traditional method in mission work since the 19th century.²³⁹ The women's group in the parish *La Resurrección* was called *Sociedad de las Damas*.²⁴⁰ Abelina Gómez recalled her experiences as follows:

“When I arrived to El Salvador, the Lutheran church, to which Medardo belonged, was the Missouri Synod. And because the Missouri Synod did not accept women pastors, I started to work with children. And Medardo said to me, why should we not ask help for establishing a school. And so the Lutheran School emerged, with 20 children with scholarships.”²⁴¹

When Abelina Gómez recounted her life history in 2006, she was looking back at her life situation in 1972. She recalled that by then she already had the identity of a theologian, willing to do more in the parish. According to Abelina Gómez:

“In the early history of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador, women had no right to be ordained as pastors and to preach and administer the sacraments, and the explanation was that the Lord asked only men to be apostles, and appointed exclu-

239 Bowie 1993, 212.

240 Ladies' Society. The Spanish name *Sociedad de las Damas* has the meaning of an association of mistresses in the Spanish-speaking world. Nevertheless, it was in use in the Spanish speaking churches of the Missouri Synod. Later the name was changed. Discussions with Abelina Gómez 2006, 2007.

241 Author's interview with Abelina Gómez (5.1. 2006). Author's translation.

sively men in the ministry of the church. (Mark 10:1-4).²⁴²

The positions of women were reduced to the traditional tasks such as diaconia, Christian education of the children, and assisting pastors in the church.²⁴³ Nonetheless, it is obvious that at the beginning of the 1970s, Abelina Gómez served as an appreciated role model of a Lutheran missionary wife in the newly established Lutheran parish *La Resurrección* in the capital area.

I have examined three missionary wives within the Lutheran Church of El Salvador: Martha Mejía in the 1950s, Betty Kempff in the 1960s and Abelina Gómez at the beginning of the 1970s. They lived as Salvadoran Lutheran missionary wives in separate decades.²⁴⁴ The role expectations of the Salvadoran society and that of the Protestant churches and, especially, that of the Salvadoran Lutheran mission church of the Missouri Synod, were many and diverse. The expectations concerning women's roles were also in the process of changing during these decades.

The decade of the 1960s is often called the *Decade of the Liberation* in the Western world. The feminist movement started to grow advocating equality goals between women and men, and liberation theology began to emerge. As a counter reaction, a wave of conservatism spread in many Christian churches not least in the USA, and that development also affected the Missouri Synod. According to Linda Woodhead, the hostility towards changing gender roles and the rise of feminism was a central factor in the rise of Christian fundamentalism in the USA. Woodhead explains that consolidation of 'traditional' gender roles is as essential and defining component of fundamentalism as belief in God and theological ideas.²⁴⁵ As seen in the Missouri Synod document *Woman Suffrage in the Church* in 1968, the "glorious position of woman in marriage and in the home" was

242 Abelina Gómez 2003, 41. Author's translation.

243 Abelina Gómez 2003, 41.

244 Martha Mejía and Abelina Gómez also lived in the later decades in El Salvador.

245 Woodhead 1990, 572.

highly emphasised and appreciated.²⁴⁶ The role of women was precisely determined and the possibilities of practicing any formal power were prohibited. The arguments were based mainly on fundamentalist, biblically literal, and essentialist interpretation of the Bible. It is probably not appropriate to claim that the Missouri Synod has been a gender blind organisation, but rather its power structure was clearly gendered, that is, patriarchal and male-dominated. Although the Lutheran Church of El Salvador became an independent church in October 1970, the Missouri Synod continued to make the decisions, through the Council of the Lutheran Churches in Central America and Panama (CONPAP) concerning missionaries and pastors in the 1970s, including theological guidelines and salaries.²⁴⁷ The patriarchal gender ideal of the Missouri Synod was easy to adopt in El Salvador, where the Catholic Church had been seen to have similar gender ideals. The tradition of machismo was deeply rooted as well in El Salvador

Another type of development was in process during the late 1960s. Liberation theology and base communities spread in El Salvador, and women began to organise themselves into associations, for example, the teachers' organisation ANDES.²⁴⁸ The gendered pattern of the women's place in the male controlled Salvadoran society was gradually starting to change. Additionally, in the growing base community movement in the Catholic Church women could act as lay leaders in the communities.

The missionary wives lived midway between several types of role expectations. However, official guidelines and public expectations and real everyday life are seldom unified. When

246 *Woman Suffrage in the Church* 1968, [9].

247 *Las Actas* (minutes of the synod meetings of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador), 22.9.1070. See also Abelina Gómez 2003, 10. *Sínodo de las Iglesias de Confesión y Ritos Luteranos*.

248 National Association of Salvadoran Educators (*Asociación Nacional de Educadores*, known also as June 21st Salvadoran Educators Association), Shayne 2004, 27. See also *Imágenes para no olvidar* 2002.

oral history began in the 1960s to be a new method of history research, scholars started to study previously relatively invisible themes, for example, histories of labour, women and other marginalised people. The new model of history writing was called *history from below*.²⁴⁹ Concerning the three missionary wives in El Salvador, Martha Mejía, Betty Kempff and Abelina Gómez, we could speak about *power from below*. Officially these missionary wives did not have any official positions in the parishes, but their voluntary work had effects on the parishioners, children, youth, women, and, in the case of Betty Kempff, her nursing aid, apparently, included also men. They were educated women and as can be seen, their husbands negotiated with them concerning several important issues and did not make decisions individually. As missionary wives, they had a respected social role and status in their communities.

Päivi Salmesvuori has investigated power and authority concerning Birgitta of Sweden. Salmesvuori came to the conclusion that power and authority is hard to distinguish from one other. She concludes that authority in practice means to be listened to and, if one has power, he/she has authority and vice versa.²⁵⁰ The authority, which the three missionary wives enjoyed in their communities and, the caring and educational power, which they practiced in their communities, could be called *power from below*.

Fundadoras

Juana Sandoval Abrego and Carmen Acosta, in the parish *Cristo Nuestro Salvador*, and then the group of the five *fundadoras* in the parish *La Resurrección* - including also Tula Quiteno, Gloria de Martínez and Margarita Espino - appeared in the narratives of the foundation of the two parishes in San Salvador. As voluntary evangelists, Carmen Acosta and her friend Juana Sandoval Abrego volunteered to help Pastor Kempff to establish

249 Thompson 1988.

250 Salmesvuori 2009, 227.

a Lutheran parish in San Salvador. They walked from house to house, first in their neighbourhood and then in several parts of San Salvador and invited people to the Lutheran Sunday services. In that mission they used their social networks, for example, neighbours, friends and other acquaintances.²⁵¹

The histories recounted by *fundadoras* and Betty Kempf differ slightly concerning the establishment of the parish *Cristo Nuestro Salvador*, especially, concerning their roles in the establishment. Juana Sandoval highlights their activities together with Carmen Acosta as evangelists going from house to house. She also marks the role of *fundadoras* as organisers of practical tasks for services and ordination.²⁵² Betty Kempff again stresses her role as a guide in the Lutheran faith for Carmen Acosta and Juana Sandoval.²⁵³ As can be seen, the oral histories strengthen the identity of the narrator. In this case, the histories of the *fundadoras* has strengthened the identities of Carmen Acosta and Juana Sandoval as evangelists and, the memories of Betty Kempff her identity as a guide for women in the Lutheran faith.

Gerhard Kempff unofficially authorised the activity of Carmen Acosta and Juana Sandoval as evangelists. The activity of these women evangelists reflects the change of women's roles, which started in the 1960s in the USA as the second wave of feminism. Additionally, Carmen Acosta and Juana Sandoval should have been aware of the changing roles of women in the growing base community movement because of the liberation

251 The idea of organising the ordination in a theatre also followed from Gussick's ideas of "as wide a distribution of the Gospel as possible".

252 *The Lutheran Herald* 1992. Memories of a Founding Member of "La Resurrección" Lutheran Church.

253 E-mail from Betty Kempff to the author (20.4.2010). Undoubtedly, a person, when looking back to her life, gives important meanings for her own activities in significant turning points of the life. In oral history this kind of interpretation of memories gives at the same time a detailed picture of a specific history, but also opens a window to a person's understanding of contribution and meaning in that history.

theological practices. In the base communities, for example, women could be leaders and teach others, women as well as men. Women stepped out of, in many areas, their traditional gender roles. It is possible that the new ideas of as regards the possibilities for women affected the clear opposition of women to Pastor Artigas, and also affected their activities in establishing a new parish.

Unfortunately, the position of the *fundadoras* as evangelists diminished, when the parish *Cristo Nuestro Salvador* received male evangelists and a pastor and, when the parish *La Resurrección* received a new pastor. The practice of the Lutheran parish was professionalised for a while. In 2010, however, Medardo Gómez still remembered the five women's group as *a team (equipo de trabajo)*, when he started to serve in San Salvador. Since the 1970s, Medardo Gómez and the Lutheran Church of El Salvador have called them *fundadoras*. They received an honourable identity in the eyes of the re-established Lutheran parish *La Resurrección*. Additionally, Juana Antonia Sandoval Abrego later received the title of *pastora honoraria*, honorary pastor.²⁵⁴

The question remains, whether women had a place in Robert Gussick's mission strategy. Gussick strongly emphasised, besides the practice of the *three selves* in the mission and the creation of an indigenous church, also the principle of *priesthood of all believers* and the importance of lay people in his proposal for the mission strategy of the Missouri Synod in 1955. The aim was to create independent Lutheran churches in the

254 Interview with Vilma Rodríguez (14.3.2009). She remembered Juana Antonia Sandoval Abrego as a woman who understood the change in the church and also the changes in the positions of women in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. E-mail from Medardo Gómez to the author (18.9.2010). Several sources mention the importance of the group of five women in the establishment of the parish *La Resurrección* in San Salvador. André 2005, 62. See also Jahn 2005, 246. Author's interviews with Medardo Gómez and Abelina Gómez in 2005 and 2006. E-mails from Betty Kempff (20.4. and 21.4.2010).

Latin American countries.²⁵⁵ Although Gussick with his new ideas of mission had been unpopular in the *Board of Mission* of the Missouri Synod in 1955, he was appointed mission leader of the Caribbean area in 1957. Jahnel also states, that the mission work of Robert Gussick was more open and ecumenical than the thinking of the leaders of the Mission Board of the Missouri Synod.²⁵⁶ However, in 1959, the Mission Board of the Missouri Synod adopted a strategy that was similar to that which Gussick had suggested in 1955.²⁵⁷ When Gussick started his work as a mission leader, Gerhard Kempff was sent as a missionary to San Salvador. It seems that Kempff, who had co-worked with Gussick in the 1950s in Guatemala and Pasaquina, agreed to women's activity as voluntary evangelists. Although the official power in the hierarchy of the Missouri Synod and in the emerging Lutheran Church of El Salvador was gendered, in practice this meant that men were leaders and officiated at the services, but some central women had a significant influence in the first Lutheran parishes in El Salvador.

255 Rutt 1996, 197. See also Jahnel 2005, 133, 135 and Gussick 1955, 3. I will study closer the Lutheran doctrine *priesthood of all believers* in chapter three.

256 Jahnel 2005, 133, 149.

257 Gussick 1955, 3.

3 LAYWOMEN IN THE YOUNG LUTHERAN CHURCH (1975-1985)

From the mid 1970s to the early 1980s, the political situation grew very tense in El Salvador. People became politically active and joined the popular movement while liberation theology spread in the Catholic Church. Popular movement was a broad-based political expression of the revolution. The main factor that differentiated the popular from the guerrilla movement was the fact that the popular movement relied largely on non-violent tactics, whereas the strategy of the guerrillas revolved around armed insurgency.²⁵⁸ A civil war broke out in 1980, and as a consequence, activists of the Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and churches – Catholics as well as Lutherans - were combined with the popular movement and were persecuted.

In this chapter, I will examine how the turbulence in civil society and in the Catholic Church affected the praxis and theology of the independent Lutheran Church of El Salvador, which had a particular impact on the Lutheran women. Due to the importance of Victoria Cortez for the transformation process of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador, I have decided to begin this chapter in 1975 – the year Victoria Cortez joined the Lutheran church. Let us start by studying the political and religious context during the period between the years 1975 and 1985.

3.1 Political and Religious Context

The effects of the war against Honduras in 1969, marked this period of time. In a fraudulent election, Colonel Arturo Armando Molina was elected president of El Salvador in 1972. Molina tried to reform the country, despite the fact that the economy had collapsed after the war. However, when Molina's government term was over, the peasants had become poorer and more

258 Shayne 2004, 25-26.

radical. The first guerrilla organisation, *Fuerzas Populares de Liberación – Farabundo Martí* (FPL),²⁵⁹ was established in 1970.²⁶⁰ At the beginning of 1975, due to growing governmental repression, organisations for peasants, workers, teachers, students, and shantytown inhabitants came together on diverse political fronts. Each of these popular organisations was linked to one of the five guerrilla organisations.²⁶¹ The death squad ORDEN became more active and the reactionary wing of the army took control of the country in 1977 under the command of General Carlos Humberto Romero chosen through another fraudulent election.²⁶²

Óscar Arnulfo Romero y Galdámez was appointed Archbishop of the Catholic Church of El Salvador in 1977 while the presidential election campaign was on-going.²⁶³ Óscar Romero was a conservative and a friend of President Molina, but his attitudes changed radically after the murder of Father Rutilio Grande.²⁶⁴ Romero became a supporter of liberation theology

259 Popular Forces of Liberation – Farabundo Martí.

260 Valtonen 2001, 308. The history of peasants in El Salvador is dark. In 1932, the peasants led a revolt against their low salaries and miserable circumstances of living. The consequence was that the uprising was brutally overcome and approximately 30 000 peasants killed. The leader of the peasants was Farabundo Martí. *Imágenes para no olvidar* 2002. The Popular movement in El Salvador was understood as a part of the revolution, closely identified with *Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional* (FMLN), the Front of Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional, often called shortly Frente, in the 1970s and 1980s. Shayne 2004, 25-26.

261 *Imágenes para no olvidar* 2002.

262 *Imágenes para no olvidar* 2002.

263 Óscar Romero lived during 1917-1980. Andrée 2005, 208-210.

264 Damerau 2000, 56-57. A Catholic priest, Rutilio Grande, was murdered. He had been teaching Bible reading for the parish members in the base community according to Paulo Freire's pedagogy. Father Rutilio Grande was the first one in a long list of assassinated priests and catechists. Father Alfonso Navarro, Father Ernesto Barrera, Father Octavio Ortíz, Father Rafael Palacios, Father Cosme Spessotto, Father Alirio Napoleón Macías, Father Ernesto Abrego, Father Reyes

in word and deed. The repression in the country increased. Peasants were murdered, churches were vandalised, and guerillas kidnapped civilians. The governing and landowning elite regarded the priests, who were influenced by liberation theology, as dangerous, because they preached and worked in favour of the poor. Foreign priests, especially, were exiled, and all the Jesuit priests were ordered to leave the country before the 20th of June, 1977. At the same time one of the death squads, *Unión Guerrera Blanca* (UGB), even introduced a slogan: “Be a patriot – kill a priest!”²⁶⁵

The latter part of the 1970s was marked by instability in several countries in Central America and a Sandinista revolution took place in Nicaragua in 1979. The Sandinists were members of the Marxist party *Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional* (FSLN).²⁶⁶ The party had many followers, amongst them Catholic priests, who supported a Marxist liberation theology. The revolution gave hope for many in Latin America for the possibility of radical changes in various parts of the continent.²⁶⁷

Mónico, Father Marcial Serrano and hundreds of women and men catechists followed him. *Imágenes para no olvidar* 2002. Liberation theologian Jon Sobrino has said that it was like the scales had fallen away from Óscar Romero’s eyes after the murder of Rutilio Grande. González 2008, 260-262.

265 Union of White Combatant. Damerau 2000, 43. See also González 2008, 260: “Claiming that their countries were threatened by subversive and terrorist guerillas, right-wing extremists formed “death squads”. These paramilitary groups – quite often military themselves, but wearing civilian clothing – would invade a home in the middle of night, carry away several members of a family, and make them “disappear”. Thousands “disappeared” under similar circumstances, never to be heard from again. Bodies of “unknown persons” were frequently found by the roadside – often with clear signs of brutal torture. Women were raped as a “lesson” to their husbands and children.”

266 Sandinista National Liberation Front.

267 Vuola 1997, 35. See also Koschorke 2007, 403. The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), *Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional*, is a socialist or Marxist party founded in 1961. FSLN gov-

In October 1979, the younger reformist wing of the army led a coup in El Salvador. However, in 1980 a different group of the army carried out yet another coup. The government of the USA tried to avoid a wave of Left wing revolutions, as had happened in Nicaragua, and offered military co-operation to several Central American countries. The new military junta of El Salvador responded to the offer and started military co-operation with the USA. All opposition was violently repressed. During 1980 alone, about 14 000 people were killed in El Salvador. In March 1980, the junta ordered a curfew while trying to carry out a land reform.²⁶⁸ The landowning oligarchy did not abandon any of their land. They fought violently against the land reform. Consequently, people fled from the villages to the towns, searching for shelter in the churches. They reported on the peasants being killed and villages burnt in the countryside.²⁶⁹

Archbishop Óscar Romero was murdered on the 24th of March 1980 in a church in San Salvador. On the day before, he had strongly appealed to the army and government to stop the repression. The murderer was never identified, but the Truth Commission initiated by the United Nations came to the conclusion that Major Roberto d`Aubuisson Arrieta was probably behind the murder.²⁷⁰ D`Aubuisson was one of the founders of

erned Nicaragua from 1979 to 1990 and again from 2007 onwards. During the years, its politics have changed towards a more conservative direction from its radical Marxist times. The name Sandinista came from Augusto César Sandino, who fought against the occupation by the USA 1927-1933.

268 The land reform aimed to change the situation that the 1/3 of the population owned the 2/3 of the land.

269 Presidents during the civil war were: 1980 Junta with military and civilians (including General Romero and José Napoleón Duarte), 1982 Dr. Alvaro Magaña, 1984 Napoleón Duarte and 1989 Alfredo Christiani. *Imágenes para no olvidar* 2002. See also Damerau 2000, 44-45.

270 *Imágenes para no olvidar* 2002. However, in 2011, the investigations revealed National Guard Deputy Sergeant Marino Samayoa Acosta as the assassin. More than 30 years after the March 24, 1980 assassi-

the right wing party, *Alianza Republicana Nacional*,²⁷¹ better known as ARENA, which was the leading political party from 1989 until 2009.²⁷² The violence in El Salvador was increasingly targeted at church activists. On the 2nd of December, 1980, three North American Catholic Maryknoll sisters and one laywoman were raped and murdered by government soldiers. The victims were Maura Clark, Jean Donovan, Ita Ford and Dorothy Kazel.²⁷³

nation of Archbishop Oscar Romero, new information has emerged about the identity of the shooter. *Diario Co Latino*, through sources close to d' Aubisson's circle, named National Guard Deputy Sergeant Marino Samayoá Acosta as the assassin. "It was the son of former president Colonel Arturo Armando Molina, Mario Molina, who suggested the Sergeant for the job. The shooter had previously been a member of President Molina's security team. Until now, the actual identity of the shooter was the only piece missing to the puzzle. The Truth Commission had managed to put together the rest of the information, such as the intellectual authors of the crime, however the individual who actually shot the Archbishop remained a mystery. Major Roberto d'Aubisson, founder of the ARENA political party as well as El Salvador's death squads, has long been acknowledged as giving the order for the assassination. Captains Eduardo Ávila and Álvaro Rafael Saravia did the actual mobilizing for the plan. Many of the details had been found in Saravia's "Plan Piña," which described the weapon, actors and logistics for the murder. Those familiar with the case had always suspected the doctor Héctor Antonio Regalado as the shooter, but the Truth Commission said there was not enough persuasive evidence to support that theory." voiceselsalvador.wordpress.com/2011/09/14/archbishop-romeros-killer-finally-identified/ (6.6.2013).

271 The Republican National Alliance.

272 ARENA was formed in 1981. Damerau 2000, 37-38. See also Gonzáles 2008, 262, and Valtonen 2001, 311. In 2009 the leftist party FMLN won the elections.

273 LWM 4.7, box 1 f 10, El Salvador 1980-81, Dan Briscoll, Maryknoll, Notes from WRCP discussion in El Salvador, 25 March 1981, Letter of Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, William J Dyess, to General Secretary of Lutheran World Ministries, Paul A. Wee, December 30, 1980. The United States reduced its military aid for some months after the murder of the nuns.

The conflict in El Salvador escalated and a civil war could no longer be avoided. At the end of 1980, five guerrilla organisations formed a united guerrilla movement *Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional* (FMLN) – often called *Frente short*.²⁷⁴ FMLN started its *final offensive* on the 10th of January, 1981. When a general uprising of the Salvadoran people against the government failed, the guerrillas drew back, but they achieved military and political control in the northern part of the country, especially in the county of Chalatenango. The result was a twelve year long civil war supported partly by massive military aid from the USA to the Salvadoran government, and partly by the so called intentional humanitarian aid also supported by the United States.²⁷⁵ During the presidency of Ronald Reagan in the USA, the politics in Central America was concentrated on two countries: El Salvador and Nicaragua. The fear was that if El Salvador became communist, like dominos, all the Central American states would follow and fall “like the domino

274 The Front of Farabundo Martí for the National Liberation. Valtonen 2001, 309-310. www.fmln.org.sv/oficial/ (6.6.2013). See also *Imágenes para no olvidar* 2002. Just before the FMLN was formed, in the beginning of 1980, many of the NGOs formed an umbrella organisation Revolutionary Coordinator of the Masses (CRM), *Coordinadora Revolucionaria de Masas*. When the central opposition parties and a part of the labour syndicates joined it, the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR), *Frente Democrático Revolucionario*, was formed. Therefore, when people in the twenty-first century’s first decade are speaking about Frente, it is not always possible to make a distinction, which Frente is meant – the NGOs or the parties. The FMLN was formed of five parties and guerrilla organisations, which were the Communist Party of El Salvador (PCS), *Partido Comunista de El Salvador*, the Popular Forces of Liberation – Farabundo Martí (FPL), *Fuerzas Populares de Liberación – Farabundo Martí*, the Party of the Salvadoran Revolution (PRS), *Partido de la Revolución Salvadoreña*, the People’s Revolutionary Army (ERP), *Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo*, the National Resistance (RN), *Resistencia Nacional*, and the Central American Revolutionary Workers Party (PRTC), *Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores Centroamericanos*.

275 Valtonen 2001, 241-242.

bricks on the board of the cold war". The USA gave enormous support to the Salvadoran government financially and militarily from 1962 to 1987. The contra-guerrillas in Nicaragua were also supported by the USA.²⁷⁶

In 1980-1982, the repression of the government and military became so intense that it forced the popular movement underground, or into the mountains with the guerrillas. By mid-1983, the popular movement eventually rebuilt itself in order to show its presence through what was to be a prolonged struggle. The women of the *Comité de Madres y Familiares de Detenidos, Desaparecidos y Asesinados Políticos de El Salvador* Monseñor Óscar Arnulfo Romero (CO-MADRES) was central in revitalising the popular movement.²⁷⁷ During the war between 70 000 and 80 000 Salvadoran people died. The Sumpul River massacre in Chalatenango, in May 1980, had 1000-1500 victims, and the El Mozote massacre in Morazan, in December 1981, had 900 victims.²⁷⁸ By 1986, about 745 000 Salvadorans had left the country, and half a million displaced people lived in the country away from their homes.²⁷⁹

276 Valtonen 2001, 242. The election of Ronald Reagan as President of the USA started a conservative period of twelve years in domestic politics as well in foreign policy. In Latin America, the Reagan years meant returning to the Monroe doctrine. Consequently, Central America and the Caribbean were regarded as the so-called backyard of the USA. The army and the government of El Salvador were supported generously. At the end of the 1980s, 25% of the total military aid of the USA was going to El Salvador. However, a Sandinist revolution happened in Nicaragua in 1979.

277 Shayne 2004, 25-26.

278 Valtonen 2001, 310. See also *Imágenes para no olvidar* 2002.

279 LCA 28.5.1.2b17, f 7 El Salvador, Synod 1981-88. A draft of Medardo Gómez for the future of the Church, March 19, 198, to the Lutheran Churches in the USA. Gómez estimated the number of displaced persons to 1.200.000, and women headed approximately 70% of the households. Many Salvadoran refugees ended up in the Mesa Grande and Colomoncaqua refugee camps in Honduras. *Imágenes para no olvidar* 2002. During 1986-2005 the presidents in the USA were Ron-

In the religious field, the third Catholic Bishops' Conference of Latin America (CELAM) was held in 1979 in Puebla, Mexico, where the Catholic *traditionalists* and *progressives* argued with each other. After the conference, a broad opposition conducted by the official Catholic Church (*traditionalists*) was targeted against liberation theology and its supporters (*progressives*) in Latin America. Liberation theologians in higher posts were replaced with traditional Catholics.²⁸⁰ In some countries – like in El Salvador – priests and nuns, who were committed to changing the situation of the poor, lost their lives and many church workers in El Salvador were put on a homicidal list by the government or death squads.²⁸¹

During his time as archbishop (1977-1980), Óscar Romero gathered information about what was happening in the country and was not afraid to speak and preach about injustices such as missing people, murders, and massacres carried out by the army and security forces. His Sunday homilies were transmitted over the radio to several countries in Central America.²⁸² The Salvadorans considered Óscar Romero as a *prophetic voice* and a *voice of the voiceless* and he took the position of speaking for the poor, the oppressed, and the missing people.²⁸³ Arturo Rivera y Damas was appointed archbishop of the Catholic Church of El Salvador after Romero's death. As archbishop, he was more conservative than he had been as bishop during Romero's time.²⁸⁴

Approximately at the same time as Archbishop Romero was murdered, a transformation took place in the Lutheran Church

ald Reagan 1981-1988, George Bush 1989-1992, Bill Clinton 1993-2000, and George W. Bush 2001-2008.

280 LWM 4.7, box 1 f 10, El Salvador 1980-81, Statement on El Salvador, Central Committee of the World Council of Churches at its meeting in Geneva, Switzerland, 14-22 August 1980.

281 Vuola 1997, 40-41. See also Prien 2007, 406, and González 2008, 241-242.

282 Imágenes para no olvidar 2002. See also Damerau 2000, 44-45.

283 Boghdan and Zenger 1990, Romero 1982.

284 Meissner 2005.

of El Salvador and the church turned into one of the prophetic voices in the country.²⁸⁵ The Lutheran church took the position of siding with the poor and oppressed people. This determined move had its consequences: in April 1983, the leading Lutheran pastor, Medardo Gómez, and another outspoken individual, Medical doctor Angel Ibarra, were kidnapped.²⁸⁶ In November 1983, Maria Santos Grande Pineda de Portillo and some of her family members were arrested. Maria de Portillo was working as a secretary for Medardo Gómez.²⁸⁷ On the 21st of November, 1984, Pastor David Fernández from the Lutheran parish of San Miguel was captured, brutally tortured, and killed.²⁸⁸ In October 1985, Santiago Rodríguez was kidnapped. He was one of the leaders of the Diaconical Work of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador.²⁸⁹ Many of the employees of the Lutheran church moved

285 *Prophetic voice* and *Romero's inheritance* are often used expressions in El Salvador. They refer to the significance of Romero to the church and to the people (still in 2013).

286 *Las Actas* (the minutes of the Synod meetings of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador), issue 39, 233-236. See also the presentation of Medardo Gómez to the Finnish delegation in El Salvador (25.1.2005). Author's field diary.

287 LCA 28.5.1.2. box 17, f 9 El Salvador Correspondence 1986, (Memorandum to Mr. Norman E. Barth et al from J. Robert Busche, Lutheran World Relief, subject: Update and request from El Salvador, date November 17, 1983, based on telephone call from pastor Phil Anderson (ALC) from El Salvador).

288 LCA 28.5.1.2 b 17, f 7 El Salvador, Synod, 1981-88, Letter from KC Teegarden, General Minister and President of Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) to President Ronald Reagan, December 19, 1984. Letter from Gerald E Currens to Bishop James R. Crumley Jr., June 6, 1983.

289 *Socorro Luterano Salvadoreño*. Author's interview with Medardo Gómez (7.2.2005), www.iglesialuteranasalvadorena.org (August 2004). Unfortunately, the same pages do not exist anymore at this address, but the author has paper copies of the pages. LCA 28.5.1.2 b 17, f 7 El Salvador, Synod, 1981-88, Letter from Gerald E. Currens to James E. Heuneberger, November 6, 1985. Peterson, Vásquez and Williams 2001, 2: "... the government military and rightist paramilitary groups killed thousands of lay workers and nearly two dozen

permanently or escaped abroad for a short period of time. Because of the violations of human rights against the Salvadoran Lutherans, Medardo Gómez asked for help from the Lutheran World Federation. The LWF responded positively to the request and, since 1983, LWF representatives have been working in El Salvador.²⁹⁰ Additionally, in the mid 1980s, the American Lutheran Church (ALC), as well as other Lutheran churches from USA and Europe sent volunteers for short periods to El Salvador with the purpose of providing protection to the leading figures of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. Finally, according to Chapman, the Lutheran World Ministries (US offices of the Lutheran World Federation) and Lutheran World Relief (LWR) increased financial and logistical aid for the refugee services of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador.²⁹¹

The political and religious contexts in El Salvador were intertwined, as presented, at least from the mid 1970s to the mid 1980s. The Catholic Church of El Salvador experienced internal turbulence within the church. As in many other countries in Latin America, the Catholic base communities in El Salvador became the conscience of or opposition to the official Catholic Church.²⁹² This development also affected the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. The Salvadoran government tried, with the help of the military and paramilitary groups, to violently silence all opposition from the churches and NGOs, albeit with limited success.

3.2 Church and Women in the Middle of

priests and nuns, including Archbishop Romero, between 1977 and 1989.”

290 The Lutheran Church of El Salvador became an official member of the LWF in 1986. The first representative of the LWF was Mary Sohlberg. In the 1990s, the LWF expanded its work also to other Central American countries. See, for example, the annual reports of the LWF and, the presentation of Medardo Gómez to the Finnish delegation in El Salvador (25.1.2005). Author’s field diary.

291 Chapman 2012, 48.

292 González 2008, 244.

the Civil War

The Lutheran Church of El Salvador, from the mid 1970s and during the 1980s, existed in the middle of the popular and revolutionary movements. This caused many changes in terms of the praxis and theology of the church. This transformation of civil society and the Lutheran church especially affected women. Reflection on societal issues was intensive and – as we will see – many academic women and men joined the Lutheran church. The oppression and violence against peasants and workers at the factories as well as against the Catholic base communities had increased in El Salvador during the whole decade of the 1970s. At the end of the 1970s, both the Catholic and Lutheran church started to help those who were suffering. In addition to the massive social work, the Lutheran Church of El Salvador was intellectualising. Several lay women were working alongside the leading pastor Medardo Gómez in the transformation process of the church and were leading the Lutheran Church in a new direction. In this chapter, I will focus on these central lay women all of whom were previously Catholics.²⁹³

Victoria Cortez Rodríguez (better known as Victoria Cortez) started to participate in the parish life of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador as a student in 1975 and brought with her the ideas of critical consciousness, *consientization*, of Paulo Freire.²⁹⁴ Consientization was practiced in the Catholic base community movement in El Salvador. Additionally, Óscar Romero's preach-

293 I will concentrate on these lay women, because two of them were still in 2009 in leading positions in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador; one of them as a bishop of the Lutheran Church of Nicaragua. The information for this chapter is based on the interviews with Victoria Cortez, Vilma Rodríguez, Cecilia Alfaro, Abelina Gómez and Medardo Gómez 2005-2007. Victoria Cortez was born in 1952. Gómez had been elected a leading pastor of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador in 1977, after Héctor Fernández' death. Andrée 2005, 60.

294 About Freire, see, for example, Freire, Paulo "Pedagogy of the Oppressed" 1993.

ing and actions at the end of the 1970s had a strong influence on Victoria Cortez.²⁹⁵ The leading pastor of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador, Medardo Gómez, had contacts both with students and teachers from several universities and he allowed them to organise discussions concerning political and social issues in the church and to work as volunteers in the social programmes of the church.²⁹⁶ Many of the students and academics had been active in the Christian Student Movement.²⁹⁷ Victoria Cortez organised seminars in the Lutheran church *La Resurrección*, in San Salvador, where she helped the parishioners to build social, political and critical consciousness and, for example, to understand the reasons for poverty. After finishing her studies, Victoria Cortez became a teacher of sociology and economics at the University of El Salvador.²⁹⁸ The University of El Salvador has been a state university located in San Salvador, but has had branches in Santa Ana, San Miguel and San Vicente.²⁹⁹

The University of El Salvador, in the 1970s, was distrusted by the government. The students and teachers were accused of spreading communist ideas and in 1975 a student demonstration was brutally crushed.³⁰⁰ Alicia Emelina de García worked at

295 Author's interview with Victoria Cortez (9.2.2005).

296 Abelina Gómez 2003, 45. Abelina Gómez writes that Victoria Cortez came to the Lutheran church in 1979. The year 1979 also appears in the newspaper of the Lutheran church, *Solo por Fe*, 14/1996. However, the person concerned, Victoria Cortez, recalls the year as 1975. Author's interview with Victoria Cortez (9.2.2005).

297 *Movimiento Estudiantil Cristiano*. Rodríguez de Herrera, *El Luteranismo en El Salvador*. A six page article, written in October 2012.

298 Author's interviews with Victoria Cortez, Vilma Rodríguez, Cecilia Alfaro, Abelina Gómez and Medardo Gómez 2005-2007.

299 www.ues.edu.sv (6.6.2013).

300 Author's interview with Alicia Emelina de García (14.9.2007). Alicia Emelina de García lived from 1937-2010. See also *Imágenes para no olvidar* 2002. In the 1970s, President Molina commenced his term by eliminating the autonomy of the National University. The National Guard used repressive tactics on University protests in Santa Ana in 1975. Students of El Salvador organised a protest march in solidarity

that time at the maternal hospital in San Salvador and was one of the eyewitnesses to the brutal massacre:

“We went to the window to see the march, which was very large and with numerous students also from other universities as from Santa Ana. And we saw that in Parque Cuscatlan – quite far from the hospital – were soldiers and on the other street were soldiers with tanks. And the doctors said: “What a barbarism! It is going to be dangerous, because they have brought the tanks! Many students were on the street and the soldiers came and all this fighting (movimiento) began. [...] On that day many students searched a shelter in the maternity hospital and we protected them.”³⁰¹

In July of 1972, before this massacre described above in which 21 students were killed and many disappeared, the Security Forces of the government had occupied the campus alleging that the National University had fallen into the hands of “communist mobs”. Many members of the University community were captured and sent into exile. This radicalised the student movement extensively. The University of El Salvador was closed for a while after the massacre in 1975 and again in 1980.³⁰²

From the mid 1970s, and throughout the 1980s, the Lutheran Church of El Salvador offered a new platform for dismissed academics and students from the University of El Salvador. In addition to Victoria Cortez, eleven central academic women and men joined the Lutheran church at the beginning of the 1980s. They were Cecilia Alfaro, Carmen Yolanda Cardoza, Angel Maria Ibarra, Salvador Ibarra, Fransisco Fouck, Marina Flores, Ileda Castro, Benjamin Alas, Renso Valencia, Antonio Aquino and Vilma Rodríguez. Among these there were medical doctors, an engineer, advocates, teachers, psychologists and sociologists.³⁰³

with the students in Santa Ana on July 30, 1975. There were more than 2 000 students. *Imágenes para no olvidar* 2002.

301 Author’s interview with Alicia Emelina de García (14.9. 2007).

302 *Imágenes para no olvidar* 2002.

303 Author’s interview with Blanca Irma Rodríguez de Herrera (5.3.2013).

Victoria Cortez was a strong leader of opinions with her academic background. That she was allowed to hold seminars in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador was extraordinary for two reasons: *Firstly*, she was a woman and was teaching not only women but also men in the church, which was still under the control of the Missouri Synod and where education was patriarchally gendered. *Secondly*, her teaching concerned economical, sociological, and political issues in civil society. These issues were politically very sensitive. These kind of activities caused criticism, for example, by Pastor Tapani Ojasti, who worked in the 1960s and 1970s as pastor of the Missouri Synod in Central America. He saw that “Medardo Gómez needed people to the church and communists or progressive people needed a place to gather and speak”.³⁰⁴ This comment reflects the critical attitudes of the Missouri Synod towards the new kind of liberation theology affecting the activities of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. Until then, teaching in the Lutheran Church had been strictly focused on spiritual matters.³⁰⁵ However, at the same time, teaching about societal issues and the social activity of the Lutheran church among Salvadoran people grew as well as the contextual Bible interpretations gained popularity. Furthermore, Victoria Cortez, Angel Ibarra and Medardo Gómez established study groups, where liberation theology was studied.³⁰⁶

The social work, which the Lutheran Church of El Salvador had started to practice in 1979 among the poor, in the middle of the riots and war, developed considerably in 1982. The social programme, *Pastoral Social* or *Socórro Luterano Salvadoreño*

Several of them have later received leading positions in civil society, some have died, and a few have moved abroad.

304 Author’s interview with Tapani Ojasti (14.3. 2007). Ojasti was ordained as pastor in 1964 in San Salvador, as I wrote in chapter 2.2.

305 However, in the parish *La Resurrección* Abelina Gómez had organised literacy education and sewing circles for the women in the 1970s.

306 Gómez 2003, 45. These groups belonged to the *Pastoral Social*, Social Pastoral programme.

(often called only *Socorro*)³⁰⁷ co-operated ecumenically with other churches. The Salvadoran Catholic, Lutheran, Episcopal and Baptist Churches³⁰⁸ delivered humanitarian aid to the poor and suffering people in the civil war through the organisation DIACONIA.³⁰⁹ In 1982, the employees and volunteers of the parish *La Resurrección* participated in the evacuation action of some 500 people from the countryside of San Vicente (east from San Salvador). The area was a battlefield between government soldiers and guerrillas. The majority of the evacuated people consisted of women with children as well as elderly people.³¹⁰ The refugee centres of the Catholic Church were already full, and therefore the Lutheran Church established a refugee centre *Fe y Esperanza* (Faith and Hope) in Nejapa, near San Salvador.³¹¹ The financial aid came from the Lutheran Church of Norway and the North American Lutheran World Relief (LWR). A mobile medical clinic had already been established earlier with Norwegian support.³¹² The founding members of the refugee centre were Pastor Medardo Gómez, Angel Ibarra MD, and sociologist Victoria Cortez. Victoria Cortez became the leader of Socorro, including the refugee centre *Fe y Esperanza*, some temporary shelters for refugees in San Salvador, and a refugee centre with 300 people in the village Cabañitas in Apopa.³¹³

307 The Diaconical Programme of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. Abelina Gómez 2003, 45.

308 *Iglesia Bautista Emanuel*.

309 LCA 28.5.1.2.box 17, f 9 El Salvador Correspondence, Report, International Ecumenical delegation visit to El Salvador, June 21-26. 1986. The Salvadoran Ecumenical Coordination Council: Catholic Church, Lutheran Church, Baptist and Episcopal churches and two church-related cooperative movements: FUNPROCOOP and FED-ECOOPADES. See also Pineda & Dubon 1997, 125.

310 Andréé 2005, 74. See also Jahnel 2005, 260.

311 Abelina Gómez uses the name Galera Quemada, because this was the name of the village. Abelina Gómez 1993, 24.

312 Andréé 2005, 73. See also Jahnel 2005, 259.

313 Author's group interview with Cecilia Alfaro, Abelina Gómez, Blanca Irma Rodríguez de Herrera and Vilma Rodríguez (27.11. 2010).

Vilma Esperanza Rodríguez Belloso (better known as Vilma Rodríguez)³¹⁴ helped war victims as a psychologist from 1979. She had come to the Lutheran church through the invitation of her sister, Victoria Cortez. Both Vilma Rodríguez and Victoria Cortez were previously Catholic Christians. In 1981, Vilma Rodríguez served as a volunteer psychologist for Lutheran school children, many of whom in the middle of the war suffered from severe mental problems. Since 1982, she has worked as an employee in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador, but she worked first with the refugees. In the refugee centre *Fe y Esperanza* 700 people were accommodated of the majority of whom were women with children, orphans, and elderly people.³¹⁵ Beyond her work at the refugee camps, Vilma Rodríguez established the programme *Pastoral Psicología*³¹⁶ of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. This programme included all the psycho-sociological aid, which Vilma Rodríguez offered. Additionally, she organised the psychology students of one or two universities to complete their last year of training in the refugee camps. She herself served as a psychologist in seven refugee camps including Lutheran, Catholic, and Baptist camps.³¹⁷ This work included, for example, confidential discussions with individuals, married couples, and groups. Many people in the camp suffered from post-traumatic symptoms.³¹⁸ Together with students Vilma Rodríguez also or-

314 Vilma Rodríguez was born in 1951.

315 Abelina Gómez 2003, 24. From 700 refugees on the camp, approx. 500 were children. LCA 28.5.1.2.box 17, f 9 Report, International Ecumenical Delegation visit to El Salvador, June 21-26, 1986.

316 Psychological Programme.

317 Author's interviews and discussions with Vilma Rodríguez 2005 – 2009, author's e-mail interview with Vilma Rodríguez (1.7.2009) and interview with Vilma Rodríguez conducted by Jahnel (28.2.2002).

318 According to Vilma Rodríguez, for example, a fifty-year-old woman would act normally all day, but daily at five o'clock in the afternoon she wanted to go to pick up her children from the river. In reality, all her children had been killed. Author's group interview with Cecilia Alfaro, Abelina Gómez, Blanca Irma Rodríguez de Herrera and Vilma Rodríguez (27.11. 2010).

ganised workshops using creative methods to help improve the mental health of children and adults alike. Additionally, they organised workshops for mothers regarding childcare and protection (about how to treat their children so that they could feel safe). Rodríguez also conducted confidential discussions with family members of guerrillas and a few soldiers of the Salvadoran government. The government soldiers observed the life in the refugee centre very closely, suspecting that there were guerrillas among the refugees. In general, the work in the refugee centres was dangerous and some of the students of psychology were arrested and questioned concerning their knowledge about the refugees.³¹⁹ Within *Pastoral Psicología*, Vilma Rodríguez served from 1984 to 1986 and also in the area of pastoral counselling through training *lay pastors*. The Lutheran Church of El Salvador started the training of lay pastors in 1979. Lay pastors were people trained as deacons, evangelists, and catechists.³²⁰ I will discuss lay pastors more closely in the next chapter (3.3).

Eva Cecilia Alfaro Orellana (better known as Cecilia Alfaro³²¹) is one of the students, who joined the activities of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador through the invitation of Victoria Cortez and also she converted from the Catholic Church to the Lutheran church. Cecilia had been an active Catholic from her childhood and wanted to become a Carmelite sister. However, her family rejected this idea. From 1972 until 1979, she was an active member of a base community until the base communities

319 Author's group interview with Cecilia Alfaro, Abelina Gómez, Blanca Irma Rodríguez de Herrera and Vilma Rodríguez (27.11.2010).

320 Author's e-mail interview with Vilma Rodríguez (1.7.2009). The training of the lay pastors and others was against the decisions of the responsible person in the Missouri Synod. However, the Missouri Synod did not respond to the demands of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador for more personnel in 1977. Andréé 2005, 73-74.

321 Cecilia Alfaro was born in 1952. Chapman claims in his article 2012, 47, that Cecilia was "a native of Mexico". The author has double checked this and Cecilia Alfaro was born in El Salvador in the village Los Mejicános, not in the state Mexico.

were closed. Cecilia Alfaro had studied sociology in 1979 at the University of El Salvador, but because the university was closed in 1980, she finished her studies at the University Francisco Gavidia, San Salvador, in public administration. She also started to visit the services and Bible school of the Lutheran parish *La Resurrección* and, the seminaries held by Victoria Cortez. Cecilia Alfaro was fascinated by the Bible teaching and the social activities of the Lutheran Church. Her Lutheran confirmation took place in 1982.³²² Cecilia Alfaro felt a strong vocation for the diaconía, the social work of the church, and volunteered to serve the suffering people at the refugee camp *Fe y Esperanza*. The social work of the church included, for example, distributing clothes and alimentation to the displaced people. The elderly and others, who could not stay at the refugee camp, were helped to escape to Sweden, Canada, the USA, and other countries, which offered political asylum for the persecuted.³²³ Cecilia Alfaro was involved in all these activities.

Victoria Cortez became the leader of *Socórro* and the refugee centre *Fe y Esperanza*, in 1982.³²⁴ She ran the administration and co-operation with the churches in DIACONIA³²⁵ as well as

322 Cecilia Alfaro took part in a course in Christianity, and received a Bible as a present. She experienced that life was in the centre of the Lutheran church. Author's interview with Cecilia Alfaro (10.2.2006). Group interview with Vilma Rodríguez, Cecilia Alfaro, Concepción Angel and Guadalupe Cortez (1.2.2005). Author's field diary.

323 The weakest children were given to some women in the parish *La Resurrección* and they raised them up. Author's interview with Silke Kapteine (17.2.2005). The NGOs and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) helped to categorise the refugees according to their state of danger. Author's group interview with Cecilia Alfaro, Abelina Gómez, Blanca Irma Rodríguez de Herrera and Vilma Rodríguez (27.11. 2010). See also Abelina Gómez 2003, 24.

324 Pineda and Dubon 1997, 125.

325 LCA 28.5.1.2.box 17, f 9 El Salvador Correspondence, Report, International Ecumenical delegation visit to El Salvador, June 21-26. 1986. The Salvadoran Ecumenical Coordination Council: Catholic Church, Lutheran Church, Baptist and Episcopal churches and two

with the supporters from several countries and NGOs. She was the first female leader in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. Before her, women had had positions such as missionary wives, *fundadoras*, and voluntary lay people with little official recognition. Victoria Cortez as head of Socorro marked something of a change in the hierarchy of the church. A woman could now have an official leading position in the area of diaconia, and as a laywoman. Unfortunately, the Diaconical Work *Socorro* of the Lutheran church and its activities were regarded as communism by the government.³²⁶ Cecilia Alfaro recalled the severe consequences:

“I started my work as an assistant of Victoria Cortez, who was the director of the *Socorro Luterano Salvadoreño*, or in other words, the Diaconia of the Church. But she had to escape the government’s persecution to Nicaragua after leading Socorro and the refugee centre for only one year. Because they had captured Medardo Gómez, they were also looking for her. The death squads had kidnapped the bishop. After three days he turned up by the National Police, and they handed him over to his wife. Dr. Ibarra they kept for six months, in Madiona, and after that he went to Canada. After all this I became the head of the *Socorro Luterano Salvadoreño*.”³²⁷

After these dramatic and violent actions being directed at the leaders of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador – including Victoria Cortez - Cecilia Alfaro was appointed the head of *Socorro* and the refugee centre in 1983. She had assisted Cortez, who had to escape to Nicaragua in 1983, and Cecilia Alfaro was familiar

church-related cooperative movements: FUNPROCOOP and FED-ECOOPADES. See also Pineda and Dubon 1997, 125.

326 Author’s interview with Medardo Gómez (7.2.2005). Abelina Gómez 2003,45. *Solo por Fe*, Septiembre 1996.

327 Author’s interview with Cecilia Alfaro (10.2.2006) and with Victoria Cortez (9.2.2005). In Nicaragua Victoria Cortez established a Lutheran church with some of the Salvadoran refugees.

with the administration and had helped, for instance, to organise many types of workshops in *Fe y Esperanza*. There were, for example, workshops for women to prepare clothes and shoes for the refugees and handicrafts for sale, carpentry workshops, and agriculture and literacy groups.³²⁸ Dan Long, who was sent by the American Lutheran Church (ALC) for some months in 1986 to help the Lutheran Church of El Salvador, discussed the life and activities at *Fe y Esperanza* in his correspondence:

“Whenever possible, the Lutheran relief work stresses the need for the poor, the marginalised and the displaced to organize to begin to move toward greater autonomy and self-sufficiency. At *Fe y Esperanza* the refugees are organized into several working groups that run the internal affairs of the camp and provide leadership in the various aspects of the relief ministry there. This kind of work is also very dangerous since the government and the army considers the organisation of the popular classes for any purpose to be subversive. [...] At the camp, the church provides medical service, worship services for those who desire (about 200 usually attend), food, agricultural services (they plant corn and vegetables and have a chicken project), psychological services and are assisting the people of the refugee camp in developing workshops in carpentry, sewing, and shoe-making.”³²⁹

A team of women helped Cecilia Alfaro to run the Diaconical work programme of the Lutheran Church. Medical doctor Leda de González headed the medical clinic in *Fe y Esperanza* and trained volunteers to help her. Vilma Rodríguez had the responsibility for the programme *Pastoral Psicología* and Psychologist Carmen Yolanda Cardoza assisted her.³³⁰ Abelina Gómez and

328 Interview with Cecilia Alfaro, Abelina Gómez, Blanca Irma Rodríguez de Herrera and Vilma Rodríguez (27.11.2010).

329 The report of Dan Long, ALC (the American Lutheran Church) to El Salvador from June 29 to July 30, 1983 in LCA 28.5.1.2.box 17, f 9 El Salvador Correspondence 1986.

330 Abelina Gómez 2003, 45, and author’s e-mail interview with Vilma

Noemi Rivera were responsible for the Lutheran schools, also in the refugee camp.³³¹ In the situation of the civil war, Lutheran men were either fighting in the war or had moved abroad – or they had been kidnapped and exiled. Lay women were running responsible activities in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador with the help of young volunteers and with a few lay men.

3.3 Women as Lutheran Lay Leaders

Despite gaining independence in 1970, the Lutheran Church of El Salvador was still under the theological and economic influence of the Missouri Synod well into the 1980s. For example, according to Andrée, the Lutheran Church of El Salvador had to discuss all important decisions with Robert Gussick, the head of the Mission, who in turn brought the issues to the Mission Board of the Missouri Synod.³³² Additionally, according to the guidelines of the Missouri Synod, accepted in the convention in Denver in 1969, it was not possible for women to hold any kind of position in the institutional structures of the church which might involve women in violation of the order of creation.³³³ In

Rodríguez (15.3.2009). An interesting example of the gendered history writing is provided by the report of a North American, Dan Long, from the ALC, the American Lutheran Church, in his report of his visit in El Salvador from June 28 to July 30, 1983. “There are many realities in El Salvador that make the organisational needs and processes of Socorro unique (for example the large number of very qualified volunteers available because of the high unemployment rate).” He does not mention the names of the academic lay women, who were serving in the leadership tasks in the church. LWM 3.2. box 2 f 3 E 1 Salvador Abductions 1983-85.

331 Author’s interview with Abelina Gómez, 5.1.2006. See also *Las Actas* (the minutes of Synod meetings of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador), issue 39, meeting held on the 12th of December 1983, pp. 233-235. *Las Actas*, include a notion about parishes in Usulután, La Libertad and San Jorge in addition to the elder parishes in Pasaquina, San Salvador and San Miguel.

332 Andrée 2005, 72.

333 *Woman Suffrage in the Church* 1968, [2].

practice this meant that women were not allowed to exercise authority over men, and women were not allowed to teach men.³³⁴ Nevertheless, lay women achieved leading posts in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. Based on my studies, I will suggest four reasons as an explanation of why and how this was possible.

Firstly, the Lutheran Church of El Salvador was *intellectualising*. Until the end of the 1970s the level of education of parishioners in the Lutheran church was rather modest. The Salvadoran Lutherans in the countryside and in the capital were predominantly poor people and only the pastors - and often their wives - had a higher education.³³⁵ At the end of the 1970s and in the beginning of the 1980s, the situation changed radically. Suddenly many university teachers and students joined the Lutheran Church. This was a direct consequence of the government policy towards the University of El Salvador. As a result, the Lutheran Church of El Salvador rapidly began intellectualising. One could ask, whether the Lutheran Church of El Salvador was attractive to the intellectuals or whether it was rather that the intellectual activists needed a place to gather together and speak in the middle of the persecutions. I believe that it was a two-way development. On the one hand, the leading pastor Medardo Gómez became a supporter of liberation theology and the popular movement and, as a consequence, Victoria Cortez and other academics received space in the Lutheran Church. Victoria Cortez started to teach sociology and economics, later Vilma Rodríguez psychology; medical doctors took care of the war victims etc. On the other hand, at the same time, the practice of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador started to change and develop into praxis with a theology, later to be called the *Theology*

334 *Woman Suffrage in the Church* 1968, [2].

335 According to Jahnel, some parishioners especially in the parish *El Divino Redentor*, which was founded in 1963 in the city of San Miguel, were from the middle class, but the majority came from the lower classes of the suburbs. Jahnel 2004, 186.

of Life.³³⁶ The signs of this change were, for example, the strong emphasis of *diaconía* - in the form of the refugee centre and other social work - ecumenical co-operation and contextual Bible teaching. This transformation again attracted new intellectuals to join the Lutheran church and to convert from the Catholic Church to the Lutheran Church of El Salvador.

Secondly, the Lutheran Church of El Salvador came to host a number of women from discontinued *base communities*. Besides closing the University of El Salvador, the government also closed the Catholic base communities at the end of the 1970s. The government suspected that apart from the universities the Catholic base communities were also spreading communist ideas. For instance, the Catholic Father Rutilio Grande was murdered, because he had taught mainly illiterate peasants in the village to read the Bible, and because he ran his parish like a base community. This was declared a communist activity.³³⁷ Before the closure of the base communities, many women had learned new ideas in self-help groups at the Catholic base communities. In these groups, women learned not only to question their situation, but also to express themselves and become organised.³³⁸ Many of the educated women had found a place to express themselves in word and deed in the Catholic base communities. They had taught people in the base communities in rural areas to read and, the Bible was read according to the contextual guidelines of Paulo Freire. Furthermore, these women discussed the political and economic situation with the people. After the closure of the base communities, several women with a base community background joined the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. They found that the Bible teaching was similar to that in the base communities and women were needed to help the war victims. These women had experienced that women could

336 I will discuss Theology of Life closer in chapter 4.

337 Damerau 2000, 56-57. The whole village was burned after the murder of Father Rutilio Grande.

338 Potthast 2003, 340-341.

be in leading positions in the base communities. It was easy for them to adapt those experiences into the Lutheran Church of El Salvador.

Thirdly, the women's and feminist movement grew in the midst of political turbulence in Latin American countries, characterised by, for example, political activism and migration.³³⁹ These movements came to influence the attitudes and praxis in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. Jane S. Jaquette stresses that there was a dramatic increase in the political mobilisation of women in all sectors of society throughout Latin America starting in 1975. Women's groups organised themselves around different issues: human rights, economic survival, and feminism.³⁴⁰ On the one hand, women's participation in the armed resistance movements increased in the 1970s and 1980s in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Mexico. In El Salvador, nearly one third of the 13 000 FMLN guerrillas were women. This type of feminism is, according to several scholars, called *revolutionary feminism*.³⁴¹ On the other hand, according to Barbara Potthast's analysis, the politi-

339 The feminist movement started in Europe and in the USA at the end of the nineteenth century as a movement for women's suffrage, the right to vote. The movement spread soon to the other continents. It is often called the first wave of feminism. The second wave of feminism began in the 1970s with demands for equality between women and men. Since the 1970s the feminist movement has developed to a broad movement to demand equality between ethnicities, different sexual groups and other marginalised groups in the societies. Primer Encuentro de Mujeres Mesoamericanas 2004, 17. Jaquette 1989, 3. See also Álvarez 2001, 55-57, Mc Laughlin 2003, 1-2.

340 Jaquette 1989, 4, 185.

341 Silber 2011, 141. According to Shayne, revolutionary feminism is "a grassroots movement that is both pluralist and autonomous in structure. It seeks to challenge sexism as inseparable from larger political structures not explicitly perceived to be patriarchal in nature, but from the perspective of feminists, entirely bound to the oppression of women." Shayne 2004, 9. Kampwirth also uses the name feminist revolutionaries for the women guerrillas. Kampwirth 2004, 1. See also Viterna 2006, 1-45.

cal situation was not the only reason for women's activism in the civil wars. She claims that at the centre of the activism were the changes in attitudes about gender issues in the socio-economic, ideological, and political areas. The lack of land, industrialisation, and modernisation led to a massive migration during the 1970s. As a result of the migration, men left their wives and children - to make a living somewhere else and earn money for their families. Women also wandered to the outskirts of the cities trying to find a way to make a living. The traditional family ties broke down, and women, who had been living in the traditional agricultural-patriarchal structures, became single heads of their families. Furthermore, the traditional roles between men and women changed and women entered new public roles.³⁴² One consequence of these significant social changes in El Salvador was that women played a major role in the popular movement. Karen Kampwirth explains the development as a clear pattern; single mothers with their children – or students - came from the rural areas to the cities, found new opportunities for radical organising, especially through the effects of liberation theology in the Catholic Church. The liberation theologians argued that the Bible should be read as a living text that spoke to the need to work for social justice in this world. The Catholic Church, according to Kampwirth, “actively organised social activists in general and women in particular.”³⁴³ She suggests that although the progressive wing of the Catholic Church in El Salvador did not promote guerrilla struggle, many women, who later became guerrillas, were first mobilised within groups inspired by liberation theology.³⁴⁴

Jocelyn S. Viterna criticises Kampwirth's pattern concerning the mobilisation of women into the guerrilla army and states that it is too simplified.³⁴⁵ As a result of Viterna's interview based

342 Potthast 2003, 340-341. See also Silber 2011, 141, where she discusses the same theme and cites Kampwirth 2002, 7-8.

343 Kampwirth 2004, xi.

344 Kampwirth 2004, xi.

345 Viterna 2006, 7.

study amongst activists and non-activists, she divides the women into five groups: 1) political guerrillas, 2) reluctant guerrillas, 3) recruited guerrillas, 4) collaborators, 5) non-activists. Viterna states that the reasons for women's organisational involvement could be found in their social network based identities (participation in organisations, church, political parties), biographical barriers (children, age, parents), and situational context (living in the conflict area, state sponsored repression). Viterna also found differences concerning women's mobilisation at the beginning of the war 1980-1984 and 1985-1992.³⁴⁶ However, I have noticed another kind of direction in the connection with Lutheran women than Kampwirth suggests and with diverse reasons and conclusions, as Viterna discusses. During the late 1980s especially, former guerrilla women joined the Lutheran church. One example is Albertina Ayala de Chavarría (better known as Albertina Ayala), who was an activist and fought for social justice, *justicia social*, in her village:

“One day soldiers came to the village [Cerra de Eramón, municipality of Nueva Trinidad, Chalatenango] and killed two of her children and a nephew. One week later soldiers killed two more children. Then the family and the villagers left the village and wandered along the Sumpul river. Unfortunately army units wandered the same shore from the opposite direction. They met each other, and the soldiers killed 1 000 – 1 500 people. It is called for Sumpul massacre. After dangerous escape the rest of the family spent eight years at a refugee camp in Honduras. In 1987, Albertina Ayala, returned to El Salvador with her children [she had given birth to more children during the years] and joined the guerrillas with her children elder then nine years. The grandparents took care of the smaller children. In 1989, after the failed offensive of the guerrillas, one of the children, Christian, came to the civilian life in San Salvador as a 14 years old boy. He found help for his life in the Lutheran

346 Viterna 2006, 1-45.

Church of El Salvador, like his mother Albertina Ayala later. They joined the Lutheran church and Albertina Ayala became an active lay woman there.”³⁴⁷

It is difficult to put Albertina Ayala into Viterna’s categories. She had been an activist in favour of a life with more justice in her village, brutally lost four of her children and her home, lived several years in the refugee camp and returned to her home country which was still at war. She could not find any other solution to change the conditions than to join the guerrillas with her children. According to Viterna, the children were often barriers for women to join the guerrillas, but not always. Viterna cites Ferree and Müller, who suggest that “women activists often legitimise their actions against the state by framing those actions as an integral component of their maternal responsibilities.”³⁴⁸ However, the example of Albertina Ayala shows that the road from the church (Catholic or Lutheran) did not always lead to the guerrillas, but also from the guerrillas to the church.³⁴⁹

The road of Victoria Cortez to become the first woman lay leader in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador has several convergence points with Kampwirth’s pattern of how women became guerrillas, and afterwards leaders of feminist organisations. However, concerning the Lutheran women lay leaders, the combination of education, experienced liberation theology, social activism, Latin American feminism, and changes in the Lutheran church did not generally conclude with them becoming a guerrilla, but an activist in the area of diaconia in the midst

347 Albertina Ayala lived 1947-2009. Author’s interview with Christian Chavarría (31.1. 2005). Author’s translation. Christian Chavarría has affirmed on the 15th of January in 2013 a permission to tell the story of her mother in this study. E-mail from Christian Chavarría to the author (15.1.2013).

348 Viterna 2006, 8.

349 The author is aware that the history of Albertina Ayala crosses the time frame of this chapter, but found it unreasonable to omit this life story.

of the war and to leadership positions.³⁵⁰

A different kind of women's organisation from the revolutionary women guerrillas, was the women's - or mothers'- organisation *Comité de Madres y Familiares de Detenidos Desaparecidos y Asesinados Políticos de El Salvador Monseñor Oscar Arnulfo Romero* (CO-MADRES)³⁵¹, which was formed in 1977. The organisation was established two years after the massacre of the university students in San Salvador with the purpose of searching for disappeared people.³⁵² Alicia Emelina de García, whom I cited in the previous chapter, was one of the co-founders of this organisation. The difficult political situation with human rights violations and the beginning of the civil war drew women to activism on various fronts. In CO-MADRES – as well as in the sister organisations in other Latin American countries – moth-

350 Chapman 2012, 55, suggests that “emphasis on democratic participation has empowered women as church and community leaders both in the ILS and ILFE bodies”. ILS, the Lutheran Church of El Salvador, ILFE, the Lutheran Church Faith and Hope of Nicaragua.

351 Committee Monseñor Óscar Arnulfo Romero of Mothers and Family Members of Disappeared and Political Victims of El Salvador, Co-Madres. Known also as *Comité de Madres y Familiares de Desaparecidos Políticos* (Committee of Mothers and Families of the Disappeared and Political Prisoners of El Salvador). *Imágenes para no olvidar* 2002. The organisation is a member of *Federación Asociaciones de Detenidos Desaparecidos en América Latina* (FEDEFA), the Federation of Associations of Disappeared Persons in Latin America, which was founded in 1981. The most famous one of such women's groups has been the *Madres of the Plaza de Mayo* of Argentina. Women in the groups of disappeared family members did not identify themselves as feminist. On the contrary, their solidarity and their political strategies were an extension of their traditional family roles. Jaquette 1989, 4.

352 The organisation was still working in 2011. Twelve women established CO-MADRES in December, 1977, at the residence of, and in co-operation with, the Catholic Archbishop Óscar Romero. Shayne 2004, 29. See also *Carnage Again 1989* and www.unhcr.org/refworld/topic,4565c22538,459a87252,3ae6aba080,0,IRBC,SLV.html (6.6.2013).

erhood was the significant participation identity.³⁵³ According to Julie D. Shayne, a mothers' movement, like CO-MADRES, could not be considered a feminist movement, but a women's movement.³⁵⁴ On the one hand, according to a German pastor Silke Kapteine, who has lived in El Salvador since the 1980s, during the civil war women activists did not prioritise their own goals as women, in other words feminist goals, but were fighting for social justice, *justicia social*.³⁵⁵ Fighting for social justice was the most significant feature of the Latin American feminism in the 1980s – not the equality between women and men. On the other hand, in 1978, *Asociación de Mujeres de El Salvador* (AMES)³⁵⁶ was created, and organised women to fight for their rights and, to quote Shayne, “to define revolutionary feminism as the only way to resolve women's problems”.³⁵⁷ Women were active in organisations such as CO-MADRES, and many others, as well as in the popular movement. Overall, it can be said that Latin American feminism was a very special phenomenon from the mid 1970s to the mid 1980s and differed significantly from the second wave of feminism in Europe and the USA, which concentrated on the equality issues between women and men during the same time period. However, the growing women's movement in El Salvador offered a new inspiration for the Salvadoran women and, many of them experienced appreciation in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. They also noticed that it was possible to promote the goals of social justice in the Lutheran church. These experiences encouraged women to act with more determination and to help poor and suffering people in

353 See Viterna 2006, 5.

354 Shayne 2004, 33.

355 Author's interview with Silke Kapteine (17.2.2006). With the social justice the Salvadorans emphasised the balancing of the enormous gap between rich and poor people, the right to unionise, and respect for human rights.

356 Women's Association of El Salvador. Shayne 2004, 48.

357 Shayne 2004, 48.

a new way and with an increased self-confidence as laywomen and lay leaders. The feminist goal of equality between women and men was promoted step by step.

Fourthly, there was an urgent *need for personnel*. At the beginning of the 1980s, men were fighting or were captured, like Medardo Gómez and Angel Ibarra in 1983; killed, like Pastor David Fernández in 1984; or they were forced to escape the country during the civil war. In fact, in 1985 only two Lutheran pastors were working in El Salvador: Medardó Gómez in San Salvador and Mauro Recinos in Pasaquina. The Lutheran Church of El Salvador requested more personnel from the Lutheran World Ministry (LWM), which coordinated the Lutheran relief work from the USA in the 1980s, but the LWM could not provide any personnel. However, it is evident from the correspondence of the General Secretary Paul Wee from the LWM, as well as from the reports of the North American Dan Long from the American Lutheran Church (ALC), who assisted in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador in 1983, and from Carl Fisher in 1984, that relationship between the Missouri Synod and the Lutheran Church of El Salvador was very tense in the early 1980s.³⁵⁸ The Missouri Synod offered some programmes to the Lutheran Church of El Salvador, but the Lutheran World Relief (LWR) did not accept them, because the Lutheran Church of El Salvador did not want them. According to Dan Long, the Lutheran Church of El Salvador respected and intended to “maintain its historic relationship with the LC-MS [Missouri Synod]”, but was “unwilling to sacri-

358 LCA 28.5.1.2. box 17, f 9 El Salvador Correspondence 1986, Paul's Notes for File 8/11/1983 [Paul means Paul Wee, General secretary of the Lutheran World Ministry in the USA], “Personnel are needed. LWR cannot provide, but relationships with LC-MS are particularly bad right now”. LCA 28.5.1.2. box 17, f 9 El Salvador Correspondence 1986. Meeting with M. Gómez and others (Ken Brown, Don Larsen, Paul Wee) Thursday, August 8, 1985: “LC-MS closely related to the government. M: we have LC-MS programs on the table, which we ignore. LC-MS angry”.

fice its mission”.³⁵⁹ The Lutheran Church of El Salvador was also willing to seek the support of other North American Lutheran churches and other European and Central American churches and mission bodies.³⁶⁰

Medardo Gómez tried to mitigate the lack of personnel by training *lay pastors*. The training of the lay pastors - catechists, evangelists and deacons – had started in 1979 and, according to Abelina Gómez, installing women as catechists and evangelists began in 1985 and as deacons in 1986.³⁶¹ The description and requirements for lay pastors have varied and developed over the years, but in general a catechist teaches at Sunday schools as well as confirmation classes and assists the pastor in other parish activities. A catechist should know and teach the basics of the Bible and Catechism and prepare people for the confirmation. Before being installed as a catechist, he or she has to have served voluntarily in one parish from six months to a year, participated in the weekly training organised by the church, should be able to read and write, and have a letter of recommendation from a pas-

359 The report of the North American Dan Long from the ALC, the American Lutheran Church, in his report of his visit in El Salvador from June 28 to July 30, 1983. LWM 3.2. box 2 f 3 El Salvador Abductions 1983-85. See also the report of Carl Fischer 1984. LCA 28.5.1.2 D 17, f 7 El Salvador, Synod, 1981-88. According to Chapman, theological differences were interlaced with divides of culture, politics, and national experience. Chapman 2012, 50.

360 Ibid.

361 A short notion of lay pastors in the report of a North American visitor, Carl Fisher, reflects, the tense situation of war in 1984, when the recruiters of FMLN tried to find every possibility to recruit new collaborators and guerrillas: “Five men have been trained by Gómez as lay pastors and they serve the Church well. They work under difficult circumstances and, in some areas, guerrillas slip in to “preach” to the people.” LCA 28.5.1.2 D. 17, f 7 El Salvador, Synod, 1981-88. Similar situations occurred in the meetings of several organisations, where the meetings would suddenly turn to political issues and away from the main theme. Silber 2011, 113. See also Gómez 2003, 47.

tor. In a paper in 1988, the *teachers (maestros/maestras)* should produce material and prepare teachers for Bible schools in the parishes.³⁶² An evangelist is expected to have served at least two years in one parish and already be a catechist. He or she should know the Lutheran dogma.³⁶³ “A committed evangelist should visit social institutions and promote the distribution of the Gospel on the streets; visit various parishes and assist the local parish work. Men and women evangelists are expected to preach and, on special occasions, in the absence of the deacon and presbyter pastors, lead the parish and administer the Sacraments.”³⁶⁴ *Deacons or deacon pastors (pastor/pastora diacona)*, as they are often called, are supposed to have served as evangelists before their installation, have been tutored by an experienced deacon pastor or a presbyter pastor during their trainee time in a parish.

362 A paper (11 pages) signed by Mauro Recino and Medardo Gómez written probably in 1988. The title is *Plan de trabajo del Sínodo Luterano Salvadoreño correspondiente a los años 1989, 1990, 1991 y 1992* (The Work Plan of Lutheran Church of El Salvador for the Years 1989, 1990, 1991 and 1992). Given to the author by Blanca Marina Méndez de Recinos in February 2006.

363 Ibid. See also a presentation by Medardo Gómez to a Finnish delegation in El Salvador (27.2.2005). Author’s field diary. Additionally, Rodríguez de Herrera has written in 2007 a 13-page summary of the main topics of the activities of the *Instituto Luterano de Formación y Reflexión Teológica*, ILFORET. There is a short description of the requirements of catechists, evangelists, and deacon pastors before installation. The copy of the paper is by the author. In 1985, a pastoral work programme for women, *Promotoras de la Palabra*, Promoters of Word, had been launched in. Abelina Gómez with other women in that programme cooperated with the parishes, for example, through activating groups of women, children, and young people to assist at Sunday services. That programme was soon completed and women were allowed to serve at all levels as lay pastors - at the latest by 1986. Gómez 2003, 25, and e-mail from Abelina Gómez to the author (24.6.2009).

364 *Plan de trabajo del Sínodo Luterano Salvadoreño correspondiente a los años 1989, 1990, 1991 y 1992* (The Work Plan of Lutheran Church of El Salvador for the Years 1989, 1990, 1991 and 1992). Author’s translation.

They have also to participate regularly the training organised by the church. Deacon pastors should be “Christian experienced men and women with leadership qualifications and testimonial of Christian charity”.³⁶⁵ A deacon pastor officiates at Sunday services and administers the sacraments, if no presbyter pastor is present.³⁶⁶ A *presbyter pastor* (*presbítero/presbítera* or *reverendo/reverenda*) by contrast, is expected to have studied for Bachelor’s degree in theology at the university or graduated from a seminary and conducted a vicariate in a parish before ordination into the ministry. A presbyter pastor has, in other words, an academic education with full rights of a pastor along the same tradition as other Lutheran churches. A presbyter pastor is also a potential candidate for becoming a bishop. A bishop is elected by the general assembly of the church.³⁶⁷ As can be seen, following this ascending path, a catechist woman or man has the possibility to eventually become a deacon pastor in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador and, after academic studies a presbyter pastor or a bishop.

The phenomenon of lay pastors is exceptional in the Lutheran church family. Normally, there is a division between lay people and ordained pastors and, in other Lutheran churches there is no such position as a lay pastor. Instead of a lay pastor, *lay preachers* can be active in several Lutheran churches, especially in the revival movements. However, the Missouri Synod sent *Ciro Mejía* first as a lay pastor to Pasaquina with the right to officiate as well at Lutheran Sunday services.³⁶⁸ A Roman Catholic theologian *Jan Aarts* utilises in 1972 the word *Laien Priester* (lay pastors) as well in German, when he discusses the differences

365 Ibid.

366 Ibid. See also e-mail from Chavarría to the author (18.1. 2013).

367 Ibid. Also *Reglamento Interno del Sínodo de las Iglesia de Confesión y Rito Luterano*, 1993, includes a description and the requirements concerning lay pastors and presbyter pastors.

368 Author’s interview with *Ciro Mejía* (12.2.2006). See also *Jahnel* 2005, 161.

between the priests in connection with the *priesthood of all believers* and priests in the ministry.³⁶⁹

The Lutheran doctrine of the *priesthood of all believers* was a justification of Medardo Gómez for the lay pastor training. The *priesthood of all believers* is mainly based in the Lutheran churches on an interpretation of 1 Pet.2:9-10

“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. Once you were not a people, but now you are the people of God; once you had not received mercy, but now you have received mercy.”³⁷⁰

Juha Pihkala explains that in the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers everyone, who is connected through baptism to this communion, church, are called “holy disciples and brothers, whom God has chosen to his own people and to the royal priesthood.”³⁷¹ Pihkala continues that “they have a common mission but they are limbs of Christ’s body with different charismas.”³⁷² Knut Schäferdiek points out that Martin Luther never presented a complete theology concerning the ministry of the church. The opinions about the ministry appear in several differed connections and usually with a polemic goal.³⁷³ Schäferdiek reminds us that Luther was always in polemic situations. Before 1525, Luther was arguing against Catholic understanding of the ministry and, after 1525, he was arguing against the radical wing of the reformation.³⁷⁴ Schäferdiek also stresses that Luther’s understanding of the ministry was connected with his stand towards the gospel and justification.

369 Aarts 1978, 176.

370 Holy Bible, New International Version, NIV, 2011 by Biblica, Inc.

371 Pihkala 1992, 224-226. Author’s translation. See also Aarts 1978, 175.

372 John 17:15-18 and 1. Cor. 12:4-31, 14:26. Pihkala 1992, 224-226. Author’s translation.

373 Schäferdiek 1978, 553.

374 Ibid.

In 1520, Luther proclaimed that all baptised people were priests, and were limbs of Christ's royal body and of the ministry like the high priests.³⁷⁵ This idea was based on Luther's discovery of the justification through faith and Christ. Schäferdiek stresses Luther's discovery: "Through baptism and faith an individual is connected with Christ."³⁷⁶ Luther's explanation in the Small Catechism of the baptism is also commonly interpreted as an argument for the priesthood of all believers: "The baptism makes us disciples of God and members of the church of Christ."³⁷⁷ Luther's teaching concerning the priesthood of all believers led to the disappearance of all differences between priests and lay people until 1525. This also concerned the sacraments.³⁷⁸ This direction was against the Catholic understanding of the ministry as - often described with terms in Latin - *potestas ordinis* and *potestas jurisdictionis*. *Potestas ordinis* signifies the power of the priest to govern the sacraments and especially, the understanding of the mass as sacrificial victims for God. *Potestas jurisdictionis* denotes the duty to teach, to lead, and to judge. The church was the mediator of grace and the *potestas* becomes true in the sacrament of confession - and in the Catholic practice of indulgences.³⁷⁹ Luther contradicted very early, according to Schäferdiek, the Catholic understanding of the ordination of the priests and claimed that ordination was a tool of the Pope to exercise power. Luther replaced ordination with the significance of the baptism. Researchers have found arguments in Luther's work for the ideas of the priesthood of all believers - sometimes concerning individuals and sometimes the community of

375 Schäferdiek in Theologische Realenzyklopädie, Band 2, 1978, 553. See also Cleve 1985, 69, Aarts 1972, 175.

376 Schäferdiek 1978, 554-555. See also Hägglund 1956, 217 and, Barth 1990, 34.

377 Author's translation of the Finnish Small Catechism. Katekismus 2003, 89. See also Pihkala 1992, 224-226, and 2009, 219-224.

378 Schäferdiek 1978, 555. See also Palvelijoiksi vihityt 2002, 63-64.

379 Schäferdiek 1978, 553- 555.

believers.³⁸⁰ Some faith communities have emphasised the individual interpretation of the priesthood of all believers, such as Quakers. Lutherans have mainly stressed the interpretation that the priesthood of all believers always belongs to the community of believers, a parish, and is not for individuals.

In 1530, when Luther published his Augsburg Confession, his ideas concerning the special ministry, were very clear. All baptised Christians belong to the priesthood of all believers, but for the order in the parish and for the special tasks to preach the gospel and administer the sacraments – baptism and Holy Communion – the parish should call (*vocatio*) one among them to serve as a priest (*ministerium*). The priest should also have an inner *vocation* from the Holy Spirit.³⁸¹ It seems that Luther had actually not planned any act of ordination before this actualised in the connection of the first Lutheran ordination in 1535.³⁸² However, Schäferdiek states that according to Luther the special ministry of the priest does not oppose the priesthood of all believers, because both have their duties. Above all is the word of hope and that is to be heard in the preaching of forgiveness

380 Schäferdiek 1978, 555-556. Barth has also discussed the contradictions in Luther's teaching concerning the priesthood of all believers. Barth 1990, 46-53.

381 Schäferdiek 1978, 557-559. Confessio Augustana, article 5: "1) That we may obtain this faith, the Ministry of Teaching the Gospel and administrating the Sacraments was instituted. For through the Word and Sacraments, as through the instruments, 2) the Holy Ghost is given, who works faith; were and when it pleases God, in them that hear 3) the Gospel, to wit, that God, not for your own merits, but for Christ's sake, justifies those who believe that they are received into grace for Christ's sake, 4) The condemn the Anabaptists and others who think that the holy Ghost comes to men without the external Word, through their own preparations and works." bookofconcord.org/augsburgconfession.php (6.6.2013). See also Hägglund 1956, 217, Barth 1990, 38, Aarts 1978, 188, 193, 202 and Huovinen 2001, 123.

382 Schäferdiek 1978, 557-559.

and by administering the sacraments.³⁸³ Cleve points out that the German word *Priester*, as used by Luther, means a baptised Christian, who belongs to the church community and is a party to the priesthood of all believers. The word *Pfarrer* signifies, according to Cleve, a Christian, who has been called to the special ministry. Actually, Luther prefers to write about ministry (*Amt*) and not about priesthood (*Priesterturm*).³⁸⁴ In the Lutheran research conducted in English, this difference is not so clear. The word *priest* is commonly used for the representatives of both types of priesthood.

Luther stated, according to Barth, that in an emergency, if there is no priest, the baptised Christian should preach the word and baptise children. Serving the Holy Communion in an emergency was not recommended by Luther, according to Barth, because the Holy Communion is not obligatory for salvation.³⁸⁵ However, Cleve interprets that it would be possible for lay people to consecrate the Holy Communion in the case of an emergency.³⁸⁶ It is evident that scholars can find opposite positions in Luther's documents.³⁸⁷ Schäferdiek's proposal to divide Luther's sermons, letters, and doctrines according to the time before and after year 1525, helps in understanding the controversies in the literary material of Luther.

Schäferdiek suggests that after 1525, Luther claimed that priests should be men, but the equality between men and women concerns the priesthood of all believers in spiritual meaning. "In front of God there is no distinction", Luther emphasised.³⁸⁸ The priesthood of all believers means, according to Barth, a spiritual brotherhood between the believers, where the spiritual brothers and sisters can proclaim the forgiveness of the sins for

383 Schäferdiek 1978, 562.

384 Cleve 1985, 69 and Aarts 1978, 182.

385 Barth 1990, 31-32.

386 Cleve 1985, 74.

387 Öberg 1970, 364.

388 Schäferdiek 1978, 558.

each other. This means that the *power of the keys*, which in the Catholic Church belong only to priests, were given to the church and the parishioners by the reformation.³⁸⁹

In the book *Latinoamerica* Gómez develops the theology of life and names the praxis of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador as an *Alternative Pastoral Model*.³⁹⁰ Gómez establishes this Alternative Pastoral Model on the doctrine of priesthood of all believers and stresses that every baptised Christian is in a way a theologian, preacher, and “faith worker”.³⁹¹ He also emphasises that every Christian is like a priest in front of God taking seriously his active position in the universal church and in the popular movement.³⁹² With the popular movement I understand in this connection the active participation of people in life of the civil society. Pihkala also stresses that the essential field, where the priesthood of all believers comes true, is the world. Therefore, the responsibility of an ordinary Christian (that is, lay people) includes primarily responsibilities at home, family, work, culture, free time and, participating in the common responsibilities in civil society.³⁹³ However, Gómez does not only encourage the lay people to be active in civil society, but he also points out the equality between ordained pastors and lay people.³⁹⁴ Additionally, Gómez argues that the priesthood of all believers is not a new invention of the reformers. He suggests that the idea is based in the creation and that the forefathers, Central

389 Barth 1990, 40, 45. Ingemar Öberg has conducted a large doctoral study concerning Luther’s contradictory opinions about power of the keys during 1517-1537. Öberg 1970.

390 Gómez 1993, 63. Author’s translation.

391 Gómez 1993, 332. *Trabajadora de fe*. Author’s translation. See also Chapman 2012, 55-56.

392 Gómez 1993, 63.

393 Pihkala 2009, 221. Pihkala explains that this interpretation is commonly accepted also ecumenically. He argues his opinion with the document of the World Council of Churches (WCC), *Faith and Order, Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry*, 1984.

394 Gómez 1993, 63-65.

American Indians, already had the tradition to “share the word from and for the community”. This “hidden” tradition has come, according to Gómez, into practice through the priesthood of all believers.³⁹⁵ The appreciation of the traditions and religion of the Indians has been an important feature in the theology of life.

Uta Andrée discusses the argumentation for the priesthood of all believers based on Gómez’ book *Latinoamerica* and on a presentation held by Gómez in Munich in 1992.³⁹⁶ Andrée concurs with Gómez’ understanding of the priesthood of all believers in four points:

- 1) Gómez stresses the free and individual access of every believer to God and the justification of every baptised to practice the ministry of a preacher and counsellor.
- 2) The doctrine encourages previously “voiceless” people to speak and to become subjects of their own history, also of their history with God.
- 3) The doctrine encourages people to understand the word of God together with other people and without a special education. A simple theology is recommended.
- 4) The work of the Holy Spirit in the church should not be prohibited. The doctrine of the priesthood of all believers creates a space for the Spirit to generate a church, where not only ordained ministers are instruments of God [but also laypeople].³⁹⁷

Andrée analyses Gómez’ argument for the priesthood of all believers as resembling that of the radical arguments of the radical wing of the Lutheran reformation, who emphasised the individual interpretation of the priesthood of all believers and the free work of the Holy Spirit.³⁹⁸ Andrée’s conclusion concerning Gómez’ interpretation of the Lutheran doctrine priesthood of all believers shows that Gómez’ argument has been exceptional

395 Gómez 1993, 283-284. Author’s translation.

396 Andrée 2005, 281-285.

397 Andrée 2005, 285. Author’s translation.

398 Andrée 2005, 285.

in the Lutheran world. It is notable that Gómez' theological argumentation for the priesthood of all believers was formulated in the 1990s whereas the praxis of lay pastors started in 1979. Nonetheless, lay pastor in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador has been a common title for catechists, evangelists, and deacon pastors since 1979.

I would suggest that Gómez' argument for installing lay people as lay pastors with the Lutheran doctrine of priesthood of all believers was in line with Luther's teaching before 1525. This means that the argument is based on the time when Luther was arguing against the Catholic understanding of the ministry, priests, and bishops being mediators between people and God, holding masses as sacrifices for God and using power in connection with the confessions. In fact, the Lutheran Church of El Salvador emerged in the middle of a Catholic country. Gómez' understanding concerning the priesthood of all believers based on the baptism could be seen as a parallel protest, like Luther's, towards the surrounding official Catholic Church in El Salvador but above all as a protest towards the theology and praxis of the Missouri Synod. That protest and radicalism included women being gradually recognised as lay pastors and lay leaders. However, Luther, after 1525, developed his teaching against the radical wing of reformation and emphasised the importance of the special ministry with a stress on the servant of the gospel and sacraments. Along with that teaching, the rather radical doctrines concerning the priesthood of all believers before 1525 were restrained .

On the one hand, Gómez' interpretation of the priesthood of all believers has been radical compared with other Lutheran churches in the Lutheran church family within the Lutheran World Federation (LWF). Gomez' view concerning the pastoral ministry has actually been closer to the Anglican theology and practise, where the position of a deacon is a pre-stage on the way

to the ministry.³⁹⁹ On the other hand, Gómez' understanding has similarities with the Catholic lay apostolate after Vatican II. As seen by Barth, the explanation for the lay apostolate in the Catholic Church was ecclesiastical, not soteriological as in Protestantism. The lay people are limbs in the body of Christ and have a vocation to the *Apostolate*, which is a Catholic parallel to the Lutheran priesthood of all believers. The value of lay people is also explained with the entrance to the "royal priesthood and holy nation" through baptism, as by Luther.⁴⁰⁰

The aim of the lay apostolate, according to Barth, was re-evangelising Catholics, with the help of lay people living their Christianity in the family and work, or, for example, in diaconical or mission organisations or as lay co-operators of the priests and bishops in the church hierarchy.⁴⁰¹ In the Catholic Church the order members and theologians without ordination are included in the category of lay people. After Vatican II, the priests had their positions as previously, but were recommended to cooperate, teach, and listen to the lay people.⁴⁰²

The praxis in the base community movement in Latin America was one application of the goals of the lay apostolate. People in the base communities – mainly in the country side or in the surroundings of the cities – had learned to read the Bible and to interpret it to each other in the communities. Some base communities in Latin America had also celebrated Holy Communion without a priest, based on the understanding of the lay apostolate meaning that the community of believers had been authorised by Holy Spirit to celebrate Holy Communion. In addition, the lack of priests in the Catholic Church has encouraged base communities to celebrate Holy Communion without any priest.⁴⁰³ The inter-

399 Schäferdiek 1978, 576.

400 Barth 1990, 108-109, 121.

401 Barth 1990, 113.

402 Barth 1990, 116.

403 Barth 1990, 148-149. Barth discusses and cites Leonardo Boff's studies of the base communities.

pretation is close to the Lutheran understanding concerning the right of lay people to baptise and administer Holy Communion in emergency cases.

Women were active both in the Catholic lay apostolate and base community movements in El Salvador. In the base communities, women could teach and lead, as has been discussed earlier. I would argue that these parallel developments in the Catholic Church in El Salvador aiming to alleviate the shortage of priests also served as models for Gómez. The people, who came from the closed base communities to the Lutheran church, adapted easily to the idea of lay pastors and of women heading some activities.

The first women lay leaders in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador were not installed as lay pastors to begin with. They served and trained other people based on their academic profession. In the early 1980s, the lay pastors usually did not have an academic education. This may be one of the reasons why Vilma Rodríguez, Cecilia Alfaro, and Victoria Cortez often have pointed out their academic degrees in the interviews.⁴⁰⁴ Cecilia Alfaro, for example, emphasised her sociologist identity along with her work as the leader of the diaconical work of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador in the 1980s.

“I was always also helping with the education of the parish workers (*equipo pastoral*) as a sociologist. I was also teaching the doctrine, when training parishioners in several parishes: about the history of the church, when teaching catechists and evangelists, about economical questions and other questions, which are good to know, sociological

404 Vilma Rodríguez and Cecilia Alfaro at the time of the interviews in 2005 still emphasised their identity as a psychologist and sociologist in the 1980s, more than their other positions later. During the interviews, Vilma Rodríguez pointed out her work and identity as a psychologist several times. Along with her later posts, she has continued her profession as a psychologist. Author's interviews and discussions with Vilma Rodríguez 2006-2010.

analysis. [...] For organising communities, we have the experience. For example, I know the techniques about popular education and organising.⁴⁰⁵

Cecilia Alfaro was a sociologist, and the knowledge, experience, and practise of the popular movement and base communities as well as Lutheran faith melded together in her.

Gómez' extraordinary interpretation of the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers has been the ground for the new theology and praxis of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. This doctrine was a justification and explanation for the training and installation of lay pastors. The interpretation of the priesthood of all believers also opened the road for women to work as lay leaders in the Lutheran church.

Finally, as mentioned earlier, the four reasons; 1) closure of the universities and *intellectualising* of the Lutheran church, 2) *closure of the base communities*, 3) the growing women's and feminist movement and political activism, 4) and the *need for personnel*, with the solution, which the *lay pastors* could offer based on a wide interpretation of the *priesthood of all believers*, are entangled with each other. They all led to the transformation of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador and enabled academic women to become lay leaders in the church. At the same time, the church was, on the one hand, intellectualising, and on the other, many of the refugees from the countryside joined the church as a consequence of the rapidly growing social work of the Lutheran Church. In 1970, according to Jahnel, the Lutheran Church of El Salvador had 220 members, who attended Holy Communion. (It is one way to count the church members, when there is no church register.) In 1980, the number was 1,700, as well as 500 so-called sympathisers, or people who benefitted from the Lutheran Church of El Salvador.⁴⁰⁶

405 Author's interview with Cecilia Alfaro (10.2 2006).

406 Jahnel has compiled statistics concerning the membership of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador from several sources. Jahnel 2005, 444. See a more detailed statistics in chapter five.

The theology of life was developing into a guideline of the praxis of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. In spite of the transformation, the conservative attitudes in line with the tradition of the Missouri Synod in the mid 1980s, were still strong in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. As a matter of fact, a power battle was going on inside the Lutheran Church between the conservative and progressive forces. Moreover, there was a power battle between the Missouri Synod and the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. Although the Lutheran Church of El Salvador was an independent church, it was still dependent on the economical and personnel support of the Missouri Synod. Accepting women as lay leaders in the Lutheran church in the early 1980s was not at all straightforward. I will discuss these contradictions in more detail in chapter four. According to Vilma Rodríguez, although the need for women's help in the church was urgent, the thinking pattern was patriarchal and *machist* in some sectors of the church. There were, for example, controversies concerning a visiting woman pastor in the mid 1980s. A North American woman pastor visited the Lutheran Church of El Salvador, and was, according to Rodríguez, denied the right to preach, while Medardo Gómez was abroad.⁴⁰⁷ The memories of Vilma Rodríguez testify that the Lutheran Church of El Salvador was not unanimous about the changes in the church. One thing is clear; the transformation of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador led it to be more alienated from the Missouri Synod.

407 Author's discussion with Vilma Rodríguez (14.11.2009).

4 WOMEN AS PASTORS AND PROGRAMME LEADERS IN THE LUTHERAN CHURCH (1986-2003)

Between 1986 and 2003, there was a chaotic culmination to the civil war, peace negotiations, and a transition to peace in El Salvador. Furthermore, the popular movement had a new revival as strong women's and feminist movements made a new emergence in the country. In the Lutheran Church of El Salvador, the ministry was opened to women. In this chapter, I will examine the reasons and development, which led to this opening of the ministry and, how women experienced their installation as deacon pastors and later as presbyter pastors as well as how these changes affected and were perceived in the church. Let us begin with an exploration of the transition from civil war to peace, the rebuilding in El Salvador, and the religious developments during 1986-2003.

4.1 Political and Religious contexts

In 1986, in the middle of President José Duarte's regime and the civil war, there was a devastating earthquake in El Salvador.⁴⁰⁸ A number of international organisations helped with the rebuilding. At the same time, hundreds of refugees from refugee camps in neighbouring countries and other displaced people in the country decided to return to their homes. The government was against the remigration, but the churches and international organisations helped the refugees with the resettlement. In 1988, the Salvadoran Churches, through the Ecumenical Coordination, DIACONIA⁴⁰⁹, which included the leaders of the Lutheran

408 José Duarte's regime was 1984-1989. Valtonen 2001, 312.

409 LCA 28.5.1.2.box 17, f 9 El Salvador Correspondence, Report, International Ecumenical delegation visit to El Salvador, June 21-26. 1986. The Salvadoran Ecumenical Coordination Council: Catholic

Church of El Salvador, accompanied some 1 300 Salvadorans in the form of the *Second Repatriation* from the refugee camp in Mesa Grande, Honduras. Many of the refugees came from Chalatenango in the North-Western part of the country, which the civil war had hit severely. These people had experienced living conditions similar to prisoners in the refugee camp. They wanted to return to El Salvador in spite of the earthquake damage. According to Medardo Gómez, they would rather prefer to suffer in their home country than in refugee camps elsewhere.”⁴¹⁰

Alfredo Christiani was elected in 1989 to succeed President Duarte. He initiated peace negotiations but continued fighting the war at the same time. During the first four months of his regime, 449 political murders were committed along with arrests, torturing, and kidnapping, some of which also occurred in the Lutheran church. In October 1989, *Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional* (FMLN)⁴¹¹ launched a large scale offensive, and the guerrillas reached the wealthy area, *La Escalón*, in San Salvador. Soon the army forced the guerrillas to retreat. The army took advantage of the chaos and on the 16th of November 1989, six Jesuit teachers of the Catholic university *Universidad Centroamericana José Simeon Cañas* (UCA)⁴¹² were murdered along with the housekeeper and her daughter. One of the Jesuit teachers, the liberation theologian Jon Sobrino was saved only because he was abroad giving lectures at the time of the assas-

Church, Lutheran Church, Baptist and Episcopal churches and two church-related cooperative movements: FUNPROCOOP and FED-ECOOPADES. See also Pineda and Dubon 1997, 125.

410 Meissner 2004, 290-291. The Christian Committee for the Displaced People of El Salvador (CRIPDES) was formed in 1984. In 1986-1992 it organised, with another Catholic organisation, the repatriation of sixteen thousand refugees. The majority of the refugees were women, children, and elderly people. The majority of the people who ran CRIPDES were women. Shayne 2004, 31-33, Medardo Gómez 1993, 92-93.

411 The Front of Farabundo Martí for the National Liberation.

412 The Catholic University of Central America José Simeon Cañas.

sinations. During November and December 1989, about fifty employees and volunteers of different churches were arrested in El Salvador.⁴¹³ The army was also looking for Medardo Gómez, Cecilia Alfaro, and Vilma Rodríguez, but they managed to escape.⁴¹⁴ Only one year earlier, a bomb had exploded in the office of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador, which at the time was situated in La Resurrección church.⁴¹⁵ However, during the chaotic November of 1989 in El Salvador, the world was watching the events in Berlin and the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of communism. The reports from Berlin overshadowed the events in El Salvador in the world news.

After the dramatic events at the end of 1989, the peace negotiations intensified and, the Peace Agreement was finally signed on the 16th of January 1992. As a result of the signing of the Peace Accords - as it is also called - the guerrillas gave up their weapons and the FMLN became a political party. The army was reduced, and the Civilian Police Force was created. The Peace Accords also included a demand to integrate the ex-combat-

413 Barry 1990, 116 and Carnage Again 1989, 14-15 “The victims are Fathers Ignacio Ellacuría, 59, Segundo Monte, 56, Ignacio Martín Baró, 47, Juan Ramón Moreno, 56, Amando López, 53, and Joaquín López y López, 71. Also killed were the priests’ cook, Julia Elba Ramos, 42, and her daughter, Celina Marisela Ramos, 15. Father Ellacuría was the rector of the UCA, Father Martín Baró its vice-rector, and Father Montes was the head of the human rights institute of the UCA (Instituto de Derechos Humanos de la Universidad Centro-Americana – IDHUCA). Several factors point to the army responsibility for the crime.” “The victims included some of El Salvador’s most prominent liberal intellectuals and human rights monitors. Several of the victims, as well the Jesuit order and the UCA, had long been subjected to threats and harassment attributed to right wing death squads”. Meissner 2004, 325. There were 61 ransacking in 47 churches, church clinics and parish houses.

414 Author’s interview with Bishop Gómez (7.2. 2005). Group interview with Vilma Rodríguez, Cecilia Alfaro, Concepción Ángel and Guadalupe Cortés (1.2.2005).

415 E-mail from Abelina Gómez to the author (24.6. 2009).

ants into civilian life. A Truth Commission was established by the United Nations to investigate the violations against human rights during the civil war. In spite of this, in 1994, the newly elected parliament - where the right wing party, *Allianza Republicana Nacional* (ARENA)⁴¹⁶ held a majority – passed legislation agreeing to a general amnesty concerning the human rights violations carried out during the civil war.⁴¹⁷

Evidently, peace was finally made, while the right wing president, Alfredo Christiani, was in power. As a result, it was easy for the ARENA party to prevail in the 1994 elections and Armando Calderón Sol was elected president.⁴¹⁸ In 1995, the Salvadoran government carried out a tax reform, which caused price rises and inflation and had an adverse effect especially on the sixty per cent of the population living in extreme poverty.⁴¹⁹ The combination of the failed programmes agreed in the Peace Accords and the precarious economic situation of the majority of Salvadorans made 1995 a year of protests, marches, and hunger strikes. 1996 showed little improvement in the financial and civil society sector. The Inter-American Development Bank considered El Salvador the most violent country on the American continent (140 of 100 000 inhabitants were killed per year). Nonetheless, the Salvadoran development towards a neo-liberalist economy through a massive privatisation process was largely encouraged by the World Trade Organization (WTO).⁴²⁰

International observers participated as monitors in the elec-

416 The Republican National Alliance.

417 Valtonen 2001, 312. See also Peterson, Vásquez and Williams 2001, 13. *Acuerdos de Paz* = Peace Accords.

418 Valtonen 2001, 312.

419 The United Nations has defined an international standard of extreme poverty as the possession of less than one US dollar a day. www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/international-migration/glossary/poverty/ (6.6.2013).

420 Annual Report 1995, LWF, 5-6. See also Annual Report 1996, LWF, 5, and Trade Policy Review, El Salvador, 1996, WTO, 1997, ix -x.

tions in 1997, as they did in the earlier elections of 1994.⁴²¹ The FMLN obtained the mayorship of San Salvador in coalition with other centre-left parties. In the parliament, the ruling party, ARENA, lost its absolute majority. In 1998, hurricane Mitch struck Central America, including El Salvador. The consequences of Mitch were devastating in terms of human lives lost and damage to the infrastructure.⁴²²

Many of the declarations in the Peace Accords, for example the land reform, had not been implemented by the turn of the millennium. ARENA prevailed in the 1999 elections and Francisco Guillermo Flores Pérez became president. President Flores announced the adoption of the US dollar as the national currency only six weeks before it was due to take place in the beginning of 2001. The dollarisation was carried out and it led to price rises and inflation in El Salvador.⁴²³

421 A report of a field trip of the Archdiocese of Turku and the Finn Church Aid to El Salvador, Kalle Elonheimo (29.7.1998). The electoral system was still very disordered: for registration on the voters list people had to produce documentation from six different authorities.

422 Salvador/Guatemala, Annual Report 1998, LWF, 6. Almost 10 000 people lost their lives and 12 500 were injured in Central America. See also El Salvador, Annual Report 1997, of LWF, 4, and Ibarra 1999.

423 Annual Report 2001, LWF, 4, 12. A totally different picture of the situation in El Salvador is given from the North American side. The U.S. Department of State official site of Diplomacy in action, promotes the elections in El Salvador as: "... another victory in the 1999 presidential race, bringing President Francisco Guillermo Flores Pérez to office, Flores concentrated on modernising the economy and strengthening bilateral relations with the USA. Under his presidency El Salvador committed itself to combating international terrorism, including sending troops to aid in the reconstruction of Iraq. El Salvador also played a key role in negotiations for the Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA-DR)." Concerning the Salvadoran economics the site points out: "The Salvadoran economy continues to benefit from a commitment to free markets and careful fiscal management. The economy has been growing at a steady and moderate pace since the signing of peace accords in 1992, and the poverty was cut from 66% in 1991 to 34, 6% in 2007. Much of the

Several scholars write about peaceful transitions to democracy in Latin America during the 1980s. In El Salvador, the transition to democracy was not peaceful. Peterson, Vásquez, and Williams claim that most of the democracies in Central America at the end of the 1990s were *incomplete* or *delegative*, with powerful presidents, weak parties, and low citizen participation.⁴²⁴ The Department of World Service of the Lutheran World Federation (LWF/DWS) in El Salvador even questioned in 1998, if the democracy model of the USA – with a free market and minor intervention of the state on the economic level – was the right model for El Salvador.⁴²⁵

Peter Fischer-Bollin suggests that the authoritarian structures, power concentrations in the highest judicial courts, corruption, formalism, and legislative changes based on economic conjunctures, did not strengthen the people's trust in a constitutional state at the beginning of the new millennium.⁴²⁶ A closer study concerning women during these transitions has been conducted by Jocelyn Viterna and Kathleen M. Fallon. They have surveyed Argentina, El Salvador, Ghana and South-Africa concerning democratisation, women's movements, and gender-equitable states.⁴²⁷ They selected the countries according to the rates of women's legislative representation in sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America. Viterna and Fallon compared the percentage of female parliamentarians in 1995 and 2005 in the

improvement in El Salvador's economy is a result of the privatization of the banking system. Telecommunications, public pensions, electrical distribution and some electrical generation: reduction of import duties; elimination of price control; and improved enforcement of intellectual property rights. Capping those reforms, on January 1, 2001, the U.S. dollar became legal tender in El Salvador. The economy is now fully dollarized." www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2033.htm (6.6.2013).

424 Peterson, Vásquez and Williams 2001, 11.

425 El Salvador, Annual report 1997, LWF, 16.

426 Fischer-Bollin 2000, 66.

427 Viterna and Fallon 2008, 668-689.

respective countries. The result was that Ghana fell from 17th to 30th out of 40 African nations and El Salvador fell from 9th to 16th out of 21 Latin American countries.⁴²⁸ Argentina showed a different development with a quota law, which was accepted in 1993, and women's representation rose to 25, 3 percent in 1995 and to 35 percent in 2005. South-Africa, however, decided on a minimum of 30 percent of the seats being reserved for women in the national legislature.⁴²⁹ The South African parliament has also accepted laws, which have improved, for example, women's rights to greater access to abortion, provided extensive maternal and family responsibility leave, and criminalised domestic violence.⁴³⁰ Viterna and Fallon conclude that democratic transitions were complete in South Africa and Argentina, but incomplete in Ghana and El Salvador.

According to the Peace Accords in El Salvador in 1992, the civilian control over the military was re-established and, the FMLN received status as a political party, but the 1983 constitution was left untouched.⁴³¹ For the first elections after the war in 1994, women built a coalition, *Mujeres 94*, aimed at attaining more women representatives in the parliament, but failed to reach this goal.⁴³² Viterna and Fallon maintain that "women's most visible form of pretransition mobilisation was as revolutionaries in mixed-gender, mostly masculine organisations like guerrilla camps". They continue that "such militant strategies were difficult to transform into peacetime actions."⁴³³ Support from a strong political party, according to Viterna and Fallon, is necessary for women's movements to gain access to the state. Salvadoran women's earlier "gender bending" roles as revolutionary guerrillas sought women's inclusion within the masculine

428 Viterna and Fallon 2008, 673.

429 Viterna and Fallon 2008, 669, 684.

430 Viterna and Fallon 2008, 675, 677.

431 Viterna and Fallon 2008, 679, 685. See also Viterna 2006, Vol. 112.

432 Una Decada Construyendo Feminismo ... Las Dignas, 2000, 56-59.

433 Viterna and Fallon 2008, 683.

structures.⁴³⁴ Nevertheless, after the large worldwide women's reunion in Beijing in 1995, organised by the United Nations, the feminist movement in El Salvador grew in a remarkable way.⁴³⁵

Natural disasters continued in January and February 2001 as earthquakes again shook the country and caused a large number of deaths and great destruction. In addition, drought devastated the rural areas in 2001. In September 2002, hurricane Isidore caused floods and more damage.⁴³⁶

In 2002, the Salvadoran government celebrated the ten-year anniversary of the Peace Accords. As a protest against the Salvadoran government, which had failed to reach the goals set in the Peace Accords, the General Secretary of the United Nations, Kofi Annan, cancelled his visit El Salvador for the anniversary of the Peace Accords.⁴³⁷

The attempts of the government to privatise the public health sector led to strikes against this measure and these demonstrations continued in 2003.⁴³⁸ The Parliament accepted an

434 Viterna and Fallon 2008, 683.

435 Viterna and Fallon 2008, vol. 73, 680.

436 Annual Report 2001, LWF, 5. See also Annual Report 2002, LWF, 29. Between the years of 1960 and 2001, more than 140 macro-disasters were registered in Central America, leaving behind thousands of casualties, unrecoverable economic losses, 56 669 dead, 123 346 wounded and 10.2 million affected victims. The Lutheran World Federation, Department for World Service, Central America Program, Planning and Monitoring Document, PMD 2005-2007, 29.9.2004, 37. The earthquakes in 2001 left at least twenty-five per cent of the population homeless in El Salvador. Annual Report 2001, LWF, 12.

437 Annual Report 2001, LWF, 12. See also Silber 2011, 93.

438 Annual Report 2003, LWF, 6, 10. SIMETRIS, a union for medical doctors in the communal health care, was the main generator for the strikes. Fifty-one per cent of the medical doctors in El Salvador are members of this union. In 2002, the doctors went on strike for 10 months and six doctors were on a hunger strike. The main goal was to oppose the privatisation of the health care system, because it would cause much more death among poor Salvadorans. A presentation by Pedro Banchon Rivera and Manuel de Jesus Menjívar Mejía

Anti-Gang Law in 2003, which authorised the police to arrest nearly any youth group participants they wanted.⁴³⁹ Additionally, the Central America Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA) between USA and Central American countries was signed in 2003 and this provoked considerable resistance by the NGOs and the Lutheran churches of Central America.⁴⁴⁰ The consequences of the CAFTA agreement have been, for example, growing unemployment for the Central American corn farmers.

With regard to the religious field, the beginning of the 1980s saw an expansion of the charismatic groups on the fringes of both the Protestant and Catholic churches. These evangelicals were considered to be a safe choice by many people, because the government had taken the evangelicals into their protection. The government did not practise oppression against the evangelicals, because they had adopted a policy of not criticising the government.⁴⁴¹ In 1986, the Catholic base community movement, which had restarted its activities, was split in two and, as a consequence of this division, the Catholic base communities had two organisations in El Salvador. In spite of this, according

of SIMETRIS for a Finnish delegation in El Salvador (28.2.2005). Author's field diary.

439 Annual Report 2003, LWF, 9. Author's interview with a youth group of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador, (11.2. 2006).

440 CAFTA is a comprehensive trade agreement among Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and the USA. The agreement: www.ustr.gov/trade-agreements/free-trade-agreements/cafta-dr-dominican-republic-central-america-fta/final-text (6.6.2013). Annual Report 2003, LWF, 6, *Freihandel und Widerstand in Zentralamerika* [2004], 4-12. See also a statement of the Central American Lutheran (CILCA) bishops.

441 Meissner 2004, 330. Dan Long wrote in his report of his visit in El Salvador 28 June-30 July, 1983: "Evangelical sects preach a passive acceptance of poverty and injustice is often given official support and approval by the government. We saw an identification card carried by one member of the sects that was signed by the local military commander giving this person protection." LCA 28.5.1.2.box 17, f 9 El Salvador Correspondence 1986.

to Meissner, the base communities were still in conflict with the official Catholic Church.⁴⁴²

The Archbishop of the Catholic Church of El Salvador, Arturo Rivera y Damas, died unexpectedly in 1994.⁴⁴³ Damas had not been as strong and progressive as Romero, but had managed a balance between the conservatives and the base communities. Nevertheless, the Vatican nominated a very conservative successor, Saenz la Calle, who was a former military chaplain and a member of the conservative Opus Dei order. Hans-Jürgen Prien suggests that through this nomination Pope John Paul II expressed his obvious alignment against liberation theology.⁴⁴⁴ Saenz la Calle removed the liberation theology oriented priests from the priest seminary and the church media. During his time as archbishop, the statements of the Catholic Church of El Salvador mainly concerned the morals of people and objection to abortion. Furthermore, the intensified programme of re-evangelisation of the Catholics was a method of resisting the expansion and proselytism conducted by the evangelical churches.⁴⁴⁵

After the first generation of liberation theologians in Latin America, the second generation arose in Latin America and elsewhere.⁴⁴⁶ The second generation included not only men but a number of women, who, on the one hand, criticised but, on the other hand, enriched the aspects of liberation theology,

442 Meissner 2004, 350-353.

443 Meissner 2004, 300. Archbishop Jukka Paarma of the Finnish Evangelical-Lutheran Church happened to visit El Salvador at the time of the funeral of Archbishop Rivera. Jukka Paarma was at that time Dean of Turku, Finland, but he, amongst others, was asked to hold a speech at the funeral. Author's interview with Jukka Paarma (1.9.2004).

444 Prien 2007, 412, www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bsaenz.html (6.6.2013).

445 Tombs 2002, 287, Peterson, Vásquez and Williams 2001, 4.

446 Liberation theology has generated a growing group of contextual theologies, such as feminist theology including womanist and mujerista theologies in the USA, African and Asian theologies and Dalit theology in India. See, for example, Latvus 2002.

which the first liberation theologians had proclaimed. Brazilian Ana Maria Tepedino studied women as disciples of Jesus. Mexican María Pilar Aquino, along with others, promoted the significance of everyday life in Christian praxis and theology and, in particular, women's experiences.⁴⁴⁷ Several women theologians re-articulated themes around gender and life. The option for the poor of liberation theology was now understood specifically as an option for poor women. Elina Vuola has researched the relationship between liberation theology and feminist theology. According to Vuola, "the poor as a subject of Liberation Theology turned out to be a vague and homogenising concept. There is an obvious lack of theorizing about an integral subject in Liberation Theology, which is also an individual, corporal, gendered, and reproductive subject."⁴⁴⁸ She concludes that the (male) liberation theologians had excluded poor women and sexuality from their theology. Vuola studied the issue through the appearance or absence of sexual ethics in liberation theology.⁴⁴⁹ According to a Spanish liberation theologian, Juan José Tamayo-Acosta, several andocentric concepts generated by early liberation theology have been revolutionised with the help of feminism. The new theology was pluralistic and open to development.⁴⁵⁰ Ivan Petrella from Argentina emphasises the dramatic changes in recent world history and concludes that the historical context of liberation theology of the twenty-first century ended at the same time as the Berlin Wall came down. On the church level, he points out that the main changes lie in the growth of Pentecostal groups and in the Vatican's attempts to clamp down on liberation theology by silencing theologians

447 Everyday life = *Cotidiano* or *la vida cotidiana*. Gonzáles et al. 2008, 258. See also Aquino 1992, Aquino and Tepedino 1998, Aquino and Támez 1998.

448 Vuola 1997, 221-223.

449 Vuola 1997, 221-223.

450 Tamayo 1999, www.elpais.es/p/d/19991012/opinion/tamayo.htm (14.10.1999) See also Tamayo-Acosta 1989 and Tamayo Acosta 1994.

and replacing progressive bishops with conservative ones.⁴⁵¹ David Tombs insists that the fall of the Berlin Wall, the collapse of communism, and the triumph of capitalism was the end of an era. He concludes that during the 1990s, liberation theology lost its momentum as an organised theological movement and faced a crisis of relevance in the terminology of liberation.⁴⁵² However, women theologians, such as Ivone Gebara, a Catholic sister in Brazil, and Elsa Tamez, a Methodist in Costa Rica, have continued to work on the principles of the feminist, Latin American liberation theology. The eco feminist ideas of Gebara have especially spread in parallel with the growing concern for environmental issues.⁴⁵³ In addition, many second generation liberation theologians - and younger ones - emphasise that the fundamental liberationist ideas - the preferential option for the poor, liberation, and the reign of God - remained relevant in the twenty-first-century's first decade.⁴⁵⁴

Richard Chapman discusses liberationist Christianity in Central America through a Lutheran perspective with the help

451 Petrella, Vásquez and Willimas 2005, xiv,x. On the political and economic level, the first change lies in the collapse of socialism. For liberation theology, the fall of the Berlin Wall represents the loss of a practical alternative to capitalism. The second change lies in the perceived decline of the nation-state's ability to control economic activity within its own boundaries. The third change, according to Petrella, lies in the upsurge of culture as a politically contested site and the subsequent downgrading of the traditional political sphere, the struggle for state power. Nevertheless, the reality and the misery in Latin America remained.

452 Tombs 2002, 289-295.

453 Kainulainen 2006.

454 Petrella, Vásquez and Williams 2005, xiv,x. Some new "next generation" liberation theologians are, for example, Silvia Regina de Lima Silva, who is the leading Afro-Brazilian liberation theologian working at the University of Costa Rica. Jung Mo Sung is a professor of religion and education at a Catholic university in São Paulo, Brazil. He is also a social activist and consultant to social movements and base communities. See also Brandt 1999, 964.

of the Lutheran churches in El Salvador and in Nicaragua. According to Chapman, the popular Church [Liberationists in the Roman Catholic Church]⁴⁵⁵ lost its momentum and became in some sense a political orphan. However, Chapman maintains that “Lutherans in Central America inherit a three-fold legacy of liberation: 1) they are called to the side of the disposed and excluded, 2) intent on making a difference in history and, 3) impelled by a utopian vision linked to a divine order of peace, justice and reconciliation.”⁴⁵⁶ Chapman’s conclusion underlines the fact that the theology of life of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador and Nicaragua did not die with the fall of the Berlin Wall.

4.2 Women as Deacon Pastors and Presbyterian Pastors and Reactions

The years between 1986 and 2003 included an extensive final period of the war, peace negotiations, transition to peace, enthusiastic rebuilding of the country, the end of the cold war, and frustration and disappointment as to the prevailing situation in civil society. The hope and eagerness during the rebuilding the country after the long civil war had changed to dissatisfaction and disillusionment.⁴⁵⁷ The great expectations of a better country had failed. The reality and the misery in El Salvador had remained, in other words, the reasons for the civil war were still there. Furthermore, natural catastrophes struck regularly and emigration because of the poverty continued. Finally, the option

455 Author’s insert.

456 Chapman 2012, 66. As a curiosity, Chapman quotes “one ILS church leader” saying “We were born as a conservative church but have been converted into a prophetic spiritual sensibility”. Chapman 2012, 68. The content is very true, but Pastor Pineda was expelled from the Lutheran Church of El Salvador in 2005.

457 See, for example, Silber 2011, 7. The frustration and disappointment came out, for example, in interviews with Medardo Gómez, Héctor Fernández and Jon Sobrino in 2005.

for the poor, the issues of gender and life, as well as sexuality, liberation, and the reign of God, remained relevant challenges in the context of Salvadoran people's lives.

Women as Deacon Pastors (1986-1993)

Due to the persecutions conducted by the Salvadoran government against churches, NGOs, and guerrillas in the mid 1980s, only two Lutheran pastors, Medardo Gómez in San Salvador and Mauro Recinos in Pasaquina, in the eastern part of El Salvador, remained working in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. Other pastors had escaped to other countries for security reasons. According to Peterson, Lutheran leaders had been victims of violence more often than any other religious sector, except progressive Catholics. The reason for this was their open denunciation of the government's violence and their diaconical work among war refugees.⁴⁵⁸

In an unstable situation, the synod of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador looked for ways to protect its pastors and parishioners. The Missouri Synod related churches mostly had a president as the head of the church. Nonetheless, the local leadership in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador, including Medardo Gómez, became increasingly convinced that the church in this regard would benefit from having similar leadership structure as the Catholic Church of El Salvador and as the majority of the member churches of the LWF. Therefore, the general assembly of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador decided on the 31st of January, 1986, to change the church constitution and to consecrate the leading pastor of the church as bishop. The general assembly was held in the parish *El Divino Redentor*⁴⁵⁹ in the city of San Miguel. Because of the danger caused by the civil war, the minutes do not include a list of the participants, but provides the information that Pastor Mauro Recinos held devotions and several people (for example Santiago Rodríguez, Humberto Jurado, Abelina

458 Peterson 2001, 38.

459 Divine Saviour.

Gómez, Medardo Gómez and Vilma Rodríguez) reported on their work in the parishes and among refugees. In addition, the representative of the Lutheran World Federation in El Salvador, Mary Sohlberg, gave her acknowledgements for the opportunity to study in El Salvador and accompany the Lutheran church during the civil war.⁴⁶⁰ A delegation from the county *La Unión* proposed that pastor Medardo Gómez should be consecrated bishop in public recognition of his merits on a national and an international level in the church and in society.⁴⁶¹

According to the minutes of the general assembly in 1986, the constitutional change of establishing the post of bishop and naming Medardo Gómez as the first bishop of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador seems to have been the main issue. The handwritten minutes give the impression that the secretary had almost forgotten to note the paragraph on the opening of the ministry to women. This matter is added between two main lines. Both issues, establishing the post of bishop and opening the ministry to women, needed a 2/3 approval of the synod and changes in the constitution of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. The minutes do not include any notes about the discussion of these two matters. Only the testimonies in favour for the election of Medardo Gómez are transcribed in the minutes. The rather radical decision to opening the ministry to women seems to have been a rather moot point. Blanca Irma Rodríguez de Herrera notes that this is typical for the discussion culture in El Salvador. People seldom present any critic in formal situations, especially in the church.⁴⁶² I suggest that the central position of Medardo Gómez in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador and his

460 *Las Actas*, (the minutes of the synod meetings of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador), issue 40, 237-240.

461 *Las Actas*, issue 40, 237-240. In the minutes, it is mentioned that Medardo Gómez had received a nomination as doctor honoris causa from the Trinity Seminary of Columbus, Ohio, and a diploma in a conference in Boston, Massachusetts for his work for human rights.

462 Author's interview with Blanca Irma Rodríguez de Herrera (5.3.2013).

encouraging attitude towards women's progress also prohibited any critical discussion in the general assembly about women and the ministry. The decision on the new post of a bishop overwhelmed the question of women. The reactions came later as I will discuss further on in this chapter.

Pastor Medardo Gómez was consecrated in the refugee centre *Fe y Esperanza* by a Swedish bishop, Åke Kastlund, on the 6th of August, 1986. Through Bishop Kastlund the apostolic succession, *successio apostolica*, which is important in the connection of the bishops' consecrations, was realised.⁴⁶³ Kastlund was a representative of the Lutheran World Federation and many other international guests participated at the ceremony.⁴⁶⁴ The Lutheran Church of El Salvador had been accepted as member of the Lutheran World Federation earlier in 1986 after cooperating with the LWF since 1983. Since 1986, the 6th of August has been an important anniversary of the Bishop's consecration. The event is similar to that of the *Kirchentag* in Germany.

463 The apostolic succession signifies the history that the first Christian bishop was St. Peter in Rome and that the tradition of bishops laying hands on the head of a new bishop goes back to St. Peter

464 LWM 3.2. box 4 f 3, Consecration service, A letter from Harold T. Hanson to Bishop and Mrs. Kastlund, July 30, 1986. At the consecration service there were also several representatives from the Lutheran churches from the USA: Bishop Crumley's representative, Bishop Philip Wahlberg, Bishop Herzfeld's representative, Bishop Gustav Schultz, Bishop Preus' representative, Bishop David Wolber, Reverend James Peterson and Reverend Kathryn Lee. LWM 3.2. box 4 f 3, Consecration service, A letter from Harold Hanson to Medardo Gómez, August 1, 1986. Other guests came from Norway, W.Germany, Spain, Panama, Costa Rica, Honduras, Guatemala and Mexico. 182. The US Ambassador Carr also attended the consecration service. LCA 28.5.1.2. box 17 f 9, El Salvador Correspondence 1986, a letter from Philip L. Wahlberg to bishop James Crumley, August 8, 1986. Bishop Åke Kastlund (1916-1999) worked for the LWF in Latin America from 1952 to 1956 and served also as chairperson of the LWF Commission on World Service from 1970 to 1977. In addition, he was the first Director of the Church of Sweden Aid. (12.1.2013).

Soon after the Bishop's consecration, on the 20th of September, 1986 – the 14th anniversary of the parish *La Resurrección* - Bishop Gómez installed 23 lay pastors. The lay pastors were eleven catechists of whom five were women: Ana Dolores Vanegas, Maria Inés Rivas, Teresa Mange, Lidia Pleitéz, Eva Cecilia Alfaro; and five male evangelists, eight deacon pastors of whom two were women: Abelina Gómez and Blanca Marina Méndez de Recinos (known also as Marina Méndez or pastor "Chita")⁴⁶⁵. The lay pastors had attended a training programme before the ceremony.

In chapter three, I discussed in detail the tasks of the lay pastors. Catechists, evangelists and deacons or deacon pastors have been called lay pastors, *pastores laicos*, in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. In many Lutheran churches these lay pastors are considered to belong to the *deaconate* as distinct from the ordained clergy. Here the difference between the *priesthood of all believers* and the *special ministry* becomes obvious. Deacon pastors, *pastores diaconos*, who belong to the lay pastors (*deaconate*) in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador, are trained and installed, not ordained, in their positions. A deacon pastor officiates Sunday services, wears the clerical signs such as the alba and stola

465 Abelina Gómez was born in 1946 and Marina Méndez in 1942. Abelina Gómez 2003, 42. See also *the Lutheran Herald* 1986 "During the 16th anniversary of the parish *La Resurrección* 8 persons were ordained to deacon pastors, 4 to evangelists and catechists. The deacon pastors were: José Maria Saravia, Carlos Alberto Nájera, Enrique Anaya, Walter Baires, Napoleon Vásquez, Juan de Dios Seguro, Marina Méndez de Recinos and Abelina Centeno de Gómez. Evangelists were: José Baltazar Orellana, Aurelio Polo Villanueva, Natividad Romero Amaya and José Diaz Hernández. Catechists were: Ana Dolores Vanegas, Santos Aquilar, Maria Inés Rivas, Teresa Mange, José Santos Padilla, Julio C. Chávez, Jaime A. Dupón, Lidia Pleitéz, José María Martínez, Dimas de Jesús Aparicio and Eva Cecilia Alfaro." As can be seen, the paper promotes as the 16th anniversary of the parish *La Resurrección*. However, the parish was founded in 1972 and in 1986 should have been the 14th anniversary. See also Pineda and Dubon 1997, 125.

and administers the sacraments, if no presbyter pastor is present. The installation instead of the ordination makes a distinction to the presbyter pastors with full rights to act as pastors. A presbyter pastor (*presbítero/a*) has to have a Bachelor's degree in theology from the university before being ordained as a pastor. A presbyter pastor has all the rights, which belongs to the ministry: the right to baptise, confirm, marry, consecrate the Holy Communion, bury, and officiate at Sunday services.⁴⁶⁶

In 1986, Abelina Gómez and Marina Méndez were installed as the first women deacon pastors in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. They were the wives of the two remaining Lutheran male presbyter pastors in the country. Abelina Gómez had studied theology and pedagogic in Mexico.⁴⁶⁷ Until her installation she had been responsible for Christian education at the Lutheran school and at the Sunday schools in the parish La Resurrección in San Salvador. Marina Méndez had been teaching at the state and Lutheran schools in Pasaquina, and assisting her husband, Pastor Mauro Recinos, in the parish work in the parish *La Santísima Trinidad*.⁴⁶⁸ The general assembly of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador had decided in January 1986 to open the ministry for women as presbyter pastors. The installation of Abelina Gómez and Marina Méndez as deacon pastors was a step towards the ordination of women as presbyter pastors.

Nonetheless, there was, according to Blanca Irma Rodríguez de Herrera, a small but strong opposition in the Lutheran church against opening the ministry to women as well as against installing women as deacon pastors and later against the ordination of women.⁴⁶⁹ To this conservative group belonged a few

466 Author's interview with Abelina Gómez (5.1.2006). E-mail from Christian Chavarría to the author (20.1.2013). *Plan de trabajo del Sínodo Luterano Salvadoreño correspondiente a los años 1989, 1990, 1991 y 1992* (The Work Plan of Lutheran Church of El Salvador for the Years 1989, 1990, 1991 and 1992). Author's translation.

467 Author's interview with Abelina Gómez (5.1.2006).

468 Discussions with Marina Méndez (10.2.2006). Author's field diary.

469 Author's interview with Blanca Irma Rodríguez (5.3.2013).

male lay pastors, some of whom had converted from the Baptist Central American Mission (CAM) to the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. A small number of of them were installed as lay pastors at the same time as Abelina Gómez and Marina Méndez in September 1986. These men did not clearly oppose women in the official meetings, but, according to Blanca Rodríguez, their opinions were easy to understand in their sermons including undermining statements about women as deacon pastors and later as presbyter pastors.⁴⁷⁰ To quote Abelina Gómez, some male pastors said: “In my church, I do not want to have women pastors.”⁴⁷¹ The opposition consisted not only of men but also of a few women. There were women, with whom Abelina Gómez had co-operated, who ceased to know her after she became a deacon pastor. Some parishioners even refused to come to Holy Communion, when Abelina Gómez was assisting.⁴⁷² The difficulties reflected the controversy between those who were in favour of the Missouri Synod tradition (conservatives) and those who were in favour of the Theology of Life (progressives).⁴⁷³ It is notable that several lay pastors with an evangelical background in the Baptist CAM, were conservative and agreed with the Missouri Synod tradition concerning women’s place in the church. This means that in both churches women in the ministry or in positions similar to ministry positions, such as deacon pastors, were not accepted. Those positions were reserved only for men. Despite the opposition of a few people, after Gómez’ and Méndez’ installation as deacon pastors, the Bible study groups for women expanded, as did the ecumenical co-operation with women in the historical Protestant churches and with the Catholic Church.⁴⁷⁴ At the same time, after the earthquake in 1986,

470 Author’s interview with Blanca Irma Rodríguez (5.3.2013).

471 Author’s interview with Abelina Gómez (5.1.2006).

472 Author’s interview with Abelina Gómez (5.1.2006).

473 Author’s interview with Abelina Gómez (5.1.2006).

474 Abelina Gómez 2003, 25, and an e-mail from Abelina Gómez to the author (24.6.2009). See also author’s interview with Silke Kapteine (17.2.2006): “They wanted to do a lot in the Church. I think that it

the refugees from abroad and displaced people in El Salvador started either to return to their homes or to move to other places, which were not in the midst of the armed conflicts. The refugee centre *Fe y Esperanza* was no longer crowded.⁴⁷⁵

In the middle of the promising changes in people's lives in El Salvador and the growing women's movement, which also affected the Lutheran church, the persecutions against activists intensified again in 1986 under the regime of President Alfredo Duarte. The persecutions were directed not only at men but also at women. Cecilia Alfaro, Abelina Gómez and Silke Kapteine together with a few more women from the Lutheran and Baptist Churches started to visit women prisoners in jails. The initiative directed by the Lutheran church concerning visits by women prisoners came from Norma Herrera, the head of one of the women's organisations, *Instituto de Investigación, Capacitación y Desarrollo de la Mujer* (IMU).⁴⁷⁶ The organisation was established in 1986, as a section of the Communist party.⁴⁷⁷ The visitors from the churches celebrated Holy Communion with the arrested women and encouraged them. Visiting prisons, according to Silke Kapteine, was extremely risky because the women, who were doing so, were themselves at risk of getting arrested.⁴⁷⁸ Several women from different organisations (e.g. CO-

was because of that women could be pastors then. I do remember three parishes from the year 1988, where the pastor (male) was very positive to the participation of women in every position. The one was the parish of the Pastor Carlos Najera. I was visiting there every Saturday and had a committee of health education and Bible studies. The other parish was in Pasaquina, where Pastor Chita (Blanca María Méndez) was and one here in San Salvador.”

475 Author's e-mail interview with Vilma Rodríguez (1.7.2009).

476 The Institute of Investigation, Education and Development of Women. Author's interview with Silke Kapteine (17.2.2006).

477 The Communist Party of El Salvador was founded in 1930. eltorogoz.net/pcs.htm (6.6.2013).

478 Author's interview with Silke Kapteine (17.2.2006). Reverend Silke Kapteine from Germany has been one of the private people from churches and organisations from abroad, who have been helping Sal-

MADRES), churches, and political parties were in the prisons. Ms. Maldeviña, who had co-operated with Alicia Emelina de Marcia in CO-MADRES since 1977, was imprisoned four times, because of her activities in that organisation.⁴⁷⁹ She recalled:

“They arrested me for the first time in San Pedro de Perulaban in the county of Cuscatlan.[. . .] The men belonged to the death squads ORDEN. I still have marks of that capture. [...] I was imprisoned, because I was co-working with Alicia during those years, when so many people disappeared and were killed [...] I had a six months old child, but my mother did hide him and they did not see the child..[...] They put a bandage on my eyes for about 15 hours and handcuffs and hit me every 15 minutes on different places on my body. [...] They asked me, if I know some specific people. [...] They gave me to the National Police. [...] I almost died, because they covered my head with a hood and pushed me into water with electric current connected to it. Then they put me in a hot room and said rude words to me and raped me. It was extremely painful. I will never forget anything, what happened.”⁴⁸⁰

Ms. Maldeviña told her story in the modest office of CO-MADRES in San Salvador in 2007. After the traumatic events she never recovered, but the mothers of the CO-MADRES took care of her.⁴⁸¹ The case of Ms. Maldeviña is one amongst many similar experiences of women activists during the civil war. Activism in the popular movement and work against the human rights violations were the common denominators for the arrested women. Thus, the main aim of these women was to search

vadoran people in many ways. Some others have been Waltraud and Helmut Köhler, Christoph Jahnel and many young volunteers from Germany. Additionally, volunteers from the USA, mostly through ELCA, have very often assisted the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. Author's observations and informal discussions in El Salvador 2005-2011. According to Silke Kapteine, the Holy Communion offered in the prisons consisted of ordinary bread and grape juice.

479 Ms. Maldeviña told her story to the author in the connection of the interview with Alicia Emelina de Marcia, (14.9.2007). I will not write her whole name for security reasons.

480 Author's interview with Ms. Maldeviña (14.9.2007).

481 Author's interview with Ms. Maldeviña (14.9.2007).

for their disappeared family members.⁴⁸² The cruel oppression against the members of CO-MADRES was especially grave, because they were identified as mothers, and to be a mother in the Latin American Catholic countries has been almost sacred based on the traditional *Mariology*, worship of Virgin Mary.⁴⁸³ Vuola notes that in trying to hold their families together, mothers became be seen as “subversive mothers” by the state, who had failed to protect the important values: motherhood and family.⁴⁸⁴ Some scholars, according to Vuola, call this phenomenon “political motherhood” and a new form of the “Suffering Mother”. The church again, with its long tradition of female obedience to and sacrifice for the family - along the example of Virgin Mary - provided a basis for women’s ability to challenge repressive regimes and exercise public power, suggest Vuola. These active mothers from El Salvador with their white scarves on their head banging pots during the demonstrations were connected with mothers in Argentina and Guatemala.⁴⁸⁵

The co-operation of women in and between different organisations and churches during the civil war was further realised, for example, as a special Sunday service on Mother’s day in May 1988, in front of the Catholic Cathedral in San Salvador. Five women’s organisations, with their religious wings, had organised the service. That opportunity reflected the positive attitude of Archbishop Arturo Rivera y Damas towards women’s ecumenical activities during the civil war. Women were offered the possibility to preach in the service.⁴⁸⁶ Silke Kapteine preached

482 Potthast 2003, 361-368, author’s interview with Alicia Emelina de Marcia (14.9.2007).

483 Vuola 1997, 171. See also Potthast 2003, 361-368.

484 Vuola 1997, 171.

485 Vuola 1997, 171.

486 There were also protests by the mothers’ organisation CO-MADRES, on *Plaza Civica* (a large square in front of the Cathedral) against the government. The mothers claimed that the government had arrested their children, tortured them and declared them *disappeared*. Author’s interview with Alicia Emelina de Marcia (14.9.2007).

on behalf of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador.⁴⁸⁷ Obviously, it was safer for a foreign pastor to preach publicly during the war than for a Salvadoran woman. Despite this, it was extraordinary that women, especially Protestant women, were allowed to preach and wear liturgical clothes in a Salvadoran Catholic service.⁴⁸⁸ Furthermore, women celebrated ecumenically *International Women's Day of Prayer* and encounters of solidarity between the churches belonging to the *Latin-American Council of Churches* (CLAI).⁴⁸⁹

Nevertheless, being a foreigner and a woman did not always provide protection against violence. A delegation including women and men from several European countries visited *La Resurrección* during the chaotic November of 1989 in San Salvador. The delegation of twelve people were assisting the church's efforts to take care of hundreds of suffering people, who had escaped crossfire in their neighbourhood and, who came to the Lutheran church for shelter and food. Together with the Salvadoran parishioners, the visitors had written confessions and prayers on a cross in the church. When a death squad of the government came to the church on the 16th of November, 1989, searching for Medardo Gómez and could not find him, they took the cross and arrested the international delegation, some employees and members of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador.

487 Silke Kapteine had received permission from Medardo Gómez to represent the Lutheran Church of El Salvador in that service. Silke Kapteine recalled the preparations with Cecilia Alfaro: "Cecilia Alfaro helped me to write the sermon and we wrote it during the nights and I read that as a product of co-operation. They gave me a white alba (in the Cathedral) and a blue stola and a little flower". Author's interview with Silke Kapteine (17.2. 2006). Additionally, the Catholic Church and the Lutheran Church of El Salvador were cooperating in the social work through DIACONIA organisation in the 1980s.

488 *Día Mundial de la Oración*. Consejo Latinoamericano de Iglesias, Gómez 2003, 45.

489 *Consejo Latinoamericano de Iglesias*. Author's interview with Silke Kapteine (17.2. 2006).

Most of the people arrested were released the following day on the condition that the foreigners leave the country. This Subversive Cross was returned some months later to the church with the help of German and North American church leaders.⁴⁹⁰

November 1989 was not safe for any of the leading people in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. Abelina Gómez had to flee with her children to Mexico, while her husband became an exile in Mexico and Guatemala. At that time Cecilia Alfaro worked as the head of *Socorro*,⁴⁹¹ but she in turn had to escape to Guatemala for two and a half years and would only return when the cease-fire was declared in 1991.⁴⁹² The same destiny also faced the psychologist Vilma Rodríguez. During 1987-1989, Rodríguez had co-operated with the Lutheran World Federation as well as with other churches and organisations regarding the resettlement of

490 Carnage Again 1989, 39, 40: "The twelve captured are Brigitte Schwartz, a German citizen with the German Church Overseas Association; Tobias Monning, a Lutheran pastor from Germany; U.S. nurse Thomas Gabriel; Spanish citizen Luis Boigues; U.S. doctor Paula Brentlinger; Canadian citizen Brian Rude; U.S. citizen Paul Fitch; U.S. citizen Brad Fields; German doctor Herbert Schmidt; German theology students Simone Menecken and Jutta Muller; and German citizen Susanne Keiling." "Salvador Ibarra, the attorney for Socorro Juridico Luterano, the human rights office of the Lutheran Church, was arrested on November 16 by the National Guard, when he accompanied the twelve detained foreigners to the headquarters. As of this (24.11.1989) writing, he remains in custody in the National Police and on a hunger strike protesting his arrest. He has an ulcer. Two Salvadoran women arrested with him at the Guard headquarters were released, one after three days detention." Medardo Gómez managed to flee from the military, which was searching for him again. See also Gómez 1994, 105-109 and, e.g., luterano.blogspot.com/2009/11/subversive-cross.html (6.6.2013). This was the same night as the death squads killed the Jesuits at the Catholic University, UCA.

491 The Diaconical Work of the Lutheran Church.

492 Group interview with Vilma Rodríguez, Cecilia Alfaro, Concepción Ángel and Guadalupe Cortés (29.1.2005). Author's field diary. Author's interview with Cecilia Alfaro (10.2.2006).

the repatriating Salvadorans from the refugee camps in Honduras. In November 1989, Rodríguez was forced to escape the death squads. She fled to her sister, Victoria Cortez, in Nicaragua and moved later to Guatemala.⁴⁹³ Cecilia Alfaro and Vilma Rodríguez established a Lutheran refugee church, *La Santísima Trinidad*,⁴⁹⁴ in Guatemala.⁴⁹⁵ In addition, Rodríguez gave psycho-social therapy to those refugees who had been tortured and had been infected with HIV during their ordeals at the refugee camps. Vilma Rodríguez and Cecilia Alfaro also studied theology at the seminary of the Mennonites in Guatemala. They both returned to El Salvador during 1991/1992 and Medardo Gómez encouraged them to continue their studies in theology with the aim of serving as pastors.⁴⁹⁶

During the transition time to peace, it became easier to gain theological education in El Salvador. The Lutheran University of El Salvador (ULS) was established in 1987 with the help of a German organisation, *Brot für die Welt*. The university was opened in 1991 as a university aiming to offer academic education for peasants and other poor people. Among other disciplines, it was possible to study theology. Earlier the Lutheran pastors had gained their theological education in other countries, as we have seen. Since 1991, it has been possible to study Lutheran theology in El Salvador.⁴⁹⁷

493 Group interview with Vilma Rodríguez, Cecilia Alfaro, Concepción Ángel and Guadalupe Cortés (29.1.2005). Author's field diary. Author's e-mail interview with Vilma Rodríguez (1.7.2009).

494 Holy Trinity.

495 The church was like a mission of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador for the refugees. Author's e-mail interview with Vilma Rodríguez (1.7.2009).

496 Author's interviews with Cecilia Alfaro (10.2.2006) and e-mail interview with Vilma Rodríguez (1.7.2009) and group interview with Vilma Rodríguez, Cecilia Alfaro, Concepción Ángel and Guadalupe Cortés (29.1.2005). Author's field diary.

497 *Universidad Luterana Salvadoreña*. In fact, the Lutheran University has become an ecumenical University. To the founder organisations, together with the Lutheran Church of El Salvador belonged Iglesia

Vilma Rodríguez was pleased with her work as a psychologist and was also involved in the women's programmes. However, in 1992, she decided to take up studies in theology at the Lutheran University of El Salvador. At the same time, she worked as a co-director in the area of education and psychology in the foundation, *Fundación para la Vida y por la Paz Obispo Medardo Gómez* (FUNVIPAZ).⁴⁹⁸ The foundation was established in 1992, when Medardo Gómez was a candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize.⁴⁹⁹ Gómez participated in the peace negotiations together with a Baptist pastor Edgar Palacios as the president of the Permanent Commission of the National Debate for Peace in El Salvador. They also founded together the National Council of Churches (CNI).⁵⁰⁰ Medardo Gómez was present, when the Peace Accords were signed in Chapultepec, Mexico, in January 1992.⁵⁰¹

Women as Presbyter Pastors (1994-2003)

Finally, as a consequence of the decision of the general assembly of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador in 1986 concerning opening the ministry for women, Abelina Gómez and Marina Méndez were ordained on the sixth of August, 1994, as presbyter pastors.⁵⁰² At the same time, as many as eight men were

Anglicana Episcopal de El Salvador (the Anglican Church of El Salvador) and two Baptist parishes, Emmanuel and Shalón. Jahnle 2005, 264-265.

498 Foundation for Life and Peace Medardo Gómez. FUNVIPAZ. Author's interview with Vilma Rodríguez, (10.2.2006) and e-mail interview (1.7.2009).

499 Chincilla and Juarez 1992, 40.

500 *Consejo Nacional de Iglesias*. Chincilla and Juarez, 1992, 40.

501 Chincilla and Juarez, 1992, 82.

502 One day earlier, the fifth of August, 1994, two catechists and one evangelist, Isabel Villegas de Pineda, Yanneth Maribel Marquez de Paredes and Maria Soledad Villacosta de Dubon, were installed by Bishop Gómez. *The Lutheran Herald* August/1994. Author's interview with Abelina Gómez (5.1.2006). See also Pineda and Dubon 1997, 125.

ordained as presbyter pastors.⁵⁰³ The ordination was organised at the same date as the annual anniversary of the Bishop's consecration with several guests from the sister parishes and churches. On the day before three lay pastors were installed. The possibility of studying theology at the Lutheran University of El Salvador had come to fruition with so many presbyter pastors at the same ordination. However, Gómez and Méndez did not at that moment have a Bachelor's degree from the university – Abelina Gómez completed it in 2003 - but they had served the Lutheran Church of El Salvador for a long time; Marina Méndez since 1969, and Abelina Gómez since 1972 in the educational domain and as deacon pastors since 1986. Their long experience in parish work was considered sufficient for ordination.⁵⁰⁴ According to Abelina Gómez, the ordination was a recognition of her work in the church and a recognition of women in the church.⁵⁰⁵

Abelina Gomez and Marina Méndez were the first women ordained as presbyter pastors in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. The decision, which the synod of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador had concluded in 1986 concerning opening the ministry to women, came true. They received, through the ordination, the full rights belonging to the ministry: right to baptise, confirm, marry, consecrate the Holy Communion, bury and officiate Sunday services. They also received the right to be called

503 The ordained were: Horacio Castillo Argueta, Eliseo Rodríguez, Marina Méndez de Recinos, Abelina Centeno de Gómez, Eduardo Alvarez Cabrera, José Pilar Alvarez Cabrera, Walter Alfredo Baires, Jaime Antonio Dubón and Carlos Alberto Najera. *The Lutheran Herald* August/1994. Medardo Gómez organised a reception in honour of the ordination in a hotel. Author's interview with Abelina Gómez (5.1.2006). The author has also a copy of the invitation card to that reception.

504 Author's interview with Abelina Gómez (5.1.2006) and e-mail from Abelina Gómez to the author (25.4.2013).

505 Author's interview with Abelina Gómez (5.1.2006).

reverends (*reverendas*).⁵⁰⁶ Abelina Gómez acquired the parish *Fe y Esperanza* – a parish, which was established in the former refugee centre - her responsibility besides the work with women through the *Women's Pastoral* programme and Marina Méndez continued her work in Pasaquina in the parish *La Santísima Trinidad*.⁵⁰⁷

Women's ordinations continued and Cecilia Alfaro was ordained as presbyter pastor in 1999.⁵⁰⁸ In 1997, Vilma Rodríguez had been awarded a scholarship to Iowa, USA, to study theology for a Bachelor's degree and in 2000, she too was ordained as presbyter pastor.⁵⁰⁹ Victoria Cortez lived in Nicaragua, where she was exiled in 1983. She had established there a Lutheran church together with Salvadoran refugees and within a short time many Nicaraguans joined the Lutheran church. Cortez had also studied theology, and she was ordained as presbyter pastor in 1990.⁵¹⁰ All

506 Medardo Gómez organised a big reception in the honour of the ordination of his wife Abelina. Author has a copy of the invitation card for the reception. Author's discussions with Abelina Gómez 2006-2009.

507 When the *Fe y Esperanza* finished serving as a refugee centre, it continued to serve as a church for the parishioners. In addition, the area is in common use for the youth camps of the Lutheran church of El Salvador. *Pastoral de la Mujer*. Women's Pastoral programme was established in 1990. Gómez 2003, 75. Blanca Irma Rodríguez de Herrera wrote in 2012 in an article *La Pastoral de la Mujer en el SLS*, p.3/3, that Women's Pastoral had already started in 1984. Sometimes it is difficult to know which activity only took place in the parish *La Resurrección* and which was national and this can cause misunderstandings.

508 Author's e-mail interview with Vilma Rodríguez (1.7.2009), Cecilia Alfaro (10.2.2006) and Abelina Gómez (5.1.2006). Group interview with Vilma Rodríguez, Cecilia Alfaro, Concepción Ángel and Guadalupe Cortés (29.1.2005). Author's field diary.

509 Author's interview with Vilma Rodríguez (10.2.2006) and e-mail interview (1.7.2009).

510 Author's interview with Victoria Cortez (10.2.2006). She has studied theology in 1988-1991 in Inter-Ecclesial Centre for Theological and Social Studies in Managua.

the key women, who had been lay leaders in the 1980s, were presbyter pastors at the beginning of the twenty-first-century. Additionally, Abelina Gómez and Marina Méndez had the honour to open the path for women as presbyter pastors in El Salvador.

Women's Pastoral

After the Peace Accords, women's engagement in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador increased again. The World Council of Churches (WCC), declared the years 1988-1998 as *The Ecumenical Decade – Churches in Solidarity with Women*. The purpose of the Decade was to challenge member churches to demonstrate solidarity towards women. Gunvor Lande conducted comparative research, where she studied, how the Decade was realised in Christian communities in four countries: the Lutheran churches in Norway and El Salvador as well as in the ecumenical women's groups in Kenya and Japan. She examined especially, how human *like-worthiness* manifested in those churches through study programmes.⁵¹¹ The aim of the women's pastoral courses was leadership training and raising women's feminist consciousness.⁵¹² The Lutheran University of El Salvador (ULS),⁵¹³ the Council of Lutheran Churches in Central America (CILCA)⁵¹⁴ and *Women's Pastoral* programme of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador co-operated and prepared a training programme with two courses and four booklets for the Ecumenical Decade. A Finnish pastor, Reetta Leskinen, co-ordinated the work between

511 Lande 2002, 302. Lande explains why she utilises the word "like-worthiness": The concept, which lies at the heart of this dissertation, is contained within the Norwegian word "likeverdigg". The exact equivalent in English would be "like-worthiness". Although this word is not listed in English dictionaries, very similar constructions appear. In particular the word "like-mindedness" is extremely common and is used to signify that two or more people think the same way or are agreed in option, goals etc. Here the word "like" is used in the dictionary in the sense of "resembling or similar to".

512 Lande 2002, 88.

513 *Universidad Luterana Salvadoreña*.

514 *Consejo de Iglesias Luteranas de Centroamérica*.

the organisations during the first course in 1994-1995.⁵¹⁵ The first course in 1995 had twenty-four participants and the second course in 1997 had thirty participants. The courses were open for all Lutheran women in Central America.⁵¹⁶

Abelina Gómez, who was leading the work with women for the Women's Pastoral programme in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador, planned the course with Isabel Villegas and Vilma Rodríguez. Miriam Gaspár from the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) and Abelina Gómez conducted the second course in 1997.⁵¹⁷ The themes of the four booklets published after the courses covered many areas of a woman's life. They focused on themes like sex and gender, family, domestic violence, women in the church and contextualisation of feminist theology with numerous texts from the Bible. The ideas of several Latin American feminist theologians, like Ivone Gebara and Elsa Támez, were also presented. The last booklet dealt with pastoral methods for working with women in the church and for the women's ministry in the church.⁵¹⁸ With the training programme, ac-

515 Reverend Reetta Leskinen from Finland was widely working as a volunteer in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador during the time her husband Reverend Tapio Leskinen was serving as a programme leader at the Central America of the Lutheran World Federation (1993-1996) and living with his family in San Salvador. Interview with Reetta Leskinen (15.9.2004).

516 Lande 2002, 89.

517 Abelina Gómez 2003, 48. The first booklet was a result of the studies in 1995, and Abelina Gómez, Isabel Villegas, Vilma Rodríguez and Reetta Leskinen are mentioned as authors. Candelaria Navas prepared the introduction. The funds were applied from the Lutheran World Federation and the Finn Church Aid (the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Finland) and the Lutheran Church of Bavaria. Lande (2002), 90. The second booklet was published in 1997 and the coordination group consisted of Abelina Centeno de Gómez, Blanca Irma Rodríguez de Herrera, Vilma Esperanza Rodríguez, Miriam Gaspár, Aurora Nottingham, Verena Gruter and Elaine Gleci Neuenfeldt. The coordination and group for booklets three and four are nearly the same.

518 The names of the booklets are: Analysis of the Reality and Situa-

cording to Lande, the Lutheran church and women, who participated, wanted to create a comprehensive modification from inequality to equality. She also points out the significant role of feminist theology in the programme and emphasises the Bible-reading method from the base communities.⁵¹⁹ Lande concludes that in El Salvador, the vision of the Ecumenical Decade sharply confronted the prevailing patriarchy. The problem of power was crucial. A major obstacle to the acceptance of women's leadership was seen in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador in the mid 1990s. However, the self-esteem, knowledge, and leadership skills of several women grew. In her comparative research of the four countries of the Women's Decade, Lande states that the role of conscious women in all contexts was a significant factor in the work towards equality between women and men.⁵²⁰

Victoria Cortez from Nicaragua contributed to the gender training and organised on behalf of the *Women's Pastoral of the Communion of Lutheran Churches of Central America* (CILCA) the *Fourth Encounter of Lutheran Women of Central America* in July 1994 in El Salvador together with the Salvadoran co-operation partners. This encounter gathered 50 women leaders from Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and El Salvador in *Fe y Esperanza*. The former refugee centre was now utilised for camps and events as well as for parish activities in the parish of *Fe y Esperanza*. The themes concerned gender, feminist theology, and women in the Bible. The purpose of the encounter was raising the gender-awareness and the formation of the Central American Lutheran women.⁵²¹ Victoria Cortez analyses in the

tion of Salvadoran Women (*Análisis de la realidad, y situación de las mujeres en El Salvador*), 1995, Women in the Bible – a Feminist Rereading (*Las mujeres en la Biblia – una relectura feminista*), 1997, Principal Themes of the Feminist Theology (*Principales temas de la teología feminista*), 1997, Organisation, Planning and Spirituality (*Organización, Planificación y Espiritualidad*), 1998.

519 Lande 2002, 105-109, 235.

520 Lande 2002, 300.

521 *The Lutheran Herald* July/1994.

interview given by her to *The Lutheran Herald*, the "qualitative jump from the *Society of Women* into *Women's Pastoral*". In the Lutheran churches of Central America – as a tradition from the Missouri Synod – the work with women was first named *Sociedad de las Damas*, as in El Salvador since 1972. With the purpose of avoiding some misunderstandings the first name thought of – the Association of Mistresses - was changed into the *Society of Women* in the early 1980s. With the "jump" Victoria Cortez refers to the transformation from the very traditional view concerning gender roles between women and men with such women's activities as "arranging the altar and cleaning the locals" to the feminist goals with equality between genders and rereading of the Bible.⁵²² These transformations occurred in the Lutheran churches in Nicaragua and in El Salvador.

Blanca Irma Rodríguez de Herrera, who was ordained presbyter pastor in 1997, stresses that the co-operation of several women theologians from abroad in the mid 1990s was crucial for the rising of the feminist consciousness among Salvadoran Lutheran Women.⁵²³ Earlier the goal of *social justice* had been the common goal for many Salvadoran women and men in the civil society as well as in the Lutheran church. In the mid 1990s, with the help of the study during the Ecumenical Decade, feminist goals with equality between women and men and feminist theological Bible interpretation were emphasised. Rodríguez de Herrera pointed out the significance of foreign women theologians, for example, Reetta Leskinen from Finland, Verena Grüter from Germany, Elaine Neuenfeldt from Brazil, Raquel Rodríguez from USA and Silke Kapteine from Germany.⁵²⁴ During

522 *The Lutheran Herald* July/1994. *Sociedad de las Damas* was a translation of its English original Ladies' Society, but the Spanish translation, unfortunately, meant Society of Mistresses.

523 Rodríguez de Herrera, 2012, 3, *El Sacerdocio ordenado de la mujer*, paper with four pages.

524 Rodríguez de Herrera, 2012, 3, *El Sacerdocio ordenado de la mujer*, paper with four pages.

the same time, Miriam Gáspar (born in Bolivia) moved from Mexico to El Salvador to work in the Lutheran World Federation (LWF). These women were working at the Lutheran University of El Salvador (ULS), the Lutheran World Federation (LWF), the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America (ELCA) or in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. Some of them were volunteers. This well educated international group of women brought their feminist theological knowledge and experience from their context and, a significant contribution to the co-operation with the Women's Pastoral programme in the Lutheran church towards feminist goals.

The two courses about Women's Pastoral were not the only activities arranged to raise the gender-awareness of women in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador in the mid 1990s and at the turn of the millennium. Intra family violence was very common in El Salvador and especially women and children suffered the consequences. In 2000, Abelina Gómez founded women's study circles with the theme *Gender-awareness and Bible reading*. A few of the women participants living in difficult family situations misused Abelina Gómez' teaching of equality at home, and as a result, some couples divorced.⁵²⁵ The husbands accused the leaders, especially Abelina Gómez, and the study programme for their divorces.⁵²⁶ The conservative group of male pastors in

525 "And you have perhaps problems with your husband, and then you get some self-esteem, the moment will come, when they say: "I don't like that you are treating me badly. I don't like to fight with you, because it hurts me. And if you don't stop to hit me, it is better that I will go." And then the husband says: "And what has happened to you? Before, when I started to hit you, you stayed here with all the punches I gave to you. And now, I hit, and you will go ..." Author's interview with Abelina Gómez (5.1.2006). Author's translation.

526 Author's interview with Abelina Gómez (5.1.2006). Author's translation. "I was teaching in the women's reunions, that the family forms a home, and every member of the family has her or his own responsibilities. In the training group, there were also women, who misused my teachings, and said at home to the husband: "Doña Abelina said that you should clean the floor, and you should help. And after

the Lutheran church wanted to study gender issues as well. The motives were unclear and soon they also accused the leaders of the study circles of breaking up families and stopped participating in the training. In 2003, the women's meetings were interrupted and the Women's Pastoral programme was closed. The name and purpose of the programme was changed to *Gender and Family*.⁵²⁷ The Women's Pastoral programme was obviously found too feminist and radical in the context of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. A few divorces complicated the gender work afterwards in the Lutheran church. It is obvious that Medardo Gómez has been several times in a difficult situation, making decisions concerning his wife as a co-worker in the same church. Probably, the conservative group had put pressure on returning back to more traditional gender roles in the teaching of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. Presumably, the programme of Gender and Family was seen by the conservative group to include the traditional ideal of the family with mother, father and children.

Abelina Gómez discusses in her Bachelor's thesis that the name of the programme was changed with the purpose of advancing the education of children towards equality between genders and to strengthen the participation of women with the support of men.⁵²⁸ Here the difference between the oral and literary sources is presented i.e. an interview in a confidential environment and a Bachelor's thesis from the university. In an oral interview it is easier to speak about feelings and frustrations, which you are not expected to be written in a thesis. For example, Abelina Gómez revealed in the interview, that she had

that, men got angry and said: Who is this woman, who decides, what I should do in my home!" For a Salvadoran man this teaching was almost a threat, because in El Salvador men would say. "To wash a plate? I should wash a plate? To clean the floor? These eyes will never see that!"

527 *Género y Familia*. Author's interview with Abelina Gómez (5.1.2006).

528 Gómez 2003, 38.

difficulties with some male colleagues all the time, when she was running the activities of the *Women's Pastoral*.⁵²⁹ Despite these incidents, the Lutheran church took many steps forward concerning equality between genders from 1994 to 2003, and witnessed, *de facto*, a women's movement in the church.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century the number of positions of women as lay leaders had decreased. Many of the former lay leaders had gained theological education and were ordained as pastors. Vilma Rodríguez served as the head of the *diaconía* programme (including the fields Faith and Service, Human Rights and Integral Health) of the Lutheran church and, Cecilia Alfaro was the general secretary of the church. Abelina Gómez was heading the Gender and Family programme. Besides their work as programme leaders in the church, the women pastors also had their own parishes. Victoria Cortez was consecrated in 2004 as Bishop of the Lutheran Church of Nicaragua *Fe y Esperanza* and, she was nominated as a vice president of the Lutheran World Federation.⁵³⁰ These four women, Victoria Cortez, Vilma Rodríguez, Cecilia Alfaro and Abelina Gómez, have been pioneers in the women's leadership in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador.

4.3 Women in Ministry – Discussion and Reasons

Discussion

Globally during the two last decades of the twentieth century several mainline Protestant churches decided to open their ministry to women.⁵³¹ In a few churches women's ministry was re-

529 Author's interview with Abelina Gómez (5.1.2006).

530 The Lutheran Church of Nicaragua has the same name as the former refugee centre in El Salvador, *Fe y Esperanza*, Faith and Hope. Victoria Cortez served as the Vice President for the Latin America and Caribbean region 2003-2010.

531 The year of the decision of opening the ministry to women and the year of the first ordination are sometimes different. However, for ex-

alised earlier: in the Lutheran Churches of Denmark in 1947, Norway in 1949 and Sweden in 1958/1960. The Evangelical and Reformed churches of Germany opened the ministry to women in the late 1950s and the Lutheran Church in America (LCA) in 1970.⁵³²

The development towards women's ministry in the young churches was largely dependent on the mission bodies, with which the young churches have been connected. A majority of the Lutheran churches in Africa ordain women pastors, but could be different practices between dioceses inside the same church.⁵³³ Similarly with Africa, the mission bodies and traditional immigrant churches have affected the decisions and practices concerning women's ministry in Latin America. The arguments against women's ordination have been rather similar around the Christian world. A common reason has been that the priest is the icon of Christ and therefore should be

ample, in the case of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland, I prefer the year of the first ordination in the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland in 1988 although the decision was made in 1986. Närhi 2012, 13. In the Lutheran Church of El Salvador the decision was also taken in 1986 and the first ordination happened in 1994.

532 Lehtiö, 2004, 222, Odenberg, 2008, 114-117. In Sweden, the Parliament took the decision concerning women's ordination in 1958, the church Assembly in 1959 and, finally, the first women were ordained in 1960. The church bodies that formed the ELCA in 1988 began ordaining women in 1970, when the Lutheran Church of America (LCA) ordained the first woman. www.elca.org/ELCA/ (6.6.2013). The Lutheran and Reformed churches in Germany, which form a church union, *Evangelische Kirchen in Deutschland* (EKD), have ordained women since the late 1950s. www.ekd.de/bevollmaechtigter/stellungnahmen (6.6.2013). The Congregationalists opened the ministry for women as early as 1853 in the USA, 1917 in England and 1927 in Australia. Pitman, 2008, 92.

533 Mombo 2008, 124. The Presbyterian Church of East Africa has ordained women since 1980, and the Anglican churches in Africa since 1983. In the Anglican Church family each province is an autonomous organisation and some churches bishops can have different practices. Mombo, 2008, 130-131.

male.⁵³⁴ Another argument has been that Jesus appointed 12 apostles, who were men, and therefore the ordination should only be for men. Some Protestant denominations argue in favour of male headship and the subordination of women, based on the pastoral letters which deal with the household codes (Eph.5, 21-30, Col. 3, 18-25, I Tim.2,11-16, 3,1-7, 6,1-2).⁵³⁵ A few churches have justified their arguments with reference to women's sexuality and impurity during menstruation and pregnancy connected with regulations in the Old Testament.⁵³⁶ The literal biblical interpretation of Bible, cultural, and other tradition concerning the posts of the churches have been the main arguments for denying ordination to women. Mainly, the arguments against women's ordination have been dogmatic and sociological.

Common arguments in favour for the ordination of women have been based on the Biblical interpretations of creation (Gen.1: 26), Martha and Mary (Lk 10: 38-42), the Samaritan woman (Jn 4:1-41), Mary Magdalene (Jn 8:2-11) etc.⁵³⁷ Latin American feminist theologians, Irene De Foulkes and Elsa Tamez, have contributed with contextual interpretations of, for example, the story of Agar and Ismael, as a story of how an oppressed woman, whom they compare with Latin American women, can become an important part of salvation history, and with a feminist interpretation of 1 Tim.2 concerning women in the parish life.⁵³⁸ Furthermore, Elsa Tamez and Irene De Foulkes discuss theological issues, such as Jesus and women, especially analysing the discussion between Jesus and Martha and Mary,

534 Macy 2008, 121-122, Mombo 2008, 126.

535 Mombo 2008, 126. See also Odenberg 2008, 120, Vähäkangas 1992, Lehtiö, 2004, 325-330, Macy 2008, 122-123.

536 See, for example, Vähäkangas 1992, 82-88.

537 "It will not be so among you! A Faith reflection on Gender and Power", 2010, 32-33. www.lutheranworld.org/.../DMD-Gender_Power-EN-low.pdf (6.6.2013). See also Abelina Gómez 2003, 42.

538 *De Foulkes 1985, 11-17.*

and inclusion or exclusion of women in the parishes on several levels in the light of that specific discussion.⁵³⁹ Besides the contextual Bible interpretation, gender-equality and human rights, inclusion as an intention of faith and shared leadership have been other arguments in favour of women's ordination.⁵⁴⁰ To quote a LWF study edited by Priscilla Singh: "Feminist theology has brought back to light Jesus' empowering ministry among women."⁵⁴¹

Ecumenically the woman question has been discussed, according to Pirkko Lehtiö, in one form or other, in the general assemblies of the World Council of Churches (WCC) since 1927.⁵⁴² The second assembly of the LWF in 1952 in Hannover started, according to Lehtiö, to study "the special tasks of men and women in the parish life in the light of Bible."⁵⁴³ Furthermore, several churches were faced with the challenge, what to do with women with theological education.⁵⁴⁴ Since 1972, the LWF has had a Desk for Women in Church and Society (WICAS) and since 1984, the LWF has strongly emphasised its member churches in several general assemblies to ordain women.⁵⁴⁵ The

539 Ibid. Luc 10.

540 "It will not be so among you! A Faith reflection on Gender and Power", 2010, 32-33. www.lutheranworld.org/.../DMD-Gender_Power-EN-low.pdf (6.6.2013).

541 "It will not be so among you! A Faith reflection on Gender and Power", 2010, 32. www.lutheranworld.org/.../DMD-Gender_Power-EN-low.pdf (15.1.2013). Priscilla Singh was the head of the Desk for Women in Church and Society (WICAS).

542 Lehtiö 1981, number 6, 433-437.

543 Lehtiö 2004, 227. Author's translation.

544 Lehtiö 2004, 246, 269, 334-336, Odenberg 2008, 113.

545 "It will not be so among you! A Faith reflection on Gender and Power", 2010, 55. www.lutheranworld.org/.../DMD-Gender_Power-EN-low.pdf, (6.6.2013). 1984 Budapest, 1990 Curitiba, 1997 Hong Kong and 2003 Winnipeg. For example, Assembly, 1984, Budapest: "To urge the LWF member churches that do not ordain women to take specific steps toward an affirmative action; to urge the LWF member churches that do ordain women to develop policies that ensure

discussion about women's ordination does not only refer to the women's ordination as pastors but also installation or ordination as deacons, deaconesses and catechists in a few churches.⁵⁴⁶ *The Ecumenical Decade – Churches in Solidarity with Women*, which the World Council of Churches (WCC), declared the years 1988-1998 to be, encouraged the discussion concerning women and ministry in Christian churches around the world. Parallel with this, in many Protestant churches women's ordination into the ministry advanced.⁵⁴⁷

Seija Molina suggests in her study that the decisions concerning women's ordination in several Lutheran churches have had a symbolic value in the surrounding society and has been connected to the image of the Church. She cites Mark Chaves, who has suggested that the pressure from outside the church has often had more of an affect than the internal reasons inside a faith community.

Molina questions whether the values of equality and justice can be seen at all as values outside the church. These values have also been important for churches and therefore, the churches should realise their own teaching of these values. In line with Molina, Angela Berlis questions Chaves' opinion that by ordaining or not ordaining women, churches "signify their

equality in service opportunities and benefits." LWF Report February 1985 No 18/20 – Proceedings of the Seventh Assembly "In Christ we Hope", 227. LWF Commitments and Resolutions on Women.) The documents are to be found in the webpage of the Lutheran World Federation, www.lutheranworld.org/lwf/ (6.6.2013).

546 The Lutheran Church of Brazil, the Anglican Church and the Orthodox Church. In the Old Church the posts were bishop, priest and deacon, which was later called for three-fold ministry.

547 Mombo 2008, 123-139. In Finland, the decision to opening the ministry to women was concluded in 1986 and the first ordination occurred in 1988. Several researchers have investigated the process before the decision and the consequences and development after the first ordination. See, for example, Lehtiö 2004, Saarinen 2005, Molina 2010, Närhi 2012 .

identity”.⁵⁴⁸ Berlis prefers that the sociological insights must be complemented by theological arguments. To continue with Molina, she questions, if by ordaining women into the ministry, the surrounding society is pleased and equality reached. After the ordination, the churches, according to Molina, have stagnated in their development towards equality in all hierarchical levels including leadership and bishops’ posts.⁵⁴⁹ Whether or not opening the ministry to women in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador had a symbolic value for the Salvadoran society and churches, is an interesting question. It might be possible to think that the reasons for opening the ministry in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador were rather practical, but at the same time women’s ordination has had a symbolic meaning for the surrounding society and churches. Women serving as deacon pastors since 1986 and as presbyter pastors since 1994 has strengthened the profile of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador as a progressive Protestant church.

The discussion concerning women pastors in Latin America was encouraged by courses concerning Women’s Pastoral⁵⁵⁰ in the early 1980s. These courses were held at the *Seminario Biblico Latinoamericano* in San Jose, Costa Rica,⁵⁵¹ and through co-operation with the Lutheran University and Church of El Salvador and the LFW in the mid 1990s as well, as was discussed in the previous chapter. Furthermore, the Lutheran Church of Colom-

548 Berlis 2008, 148.

549 Molina 2010, 157, 170, 3. See also “It will not be so among you! A Faith reflection on Gender and Power”, 2010, 23, 58. www.lutheran-world.org/.../DMD-Gender_Power-EN-low.pdf, (6.6.2013).

550 *Pastoral de la Mujer*.

551 The Biblical Seminary of Latin America. The seminary belongs to the network of ecumenical training places of the World Council of Churches (WCC). De Foulkes and Tamez, *Pastoral de la Mujer. Una Antologia*. The material is a collection of articles from several sources as copies (83 pages) and only for use in distance studies. The book has been printed in 1985, but the author has only a paper copy of the material.

bia prepared in 1995 for their general assembly a study concerning the ordination of women in the "holy ministry" in the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Colombia (IELCO).⁵⁵² According to that study, the subordination of women in the Old Testament is a consequence of the Fall, but a new era started with Jesus, which the New Testament promotes. Jesus had other followers than the apostles, too, and the witnesses of the resurrection were women. The message in the gospels is a call to equality based on baptism. This study justifies women's ordination exclusively with biblical reasons.⁵⁵³ The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Colombia (IELCO) started to ordain women in 1998.⁵⁵⁴

To the limited Latin American discussions concerning women and ministry Blanca Irma Rodríguez de Herrera brought her contribution, when she served as a missionary pastor in the Lutheran Church of Chile in the early 2000s. There she wrote an article concerning women's ordination in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Chile (IELCH).⁵⁵⁵ She justifies the ordination of women with biblical argumentation and Lutheran doctrine including *the priesthood of all believers* (1 Pet.2, 9 and Rom.12, 1-2.) In other words, Rodríguez does not make a distinction between the reasons for deaconate and ministry in this study. Rodríguez also suggests that the texts written by Paul should be interpreted in the Jewish context. Jesus made everything

552 *Iglesia Evangelica Luterana de Colombia y la Ordenacion de Mujeres al Santo Ministerio*. The scanned copy of the booklet of 20 pages was delivered to the author from Elizabeth Arciniegas de Lara, who belongs to the Latin American women's network of the Lutheran World Federation. The copy is with the author.

553 *Iglesia Evangelica Luterana de Colombia y la Ordenacion de Mujeres al Santo Ministerio*, 1995, 9-12, 19.

554 E-mail from Elizabeth Arciniegas de Lara to the author (19.2.2013).

555 Rodríguez de Herrera 2005, *Iglesia Evangelica Luterana en Chile. Ministerio Ordenado: Debe la Iglesia Ordenar Mujeres?* Rodríguez de Herrera gave the copy to the author in 2006, but the text is also to be found in www.lareconciliacion.cl/spanisch2/ielch/ordenacionmujeres.pdf (6.6.2013).

new, according to Rodríguez, and he did not preach anything oppressive or undervaluing as regards concerning women.⁵⁵⁶ She continues that “the reforming doctrine of the priesthood of all believers has opened the access for women in the ministry”. Rodríguez concludes that “God authorises us because of the baptism.”⁵⁵⁷ The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Chile (IELCH) started to ordain women in 1985. The only woman, Gloria Rojas, was ordained in 1985. She also worked as the president of the church in the early 2000s. As of 2013 no other women have been ordained into the ministry.⁵⁵⁸

Since 1991, the Faculty of the Lutheran World Federation, Evangelical Lutheran Church of Lutheran Confession in Brazil, has had a chair of feminist theology.⁵⁵⁹ Several studies concerning women’s ordination have been conducted since then. Valburga Schmiedt Streck and Marcia Blasi have studied gender related issues in the Evangelical Church of the Lutheran Confession in Brazil (IECLB).⁵⁶⁰ They surveyed the history of Lutheran women in Brazil starting with the deaconess movement in the early 20th century as well as the position of pastor’s wives, who were called “Frau Pfarrer”, and who did, in many cases, the same work as their pastor husbands.⁵⁶¹ Schmiedt and Streck have also scrutinised ordained women as pastors as well as deacons, catechists and missionaries. They point out that several of the catechists and deacons claim that the church is prevailingly a “pastor centred” power system. Finally, Streck and Blasi take up the question of

556 Rodríguez de Herrera 2005, 3.

557 Rodríguez de Herrera 2005, 9.

558 E-mail from Blanca Irma Rodríguez de Herrera to the author (21.4.2013). The only woman, Gloria Rojas, has been ordained in 1985. She worked also as president of the church in the early 2000s. Until 2013 no other women have been ordained into ministry.

559 Paixão and Müller Fernandes 2009, 3-6.

560 *Questões de genero e a Igreja Evangélica de Confissão Luterana no Brasil* - IECLB. Schmiedt Streck and Blasi 2009.

561 Schmiedt Streck and Blasi 2009, 225, 229. Concerning Deaconess movement, see also Gritsch 2010, 187-192.

homosexuality – with the hope it will be discussed in their church with the desire to create a “gay theology”.⁵⁶² Furthermore, Márcia Paixão as a coordinator and Ligiane Müller Fernandes as a research assistant have scrutinised women in the ordained ministry and their history, experience, and witness.⁵⁶³ The study is based on literary and oral interviews of ordained women in the Lutheran Church of Brazil (pastors, deacons, catechists, and missionaries). They make no distinction between installation and ordination. The key-question of the study was to explore, “whether anything has changed, when a woman leads an activity in the parish”.⁵⁶⁴ As a result, according to Paixão and Müller Fernandes, women have had many positive experiences in the parishes, for example, in counselling, but the women presented their need for further education, particularly, leadership training. In addition, women expressed their negative experiences of discrimination caused by a few male colleagues and, expectations of a full salary for full time work, even if women pastors are married to a pastor.⁵⁶⁵ Both Brazilian studies point out injustices in the salary system: pastors’ wives, who work in the parish, are unpaid; women pastors, who are married with a pastor, do not get a full salary and, a female catechist or a deacon loses their salary, if they marry a pastor.⁵⁶⁶ The Evangelical Church of the Lutheran Confession in Brazil (IECLB) started to ordain women as pastors in 1982 and since 1994 also as catechists, deacons, and missionaries.⁵⁶⁷ In the studies above, deaconate and ministry, installation and ordination have not been separated since 1994.

562 Schmiedt Streck and Blasi 2009, 224, 237-238.

563 Paixão and Müller Fernandes 2009.

564 Paixão and Müller Fernandes 2009, 10-11.

565 Paixão and Müller Fernandes 2009, 11-12.

566 Paixão and Müller Fernandes 2009, 11, and Schmiedt Streck and Blasi 2009, 229-230. IECLB had appr. 300 ordained women of appr. 840 ordained women and men. Paixão and Müller Fernandes 2009, 232.

567 Schmiedt Streck and Blasi 2009, 231 and Paixão and Müller Fernandes 2009, 6.

As illustrated, women in the Lutheran churches in Latin America were ordained in Argentina 1981, in Brazil 1982/1994, in Chile 1985, El Salvador 1986/1994, in Nicaragua 1990, in Colombia 1998, in Bolivia 2008 and in Mexico 2009.⁵⁶⁸ All these churches are members of the Lutheran World Federation (LWF). In several countries, there also exist other Lutheran churches, which do not install or ordain women and – generally – do not belong to the Lutheran church family of the LWF.⁵⁶⁹

Reasons

The previous discussion has analysed the worldwide situation and especially the Latin America situation concerning women and the ministry. Here I would like to go closer into the reasons in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador for opening the ministry to women, and installing women into the diaconate as deacon pastors and for ordaining women as presbyter pastors. Argumentation can be found in several sources of background in-

568 www.elca.org/What-We-Believe/Social-Issues/Journal-of-Lutheran-Ethics/Issues/December-2009/Some-Thoughts-on-the-Ordination-of-Women-and-the-Lutheran-Confessions.aspx (6.6.2013). E-mail from Elizabeth Arciniegas de Lara to the author (19.2.2013). E-mail from Blanca Irma Rodríguez de Herrera to the author e-mail (21.4.2013). The period of this research ceases in 2009. However, after that the Lutheran churches have opened the ministry to women in the following Latin American countries: Honduras 2010 and Guatemala in 2012. www.lutheranworld.org/lwf/index.php/womens-ordination-a-highlight-of-bolivian-lutheran-church-anniversary.html (6.6.2013), www.lutheranworld.org/lwf/index.php/mexican-church-female-leaders.html (6.6.2013), www.lcgsduluth.com/Ministries/Missions/HondurasMinistry/tabid/48336/Default.aspx (6.6.2013), www.pcUSA.org/news/2012/8/20/first-guatemalan-lutheran-woman-pastor-ordained/ (6.6.2013). In El Salvador, the decision concerning women's ordination was conducted in 1986, but the first ordination was in 1994.

569 In 2009, three quarters of the 145 member churches ordained women as pastors. "It will not be so among you! A Faith reflection on Gender and Power", 2010, 57. www.lutheranworld.org/.../DMD-Gender_Power-EN-low.pdf (6.6.2013).

formation; some theological by nature, others practical. Based on my research, I will suggest the following as possible reasons.

1. The first reason was very practical; the lack of pastors because of the civil war and the possibility of obtaining access to training and theological education. The fact was that men were fighting in the war or they had escaped to other countries for security reasons.⁵⁷⁰ The same reason, lack of personnel, was crucial also in allowing women to become lay leaders in the early 1980s, as we have seen in chapter three. As a consequence of the strong diaconical work with the suffering and poor people, the membership in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador increased, but only Medardo Gómez and Mauro Recinos were serving as pastors 1986. According to Jahnel, the number of registered parishioners participating in Holy Communion had increased from 220 parishioners in 1970 to 1 700 parishioners in 1980, and 6 800 parishioners in 1990.⁵⁷¹ The Lutheran church asked for more personnel, but the Missouri Synod did not send missionaries to a country at war. Gómez was in a difficult situation; he needed personnel and financial support from the "mother" church, the Missouri Synod, but he had already chosen a new direction for the Lutheran Church of El Salvador with his co-workers. Women as lay leaders were running several activities. The repression of the government increased again in 1986, and it was only a question of time as to when Medardo Gómez or Mauro Recinos or any of the lay leaders, would have to go into exile again – as happened in 1989. In this urgent situation, the church synod decided to consecrate Gómez as a bishop and to open the ministry to women. For these practical reasons, as a bishop, he installed 23 people as lay pastors in September 1986 including five women as catechists and two women as deacon pastors, Abelina Gómez and Marina Méndez. For Gómez and

570 Blanca Irma Rodríguez de Herrera mentions this practical reason in her master's thesis, lack of pastors, as one reason for the ordination of women.

571 Jahnel 2005, 444.

Méndez the installation as deacon pastors was a step towards the ordination into the ministry. The training programme of lay pastors and also opening that to women was crucial for obtaining more personnel for the Lutheran Church of El Salvador and for women to gain access to the path, which could gradually lead to the position of a presbyter pastor.

The opening of the Lutheran University of El Salvador (ULS) in 1991 expanded the possibilities both for women and men to study theology in their own country and serve as pastors in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. This new opportunity started a new era for the Lutheran church to acquire academically educated presbyter pastors – men as well women. In several countries in history, women have been refused acceptance to study theology at universities and seminaries, but because the ministry was already officially opened for women in El Salvador, this was not an issue.⁵⁷² Those Salvadoran women, who started to study theology, were active in the Lutheran church and knew that they could be ordained presbyter pastors after their studies. Earlier the missionaries and male pastors connected with the Missouri synod since the 1950 were trained in the USA, Mexico, Guatemala and Argentina. However, the opportunity to study in El Salvador has not reduced the possibilities to obtain scholarships to study at universities abroad.⁵⁷³ The Lutheran Churches in Central America, which belong to the *Council of Lutheran Churches of Central America* (CILCA),⁵⁷⁴ have had a lively co-operation both with the Lutheran University of Brazil and the Decanat of Munich since the 1990s concerning education. For example, Elaine Neuenfeldt from Brazil taught at the Lutheran University in El Salvador in 1995-1997 and Christoph

572 Jones, Thorpe and Wootton 2008, 1, and Paixão and Müller Fernandes 2009, 23.

573 For example, Vilma Rodríguez in the USA and Blanca Irma Rodríguez de Herrera in Brazil.

574 *Consejo de Iglesias Luteranas de Centro America*. CILCA 2005.

Jahnel from Germany at the turn of the millennium.⁵⁷⁵ They also served in parishes in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador besides their teaching. These kinds of exchange programmes and co-operation between institutions have not only raised the quantity but also the quality of the theologians in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador.

We have seen that the requirements for the lay pastors and presbyter pastors were not fixed in 1986 by the general assembly. The requirements have been in process. *The Work Plan of Lutheran Church of El Salvador for the Years 1989, 1990, 1991 and 1992* signed by Mauro Recinos and Medardo Gómez included comprehensive descriptions of the lay pastor positions as well as the specifications of the posts of the presbyter pastor and bishop.⁵⁷⁶ In 1993, *The Internal Regulations for the Lutheran Church of El Salvador* was published with guidelines, for example, for the lay pastors as well as for presbyter pastors. The position of bishop was strengthened in the church organisation and underlined the central position, which the bishop (who?) already had.⁵⁷⁷ David Cáceres del Castillo, a Salvadoran scholarship holder from the Archdiocese of Turku, who studied a degree in social services in Finland, made a comparative study in 2009 for his Bachelor's thesis concerning diaconal work in Lutheran churches in Chile and El Salvador. Del Castillo concludes that the Lutheran Church of El Salvador uses an "Episcopal democratic model and structure". "This came about as a result of the direct influence of the American missionaries and the Central American Protestant Pastors. The church is considered to be one unifying umbrella, under which congregations

575 E-mail from Elaine Neuenfeldt to the author (18.1.2013). Author's interview with Jahnel (3.5.2005).

576 *Plan de trabajo del Sínodo Luterano Salvadoreño correspondiente a los años 1989, 1990, 1991 y 1992*. Author's translation.

577 *Reglamento Interno del Sínodo de las Iglesias de confesión y Rito Luterano*, 1993, 15-18.

work together under the same order, decisions, and action.”⁵⁷⁸ This conclusion is in line with the *Internal Regulations for the Lutheran Church of El Salvador*.

In 2001, Medardo Gómez named a group of presbyter pastors for theological reflexion and training with the personnel of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. The group consisted of Blanca Irma Rodríguez de Herrera, Jaime Dubón, Ricardo Cornejo and Roberto Pineda. During 2001-2003 they planned and achieved the weekly one day training of the personnel and specified the qualifications required of the lay pastors and presbyter pastors. Additionally, they accomplished running two seminaries with the theme *Faith and Politics*.⁵⁷⁹ This programme was called *Instituto Luterano de Formación y Reflexión Teológica* (ILFORET).⁵⁸⁰ After 2003, the activity finished, because Blanca Irma Rodríguez de Herrera went to Chile as a missionary, Jaime Dubón moved to the USA and in 2005 Ricardo Cornejo and Roberto Pineda were expelled from the Lutheran Church of El Salvador.⁵⁸¹ The Lutheran University of El Salvador had the responsibility for the academic education as earlier, but ILFORET took care of the regular personnel training. The structure concerning the work between the Lutheran University and the Lutheran Church of El Salvador has never been very clear. On the one hand, establish-

578 Del Castillo refers in his study to Jahnel’s English edition of his Doctoral thesis and states that Jahnel calls the hierarchical structure of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador as “Episcopal Democratic System”. Cáceres del Castillo 2009, 27-33. He gives no page number for the quote of Jahnel. However, Del Castillo underlines the strong position of the bishop in the hierarchical structure of the Salvadoran Lutheran church, which is evident in the *Internal Regulations for the Lutheran Church of El Salvador*. The structure in Chile he calls as “Participative Democratic System”. Cáceres del Castillo 2009, 31, 63.

579 *Fe y Política*.

580 The Lutheran Institute for Theological Reflexion and Training.

581 Blanca Irma Rodríguez de Herrera prepared a summary of the activities of ILFORET in August 2007, which she sent to the author by e-mail on 19.11.2013. I will discuss in more detail in chapter six the case of Ricardo Cornejo and Roberto Pineda.

ing ILFORET reflected the controversies between the Lutheran university and the church.⁵⁸² On the other hand, there were several well educated theologians in the Lutheran church, which could train their colleagues and lay pastors.

In several Lutheran churches, women's entry into the ministry has not been a straight forward process; considerable diversity has appeared. For example, in Finland, women theologians from 1963/1965 to 1988 were installed - not ordained - as lecturers, who had a more limited field of work, especially concerning the Sunday services, than did the Salvadoran deacon pastors have.⁵⁸³ Again in the Lutheran Church in Latvia, women have been ordained since 1975, but the decision concerning women's ministry was suspended in 1993.⁵⁸⁴ In Brazil, since 1982, the Lutheran church has ordained women as pastors, but since 1994, not only into the ministry but also as catechists, deacons, and missionaries.⁵⁸⁵ Thus signifies that ordination is not reserved only for the special ministry, in other words for pastors, but also for the office holders in the deaconate. The practices concerning women's installations and ordinations have been rather varied even among the churches belonging to the Lutheran World Federation. Discussion concerning women's consecration as bishops in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador has officially not been conferred after women's entry to the ministry. Nonetheless, the *Work Plan* emphasises that all the positions in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador are open for both women and men.⁵⁸⁶ In

582 The structure between The Lutheran University in El Salvador and the Lutheran Church of El Salvador was not precisely specified when establishing the university. This has later caused problems.

583 Lehtiö 2004, 337-339. The decision of lecturers was taken in 1963, but the first lecturers were installed in 1965.

584 www.elca.org/What-We-Believe/Social-Issues/Journal-of-Lutheran-Ethics/Issues/February-2010/The-Lutheran-Church-in-Latvia-wants-to-Ban-the-Ordination-of-Women.aspx (6.6.2013).

585 Schmiedt Streck and Blasi 2009, 4.

586 *Plan de trabajo del Sínodo Luterano Salvadoreño correspondiente a los años 1989, 1990, 1991 y 1992.*

several Lutheran churches women's consecration as bishops has been possible. Thus, the possibility for training and education significantly helped Salvadoran women to access the positions of deacon pastors and presbyter pastors. Anne Peterson has also highlighted education with regard to Lutheran Salvadoran women. She stresses that the Lutheran women emphasised the theological dimensions of gender issues much more than the Catholic and Pentecostal women in El Salvador. She has compared women's roles and self-comprehension of equality as parishioners and workers in the Popular Church (Catholic base communities), in the Catholic Charismatic Renewal movement, in Pentecostalism, and in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador at the end of the 1990s. While not perfectly egalitarian, Peterson's analysis shows that the Lutheran church appears to have offered significant mobility, leadership, and opportunities to women, who might have been hindered, not only by their gender but also by educational and class background. This contrasts sharply with the restrictions on women's leadership in the Catholic Church and in most of the Pentecostal churches. Peterson suggests that access to leadership has helped the Lutheran church to attract a number of talented and energetic young women, who may have found the church appealing as the only place, where they could bring together religious commitments, political activism, and professional ambition.⁵⁸⁷ It is easy to concur with Peterson's observations and analysis concerning Lutheran women as lay pastors and presbyter pastors.

2. The second reason for opening of the ministry to the Salvadoran Lutheran women was theological and sociological. It was the *theology of life* including the doctrine of the *priesthood of all believers* – which I studied more closely in chapter three – and the *significance of Medardo Gómez* as a key person. The praxis of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador transformed the theology. It has been significant for the ecclesiastical life in the

587 Peterson 2001, 41.

Lutheran Church of El Salvador that praxis comes first and theological argumentation is formed afterwards.⁵⁸⁸ The formulation of the theology of life happened in the 1990s through sermons, presentations, interviews in El Salvador and abroad, after the war. Furthermore, Medardo Gómez discusses the theology of life in some of his books.⁵⁸⁹ He declares that the theology of life conducted by the Lutheran Church of El Salvador is a liberation theology. However, he also points out that poverty should not be mystified and the theology of life does not practice idolatry of poverty.⁵⁹⁰ Rather, the theology of life tries to influence the societal structures in favour of the living conditions of people who are in the weakest position. The theology of life was created by the people as a result of their needs. According to Medardo Gómez, “it is a theology, which is not philosophical and not speculative, and it is interested in all sectors of life”.⁵⁹¹ Moreover, “the theology of life is a response to the suffering of people and it strengthens, when life is in danger.”⁵⁹² Medardo Gómez also calls the theology of life as “a new model of the pastoral work in the church and parishes”. The aim of the ecclesiastical work in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador is to be practiced according to this model. The main guidelines of the theology of life presented by Medardo Gómez in the book *Latinoamerica* are:

1) *Special attention to those most in need (los más necesitados).*

In Latin America, this alternative pastoral model requires

588 Gustavo Gutiérrez made a distinction between practice and praxis. The former is mere action; the latter is a critically committed engagement. In praxis one acts out of a commitment to God’s justice and with a critical perspective that moves naturally into reflection. This reflection in turn leads to renewed praxis, further reflection and so on. The parallel method is seeing – judging – acting. Gonzales et al. 2007, 255.

589 Gómez 1990, *Y el Verbo se Hizo Historia*. Gómez 1992, *Teología de la Vida*, Gómez 1993 *Latinoamerica. Testimonio de Vida y Esperanza*.

590 Gómez, 1994, Heft 10/19.

591 Author’s interview with Medardo Gómez (7.2.2005).

592 Author’s interview with Medardo Gómez (7.2.2005).

a definition of the pastoral of earth, and accompanies the popular movement with the attitude of serving the communities rather than heading them.

- 2) *An open attitude to changes and a comprehension of symbols and traditions.* The church, from the beginning of human history, should serve, help, and respect and find once again its cultural and historical values.
- 3) *Ecumenical identity.* The Christian churches have to develop a real and effective co-operation, and construct - together with the secular movements - an alternative pastoral system, which dignifies life, and promotes peace and justice for poor people.
- 4) *A Spiritual movement of hope.* This should be pastoral, which strengthens faith during the struggle and works joyfully for a life with a Christian inspiration. The Christian hope helps our people in the search for a better future.
- 5) The theology of life will constantly nourish and renew parishes, according to the principle of *ecclesia semper reformanda*. The basis of this pastoral model is formed by the parishes (*comunidades*), not by the hierarchy.
- 6) Practicing the Lutheran principle of *the priesthood of all believers*.⁵⁹³

These have been the guidelines for the ecclesiastical life in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador since the early 1990s, but have developed in the praxis of the church from the late 1970s. There is no specific mention of women or their role in the texts concerning the theology of life, which Medardo Gómez prepared in the 1990s.⁵⁹⁴ In his book, *Latinoamerica*, he discusses in a few lines the equality of participation and the membership of lay-people as well as clergy, but equality between women and men is not specifically mentioned.⁵⁹⁵

593 Gómez 1993, 290-291. Author's translation.

594 Gómez, Medardo 1990, 1992, 1993, 1994.

595 Gómez 1993, 63-64.

Abelina Gómez studies in her Bachelor's thesis, amongst other themes, the theology of life. Her study serves as an example of self-comprehension of the women pastors in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador regarding the theology of life. Of especial interest is her interpretation of the thesis *constantly renewing theology*. She studies gender theory, sexism, as well as patriarchalism and machoism, and reveals what they signify for Salvadoran women. Against this background she examines an "alternative pastoral model, which is based on the theology of life, written by Medardo Gómez".⁵⁹⁶ Abelina Gómez concentrates on the holistic view of the theology of life, which is called *Pastoral Integral* in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador.⁵⁹⁷ Abelina Gómez's analysis shows that the theology of life strengthens the consciousness of women and opens a process, where women and men can cooperate together.⁵⁹⁸ This interpretation of Abelina Gómez concerning the theology of life emphasises the empowering character of the theology of life towards women and its aim to promote equality between genders. Abelina Gómez presented, in 2003, a model of the theology of life with twenty-one proposal.⁵⁹⁹ This

596 Gómez 2003, 35-37.

597 Integral Pastoral or Integral Parish Work. Author's translation. See also Blanca Irma Rodríguez de Herrera, 2012, *El Lutheranism en El Salvador*, 5. She describes the Integral Pastoral as follows: "The word without action is hypocrisy, diaconia without the word is activism and assistentialism. The word of God produces faith and faith produces 'acts of love', [obras de amor]." Author's translation.

598 Gómez 2003, 67-68.

599 Gómez, Abelina 2003, 35-37. The alternative pastoral model: 1) Its foundation is the priesthood of all believers; 2) Its theme is "Special attention to the neediest people"; 3) It is a dependence on God for the sake of the poor, oppressed, exploited, weak and marginalized people. 4) It is a Kairos, a moment, for being a human and searching for God in times of crisis, and it is necessary to respond to every such moment with an immediate action; 5) It is the light of God especially for the poor people in their reality, culture and in their fights and hopes; 6) It is an old and always renewable pastoral model, which was created by the poor through their collective participation in fa-

seems to verify the theology of life as a *constantly renewing theology*. In 1993, Medardo Gómez expressed only six statements of the theology of life.

Blanca Irma Rodríguez de Herrera offers another example of an understanding of the theology of life by the women pastors in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador in her Master's thesis in theology. Rodríguez de Herrera summarises her comprehension of the theology of life as a faith experience of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador which reflects the journey of the Salvadoran church with the poor communities who were directly or

our of the weakest; 7) It is a calling to be a human being with God, and this calling is based on suffering and hope; 8) It is a spiritual opposition and resistance of the poorest against all forms of oppression and exploitation; 9) It is an integral and popular pastoral guided by the leaders, who represent the people and receive a democratic role always in favour of the weakest people; 10) The integral pastoral of God's people with the historic, apostolic and prophetic presence, together with the presence of the Bishop, presbyters, deacons, evangelists, teachers and catechists, realises the kingdom of God; 11) It is a movement of faith, which is constantly nourished and renewed by the people; 12) It is an experience or practical pastoral of the work of the Lutheran church of El Salvador together with the needy people: refugees, displaced, victims of the war, poor and marginalized people; 13) It is communication with God for the integral salvation for being human; 14) It is a liberation, which relieves the poor from the Babylonian slavery to the Gospel; 15) It is a theology, which we need, like we need God's love and action. It means that the poor - spiritually speaking - convert to rich, and the rich - spiritually speaking - convert to poor; 16) The theology of life does not idealize poverty. The poor are: the suffering, abandoned, futureless, humble, loyal, solidary people, who identify with those who can give and share; 17) The rich are proud, haughty, powerful, exploiting, hypocritical, betraying, and slaves and victims of the ruling economical system; 18) The theology of life is the testimony of God's people referring to their faith, work and hope; 19) It is a practical and prophetic pastoral, which inspires diaconia, which is born at the altar; 20) It is spirituality, which is based on practice, prayer and fasting, defining prayer as a devotional life and fasting as solidary diaconia; 21) It is action in favour of the justification of faith. Author's translation.

indirectly affected by the civil war. According to Rodríguez de Herrera, the theology of life was constructed ecumenically with the mainline churches and the popular organisations.⁶⁰⁰ Rodríguez de Herrera analyses also the role of women in the theology of life. She concludes that women's influence has been strong throughout the history of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. As an example she takes the situation in San Salvador, when the Lutheran church was "dying", and the women took the initiative and acquired a pastor from the Missouri Synod.⁶⁰¹ Rodríguez de Herrera refers to the establishment of the parish *La Resurrección* in San Salvador in 1972, and the five women's (*fundadoras*) activity in that process. She also discusses the "amazing" activity of women in the 1970s and 1980s in the popular movement as well as in the feminist movement in El Salvador but also the activity of laywomen in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador.⁶⁰² Blanca Irma Rodríguez challenges this in her research on liberation theology with the question: "what is liberation, which speaks about several liberations, but does not give the minis-

600 Rodríguez de Herrera 1999, III. Author's translation. "It is a theology, which was developed during the historical period of the armed conflict. This experience consists of the journey of the Salvadoran church with the poor communities, who were directly or indirectly affected by the civil war, which lasted for more than a decade (1980-1992). The theology of life is a theology, which develops from and with the grassroots. It is a theology, which is constructed ecumenically by the mainline churches and the popular organisations. It arises as a reaction to the ideology of death imposed by the dominating imperialism of the USA against the countries of Latin America in the name of a supposed struggle against communism. It is a theology that looks towards the future, because it carries out a rereading of the crisis situation, taking as its starting point the evangelical proclamation of the Good News based on the promises of God. Despite the fact that it refers to a specific and concrete time and place, the theology of life has equal validity for other contexts throughout the world in which life is equally threatened." Author's translation.

601 Rodríguez de Herrera 1999, 129.

602 Rodríguez de Herrera 1999, 43-44, 76.

try to women?”⁶⁰³ She questions whether feminist theology is at all one of the liberation theologies and whether liberation theology has in fact managed to liberate women from the traditional concept of women, including poverty and domestic violence. Rodríguez criticises, as does Vuola, liberation theology and feminist theology regarding their absence of reality in the everyday life of poor women. As opposed to liberation theology, she presents the theology of life as a liberating theology, even for women. According to Rodríguez:

“the theology of life would like to be a theology which liberates women from the oppression and the machist and patriarchal ideology whose victims women have been. The theology of life would restore the dignity of being a human being and a child of the God of life.”⁶⁰⁴

Additionally, Rodríguez has experienced that the theology of life has encountered women and their needs in different situations during the war.⁶⁰⁵ In conclusion, according to Blanca Irma Rodríguez de Herrera, the theology of life has produced many new opportunities for women: service and leadership as laywomen in the parishes according to the doctrine of *priesthood of all believers* and opening the ministry to women.⁶⁰⁶ One

603 Rodríguez de Herrera 1999, 77-78. “When we are speaking of life, we are speaking of liberation”. Author’s translation.

604 Rodríguez de Herrera 1999, 77- 78. Author’s translation.

605 Rodríguez de Herrera 1999, 77- 78.

606 Rodríguez de Herrera 1999, 79. Author’s interview with Blanca Irma Rodríguez de Herrera (6.9.2007). Author’s translation. “I think that the theology of life in the case of El Salvador opened a new perspective of gender towards us women. It replaced our identity as daughters of God with equal rights and responsibilities.” During her task as missionary of *Iglesia Evangélica Luterana de Chile* (IELCH), The Lutheran Church of Chile, in Coquimbo, Blanca Irma Rodríguez de Herrera wrote an article about women’s ministry “*Debe la Iglesia Ordenar Mujeres?*” 2004. “The theology of life saves the woman and presents her like a woman of faith and disciple of the ministry of Jesus Christ. It restores the dignity of a poor, modest, exploited and marginalised woman in the patriarchal structures.” Rodríguez de

could say that both Abelina Gómez and Blanca Irma Rodríguez de Herrera glorify the theology of life. They also emphasise that the theology of life includes women and, does not exclude or marginalise them, as patriachalism, *machism*, liberation theology and even feminist theology concerning poor women, seem to do. However, they have witnessed through their own experiences, how the practising of the theology of life in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador has changed the lives of many women into a more equal life with men compared with the situation in the surrounding society and churches.

Uta Andréé, analyses the theology of life with more personal distance to the subject than Abelina Gómez and Blanca Irma Rodríguez de Herrera. When she analyses Gómez' interpretation of the doctrine of *priesthood of all believers* in the theology of life, she states that his argumentation regarding the ordination of men or women to the ministry is not included in the main theses of the theology of life. As seen, Gómez emphasises the equality of people in front of God because of baptism.⁶⁰⁷ Yet, Andréé has not specifically studied the question of gender in the theology of life.

It is evident that the theology of life does not especially mention women. However, most of the Salvadoran Lutheran women have experienced the theology of life as inclusive, including women implicitly in its theology and praxis. They have understood that when the theology of life promotes helping the poor and suffering people, those most in need, this activity includes women. Moreover, the women have understood and experienced, that the principle of *priesthood of all believers* as a part of the theology of life includes women, and has been one reason for opening the ministry to women. Several Salvadoran women pastors expressed their experiences, when I interviewed them, that the theology of life has influenced their lives positively and

Herrera 1999, 79. Author's translation.

607 Andréé 2005, 281-285, 282.

has recognised them as women, equal with men in the church. Both Abelina Gómez and Blanca Irma Rodríguez confirm these views in their theses. As a conclusion, the theology of life includes implicitly argumentation for opening the ministry to women, but not explicitly.

It is obvious that the significance of Medardo Gómez has been extremely important for the changes in women's position in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador since 1972. In the late 1970s, he studied liberation theology with Victoria Cortez and Angel Ibarra. As a consequence of the long civil war the praxis and theology of the former Missouri Synod based church changed. The strength of the doctrine *priesthood of all believers* based theology and praxis has offered extraordinary possibilities for development in the lives of the ordinary lay people and especially in the lives of women.

The option to become installed as catechists, evangelists, deacon pastors and ordained as presbyter pastors has offered a remarkable change in women's roles in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. To quote a document of the LWF: "Any move to include women's ordination, and their advancement, could not have been brought about without the active collaboration and leadership of men."⁶⁰⁸ Probably, this development concerning women in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador, would not had happened without the charismatic Medardo Gómez; with his modest and diplomatic, and at the same time determined and authoritarian personality. The international contacts during the exiles of Medardo Gómez in the 1980s and his participation in the general assemblies of the LWF have also had a significant impact on him. While visiting the USA, Germany and Nordic countries, meeting women pastors has been common. Additionally, visiting delegations from Lutheran sister churches have often included women pastors. In this sense, the young Lu-

608 "It will not be so among you! A Faith reflection on Gender and Power", 2010, 24. www.lutheranworld.org/.../DMD-Gender_Power-EN-low.pdf (6.6.2013)

theran Church of El Salvador has not been in a marginalised periphery concerning the global development of women's ministry. Nevertheless, nobody is perfect. There are some critical voices especially in the younger generation of women pastors in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador, who criticise Medardo Gómez and, who questions whether the theology of life considers women at all.⁶⁰⁹ They wish that the church would discuss and do more for women, for example, concerning the intra familiar violence, incest, rape and the question of abortion.

3. The *third* reason for women's ordination was the *feminist movement* in El Salvador. From the 1970s to the mid 1980s the social justice, *justicia social*, had been the main goal for the women activists in the popular movement. This had led to revolutionary feminism (as studied in chapter three) and "gender bending" roles, that is, women taking on role which had earlier belonged to men. The goals of the Salvadoran feminism started to change though from the mid 1980s and formed attitudes towards new roles for women. The gender expectations changed, according to Mary Holmes, during the civil war.⁶¹⁰ Many women experienced during the war that they had been useful in many important tasks: as combatants, providers, messengers, telegraph operators etc. When the end of the war approached, according to Best and Hussey, they experienced that men tried to push them back home "to prepare tortillas between fist and oven."⁶¹¹ Women with feminist goals did not accept this. They wanted to promote matters of equality, to teach women, and to find solutions against violence, especially against domestic violence.⁶¹² During the war, many women had been sexually abused, tortured, raped

609 For example, discussion with Miriam Gaspár (14.2.2006). El Luteranismo en El Salvador written by Blanca Irma Rodríguez in 2012 includes a wish to discuss, for example, homosexuality, and lesbianism.

610 Holmes 2009, 62.

611 Best and Hussey 1997, 64.

612 Best and Hussey 1997, 64.

and even killed. Violence against women did not end with the Peace Accords in 1992. Paradoxically, homicides even increased after the war.⁶¹³ Sexual violence included incest and rape, and abortions were illegal in El Salvador. Women's right to their own bodies was an urgent goal for the feminists.⁶¹⁴

The majority of the feminist organisations in El Salvador were initiated during the years just prior to the Peace Accords (1986-1992). These organisations had their roots in the civil war, political parties, or in protests against the parties. Some of the feminist associations were sections of the political parties of the left and the guerrilla movement, from which they very soon separated. It was found out that some of the women's sections had only been established in order for the parties to receive more aid from abroad at the end of the war. The women also noticed that they had almost no rights to make decisions in their own sections. Most of the independent organisations promoted themselves as feminist and democratic organisations trying to reach better living conditions for women, social justice and gender equality.⁶¹⁵ One of the largest feminist organisations

613 Best and Hussey 1997, 179. See also El Salvador, Annual Report 1997, LWF, 17.

614 Virginia Vargas spoke about woman's body as a battle field of politics at LA-Net Conference in Roskilde, Denmark, June 2009. A lecture of Virginia Vargas at (4.6.2009). Author's notes.

615 hotpeachpages.net/camerica/adim.html (6.6.2013). The Association of Integral Aid of Women (ADIM), *Asociación de Desarrollo Integral de la Mujer*, The Association for the Self-determination of Salvadoran Women (AMS), *Asociación para la Autodeterminación de Mujeres Salvadoreñas*, Coordination of the Women's Organizations (C.O.M), *Coordinación de Organismos de Mujeres*, The National Coordination of Salvadoran Women (CONAMUS), *Coordinadora Nacional de la Mujer Salvadoreña*, The Association of Women for Dignity and Life (Las Dignas), *Asociación de Mujeres por la Dignidad y la Vida*, The Institute of Investigation, Training and Development of Women (IMU), *Instituto de Investigación, Capacitación y Desarrollo de la Mujer*, The Salvadoran Women's Organisation for Peace (ORMUSA), *Organización de Mujeres Sal-*

in El Salvador is *Asociación de Mujeres por la Dignidad y la Vida* (better known as "Las DIGNAS").⁶¹⁶ The organisation was established in 1990, when the peace negotiations were under way. The founding mothers had been guerrillas or had collaborated with guerrillas.⁶¹⁷ On the 16th of January, 1992, when the Peace Accords were signed, the women of these organisations were amazed: there was not a word about women in the agreement. The only mention was that even women could apply to the renewed police forces. The agreement included nothing about reforming the position of women or about equality.⁶¹⁸

Jane S. Jaquette analysis describes that while women were fighting for human rights, they noticed that these were tied to women's rights, and the criticism of military authoritarianism became a critique of the authoritarianism in the family. The general awareness of violence against women in prisons made it acceptable to talk about violence against women at home and in the streets as well. According to Jaquette, these experiences gave the Latin American feminist theory a unique vantage point from which to analyse the boundaries between public and private.⁶¹⁹ Silke Kapteine also emphasises that until the middle of the 1980s social justice was a theme for which both women

vadoreñas por la Paz.

616 The Association of Women for Dignity and Life.

617 Una Decada Construyendo Feminismo... Las Dignas 2000, 11. See also www.lasdignas.org (6.6.2013), Álvarez 2001, 51-76.

618 In Chile it was also a frustrating surprise for women after the Allende coup: women had to accept that in spite of the revolutionary rhetoric of socialist men the picture of women remained just as before. The idea that all the problems will be solved, when socialism wins, was apparently wrong. Potthast 2003, 371. MacKinnon writes in foreword of the book *Feminist constitutionalism* that women have not, in general, written or agreed to constitutions either. "Powerful men have written them a long time ago as if women did not exist in the waging and peacemaking of which women often did not actively participate." Baines, Barak-Erez, Kahana, ed. 2012, 3. See also Edwards 2002 and Mc Laughlin 2003.

619 Jaquette 1989, 6.

and men could fight. Later gender equality became the main theme for women in the Salvadoran feminist movement.⁶²⁰ This change has been easy to detect in the discussions with Salvadoran women.

Many of the women parishioners in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador had contacts with the feminist movement, and some women had been guerrillas in the countryside.⁶²¹ Many women of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador have emphasised that the growing feminist movement in El Salvador significantly influenced the Lutheran women and the church. For example, the courses of Women's Pastoral in the 1990s, had clear feminist goals aiming to aid women's leadership. Additionally, the gender courses at the beginning of new the millennium aimed at establishing gender equity. Several Salvadoran Lutheran women have the opinion that the feminist movement influenced the Lutheran Church of El Salvador concerning the decision and praxis of women's ministry. However, Bishop Gómez has denied the effect of the strong feminist movement on the decision to open the ministry to women, but admits that the developments occurred in parallel.⁶²² It is obvious that Medardo Gómez as a

620 Author's interview with Silke Kapteine (17.2. 2006). See also Álvarez 2001, 52-53.

621 The author's interview with Christian Chavarría concerning his mother, Albertina Ayala, a former guerrilla and later a Lutheran laywoman (27.2.2005). Women members of the FMLN were potentially able to inspire the base communities to hide guerrillas, provide food, and possibly even incorporate themselves directly into the struggle more effectively than men were. Because a woman was seen as timid and unthreatening, it was less likely, that her neighbours would feel intimidated by her revolutionary ideas. About 30% of the combatants in FMLN were women. The boundaries between the popular and armed movements were fluid. It was this blurriness that the military and death squads used as their reason to carry out their terror campaigns against civilians and unarmed activists. Shayne 2004, 28, 35, 38.

622 Author's interview with Medardo Gómez (8.9.2007). In Finland, the feminist movement in the 1920s raised in the discussions the possi-

church leader bases the argumentation of women's pastorship rather on theological than on sociological reasons. Nevertheless, history has revealed that the events in society and in the church have been combined with each other.

The connections to the feminist movement were not always uncomplicated. Several feminist activists accused the women from the Christian churches and complained that the Bible and its patriarchal view regarding gender issues were causing marginalisation and subordination of women. In spite of the negative attitudes of these feminists towards the Christian churches, the Lutheran women pastors sympathised with women in the feminist movement. Both phenomena, the feminist movement and women pastors, were new in El Salvador.⁶²³

The feminist movement and civil war impacted on the whole Salvadoran society and affected the Lutheran church in two ways; there was a lack of pastors and the attitudes were positive for ordination of women. I could argue that there was an unfulfilled need for women pastors to emerge. These reasons were strongly connected with the prevailing situation in the country and in the Lutheran church.

4. The *fourth* reason for opening the ministry to women, controversially, reflects the consequences of the *biblical-literal interpretation* and *strict guidelines* of the Missouri Synod for women. In 1985, the Commission on Theology and Church Relations (CTCR) of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod published a report about *Women in the Church, Scriptural Principles and Ecclesial Practice*.⁶²⁴ In the introduction the commission

bility of opening the pastoral ministry to women. The church leaders rejected them, because "they came from outside the church". However, in the 1950s, Ph.D. Eira Paunu wrote that in the course of history, events in society and in the church have been combined with each other. Lehtiö 2004, 81, 279.

623 Author's interview with Abelina Gómez (5.1.2006) and discussions with Lutheran women in El Salvador 2006 and 2007.

624 *Women in the Church* 1985, [1-2]. See also *La Mujer en la Iglesia*, 1985.

wrote that in the wake of the feminist movement, the campaign for an *Equal Rights Amendment* and related sociological and political developments, various Christian denominations had become involved in discussions concerning the role of women in the life of the church. The commission questioned whether churches should ordain women into pastoral ministry. Should church policy be rewritten so that women may serve as elders or deacons? Is there any ecclesiastical position from which women should be excluded in principle? The report pointed out that the Missouri Synod had not been immune from these developments. In response to a specific request from the Synod, that it would study “the role of women in the church”, the CTCR prepared the document in the hope that it would assist members of the Synod in their consideration of this important topic.⁶²⁵

The commission emphasised, that the document *Women in the Church* was not a reworking of the report *Woman Suffrage in the Church* from 1968. The CTCR focused on 1) the positive affirmation of woman as a person completely equal to man in the enjoyment of God’s unmerited grace in Jesus Christ and as a member of His Body, the church; and 2) the inclusion of woman (as well as man) in a divinely mandated order, which was to be reflected in the work and worship life of the church. The proper correlation of these two Biblical teachings was crucial, if the church’s thinking on this topic was to be determined by Holy Scripture and not by the dictates of cultural demands (John 8: 31).⁶²⁶

The introduction revealed, that the feminist movement had put pressure on the Missouri Synod to prepare a new document concerning the woman-question; the question of women’s place and role in the church.⁶²⁷ However, the commission rejected

625 *Women in the Church* 1985, [2-3].

626 *Women in the Church* 1985, [3-4].

627 The first and second wave of feminism in the Western world, and in Latin America, led to an increased presence of the “woman question” in wider social and political thought. An important target in each

this pressure, already in the introduction, by stating that the demand for equality between men and women and the ordination of women were expressions of cultural demands, which are not biblical. The biblical argumentation of the document offered little new compared to the report of 1968. It was still emphasised, that “the equality between man and woman is spiritual equality before God because of creation and redemption”. All the redeemed were said to be equal before God, but equality was not believed to suggest that the interchange of male and female identities was possible. Subordination, when applied to the relationship of women and men in the church, expressed a divinely established relationship in which one looked to the other, but not in a domineering sense. According to the report of the CTCR, subordination was for the sake of orderliness and unity.⁶²⁸ The report gave the guidance to the parishes that the pattern of male headship requires that women do not hold a formal position of an authoritative public teaching office in the church; that is in the office of pastor.⁶²⁹

In the chapter, *Guidelines for Practice*, the commission warned that the political and social milieu of a culture and a specific sociological *mind-set* must never be allowed to be decisive factors when expressing theological judgments. The report underlined several times, that the service of women in the pastoral office lacks a biblical foundation and is expressly prohibited by the Scriptures. Women were also prohibited from teaching in the public worship assembly. They were, however, allowed to vote in the parish assemblies.⁶³⁰

The report from 1985 gave guidelines concerning several practical questions, and concluded, that it is better to avoid

wave was highlighting the inability of established social and political thought to respond to the oppression of women. McLaughlin 2003, 1.

628 Women in the Church 1985, [17-21].

629 Women in the Church 1985, [32, 35].

630 Women in the Church, 1985, [34, 39]. See also *Woman Suffrage in the Church* 1968. The decision was proposed in 1969 in the convention of the Missouri Synod in Denver. Burkee 2011, 93.

any confusion in the parishes and, therefore, it is better, that women do not read Bible texts in the Sunday services, do not teach, do not lead devotions, and do not serve as assistants in the distribution of the Lord's Supper.⁶³¹ The arguments are biblical literal and bound with the cultural traditions of women's role in the family and society. The arguments for the posts in the church were also bound by the traditions. The report of the CTCR, *Women in the Church*, was published at the same time in English and in Spanish in September 1985.⁶³²

Some scholars define this type of argumentation against women's ordination based on a biblical literal view, as a differentiating their own faith's communion from others and – by doing so – as strengthening their religious identity.⁶³³ Others see the traditional argumentation simply as a fear of losing power in the church.⁶³⁴

The Lutheran Church of El Salvador came to the conclusion in 1986 that the Missouri Synod's interpretation of women's position was too narrow for a transforming Lutheran church in a country experiencing civil war. The contextual Bible interpretation, which the Lutheran Church of El Salvador had started to practice in the early 1980s, did not fit any more with the biblical literal interpretation including women's subordination. Women's roles in the Lutheran church had changed strongly during the civil war through women's activities as acutely needed lay women and lay leaders. The extraordinary and wide interpretation of the priesthood of all believers as a part of the theology of life was crucial in the development from the 1980s onward. The Lutheran Church of El Salvador made a totally opposite decision than the Missouri Synod, when it decided to open the ministry

631 *Women in the Church*, 1985, [42, 43].

632 *La Mujer en la Iglesia*.

633 Närhi 2012, 5-6, 169-174.

634 "It will not be so among you! A Faith reflection on Gender and Power", 2010, 24. www.lutheranworld.org/.../DMD-Gender_Power-EN-low.pdf (6.6.2013)

to women. Their identities as churches, as well as the theology and praxis of the Missouri synod and the Lutheran Church of El Salvador had grown apart.⁶³⁵

As I have discussed above, the possible reasons for opening the ministry to women in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador in 1986 were practical, sociological, and theological. The reasons were, 1) the *lack of pastors* because of the civil war and, on the other hand, the possibility for *training and theological education* in El Salvador, which made studying possible for many women and prepared the access for women into the ministry, 2) *theology of life* including the doctrine of the *priesthood of all believers* and the *significance of Medardo Gómez*, 3) *the feminist movement* in El Salvador with its goals towards gender equity, 4) *the biblical literal interpretation and strict guidelines* of the Missouri Synod concerning women and the drifting apart of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador from these principles..

The decision of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador to opening the ministry to women, led the church to separate from the Missouri Synod in the late 1980s. There were also other reasons for this separation. The awakening of the Lutheran Church to the help needed for suffering people, which resulted in strong social work and the willingness to establish ecumenical contacts with churches in El Salvador and in other countries were issues, where the opinions of the Missouri Synod and Medardo Gómez differed.⁶³⁶ In addition to that, according to Bishop Gómez, the

635 Author's interview with Abelina Gómez (5.1.2006).

636 Author's interview with Medardo Gómez (7.2.2005), author's interview with Abelina Gómez (5.1. 2006). See also Abelina Gómez 2003. Author's translation. "The argument of Medardo in front of the Missouri Synod was that women are baptised in the same way as men, they receive the Holy Communion in the same way as men, and these are demanded by God: one regulation, and one sacrament. And if a woman can take part of a sacrament, why could she not be ordained and recognised as a pastor. And why not recognise this rite as ecclesiastic, it is not a sacrament."

Missouri Synod did not support subversive people during the war and the Lutheran Church of El Salvador again was very critical of the military presence of the USA in El Salvador.⁶³⁷ The correspondence between President Ralf Bohlmann of the Missouri Synod and Medardo Gómez revealed the difficult situation of Gómez, where he stood between the conservative Missouri Synod and the transforming Lutheran Church of El Salvador in the middle of a civil war with considerable economical needs.⁶³⁸ As a result of these events, the Missouri Synod stopped all its financial support to the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. Consequently, the church fell into a serious economic crisis. Jahnel points out that before the separation, the Missouri Synod had developed in a more conservative direction from the 1970s compared with the 1960s.⁶³⁹ He suggests that the Missouri

637 Author's interview with Medardo Gómez (7.2.2005).164

638 Unfortunately, receiving archived material from the Concordia Historical Institute (Missouri Synod Archives), Saint Louis, was difficult due the lack of personnel. Therefore, I can only refer to an answer, which the Director of the archives, Marvin A. Huggins, sent to me on 1.7.2009. He had checked some of the resources himself. He summarised: "The LCMS Commission on Theology and Church relations (CTCR) received reports in 1986-1987 from President Bohlmann over concerns about Medardo Gómez' use of the term "bishop" for himself and also over his "ordination" of two women "at the level of deacon". However, the only action the CTCR took was to encourage President Bohlmann to meet with Gómez and to continue to support him. In early 1987, President Bohlmann reported that he met with Gómez. Gómez indicated that the term "bishop" in the El Salvadoran context had no implication of the historic episcopate and that the women ordained as "pastors, at the level of deacon" were pastors' wives who needed to serve the church membership, because there were so few men available in the church. The CTCR took no action in response to this report. [...] Later files covering 1986-1990 deal with the matter of the "ordination" issue and also the political situation in El Salvador, the bombing of Gómez' church, etc. As late as 1990, letters from President Bohlmann to Gómez express good wishes and hopes for continued working together."

639 Author's interview with Medardo Gómez (7.2.2005). See also Jahnel 2005, 310-313, and Jahnel's interview with Vilma Rodriguez

Synod provoked the separation with the Lutheran Church of El Salvador.⁶⁴⁰ James C. Burkee discusses the contradiction inside the Missouri Synod between the moderates and conservatives in his book concerning power and politics in the Missouri Synod.⁶⁴¹ Concerning women, before the convention in 1965, several editorials in the paper *Witness* promoted woman suffrage. In the Missouri Synod meeting in Denver in 1969, the convention affirmed woman suffrage in the Missouri Synod congregations. Furthermore, the Synod decided positively regarding a few ecumenical relationships and social activities.⁶⁴² Since then, the controversies between the conservatives and moderates grew and, moderate professors were dismissed from the Missouri Synod seminars. In opposition to the conservatives, in the mid 1970s, several parishes left the Missouri Synod and joined the American Lutheran Church (ALC).⁶⁴³ In 1981, Ralf Bohlman was elected president of the Missouri Synod and he continued the conservative policy of the Synod, which had “won” the “Great Lutheran Civil War” according to Burkee.⁶⁴⁴

Considering this history of the Missouri Synod, it is not a surprise that the Missouri Synod and the Lutheran Church of El Salvador separated during the 1980s. The activities of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador included all the elements, which caused controversies inside the Missouri Synod: ecumenical contacts, social activism in human rights as well as in civil rights and decisions, which advanced women’s equality with men.⁶⁴⁵ On the one hand, the separation between the Missouri Synod and the Lutheran Church of El Salvador led to lib-

(28.2.2002).

640 Jahnel 2005, 18-19.

641 Burkee 2011.

642 Burkee 2011, 92-93.

643 Burkee 2011, 156.

644 Burkee 2011, 177, 3.

645 Author’s interview with Medardo Gómez (7.2.2005).

eration from foreign influence, but on the other hand, the separation caused economic problems; however, gradually other organisations and churches began to offer financial support. Additionally, a broad sister parish network developed from the beginning of the 1990s.⁶⁴⁶ Thus, the tensions between a small group of conservatives and others in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador stayed until the new millennium.⁶⁴⁷

646 Author's interview with Medardo Gómez (7.2.2005). Interview with Vilma Rodriguez (2001). Author's translation. "It was a process, not a violent separation. There were during many years negotiations and principally they accepted many things, but when we started to ordain women and accompany the popular movement, movimiento popular, and to be active in the peace movement, they decided to reorganise the relations. Actually we have never seen it as a break. We still have contacts with the Missouri Synod, but we became independent." The Bavarian Church and the Church of Nord Elbien in Germany, ELCA, the Lutheran Church of Norway, the Lutheran Church of Sweden and Finn Church Aid have been the biggest financial supporters since then. Minutes of the Extraordinary *Mutirão* Meeting with the Salvadoran Lutheran Synod (SLS), San José de Costa Rica, 29th of April, 2006.

647 Author's interview with Abelina Gómez (5.1.2006).

5 WOMEN IN THE MIDDLE OF THE STRUCTURAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH (2004-2009)

The years 2004 – 2009 were marked by growing violence, migration, privatisation attempts exercised by the government, frustration with impunity, the United States-Dominican Republic-Central America Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA)⁶⁴⁸, and great dissatisfaction with the government by a majority of the Salvadoran people. In addition, numerous natural disasters occurred, which brought the issue of climate change into the discussions in El Salvador. The Neo-Pentecostal mega churches expanded and gained thousands of members. Severe problems and assassinations challenged the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. Social and popular movements, such as CO-MADRES and environmental organisations in El Salvador experienced a new rise.

A deep financial crisis occurred in 2008 in the USA and spread into many parts of the world. Many Salvadorans interpreted the situation as a collapse of the neoliberal system. These changes gave hope for many in El Salvador and a candidate of the left-wing party *Fuerzas Populares de Liberación – Farabundo Martí* (FMLN)⁶⁴⁹ was elected president for the first time in Salvadoran history. Lastly, a process called *Mutirão* began in the Lutheran church aiming at economical sustainability of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. In this chapter, I will study how all these developments and especially the *Mutirão* process affected women's positions in the Lutheran church.

5.1 Political and Religious Context

The former sports editor, Antonio Saca (also known as Tony

648 www.caftaintelligencecenter.com/subpages/What_is_CAFTA.asp (6.6.2013).

649 Front of Farabundo Martí for the National Liberation.

Saca), was elected president in 2004. President Saca faced challenging problems, which had developed during the decade after the Peace Accords: corruption, growing delinquency caused by the so-called *Mara* gangs, poverty, a huge foreign debt, and a financial situation with distorted investments, polarised politics, growing migration, and dollarisation.⁶⁵⁰ The *Maras* have been mainly 14-25 years old men, who used and sold drugs, stole and killed. In the rivalries between the gangs especially, many young men lost their lives.⁶⁵¹ In 2005, Saca passed a bill called the *Super Heavy Hand*⁶⁵²; the aim of which was to combat the violent

650 A report of the Finnish Foreign Ministry on the situation in El Salvador concerning the domestic politics and economics, Mikko Väyrynen (13.1.2005).

651 CILCA 2005, 20. The largest *Mara* gangs are *Mara Salvatrucha* (MS-13) and *Mara 18*. The establishing of the *Mara* gangs in Central America has often been explained by the fact that several of the young men, who had managed to flee to the USA, had learned criminal behavior from the local gangs there or established gangs of their. When they were deported back to the Central American countries, for example, to El Salvador, they brought their new “skills” with them. Info-Blatt 65, December 2004, 4-6. see, for example, www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/03/24/el-salvador-mara-18-truce_n_1376955.html. The news item was written on the 23th March, 2012, (6.6.2013). The author visited a prison in El Salvador with a Finnish delegation and followed a training programme there run by the LWF with the *Maras* (1.2.2005). Author’s field diary.

652 *Supermano Dura*. In 2003, a law called “Heavy Hand” (*Mano Dura*) against the youth gangs was passed and a police operation with the same name was conducted. Both were based on the idea that the origin of the violence lay with the youth gangs. This law and the operation were both contrary to the constitution. During 2003, seven thousand young people were arrested, from which only five percent entered the judicial process, while the others were freed. The Office of the Salvadoran Human Rights Ombudsman achieved, a reversal of the law as it was unconstitutional and in breach of the Children’s Rights of the United Nations. “Now the problems are the Bills and operation *Super Heavy Hand* of the President Saca. In spite of that, the criminality has increased, which reveals that the government’s analysis of the causes of the delinquency is not correct.” Author’s

youth gangs in El Salvador. The NGOs and the Lutheran church, amongst others, criticised the law, claiming that it did not do anything to the root causes of the violence, which were poverty and unemployment. In the field of foreign affairs, the government of El Salvador sent soldiers to Iraq to express its loyalty to the USA in 2005.⁶⁵³

During 2005, the violence and emigration increased considerably.⁶⁵⁴ El Salvador was the first Central American government to ratify the United States-Dominican Republic-Central America Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA) and President Saca continued the privatisation attempts of the public health care system and the education system, and he also tried to privatise the distribution of clean water.⁶⁵⁵ The liberation theologian, Jon

translation. Meeting with the Salvadoran Human Rights Ombudsman Beatrice Alamanni de Carrillo and the delegation of the Archdiocese of Turku, Finland, in 23.-5.2.2005. Author's field diary. See also Info-Blatt 65, Dezember 2004, 3-6.

653 *Batallón Cuscatlán. Boletín informativo nacional* of the Department of Human Rights of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador (11.2.2005). Some of the Salvadoran soldiers even reached Lepira in Iraq. Author's notes of Salvadoran newspapers in February 2006. In February 2009, the last groups returned to El Salvador from Iraq. El Salvador was the only Latin American country, which sent troops to Iraq.

654 Annual report 2005, LWF,1.

655 Annual report 2005, LWF, 1.The social movements, traditionally strong in the region [Central America], but sometimes divided, reacted too late to these new socio-economic situations and to the new challenges that the Free Trade Agreement, FTA, and the mega-projects of infrastructure entailed. The FTAs and the persistence of neoliberal policies increasingly weakened each time the capability of the governments to implement the policies. Certain economic interests, partly coming from the old oligarchies, and partly from new oligarchies related to services – and sometimes to illegal businesses – have taken over the formally democratic governments, and have implemented policies that are more related to the interests of USA rather than to those of the national majority. The Lutheran World Federation, Department for World Service, Central America Program, Planning and Monitoring Document, PMD 2005-2007, 29.9.2004, 45. Bishop Gómez criticised the neoliberal economic system, saying

Sobrino, at the Catholic university *Universidad Centroamericana "Jose Simeon Cañas"* (UCA)⁶⁵⁶ in San Salvador, stated in 2005, that the attempts of the Salvadoran government to privatise the public health care system lead to the death of the poor.⁶⁵⁷ Héctor Fernández, the rector of *Universidad Luterana Salvadoreña* (ULS)⁶⁵⁸ in 2005, stressed that the situation in El Salvador did not differ much from the civil war: "Now we have a war between the government and youth gangs and we have daily even more victims than during the civil war."⁶⁵⁹ The hope of rebuilding a democratic and more just society and a better future, which the Salvadoran people experienced in the 1990s, turned into apathy and desperation.

Poverty remained the main problem of El Salvador. After the civil war, it was estimated that 40-70% of the population were living in poverty, whereas 20-50 % lived in extreme poverty.⁶⁶⁰

that it had become easy to believe that globalisation needs to produce poor people in order to increase the wealth of the rich. He continued. "We must denounce the evils of globalisation, portray it as the fallen angel, Angel Luzbel (Lucifer) that misleads and pretends to be a light but is not". Annual Report 2003, LWF, 5 and the Finnish Kirchentag, Kirkkopäivät, in Turku, Finland, May, 2006. Author's notes. The CAFTA meant, in the everyday life of the people, for example, that the imported corn from the USA costs less than the Salvadoran corn. The consequences have been the growing unemployment and poverty of the Salvadoran peasants.

656 The Catholic University of Central America "José Simeon Cañas".

657 Group interview with Jon Sobrino (28.1.2005).

658 The Lutheran University of El Salvador.

659 Author's interview with Héctor Fernández (8.2.2005). Even the National Civilian Police (PNC), has for many years been accused of abuse of human integrity, which included unlawful killings, attempted unlawful killings, assaults, and other offenses causing bodily harm. The Office of the Ombudsman for Human Rights, PDDH, stated in 2008 that the PNC was responsible for 559 crimes. 2008 Human Rights Report: El Salvador, www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2008/wha/119159.htm (6.6.2013).

660 Annual Reports 1995-2003, LWF. "Fundamentally, poverty is a denial of choices and opportunities, a violation of human dignity. It

Poverty led to an enormous escalation in migration during the years 2005 to 2008; no less than two to three hundred people a day tried to flee from El Salvador to the USA. In 2006, there was a peak with 500 people a day.⁶⁶¹ Many of the Salvadorans, who have managed to reach the USA alive and have not been deported back to El Salvador, have succeeded - either legally or illegally - to obtain work. Those who work have usually sent money back home to their families. According to the Lutheran World Federation (LWF), these so-called *Dollars of the Poor*, remittances, had in 2003/2004 grown to 16 % of the Gross Domestic Product and 83 % of the trade balance in El Salvador.⁶⁶² The 2.5 million Salvadorans living in the USA and in Canada, sent about 3.5 billion dollars to El Salvador. Approximately one third of the

means lack of basic capacity to participate effectively in society. It means not having enough to feed and clothe a family, not having a school or clinic to go, not having the land on which to grow one's food or a job to earn one's living, not having access to credit. It means insecurity, powerlessness and exclusion of individuals, households and communities. It means susceptibility to violence, and it often implies living on marginal or fragile environments, without access to clean water or sanitation" (UN Statement, June 1998 – signed by the heads of all UN agencies. Absolute poverty was defined as “a condition characterised by severe deprivation of basic human needs, including food, safe drinking water, sanitation facilities, health, shelter, education and information. It depends not only on income but also on access to services.” www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/documents/ydiDavidGordon_poverty.pdf (6.6.2013).

661 The phenomenon of the large migration developed in 2006, NGO, the Committee of Family Members of Migrants who have Died or Disappeared (COFAMIDE), *Comité de Familiares de Migrantes Fallecidos y Desaparecidos*, cofamide.blogspot.com/ (6.6.2013).

662 Medardo Gómez in the Annual Report 2002, LWF, 6. It means that the Salvadorans in the USA can often have two or three jobs a day, without any social and health security, in order to acquire the money for their own living and for remittances to their families in El Salvador. The Salvadorans call the remittances with *remesas*. The Lutheran World Federation, Department for World Service, Central America Program, Planning and Monitoring Document, PMD 2005-2007, 9 (29.9.2004).

Salvadoran population lived outside El Salvador, and of those living in El Salvador, one family out of three were receiving remittances.⁶⁶³ The economists according to the LWF believed in 2003 that without this support the number of people living in poverty would have been eight per cent higher in El Salvador.⁶⁶⁴ The huge amount of remittances has skewed the official statistics of the Salvadoran government. The economic depression in the USA, which started in the autumn 2008, lowered the living situation of the Salvadorans both in the USA and in El Salvador. The remittances decreased approximately ten per cent during the first half of 2009.⁶⁶⁵

Poverty and fragmentation of families affected women in many ways. Women in El Salvador also experienced repression, marginalisation, and violation more often than men.⁶⁶⁶ According to a Lutheran pastor Miriam Gaspár, who worked for several years in the LWF in San Salvador, poverty and violence tended to be feminised. Moreover, poor women have been twice oppressed, not only because of their gender but also because of

663 www.bcr.gob.sv/?x21=46 (6.6.2013). *Banco Central de Reserva de El Salvador* (the Central Bank of El Salvador). *Federación Luterana Mundial/Departamento para el Servicio Mundial, Estrategia Regional Centroamérica 2008-2013*, 2, 21.

664 Annual Report 2003, LWF, 8.

665 www.bcr.gob.sv/?x21=46 (6.6.2013).

666 For example, in the area of employment, in this context of exclusion, the participation of women in the labour market is caused more by poverty than any form of new opportunity. The jobs created are badly paid and in conditions of extreme exploitation. Research conducted by Oxfam shows that the maquila (sweatshop) industry has generated about 330 000 jobs in Central America, 70% of which are occupied by women, most of them from rural areas and of a low educational level. In these jobs, violation of labor rights is a permanent feature, and the salaries of the workers do not cover 60% of their basic consumption expenses. The Lutheran World Federation, Department for World Service, Central America Program, Planning and Monitoring Document, PMD 2005-2007,10 (29.9.2004). *Primer Encuentro de Mujeres Mesoamericanas 2004*, 10-11.

poverty.⁶⁶⁷ According to the United Nations, the majority of the 1.5 billion people living on one dollar a day or less, were women. Women living in poverty have often been denied access to critical resources such as credit, land, and inheritance. Furthermore, their health care and nutritional needs have not been given priority; they lacked sufficient access to education and support services etc. This means, as is noted in a UN report, that poverty signifies also a lack of human rights.⁶⁶⁸ Women have not had equal opportunities to work and women have encountered violence more often than men. Poverty has been the destiny of numerous women. On the other hand, gender expectations changed during the civil war and many women became the head of their families as a single mothers. Moreover, many of them have been the main financial supporters of their families, while working in the USA, and sent remittances to their children.⁶⁶⁹

667 Author's interview and discussions with Miriam Gaspár (12.9.2007). See also "It will not be so among you! A Faith reflection on Gender and Power", 2010, 13, 24. www.lutheranworld.org/.../DMD-Gender_Power-EN-low.pdf (15.1.2013). "Global restructuring of industries such as textiles, has increased subcontracting which reduces the status and rights of workers, and increases the number of "sweatshops", which mostly employ women. There is an increase in home-based labor, paid at a set rate per unit with little status, benefit, or protection of workers' rights."

668 www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/followup/session/presskit/fs1.htm. This fact sheet is published in May, 2000 (6.6.2013).

669 Research in 2000, conducted by CARITAS (Catholic Relief Services) which interviewed a hundred women who had been deported from the USA, showed the loss of family relationships between mothers and children caused by migration. The interviewed women, most of them between thirty and forty-five years old, explained that they emigrated before their twenty-fifth birthday, and they left one or two children with their grandmothers, uncles, and aunts. They kept in touch with them by correspondence, the remittance of money and some telephone calls. In the USA, many of them established new partner relationships, and they had at least one more child. In most cases, there has been no communication with the children's fathers, assuming tacitly that their emigration meant the breaking of the re-

About thirty per cent of Salvadoran families were supported as well as being headed by single mothers in 2006.⁶⁷⁰ Female-headed households, according to a UN report, which do not have access to remittances from male earners – or would be headed by both male and female earners - were generally assumed to be poorer than male-headed households.⁶⁷¹

The Lutheran World Federation (LWF) in 2005 prepared a

relationship – which does not occur so frequently when men migrate. When these women are deported, they do not have any more the authority in the relationship with their children, which they had when they were the main economic supporters of the family and they are not able to find jobs in their home country. Generally, there are conflicts with their children, who are already grown up and accustomed to very little communication with their mother, and to receive money and gifts. A significant number of young people do not study or work, because they are only waiting for the time when they can travel to the USA, or they are accustomed to spending money without any effort to earn it. Almost all the interviewed women were making efforts to travel illegally back to the USA again – some of them had been deported three times or more. Unfortunately, the goal to obtain better life conditions for their children has not always had favourable consequences. The Lutheran World Federation, Department for World Service, Central America Program, Planning and Monitoring Document, PMD 2005-2007, 29.9.2004, 8-9. When speaking with Salvadoran people, they confirm the experience over the last years that many young people refuse to study, and as an explanation they say that when they are in the USA they cannot obtain a job according their qualifications – so, why should they study. Some Salvadoran women also try to obtain a visa in the USA; they try to become pregnant as soon as they are there (or before), and hope, that when the baby is born in the USA, they will receive American citizenship as the authorities cannot deport the mother. Author's discussions with Salvadoran people in 2006 –2007 in El Salvador.

670 *Descripción del proyecto*, 2006, 5.

671 www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/followuo/session/presskit/fs1.htm (6.6.2013). This fact sheet was published in May, 2000. See also a study of Moghadam, Valentine M. The “Feminization of Poverty” and Women’s Human Rights, July 2005. www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/SHS/pdf/Feminization_of_Poverty.pdf (6.6.2013).

triennial plan for the work in Central America. The plan focused on regional work, together with NGOs and churches, in order to achieve socio-economic equality, strengthening of the diaconal work, the culture of citizenship, and sustainable risk management.⁶⁷² The main impact of the programme was the empowerment of the local communities, resistance to negative influences from outside, and building of sustainable development alternatives. These negative influences could be natural disasters, human rights violations, or economic influences, such as the Free Trade Agreements - the consequences of which were often unemployment. Concerning churches and women, the plan included training of at least 150 women leaders (employees and volunteers) of the Lutheran churches and the ecumenical movement at large in Central America in the principles and practices of diaconia. Women would be empowered to improve their role and visibility in the churches. In El Salvador especially, the LWF wanted to assist the women's movement to lobby for compliance with women's rights.⁶⁷³

672 The Lutheran World Federation, Department for World Service, Central America Program, Planning and Monitoring Document, PMD 2005-2007, 29.9.2004, 3-5, "1) Socio-economic equality: Accompany and facilitate reconstruction processes of societies based on equality and sustainability in the production, distribution and consumption of resources, thereby respecting the environment and fair exchange; 2) Diaconal strengthening and ecumenism: Accompany people in need, promoting holistic and transformation changes by facilitating diaconal strengthening processes, such as holistic ministry, stimulating actions and coordination for service to human beings; 3) Culture of citizenship: Accompany and facilitate strengthening processes for civil culture, so that the most excluded population strengthens its capacity to propose, organize, mobilize and negotiate in their struggle for justice, equality, democratic participation, peace and reconciliation; 4) Sustainable risk management: Accompany and facilitate local and regional processes that promote the establishment of risk management systems and overcoming of emergencies. Socio-economic equality is a new expression for *development*."

673 The Lutheran World Federation, Department for World Service, Central America Program, Planning and Monitoring Document,

One focus of the triennial plan of the LWF was an environmental analysis. It was stated that the environmental deterioration had been one of the great losses. Central America's geographic location had made it permanently prone to facing threats such as earth tremors, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, hurricanes, tornados, floods and droughts.⁶⁷⁴ Unfortunately, all these natural disasters, which were mentioned in the plan, came true in 2005-2007. Many people died, many lost their homes, and the life situations of thousands of people were aggravated. Additionally, in November 2009, hurricane Ida caused extensive damage with landslides and floods resulting in hundreds of deaths and thousands of homeless people.⁶⁷⁵ In co-operation with the *Action by Churches Together* (ACT), LWF/DWS, other organisations, and the government the victims of the natural disasters were given help. Education about sustainable risk management continued, for example, with the employees and volunteers of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador.⁶⁷⁶

PMD 2005-2007, 5 (29.9.2004). Exemplariness is the aim of the Lutheran World Federations Central America Programs Staff towards the equality, when recruiting new personnel. They write in the World Service triennial plan that of the twenty-two staff twelve are women; four of seven senior staff positions in 2004 were held by women. In the process of hiring the remaining three senior positions, women and people of minority groups will be given preference, p. 8. However, the representative (head) of the LWF/DWS was elected in 2008 and he was a North American, Philip Anderson, who had also worked in El Salvador in the 1980s.

674 The Lutheran World Federation, Department for World Service, Central America Program, Planning and Monitoring Document, PMD 2005-2007, 11 (29.9.2004).

675 The author visited with a Finnish group in the most damaged village only two days after the hurricane in November 2009, and saw the destroyed houses and the mourning people (many of their family members were dead), and also the many people working and clearing. Author's travel diary and photos.

676 The Lutheran World Federation, Department for World Service, Central America Program, Planning and Monitoring Document, PMD 2005-2007, 29.9.2004, 11. This claim of corruption, even in

According to the UN, safe and clean drinking water and sanitation belong to basic human rights. However, 5 % of the population in Central and South America has no access to clean water.⁶⁷⁷ In El Salvador, the issue of the right to water has been debated in many times since the beginning of the 1990s. Presidents Flores and Saca attempted to privatise the drinking water resources of El Salvador. Meanwhile, the open pit mining areas have continued to contaminate the water. People in the neighbourhood of the mining areas were forced to buy their potable water. Without enough money, they had no choice but to use the contaminated water, which often led to epidemics of diarrhoea among the children. Similar factors caused the death of hundreds of children yearly in El Salvador. The question of water revolved in a vicious circle and turned into a considerable political issue.⁶⁷⁸ The question of water was a practical example of the feminisation of poverty. Whether the drinking water costs or

the cases of humanitarian aid, has not been baseless. After the first earthquake in 2001, the international aid arrived in El Salvador within twenty-four hours, but food, medicine and clothes took days to be distributed. According to community leaders and independent press reports, during the first weeks after the quake, the government did not provide adequate assistance to victims, given the heavy bureaucratic processing and corrupt activities in the first-aid attending centres. The evacuees even marched in San Salvador and other major cities demanding aid and housing. Police dispersed the crowds using tear-gas which affected the participants who were mostly children, women and the elderly. Annual Report 2001, LWF, 11.

677 www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=35456&Cr=SANITATION (6.6.2013). global.finland.fi/public/default.aspx?contentid=163693 (6.6.2013). The LWF organised in September 2007 a Water Forum conference in San Salvador, and there were representatives from every Latin American country. The LWF organised similar forums in every continent. Author's field diary.

678 In an event in El Salvador, a young girl related publicly about her arrest and the difficult experiences from her fourteen day arrest period in 2006. The cause of her arrest was that she took part in a peaceful demonstration in favour of the potable water as a human right, and against the privatisation of water. Author's field diary.

not, it directly affects the lives of women, who cook and feed the children in the Salvadoran families with very limited economic resources. The people most in need therefore continued to be poor women and children.

In November 2008, Barack Obama was elected president of the USA. The economic depression that initiated from the USA occurred almost at the same time as the presidential elections in 2008. The depression was interpreted in El Salvador as a collapse of the neo-liberal system of economics and politics, thus giving hope for many Salvadorans of a new possibility and a changed in the political direction.

A popular movement, *Movimiento Popular por la Paz y la Justicia Social* (MPJS),⁶⁷⁹ was formed in 2007 with more than forty organisations and institutions including the Lutheran Church of El Salvador and before the parliamentary and mayoral elections on the 18th of January, 2009, it declared a *manifest*.⁶⁸⁰ In the

679 The Popular Movement for Peace and Social Justice.

680 The elections in 2009 in El Salvador were called historical. In the Salvadoran election system the elections of the members of the Parliament, mayors and president, occur on the same year only every fifteenth year. The elections in 1994, the first ones in El Salvador after the Peace Accords, were the previous historical ones. Normally, the elections of the members of the Parliament and mayors are every third year and the election of the president every fifth year. www.lwfcamerica.org/?art=1297&lang=es&tittle=El%20Salvador%20elecciones%20hist3ricas (6.6.2013). "For the first time there are real and favourable conditions to do well and the Salvadoran people could vote for legitimate efforts for a change in favour of peace and social justice. After the economical collapse and the crisis and its consequences, the neoliberal governments of the world, have not kept up any ideology. In the same way in El Salvador, these same circumstances have deepened the structural and economical crisis. For a very long time, the Salvadoran people together with the social movements have demonstrated their disagreement and resistance against the neoliberal affiliated governments, which have shifted and deprived, impoverished and violated the Salvadoran people." Information letter concerning the MPJS to the partnership churches (14.1.2009). Author's translation.

manifest, the MPJS encouraged the Salvadoran people to generate a massive vote for a real change. Furthermore, the MPJS demanded that the Central Election Committee should conduct transparent and responsible elections.⁶⁸¹ However, the January elections were a disappointment for the MPJS. Therefore, the MPJS joined forces with other organisations, institutes and forums to create *Concertación Popular por el Cambio* (CPC)⁶⁸² including more than 150 organisations altogether. The CPC made decisive plans of action in different parts of the country concerning themes against the high cost of living, impunity and corruption, and the hope and power of the people.⁶⁸³ Amongst

681 The results of the January elections were thirty-five seats for the FMLN (an increase of three), the ARENA thirty-two seats (a loss of two), and the PCN eleven seats making the PCN the swing-voting bloc in the legislature, PCN is the National Conciliation Party, The Christian Democrats won five seats and Democratic Change one. The FMLN obtained 42.5% of the valid votes cast and ARENA earned 38.4%. Some 2.2 million Salvadorans turned out to vote, a participation rate of 54%. In San Salvador, Norman Quijano of ARENA obtained 86,569 votes (49.8%) and incumbent mayor Violeta Menjivar received 80,789 votes. luterano.blogspot.com/2009/01/final-election-results.html (6.6.2013). First published 29.1.2009.

682 The People's Concertation for the Change.

683 Frente means the FMLN. Information letter concerning the MPJS to the partnership churches (7.2.2009). See also information about the MPJS (14.6.2009) in www.kaosenlared.net/noticia_imprimir.php?id_noticia=94584, 12.7.2009, written by the Lutheran publicist, Rafael Menjivar Saavedra (14.6.2009). On March, 15, 2009, the four networks of the Social Movement, which originally formed the CPC, widened its co-operation with: *El Frente Social por un Nuevo País*, *Alianza por la Reducción de la Vulnerabilidad en el Salvador*, *Mesa Sindical de Trabajadores y Trabajadoras de la Maquila*, *MSTM*, *Alianza por la Diversidad Sexual*, *LBBT*, *Mesa Permanente de Desarrollo Cultural*, *Mujeres Creadoras de Vida y Paz*, *Central Sindical de Trabajadores Salvadoreños*, *Movimiento Popular por la Paz y la Justicia Social*, *Consejo Nacional de Unidad Sindical*, *the Ecumenical Forum of the Churches in Central America*, *El Salvador (Foro Ecuuménico de las Iglesias de CLAI El Salvador)*, and others.

others, the Lutheran Church of El Salvador encouraged people to vote in the presidential elections in March.⁶⁸⁴

During the presidential election in El Salvador on the 15th of March, 2009, approximately 4 000 observers from several national and international institutions monitored the elections. With the coordination of *Foro Ecu­m­é­ni­co del Consejo Latinoamericano de Iglesias* (FECLAI)⁶⁸⁵ and the LWF, the historical churches invited more than 400 observers to monitor the elections (150 observers in January and 275 observers in March). The Lutheran pastor Cecilia Alfaro co-ordinated the invitations from FECLAI to the monitors and also made the programme. The elections were conducted peacefully and this was most likely due to the presence of these numerous observers.⁶⁸⁶

The FMLN candidate, journalist Mauricio Funes, won the presidential election with a three per cent margin over the ARENA candidate Rodrigo Avila.⁶⁸⁷ In his first speech, Funes prom-

684 Information letter from the Lutheran Church of El Salvador to the sister parishes, March 2009. See also www.youtube.com/watch?v=ft1pZ5hWqsg (published 5.3.2009), where Bishop Gómez encourages people to vote without fear (6.6.2013).

685 The Ecumenical Forum of the Council of Latin American Churches, El Salvador.

686 The monitoring report of Pastor Riku Laukkanen, Turku, Finland, 11.-18.3. 2009. See also the information letter of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador to the sister parishes, March 2009. Some misuses occurred during the elections, and the observers reported of them to the Central Election Committee, to *Organización de Estados Americanos* (OEA), the Organisation of the American States, and to the Human Rights Ombudsman. The injustices were, for example, double identities, Salvadoran identities given to a number of Central American workers, some other right wing companies forced their workers to take a photograph of their ballot and bring it to work (otherwise they would be sacked) and arresting people before the voting day.

687 Mauricio Funes was born in 1959. FMLN: *Fuerzas Populares de Liberación – Farabundo Martí*, Front of Farabundo Martí for the National Liberation. ARENA: *Allianza Republicana Nacional*, Republican National Alliance.

ised that he would cooperate with all churches and act with a *preferential option for the poor*; a reference to liberation theology and to the work of the murdered Archbishop Oscar Romero.⁶⁸⁸ President Funes renewed in his inauguration speech his commitment to Archbishop Oscar Romero as his symbolic advisor and as a spiritual guide of the people of El Salvador.⁶⁸⁹

The Catholic Archbishop of El Salvador, Fernando Sáenz Lacalle, retired in 2008, and in February 2009, José Luis Escobar Alas was consecrated as the new Archbishop.⁶⁹⁰ Lacalle's inauguration speech raised expectations that he would care for his post differently than his predecessor. He promised to work in tighter co-operation with the priests of the Archdiocese of El Salvador and he also mentioned Oscar Romero in a positive way, which was not self-evident in the official Catholic Church.⁶⁹¹ However, the Archbishop also encouraged President Funes with his plans of using the help of the military forces in combating delinquency, which had generated over ten victims a day.⁶⁹²

In the religious context in El Salvador in 2004-2009, the main issues were the transforming Catholic Church with its several theologies and practices, and the expanding Neo-Pentecostal churches. According to Peterson, Vásquez and Williams,

688 luterano.blogspot.com/2009/03/funes-speaks-of-reconciliation-avila.html (6.6.2013).

689 Information letter of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador, June 2009. When visiting two ministries of the Government during my visit in El Salvador in November 2009 with a group from the Archdiocese of Turku, Finland, we saw the picture of Oscar Romero on the walls of every office. This would not have been possible during the former president's time. On March, 24, 2010 President Funes participated the thirty years anniversary of the murder of Archbishop Romero and apologised in the name of state for the murder of Romero. news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8586560.stm (6.6.2013).

690 José Luis Escobar Alas was born in 1959.

691 luterano.blogspot.com/2009/02/new-archbishop.html (8.7.2009). www.diariocolatino.com/es/20090216/nacionales/63827/ (8.7.2009).

692 www.elsalvador.com/mwedh/nota/nota_completa.asp?idCat=6358&idArt=3730587 (6.6.2013).

the Salvadoran Catholicism of the twenty-first-century includes at least four major types of theology and practice. The *first* type is connected to the *traditional popular Catholicism*; marked by the patron saints and Marian apparitions. The *second* model of practice can be described as *reformed Catholicism*. “It is strongly influenced by the Second Vatican Council”, to quote Peterson, Vásquez and Williams, “and especially by the *faith-life link*. Within this way of being Catholic we can place groups like Catholic Action, Cursillos, and marriage encounters, which stress lay leadership without embracing explicitly sociopolitical agendas”.⁶⁹³ The *third* type is progressive or *liberationist Catholicism*, which has played an important role in the opposition of conservative regimes. The *fourth* tendency, *Charismatic Catholicism*, is growing rapidly throughout America. Charismatic Catholicism is very similar to the Protestant Pentecostal movements.⁶⁹⁴ According to Peterson, Vásquez and Williams, there is no sharp dichotomy between the hierarchical, clerical, and

693 Peterson 2001, 211. “Catholic Action, the organized work of the laity that is performed under the direction or mandate of a bishop in the fields of dogma, morals, liturgy, education, and charity. In 1927, Pope Pius XI gave the term its classical definition as the participation of the laity in the apostolate of the hierarchy”. global.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/99798/Catholic-Action, (6.6.2013). Cursillo has been mainly explained as a short course in Christianity, cursillo=short course. The movement began in the Catholic Church in Spain in the mid 1940s. Since then it has spread worldwide and crossed denominations. See, for example, www.cursillo.net/about, (6.6.2013). “Marriage Encounter is an ecclesial movement for couples (spouses) that through a weekend retreat renewed the Sacrament of Marriage or face and resolve their marital life situations. They seek to renew the Church and changing the world by helping couples and priests to live in a community for continued support through dialogue, intimate communication, responsible relationships, and participation in the Sacraments and practice the Gospel values.” www.staugustinecatholicchurch.org/ministry-marriageencounter.php (6.6.2013). This activity has also grown as a denomination crossing movement.

694 Peterson 2001, 211.

oppressive official Catholicism and the egalitarian, lay-centred, and emancipatory grassroots Catholicism. They claim that the borders are fluid. As examples, these three scholars mention parishioners who can participate actively in the celebration of the town's patron saint and later read the Bible in a base community or attend a Charismatic assembly.⁶⁹⁵

The Catholic *Biblistas Populares*⁶⁹⁶ movement was present in the majority of the base communities from the 1960s and encouraged many women and men to read the Bible. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Presbyters, Baptists, and Lutherans also participated in the movement. The movement was based on the practice of reading and rereading the Bible texts in the context of the history of the Bible and of today.⁶⁹⁷ In 2004, a new umbrella organisation *Coordinación Ecuμένηca de la Iglesia de las y los Pobres de El Salvador* (CEIPES)⁶⁹⁸ was formed to bring together Christian base communities, the Monseñor Romero Foundation,⁶⁹⁹ Catholics, Lutherans, and Baptists. According to the Lutheran pastor Miriam Gaspár, "CEIPES resembles a church, which aspires for justice for the men and women who live in poverty, which in turn generates marginalisation, exclusion, and death". To quote Miriam Gaspár, "this movement of Christian men and women offers a liberating gospel and brings together Catholic priests, Lutheran and Baptist pastors, religious men and women, and lay people".⁷⁰⁰

Several Neo-Pentecostal churches grew rapidly during the first decade of the twenty-first-century in El Salvador. They in-

695 Peterson 2001, 211. Base community, comunidades eclesiales de base (CEB).

696 The Popular Bible Readers.

697 Author's interview with Miriam Gaspár (14.9.2007). This Bible reading method started after Vatican II.

698 The Ecumenical Coordination of the Church of the Poor.

699 *Fundación Monseñor Romero*.

700 Letter from Miriam Gaspár to the author and observations by the author in a meeting of this organisation in San Salvador, September 2007. Author's translation.

clude *Asambleas de Dios*,⁷⁰¹ *Iglesia Universal del Reino de Dios*,⁷⁰² *Tabernaculo Biblico Bautista* (also known as *Ammos de Israel Central*),⁷⁰³ and *Mision Elim Internacional*.⁷⁰⁴ These churches had thousands of members and large buildings as mega churches for their reunions. Typical for all the Neo-Pentecostal churches was the discipline and order of the family and, as it emerges from the emphasis on patriarchal authority, both at home and in the church.⁷⁰⁵

The Catholic Church and the historical Protestant churches have lost members to the mega churches. Several studies in 2009 revealed that the membership of the Catholic Church had dropped below 60% of the population whereas the evangelicals had risen to 30-40%, of which three-quarters belonged to the Pentecostal and Neo-Pentecostal denominations.⁷⁰⁶ The number of Lutherans had stayed relatively low (approximately 12 000 members according to the LWF).⁷⁰⁷ The Lutheran pastor,

701 The Assemblies of God. The Assemblies of God was already present in 1952 in Pasaquina, in the eastern part of El Salvador, when the first Lutheran parish was established.

702 Peterson 2001, 213. See also Raunu 2003, 209-212. The Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (from Brazil).

703 The Biblical Baptist Tabernacle.

704 The International Mission Elim.

705 Wadkins 2008, 31-49. According to many women parishioners there is a tendency that many converted men have stopped drinking and domestic violence and taken responsibility for their families. Large offerings and considerable amounts of voluntary work, and the theology of Glory are the unifying factors for these churches. Some of the churches are working with *Maras* trying to convert gangs, have their own schools and radio and television stations. Speaking in tongues and healings are also typical features for most of the Neo-Pentecostal churches.

706 Wadkins 2008, 31-49. The Lutheran World Federation, Department for World Service, Central America Program, Planning and Monitoring Document, PMD 2005-2007, 13 (29.9.2004).

707 In 2009, the LWF produced the information that the Lutheran Church of El Salvador had about 12 000 members. In 2011 LWF produced the information that there were 20 000 members. www.

Norma Castillo de Menjívar (known also as Norma Castillo), assumed that people's habit of choosing their church correlated with the economic situation in the country.⁷⁰⁸ According to Norma Castillo, the Pentecostal and Neo-Pentecostal churches offered spirituality as a solution to the people's problems. "Individualism is growing and the *preachers* say: If you have Christ, you are rich."⁷⁰⁹ *The Theology of Prosperity*,⁷¹⁰ which was professed by many of the Neo-Pentecostal churches, emphasised that wealth and prosperity in this life was a consequence of faith. The *Prosperity Gospel* – as it also is called – promised financial blessing and wealth as the will of God for Christians, and that faith, positive speech, and donations to Christian ministries will always increase one's material wealth.⁷¹¹ The Gospel of prosperity appealed to thousands of poor and middle class Salvadorans. The Lutheran churches traditionally emphasised the *Theology of Cross*, which refers to the suffering of Jesus as a Redeemer of people.⁷¹² Jahnel suggests in his book that the Lutheran Church of El Salvador should engage more in dialogue with the Pentecostal movement in El Salvador.⁷¹³ Bishop Gómez of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador states, however, that they had not re-

lutheranworld.org/Directory/sam/SalvadoranLuthCch-EN.html
(7.12.2011).

- 708 Author's interview with Norma Castillo (16.11.2009). Norma Castillo was born in 1971. She has had the responsibility for the partnership church and parishes since 2006 in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. Castillo suggests that people living in poverty, prefer listening to preaching on the possible of prosperity during this life and not only suffering and a wealthy life after death.
- 709 Lutheran pastor Norma Castillo was earlier a member of a Pentecostal church. Author's interview with Norma Castillo (16.10.2007).
- 710 *Teología del Exito*.
- 711 See, for example, Huovinen 1987, 120, Tamez 1982, 25-34, www.claibweb.org/ribla/autores.html (6.6.2013).
- 712 Gómez 1993. However, the interpretations of the *Theology of Cross* are common also in liberation theology. See, for example, Sobrino Jesucristo Liberador 1991 .
- 713 Jahnel 2004, 396-401.

ceived any response from the Pentecostal communities to their attempts to promote open dialogue.⁷¹⁴

Politically the Charismatic and traditional Catholicism and the Pentecostal and Neo- Pentecostal movements were primarily conservative.⁷¹⁵ However, during the elections in 2009, it seemed that the conservative evangelicals were politically divided and some of them voted for the political Left.⁷¹⁶

5.2 The *Mutirão* Process in the Lutheran Church

The *Mutirão* transformation process of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador was initiated in 2004 by the Lutheran World Federation (LWF). *Mutirão* is Portuguese and means an open place or market square. The purpose of the process was to focus on the strengthening of the financial sustainability of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. The other goals were to change the organisational structure in the Lutheran church, to encourage the church towards transparency in all administrative issues, and to give younger employees opportunities in leading positions. In this chapter, I will study how the *Mutirão* process developed in general and then examine the consequences the process had on the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. The effects of the process concerning women will be discussed in the next chapter.

The financial dependency of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador on the foreign mission bodies and churches started in 1952, when the supporting body was the Missouri Synod. During the civil war in the 1980s, instead of the Missouri Synod, many North American, German and Nordic churches and organisations supported the strong social work of the Lutheran

714 Author's discussion with Medardo Gómez in February 2006. Author's field diary.

715 Schäfer, www.homes.uni-bielefeld.de/hschaefer3/index.html, July 2006 (pp. 13-15).

716 The monitoring report of Pastor Riku Laukkanen, Turku, Finland (11.-18.3. 2009).

Church of El Salvador. At the beginning of the 1990s, the Lutheran Church of El Salvador started a broad sister parish programme. As a result, in 2004, the church and its parishes had about sixty sister churches and parishes in the United States, Canada, Germany, Norway, Sweden and Finland, which financially supported their sister parishes in El Salvador.⁷¹⁷ Numerous bilateral agreements existed and it was difficult, for example, for the LWF, to see the whole picture. The financial development with permanent support from abroad did not encourage the Lutheran Church of El Salvador towards a self-sustaining and a financially independent church. Indeed, the church hierarchy was accused of being too hierarchical and rigid, with no changes in the leading positions.

The LWF invited the main mission bodies and partner agencies of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador to the first *Mutirão* meeting in San Salvador in October 2004.⁷¹⁸ The participants were representatives from partner churches and agencies from the Lutheran Church of El Salvador and from partners in Central America, Brazil, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Germany, United States and the Lutheran World Federation, Department of Mission and Development (LWF/DMD). Issues discussed at the meeting included the need to face critical financial constraints and to make necessary adjustments, such as changes to programmes, and staffing cuts. The purpose of these actions was to strengthen the governing role of the General Assembly⁷¹⁹ and of the Board of Directors⁷²⁰ in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. The mandate of the Lutheran University was also to be strengthened in order to continue with the training of pastors - male and female - as well as lay and ecumenical leaders for El Salvador

717 See chapter 3.2. *Identidad Luterana Salvadoreña* 2012, 38.

718 I will present the *Mutirão* process with the help of the minutes and interviews and observations as a consequence of my observations in El Salvador.

719 *Sínodo*.

720 *Junta Directiva*.

and all of Central America. The goal of bringing together the network of all the sister churches and parishes of the Lutheran church was also expressed in the minutes of the first *Mutirão* meeting.⁷²¹

At the beginning of the *Mutirão* process in 2004, the Lutheran Church of El Salvador defined its pastoral model and vision as:

“The Lutheran Church [of El Salvador] confesses Jesus Christ as the centre of faith in God Father; according to the ecumenical creeds the church is a Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church.

We carry out a Theology of Life, which inspires pastoral work with special attention to the most marginalised people; thus, we carry out holistic, prophetic, transforming and liberating pastoral actions and promote spirituality full of hope, defending human rights, gender equality, the environment and other needs and values of life.

All people of God, baptised men and women, have the right to serve in the pastoral ministry, to preach the word, to administer the sacraments and to serve in the diaconia.

According to the apostolic tradition, this ministry is led by the bishop, pastors, deacons, evangelists, catechists, diverse leaders and children of God in the communion with all the congregations that make up the ecclesiastic communities of faith and life, which together constitute a Salvadoran, episcopal, democratic and participative church.”⁷²²

Evidently, this was a clear and short definition of the theology of life, including the practice of the principle of the *priesthood of all believers*. The definition also included the list of the positions of the Lutheran church, regarding the principle of equality between women and men concerning employment, paid and voluntary work, and gender equality as a whole.⁷²³ This was the first time the Lutheran Church of El Salvador took a precise literary

721 Minutes of the *Mutirão* meeting (7. -9.10.2004).

722 www.iglesialuteranasalvadorena.org/pastoraleng.htm (22.6.2004).

723 Ibid.

position on the gender equality issue concerning posts in the church. In addition, the clarification of the mission of the Lutheran churches in Central America was published in the 2005 Annual Report of the LWF/DWS. Medardo Gómez wrote in his greetings in the Annual Report, as president of *Comunión de las Iglesias Luteranas de Centro America* (CILCA),⁷²⁴ that the World Service of the LWF has been and must be in harmony with the *Pastoral Profetico*⁷²⁵ of the local churches in the CILCA.⁷²⁶ Bishop Medardo Gómez utilised the term *Pastoral Profetico* as another name for the theology of life.

Prior to the subsequent meetings, an Ad-Hoc Commission and several working groups (the pastoral table, diaconal table, and institutional development table) were established in the Lutheran church to work towards a renewed structure, a more decentralised implementation of the parish work, and a triennial financial plan. The LWF supervised the efforts and several meetings with the management of the LWF/DMD were held. A preparatory meeting of the *Mutirão* process was held in April 2006 and, the next actual meeting was held in September 2006 in San Salvador.⁷²⁷

Martin Junge, the secretary for Latin America and the Caribbean at the LWF/DMD, analysed the *Mutirão* process and stated

724 Communion of the Lutheran Churches in Central America.

725 Prophetic Pastoral Mission. Utilising the name *Pastoral Profetico* (Prophetic Pastoral Mission), Medardo Gómez emphasises the prophetic mission, which the Lutheran churches of Central America have in common. As a matter of fact, the Lutheran churches in Nicaragua and Honduras had partly been established during the civil war of El Salvador as refugee churches of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador and later became independent churches. E-mail from Vilma Rodríguez to the author (2.7.2009). Vilma Rodríguez was a co-founding woman in 1990 of *Iglesia Santísima Trinidad* (Lutheran Church of the Holy Trinity) in Guatemala City.

726 Annual Report 2005, Central America Program, LWF, 2.

727 Progress Reports 2 and 3 of the *Mutirão* process, 2005. See also Latin American and the Caribbean Desk, DMD, Report of 2006, Martin Junge, 60.

that if the DMD took on a very specific role in the process then it would undermine the ownership and leadership of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador and, thus, the sustainability of the process as a whole. It was agreed in the meeting in September 2006, that the leadership of the process should be increasingly transferred from the LWF/DMD to the church, according to the shared understanding. It was also agreed, that the church and the partners would bring the *Mutirão* process into a new stage, during which it would be widened to include bilateral relationships at the level of congregations.⁷²⁸

Parallel with the *Mutirão* process several misfortunes occurred in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador, which also affected the process:

- 1) In January 2005, a night guard of the Lutheran University (ULS) was murdered. This led to severe problems in keeping the ULS in operation.⁷²⁹

728 www.lutheranworld.org/What_We_Do/DMD/DMD-Annual_Reports-2006/DMD-Annual_Report_Latin_America-2006.pdf (6.6.2013).

729 Only two days before the murder of Manuel de Jesús Martínez, the Finnish delegation of the Archdiocese of Turku led by Archbishop Jukka Paarma, had visited the Lutheran University. The delegation returned on the morning of January 29, 2005, after the murder, to the University to support the personnel and to hold devotions. The leaders of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador thought first that it was an attack against the church – as it often was during the 1980s – because the only eyewitness was also soon murdered. However, it finally emerged that it was an ordinary robbery (all the computers and a car were stolen) planned with the other night guard. Unfortunately, this tragedy caused fear amongst the students, and the number of students fell below the two hundred students considered in El Salvador to be a critical size for a university. The LWF/DMD and the donors came to the conclusion together with the Lutheran Church of El Salvador and the Lutheran University that the University would be closed and the rector Héctor would terminate his work in July 2005. Nevertheless, the local actors persevered in keeping the Lutheran University in operation with renewed funding and ownership. Author's travel diary and discussions with the Salvadorans. See

- 2) One long-term supporter, the Lutheran Church of Norway, withdrew its support from the Lutheran Church of El Salvador in January 2005 due to dissatisfaction concerning bookkeeping. As a consequence, the personnel of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador were laid off for several months. The salaries of those who were re-employed were reduced by twenty per cent.
- 3) As a consequence of the layoffs, two pastors, Roberto Pineda and Ricardo Cornejo, took action against the Lutheran Church of El Salvador and established a small new Lutheran church, *Iglesia Luterana Popular de El Salvador*.⁷³⁰ The pastors were expelled from the Lutheran Church of El Salvador.
- 4) Controversies emerged inside the church while planning the restructuring of the church.
- 5) The hurricanes Adrian, Katrina, Rita and Stan devastated El Salvador in 2005, and the volcano Llamatepec (known also as volcano de Santa Ana) erupted in October 2005.⁷³¹ As a whole, the year 2005 was catastrophic for the Lutheran Church of El Salvador and for the whole country.
- 6) The catastrophes continued in 2006; Fransisco Carrillo and his wife Jesús Calzada were both Lutheran lay pastors and both of them were murdered in front of their church, *Pan*

also Vahtola 2005, 48-50.

730 The Lutheran Popular Church of El Salvador. Bishop Gómez explained to the international partners in several information letters, that the two pastors, Roberto Pineda and Ricardo Cornejo, were no longer pastors of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. E-mail from Bishop Gómez 22.3.2005 to the sister parishes. The phenomenon of splitting parishes in the history of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador is familiar from the first Lutheran parishes in Pasaquina and San Salvador. See chapter 2.2.

731 Progress Reports 2 and 3 of the *Mutirão* process, 2005. Author's field diary. ELCA news February 8, 2005, transmitted as e-mail. E-mail to sister parishes from the Lutheran Church of El Salvador, October 2, 2005.

de Vida,⁷³² on the 4th of November, 2006, after they had celebrated the Sunday service in the church in the village of Jayaque. The Carrillos had been serving two Lutheran communities, Jayaque and the neighbouring community, Montes de Penzberg.⁷³³ Jesús Calzada de Carrillo was the first Lutheran woman deacon pastor to be assassinated in El Salvador.⁷³⁴ The murders were a great shock for the Lutheran Church of El Salvador and reminiscent of the dreadful time of the civil war, when Pastor David Fernández was murdered and several church workers were persecuted.⁷³⁵

The *ownership* of the *Mutirão* process had been transferred from the LWF to the Lutheran Church of El Salvador in 2006. In February 2006, the Lutheran Church of El Salvador installed pastors to the restructured posts and programmes according to the *Mutirão* principles of renewing structures of the church and giving opportunities for younger employees in the church.⁷³⁶ The Board of Directors⁷³⁷ had prepared a booklet for the installation day, *Description of the Plan*, which included the goals of the new structure, vision, and mission of the church. Additionally, the

732 Bread of Life.

733 Named according to their German sister parish.

734 Pastor Francisco Carrillo, 65 years, was closing the church doors, when he was shot. His wife, Pastor Jesús Calzada de Carrillo, 57 years, was waiting for him in the parking area with their two grown up children. Her husband was killed first and after that, she was shot and killed. E-mail information from Bishop Gómez to the sister parishes (7.11.2006). The information from the LWF (7.11.2006); www.lutheranworld.org/news/Welcome.EN.html, (7.11.2006) and Aaltonen 2007, 55.

735 The case of the Carrillos' assassination and similarly the case of David Fernández, were not judicially solved by November 2011.

736 The author had the opportunity to co-operate with the installation in February 2006 in the Resurrection church in San Salvador. Author's field diary. On that occasion, Pastor Vilma Rodríguez gave to the author a booklet, *Descripción del proyecto*, where the new structure of the church with its programmes and personnel was described.

737 *Junta Directiva*.

booklet presented an analysis of the current Salvadoran context, and the contents and goals for each programme of the church. The booklet led to a revised presentation of the theology of life and, the Lutheran Church of El Salvador sent the presentation to its sister parishes and churches and to the media in 2007. The presentation was composed of the twenty-one proposal on the theology of life. The mention of work against the spreading of HIV/AIDS and supporting work with individuals with HIV/AIDS in co-operation with NGOs was an addition to the previous presentation from 2004. The twelfth proposals stated that the theology of life is an experience or a pastoral practice of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador in its commitment to the people in most in need: refugees, the displaced, poor and marginalised people, immigrants, and the victims of war and of the HIV-AIDS pandemic.⁷³⁸

The Lutheran church organised the first sister parish meeting in July 2007, in San Salvador, with about twenty delegates from abroad. The general objective was to offer a platform for meetings with the sister parishes of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador, while strengthening the Lutheran Church of El Salvador, in order to identify common aspects, which would contribute to better relationships between the churches.⁷³⁹ In the summary of

738 E-mail (Power Point presentation) from the Lutheran Church of El Salvador to the sister parishes, May 2007. See also the press information of Agencia Latinoamericana y Caribeña de Comunicación (ALC) (11.5.2007). In 2008, the Lutheran church started a more determined fight against the AIDS pandemic, which led to co-operation with sexual minority organisations. Pastor Concepción Marina Angel was responsible for AIDS-related work in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador in 2009. In 2006, DMD/LWF appointed a Regional Coordinator on HIV for the Latin American member churches, which has encouraged the member churches in their work against AIDS. www.lutheranworld.org/What_We_Do/DMD/DMD-Annual_Reports-2006/DMD-Annual_Report_Latin_America-2006.pdf, 61 (13.7.2009).

739 The specific objectives were to facilitate spaces for brotherly/sisterly reflection that generate, from the present context, standards for the

the meeting, the transparency in all the relationships (financial and functional) between the sister parishes and the Lutheran Church of El Salvador were emphasised in line with the *Mutirão* goals of the institutional strengthening of the Lutheran church. In addition, an outline for a *Partnership Manual* was created.⁷⁴⁰

The representative of the Department of World Service of the Lutheran World Federation (LWF/DWS) Central America Programme, Alois Möller, evaluated the situation in El Salvador and Central America in 2008, before he left:

“In the first place, we cannot imagine the immense damage caused to the Central American people by different kinds of patronage systems. And I don’t refer only to the traditional forms of exercising power, which have submerged the Central American rural regions in a political lethargy during hundreds of years. I also refer to how the patronage practices are so profoundly rooted, that even NGOs, churches, social movements and progressive political parties recur to them, consciously or unconsciously. The result is a symptom of heavy dependency.”⁷⁴¹

It is apparent that the comment of Möller included also self-criticism of the LWF, which had been present in El Salvador since 1983, and since the end of the 1990s also in other Central American countries.⁷⁴² Möller refers to “patronage practices” and “dependency”, which were symptoms of *assistentialism*.⁷⁴³ Silber

new role and concept of a partnership, and to share “our experience of faith and prophetic commitment from the contribution of the solidarity.” Additionally, one specific objective was to generate a referential framework for the following partnership relationships. Information Regarding the First Partnership Encounter Promoted through Sister Parishes: July 17, 18-19 2007, [1].

740 Information Regarding the First Partnership Encounter Promoted through Sister Parishes: July 17, 18-19 2007, [6]

741 Annual Report 2007, LWF/DWS, 3.

742 The Lutheran Church of El Salvador has been a member of the LWF since 1986.

743 Annual Report 2007, LWF/DWS, 3.

pointed out the same phenomena while interviewing people in Chalatenango in El Salvador. According to her, an elderly man related to her a definition of North American and European solidarity activists. He explained to Silber that these people come to El Salvador, because they pity them. “They come to help us, not to swindle us. I think that is good, because we want to be helped.”⁷⁴⁴ I would claim that this has also been the situation in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. People in the USA, Germany, and Nordic countries wanted to help these poor churches and the churches wanted to be helped. In the complicated political and economic situation, the independent Lutheran churches in Central America failed to develop into financially sustainable churches. Furthermore, the repeated occurrence of natural catastrophes in the area contributed to the hampering of this desired development.

During the 16th - 19th November 2009, the second sister parish meeting was organised in San Salvador with eighty delegates from several Lutheran churches and parishes from the USA, Germany, Sweden, and Finland. In addition, representatives of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America (ELCA), the LWF and leaders of the Lutheran churches of Central America participated in the meeting.⁷⁴⁵ The date in November was selected by the organisers of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador because of the remembrance of the martyrs in El Salvador, especially as a remembrance of the murder of the Carrillos. In the sister parish meeting, the Chilean Martin Junge, who in October 2009 was elected the first Latin American General Secretary of the LWF, reminded the sister parish delegates of the original aim of the *Mutirão* process: the sustainability of the Lutheran Church of

744 Silber 2011, 28.

745 November 2009 was the month of the memorials of martyrs in El Salvador: in November 1989 the Jesuits were murdered at the UCA, the so-called Subversive Cross; an international delegation was arrested in the Lutheran *Resurrección* church in November 1989; and in November 2006 the Lutheran pastor-couple Carrillo were murdered.

El Salvador.⁷⁴⁶ He summarised in his speech that the Lutheran churches in Latin America were established as a consequence of migration from Europe or missionary work and that they lacked new models of social community activities compared to other successful churches. He referred to the Neo Pentecostal churches, which were growing rapidly across Latin America including El Salvador. Moreover, the membership base of the Lutheran churches in Latin America had become poorer, and the churches lacked sustainability and sensible financial administration. As stated by Junge:

“There is a lack of training of the employees in the Latin American Lutheran churches, and although the principle of the priesthood of all the believers is central, the churches have developed towards becoming pastor centred. The church identity is in the hands of a few persons and the administration is centralised. The information does not pass on from the central offices to the basic communities.”⁷⁴⁷

Junge claimed that the Latin American Lutheran churches had developed to be pastor centred, although the doctrine of the *priesthood of all believers* was still central. One could say that the idea of every baptised Christian being in a way a pastor was perhaps taken too literally. According to Martin Junge, the Latin American Lutheran churches with the Department of Mission and Development of the LWF (LWF/ DMD) and its member churches in Latin America had worked together on a plan called *With hope in the future*. This was an action plan for finding sustainable models for being a church in Latin America. The term

746 Martin Junge, *Sustentabilidad de la iglesia. Apuntes intermedios del programa de la FLM en América Latina*. (11.11.2009). A presentation in the sister parish meeting in San Salvador held on 16 November 2009.

747 Martin Junge, *Sustentabilidad de la iglesia. Apuntes intermedios del programa de la FLM en América Latina* (11.11.2009). A presentation at the sister parish meeting in San Salvador held on 16 November 2009. Author's translation.

sustainability was defined as including spirituality, theology, structures, finances, and human resources.⁷⁴⁸ The plan had three thematic topics: theological reflection, participation in strategic planning, and identification of the resources and their flexibility. In November 2009, Junge summarised in an eleven point plan holistic sustainability.⁷⁴⁹ As urgent challenges for the Lutheran churches in Latin America he listed the theological identity of the churches and the training of both employees and volunteers. Junge also raised the question of power among the clergy centred church where the parishioners stayed in the periphery. He stated that sustainability should be an important issue in the plans of the churches and permeate into their practices.⁷⁵⁰

A manual for the sister parish principles and activities - where the Lutheran Church of El Salvador had summarised its vision, mission and goals - was published at the sister parish meeting in November 2009. The *vision* stated:

“We are the Lutheran Church of El Salvador, which is based on the Lutheran confession, on the theology of life with at-

748 www.lutheranworld.org/What_We_Do/DMD/DMD-Annual_Reports-2006/DMD-Annual_Report_Latin_America-2006.pdf, 60-61 (6.6.2013).

749 Sustainability is more than money: 1. the social foundation, legality, expediency and the connection of the basic exercise; 2. the balance of the needs and incomes of the organisation; 3. the democracy and effectiveness of the organisation and actions; 4. a sufficient number of employees; 5. good articulation between the identity and mission; 6. the mechanisms of planning, follow-up and evaluation outlined and in operation; 7. the capacity of production and maintenance of knowledge and thinking; 8. power to affect the public opinion and decisions in society; 9. the capacity to establish connections and carry out common projects with other organisations; 10. the promptness of the internal and external communication; 11. the total clarity and openness of bookkeeping establishes the credibility of the administration. Martin Junge, *Sustentabilidad de la iglesia* (11.11.2009). Author's translation.

750 Martin Junge, *Sustentabilidad de la iglesia*. (11.11.2009). Author's translation.

tention to the people most in need, on the signs and values of the kingdom of God in a holistic way, and on the transformation of the reality of life in El Salvador.”⁷⁵¹

The *mission* was presented as:

“We are invited and called by God, and we are revealing the sin and proclaiming the good news. Together with our communities of faith and life, we realise a pastoral, diaconal, holistic, prophetic, ecumenical, transforming and liberating action.”⁷⁵²

The *goals* of the church were articulated to be:

“To support the processes of evangelisation, pastoral, spiritual, and diaconal care of the excluded, marginalised people with the theology of life perspective.”⁷⁵³

In addition, the search for a life of dignity, which arises from the pastoral and diaconal, prophetic and liberating view, was included in the goals.⁷⁵⁴

The transformation of the praxis and theology in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador began in the 1980s. By 2009, the *Mutirão* process had contributed to crystallising the definition of the theology of life in a short summary of the vision, mission, and goals of the Lutheran church.

5.3 Women in the Lutheran Church – Excluded or Empowered?

During the *Mutirão* process, a few of the women, who had been working in the Lutheran church for many years and had important posts during the wartime as well as afterwards, felt that they were pressured to resign in order to fulfil the goals of

751 *II Encuentro de Hermandad El Salvador 2009*, [1]. Author’s translation.

752 *Ibid.*

753 *Ibid.*

754 *II Encuentro de Hermandad El Salvador 2009*, [1]. Author’s translation.

the *Mutirão* process. This emotionally delicate theme arose, not in the minutes of the *Mutirão* process, but in a few interviews and discussions conducted by the author. These women experienced that they were being forced out and that the foreigners put pressure on the church to replace them with younger people. They also related that their experience and knowledge was not respected or valued. Moreover, the women assumed that the threat of exclusion was gender based, because it targeted only women.⁷⁵⁵ The majority of the targeted leadership posts were indeed occupied by women. Retirement was not an option for them, because the financial structure of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador during 2004-2009 was not strong enough to afford pensions sufficient for living. These women felt that the *Mutirão* goals led to gender based age discrimination.

The Board of Directors of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador decided against the will of the participants of the *Mutirão* process that the women concerned could stay as employees in the church. This decision once again raised contradictory discussions among the foreign aid agencies. The structure of the Lutheran Church was renewed in February 2006, for example, in the form of strengthening the structure and importance of micro regions, which were assumed to lead to more decentralised parish work.⁷⁵⁶ Thus, most of the former programme leaders stayed in the church hierarchy but in different positions. Consequently, the Lutheran Church of El Salvador was accused of making cosmetic reforms. These accusations revealed contradictions between the established independence of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador and the perceived patronising attitudes of the foreign agencies and churches.

755 Author's interviews and discussions with Salvadoran Lutheran women 2005-2011.

756 Micro regions had already been established in 1993, but were not functioning very clearly. *Reglamento Interno del Sínodo de las Iglesia de Confesión y Rito Luterano*, 1994. The bishop's centred leadership was overwhelming.

After the difficult year of 2005, the number of women serving in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador increased. In 2009, several women pastors occupied positions as programme leaders or administrators. Pastor Abelina Gómez was responsible for the programme *Pastoral Ministry of the Families*.⁷⁵⁷ She also worked with the youth and children and co-ordinated the youth work in the form of the *Youth Council*, Sunday school teachers, and the network for gender-related work. Pastor Cecilia Alfaro co-ordinated the local ecumenical work with, for example, the *Ecumenical Forum of the Council of Latin American Churches, El Salvador* (FECLAI)⁷⁵⁸ and the National Council of Churches of El Salvador (CNI).⁷⁵⁹ Pastor Vilma Rodríguez was responsible for the education of pastors in co-operation with the Lutheran University.⁷⁶⁰ Pastor Concepción Marina Ángel co-ordinated the *Programme of Integral Health*,⁷⁶¹ which included work with HIV/AIDS issues. Pastor Guadalupe Cortés de Huerdo headed the Diaconal work and she was also the vice president of the Board of Directors.⁷⁶² Pastor Norma Castillo co-ordinated the collaborative activities with the sister parishes. The Administration was the responsibility of Aracely Ventura. Furthermore, four programmes of the Lutheran church were headed by men.⁷⁶³ Most of the programme leaders were simultaneously pastors in local parishes.

One example of the positive results of the *Mutirão* process was the decentralised system of the micro regions. The micro regions

757 *Pastoral de la Familia*.

758 *Foro Ecueménico del Consejo Latinoamericano de Iglesias*

759 *Consejo Nacional de Iglesias de El Salvador*.

760 *Formación Pastoral*.

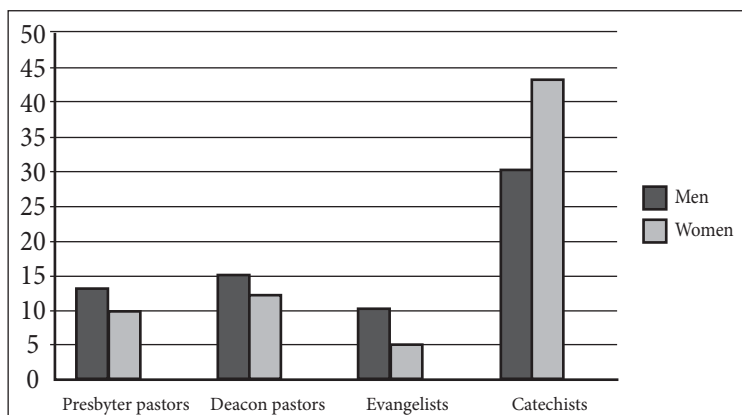
761 *Programa de Salud Integral*.

762 *Manual para las relaciones de hermandad*, 2009.

763 The Programme of Truth, Justice and Peace, Bishop Medardo Gómez; the Unity of Communication and the Activities for Peace, Rafael Menjivar Saavedra; the Executive Section, Carlos Rauda and the Bishop's Office, Medardo Gómez.

included several parishes, and they developed their work together. Moreover, the financial support, for example from the sister parishes, was distributed for the benefit of the parishes in a more equal manner than before. Women led, in 2009, two of the five micro regions: Pastor Vilma Mercedes López and Pastor Blanca Lidia Lemus de Maravilla.⁷⁶⁴ Women's occupation of other posts in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador in 2009 is seen in the following statistics.

Table 2 Posts in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador in 2009



By 2009, as shown by the columns in the table, progress towards a balance of men and women in different categories of posts had been achieved, as analysed in the text.

The Lutheran Church of El Salvador had in 2009, 62 parishes in which there were: 23 presbyter-pastors serving of which ten were women; 12 of the 27 deacon pastors were women; five of the 15 evangelists were women; and 43 of 73 catechists were

⁷⁶⁴ Manual para las relaciones de hermandad, 2009, 19-20. Despite the fact that there were women participants in the working groups of the *Mutirão* process and in the Board of Directors. Information letter from the Lutheran Church of El Salvador to the sister parishes (28.1.2009).

women.⁷⁶⁵ As seen in the statistics, women constituted 44% of the presbyter and deacon pastors and 33% of the evangelists. A majority of 59% of the catechists, carrying out Christian education, were women.

765 Information letter from the Lutheran Church of El Salvador to the sister parishes (28.1.2009). The number of women had increased in every area of the Lutheran Church, although the murder of pastor Jesús Calzada de Carrillo and her husband pastor Francisco Carrillo in November 2006 caused much fear amongst women and men in the Lutheran church. After that tragic event, Pastor Blanca Irma Rodríguez de Herrera returned, after her studies in Brazil and work as missionary in Chile, and started to serve the same parish where the Carrillos had served as pastors. The parishes were: Amor y Paz in Santa María, Usulután; Apóstoles de Cristo in Apopa; Bendición de Dios in Quezaltepeque; Brisas del Valle in Guazapa, San Salvador; Cabañitas in Apopa; Calderitas in San Esteban Catarina; Calderitas in San Vicente; Camino de Emaús in Guazapa; Cara Sucia in Ahuachapán; Colón in Guazapa; Colonia Lobato in Santa Ana; Concordia in San Salvador; Cordero de Dios in Soyapango; Cristo Libertador in Nahualapa; Cristo Rey in Santa Ana; Dios es Amor in Santa Tecla; El Castaño San Francisco Menéndez in Ahuachapán; El Divino Redentor in San Miguel; El Imposible in Santa Ana; El Manantial in San Francisco Menéndez, Ahuachapán; El Tronador in San Salvador; *Fe y Esperanza* in Nejapa; Guaymango in Jujutla, Ahuachapán; Heroes de la Fe in Tonacatepeque; La Bendición de Dios in Cara Sucia, Ahuachapán; *La Resurrección* in San Salvador; Las Brisas San Francisco Menéndez in Ahuachapan; Las Pampitas in Aguijares; Loma de Ramos in Guazapa; Los Olivos in San Martín; Monseñor Romero in Suchitoto; Nahuizalco in Sonsonate; Nueva Concepción in Chalatenango; Opico in La Libertad; Paisnal in San Salvador; Pan de Vida in Jayaque, La Libertad; Platanares Guaycume in Apopa; Puente Azul in Sonsonate, La Libertad; Ríos de Agua Viva in Mejicanos, San Salvador; Rosario de la Paz in Najualapa, La Paz; Piedra Azul in San Jorge, San Miguel; Rutilio Grande in Suchitoto; San Jerónimo in Guazapa; San Jorge in San Miguel; San Pablo in Lobatos, Santa Ana; San Ramón in San Antonio del Monte, Sonsonate; Santísima Trinidad in Pasaquina, La Unión; Tecomatepeque in Cuscatlán; Santa Andrea in La Unión; San Antonio Grande in San Salvador; San Mauricio in Mejicanos, San Salvador; Santa Andrea in La Unión; Santa María in Usulután; Santo Domingo in Guazapa; Tepe Agua in La Libertad. E-mail from Vilma Rodríguez to the author (15.11.2009). See also *Identidad Luterana Salvadoreña* 2012, 40-49.

It is noteworthy that the number of women and male pastors has developed - since the first installation of women as deacon pastors in 1986 and ordination as presbyter pastors in 1994 - into an almost fifty-fifty situation. Evangelists were in majority men, whereas the majority of catechists were women. Women constituted slightly over 50 per cent of all the lay pastors and presbyter pastors - in total 70 women and 68 men - in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador in 2009. From 1986 to 2009 altogether 11 women were ordained as presbyter pastors (one of them was serving in the USA).⁷⁶⁶ A few of them were first deacon pastors. Between 1986 and 2009, altogether 13 women were ordained as deacon pastors.

It would be appropriate to compare the 2009 statistics of the personnel of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador with selected earlier statistics. Unfortunately, this has not been possible. There are still challenges in the Lutheran church with regard to administration and filing. The lack of continuous overall statistics about the personnel in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador is evident, for example, from the thesis of Abelina Gómez written in 2003. The theme of this thesis is “*El recono-*

766 Women presbyter pastors in duty in 2009 were: Abelina Conrado Centeno de Gómez, ordained in 1994, Blanca Marina Méndez de Recinos 1994, Blanca Irma Rodríguez de Herrera 1997, Eva Cecilia Alfaro Orellana 1999, Vilma Esperanza Rodríguez Belloso 2000, Norma Castillo 2006, Guadalupe Cortez de Huevo 2007, Blanca Lidia Lemus de Maravilla 2008, Margarita Almendarz 2009 and Concepción Marina Ángel 2009. E-mail from Vilma Rodríguez to the author (15.11.2009), e-mail from Blanca Irma Rodríguez de Herrera to the author (24.10.2012). Additionally, Pastors Miriam Gaspár from the LWF and Silke Kapteine have during various periods been working in close co-operation with the Lutheran Church of El Salvador and have been living in El Salvador, but they have received their ordination elsewhere. Among the volunteers from Germany and the USA - and the employees of the LWF - there have occasionally been women pastors, who have co-operated with the Lutheran Church of El Salvador.

cimiento y la participación de la mujer en la Iglesia Luterana Salvadoreña periodo 1972-1992”.⁷⁶⁷ The two tables concerning women’s positions and participation are made based solely on interviews of thirty women in the parish *La Resurrección* in San Salvador. The dangerous situation of the civil war was an adequate excuse not to keep lists of the personnel. However, despite the lack of statistics it is known that, for example, in 1972 there were three small Lutheran parishes in El Salvador: *La Santísima Trinidad* in Pasaquina, *El Divino Redentor* in San Miguel and *La Resurrección* in San Salvador. All the active women in those parishes were volunteers and not employed. Compared with that situation, the number of personnel (pastors and laypeople) had changed significantly by 2009, especially regarding the number of women.

With the purpose of obtaining a better picture of what the scale the Lutheran Church of El Salvador has been, I will present statistics, which Christoph Jahnelt gathered from several sources for his doctor’s thesis in 2005, which I have compared with the statistics of the Lutheran World Federation.⁷⁶⁸

767 The Recognition and Participation of Women in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador 1972-1992. Author’s translation.

768 Jahnelt 2005, 444. Jahnelt has gathered his information from Kempff 1962, *Las Actas* 2, 2.2.1971, 31.1.1980 and from *Sínodo Luterano Salvadoreño* 1985 and 1990. The LWF has the statistics available at the following addresses: www.lutheranworld.org/lwf/index.php/who-we-are/people/member-directory (6.6.2013).

Table 3 Growth of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador (1952-2009)

	Registered parishioners who participate in Holy Communion	Symphatisants, interested, beneficiaries	Number of registered parishioners in the Luth. church as a percentage of all the Protestants in El Salvador
1952	<20	-	
1957	39	100	
1961	90	215	
1970	220	-	0,1%
1980	1 700	500	0,5%
1990	6 800	44 278 ⁷⁶⁹	1,0%
2001	12 000	-	
2009	12 000	-	

As seen in the statistics, the Lutheran Church of El Salvador has been a small church. By comparison, El Salvador 1971 had a population of approximately 3.5 million and in 2009 5.7 million. The statistics, which Jahnel gathered concerning 1952-1990 from several sources, shows the numbers of those who participated in Holy Communion, the symphatisants, and the number of Lutherans as a percentage of all Protestants in El Salvador.

In 1990, 6 800 members in the Lutheran church participated in Holy Communion, but almost 44 300 people benefitted from several social projects because of the civil war. The war ended in 1992 and slowly so did the social projects. At the beginning of the twenty-first century there were only a number of smaller

769 According to Jahnel, these people received help from the social work Sócorro.

educational, social and agricultural projects, and the majority of these were supported by the partnership bodies.⁷⁷⁰ The numbers of beneficiaries, in 2009, were, at the most, a few hundred; these numbers would increase in the case of natural catastrophes. The statistic of the LWF for the years 2001 to 2009 of 12 000 members is based on information provided by the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. Additionally, the employees of the Lutheran church have often spoken of sympathisants, but it has been hard to verify how many people these included. The term sympathisants meant, for example, people, who visited Sunday services, or other activities occasionally, but were not confirmed or registered members of the church.⁷⁷¹ Despite being a small church, the Lutheran Church of El Salvador actively and publicly took a stand on several issues in society in the twenty-first century.

In 2009, women – including also younger women – occupied more leadership posts in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador than before the *Mutirão* process. They had reached positions as pastors, programme leaders, and heads of micro regions. Despite this progress, there were several contradictions and challenges in the church:

1. Between the *Salvadorans and foreign supporters* or sister parishes. The lack of sustainability and the vicious circle of the assistentialism frustrated the representatives of the LWF, which could be seen in the comments of Alois Möller and Martin Junge. “We would be a capitalist church, if we would be a self-supporting church.”⁷⁷² This comment of one of the pastors of the Lutheran church revealed the attitude, perhaps, of several pastors towards the financial dependency. The roots of the economic dependency concerning the

770 Churches, parishes and mission organisations.

771 In 2011, information regarding the members of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador changed to 20 000 according to the statistics of the LWF.

772 A comment by a Lutheran Salvadoran pastor to the author (30.11.2012).

Lutheran Church of El Salvador on foreign churches and agencies were actually created by the Missouri Synod in the early 1950s. The Missouri Synod paid the salaries of the Salvadoran missionaries and pastors until the mid-1980s. Balancing between the aspiration to independency and financial dependency was a familiar issue to the leaders of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador from the 1980s onwards. It seems that the goals of the missionary Robert Gussick from the 1950s for the church to be self-supporting had not come true in 2009. Despite this balancing problem, however, the Lutheran Church of El Salvador decided against the Missouri Synod in several matters in the 1980s and, made decisions contrary to the foreign agencies and churches in 2006 in the *Mutirão* process concerning the removal of the elderly pastors in favour of younger pastors.

2. Between *younger employees and elderly employees*. Elderly employees were at the age of retirement, but the Lutheran Church of El Salvador had not created an adequate retirement system. However, the positions of the elderly pastors was of interest to the younger and educated pastors.
3. Between *patriarchalism and gender equality*. Women advanced remarkably in gender equality in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. However, the patriarchal and conservative attitudes were still apparent to some pastors and parishioners, as stated by a few women pastors. One example of these conservative attitudes could be exemplified by the non participation of most of the male pastors, when the author held a workshop in 2009 with the help of Vilma Rodríguez and the *cuero pastoral*⁷⁷³ of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador concerning women and their position in the church - both in its history and at the present time.

773 All the lay pastors and presbyter pastors of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. They meet regularly on Wednesdays for training.

5. Between the *centralisation and decentralisation* of the church structures. One working group during the *Mutirão* process proposed a more decentralised model of the church structure, than was accepted in 2006. The proposal was named *La Iglesia que queremos*⁷⁷⁴. The members in this group criticised the church for being not only pastor centred but also bishop centred and for being a hierarchical church. However, the members of this group were soon replaced with others.⁷⁷⁵ Nevertheless, the micro regions moved one step forward as regards a more decentralised structure in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador because of the *Mutirão* process.

As can be seen, the *Mutirão* process made several contradictions visible. The *Mutirão* process provoked several women, who experienced that the aim of the process was to exclude them-. Whatever the case may be, in 2009, the women in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador can be seen to have been significantly empowered and, more women than ever were working in leading posts in the Lutheran church. There were still challenges on the women's road to progress and full participation, but the positions of women in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador, which they had reached during the first decade of the twenty-first century, were highly significant when compared to women's positions in the Catholic Church in El Salvador and in several Protestant Salvadoran churches.

774 The Church We Would Like to Have. The author has a copy of this paper as the minutes and reports of the *Mutirão* process.

775 Discussions with Salvadoran Lutheran pastors and author's observations. Author's field diary.

CONCLUSION

In this research, the women of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador have been at the centre. Under scrutiny in this research has been a small, but extraordinary, part of Latin American history, namely the Lutheran Church of El Salvador and the position of the women in this church. The aim of this research has been to investigate a part of the history of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador; namely the position and growing recognition and responsibility of the women in this church. The overarching task has been to study the road of the women to ordination and leadership in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador from 1952 to 2009. The foundations for the Lutheran Church of El Salvador were laid in the early 1950s by a theologically conservative mission, the North American Missouri Synod. In 1969, the Lutheran Church of El Salvador was founded and in 1986 the church made a rather radical decision to open up the ministry to women. In order to understand these developments, I have examined internal and external factors as well as the context, in which these women were living during the years under scrutiny, 1952-2009.

1. *The internal factors* have been characterised by the impact of several key people and their contributions at important turning points in the development and history of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. In the establishing of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador, several missionaries had an important role, for example, Ciro Mejía, Gerhard Kempff, and Medardo Gómez. The *missionary wives*, as I have called them, Martha Mejía, Betty Kempff and Abelina Gómez assisted their husbands through caring for and educating the parishioners. In the middle of varied role expectations, they had an impact on their families, parishioners, and other people by caring, assisting and educating. I call their activity and influence *power from below*.

The *fundaroras* stepped out of their traditional roles at home and, twice, in 1957 and in 1972, they played a key role in the

establishing of the Lutheran parish in San Salvador. The *fundadoras* were involved in the creation of the first Lutheran parish in San Salvador, *Cristo Nuestro Salvador*, from 1957; this then split, when pastor Artigas took with him a part of the parish into the Wisconsin Synod. The *fundadoras* acted with determination and with the purpose of obtaining a new pastor from the Missouri Synod. In 1972, Medardo Gómez arrived in San Salvador with his wife Abelina Gómez and soon the parish *La Resurrection* was established in San Salvador. Eventually, Gómez collaboration with Victoria Cortez and Angel Ibarra resulted in a new praxis and theology in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador, the theology of life. The impact of Victoria Cortez with her teaching concerning social issues was considerable and, several Catholic academics joined the Lutheran church. A few of them had a background in the base community movement. In 1982, Victoria Cortez became the first woman lay leader, when she headed the refugee centre *Fe y Esperanza*. Vilma Rodríguez and Cecilia Alfaro belonged to these converted academics and, they too would assume considerable responsibility as lay leaders.

The long lasting civil war caused much danger, many exiles, and a lack of personnel in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. In 1986, the ministry was opened up to women and, Medardo Gómez was consecrated a bishop. In the same year, Bishop Medardo Gómez installed several *lay pastors*, including Abelina Gómez and Blanca Marina Méndez de Recinos. They were the first women installed as *deacon pastors* in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. Some years later, in 1994, they were ordained as the first women *presbyter pastors* in the Lutheran church. Abelina Gómez headed the gender awareness raising work with women in the late 1990s, and at the turn of the millennium. As a consequence of this development, the self-esteem of many women grew and several women began serving various positions in the church. In 2009, slightly over 50% of all the lay pastors as catechists, evangelists, and deacon pastors as well as presbyter pastors were women. Abelina Gómez, Vilma Rodríguez, Cecilia

Alfaro and several other women were working as *programme leaders* and in other leadership positions and, Victoria Cortez had been made a bishop and headed the Lutheran Church *Fe y Esperanza* in Nicaragua.

2. The *external factors* have included foreign and theological tendencies, which have had an impact on women's position in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. The Missouri Synod was active in the establishing of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador in 1952. Its strong theological and financial influence lasted to the mid 1980s. In addition, the theological thinking of the Baptist Central American Mission (CAM), from which several pastors converted to the Lutheran church, was significant, especially concerning women's role in the church. Influenced by *liberation theology*, the Lutheran Church of El Salvador abandoned the traditional conservative theology of the Missouri Synod and, started to develop a *theology of life* of its own. The strong and wide interpretation of the *priesthood of all believers* produced, as a consequence, a large amount of diaconical work during the civil war, and the training of lay pastors; but as well as this it also helped to open the ministry to women.

The growth of *women's and feminist movements* was strong from the 1970s onwards in El Salvador. Women in CO-MADRES searched for disappeared family members and revolutionary feminists fought as guerrillas. The common goal of the Salvadoran feminist movement in the 1970s and 1980s was *justicia social*, social justice for poor and oppressed people. Only in the 1990s did gender equality become a goal for the Salvadoran feminist movement. The women's and feminist movements grew parallel with the changes in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. I suggest that the feminist movement was influential in a development that would lead to the opening of the ministry to women, and that it also encouraged women to assume other positions in the church.

The lively interaction and frequent collaboration with other Lutheran churches and the Lutheran World Federation (LWF),

during the civil war and after, in the form of church partnerships, has, among other issues, strengthened the empowerment of women. The example of visiting women pastors from partnership churches and the policy of the LWF to encourage its member churches to ordain women since 1984 have certainly had an influence on the Lutheran Church of El Salvador.

Lastly, *The Ecumenical Decade – Churches in Solidarity with Women* in 1988-1998, launched by the World Council of Churches (WCC) along with the *Women's Pastoral* programme encouraged women to apply for leadership positions and gave training in leadership.

3. *The context* in which the development of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador occurred was mainly in the political and socio cultural realities in El Salvador, and these impacted on the Lutheran church. Politically, El Salvador was very unstable and several coups occurred from the 1950s to 1980. The oligarchy of the fourteen richest families, the *Catorce*, had a strong impact on the governing of the country. The Catholic Church in El Salvador, which traditionally had not interfered in governing issues, changed radically under the influence of liberation theology, and the “conversion” of Archbishop Óscar Romero. His criticism of the government policies led ultimately to his murder in 1980. The long lasting *civil war* began in 1980, and was caused by a conflict between the US supported Salvadoran government and left oriented guerrillas. The oppression and killing during the war also affected the Lutheran church. Despite the danger, the Lutheran church started to help suffering people with wide scale *diaconical* work; this work was also supported by foreign agencies and churches. Because several male pastors had gone into exile or had been killed, the lack of pastors became critical. Women were needed in many capacities in the church, and also in key positions. Nevertheless, many women as well men had to go into exile for perhaps some months or even years. When the war ended in 1992, the newly established Lutheran University offered students the possibility of studying Protestant theol-

ogy in San Salvador. The aim being that they would then serve in the Lutheran church. This also offered an easier access for women to become presbyter pastors; the qualification for which demanded an academic degree, and considerable experience and responsibility for voluntary work in the Lutheran church. This had two major consequences: Firstly it meant that talented women came into the church, because there were possibilities for women to advance to leadership positions and, secondly that the women who already were in the church, had the possibility to study and proceed to higher positions.

After the Peace Accords, poverty and violence in El Salvador were still the most demanding challenges. As a consequence, thousands of Salvadorans went into exile in the USA and, sent remittances to their families in El Salvador. The Pentecostal and Neo-Pentecostal churches spread rapidly, and ethically conservative alignments gained popularity religiously as well as in politics. Nevertheless, the Lutheran Church of El Salvador and, in particular, Lutheran women have co-operated with other organisations concerning, for example, HIV/AIDS issues and prevention. The Lutheran Church of El Salvador has had a profile of a *progressive* Protestant church, because it has continually taken a stance on challenges in civil society in El Salvador. Having women as pastors and in leadership positions has strengthened this progressive profile.

The theology of life is a contextual theology, which has enabled women's progress in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador since the 1980s. Typical for the Lutheran church has been the strong emphasis of praxis in ecclesiastical life.

The development of the name of the women's programme in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador symbolises the changes in women's roles and positions, as well as indicating the controversial attitudes in the Lutheran church towards women, and work with women and by women. The names have been: *Sociedad de las Damas* (1972- 1981), *Sociedad de las Mujeres* (1982-1989), *Pastoral de las Mujeres* (1990-2002), *Género y Familia* (2003-

2005), *Pastoral de la Familia* (2006-).⁷⁷⁶ The development of the women's programme from Ladies Society to Women's society and from Women's Pastoral to Gender and Family signifies the development from traditional roles of women to a feminist awareness. The last, Pastoral Ministry of Families is a sign of a compromise with the progressive and conservative forces in the Lutheran church. The work in the Pastoral of the Family includes work with women as well as work with families and, children and youth. This development of the women's programme symbolises not only a change in role expectations but also changes in Salvadoran Lutheran women's identity. Strong feminist goals have been somewhat restrained and it has become a much more common attitude for the majority of the Salvadoran Lutherans to accept women and men working together.

While investigating women in the Lutheran Church in El Salvador, I have found new subjects for a further research. *Firstly*, there are still a number of hidden histories concerning the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. The dangerous time of the civil war and the continuous violence has deterred many women and men in the Lutheran church from narrating their stories to anyone. *Secondly*, over two million Salvadorans are living in the USA, among them a few pastors from the Lutheran Church of El Salvador. Their possible transnational contacts to the Lutheran churches in the USA and to El Salvador would be an issue worth examining. *Thirdly*, there are the partnership activities started in the 1980s, but expanded in the 1990s between the Lutheran Church of El Salvador and the Lutheran churches in the USA, Germany and in the Nordic Countries. A study of that history and co-operation would be worth investigating. The *Mutirão* process bringing partnership churches together was a good starting point for further co-operation and also a interesting area for research. *Fourthly*, the LWF has been present in El

776 Discussions with Abelina Gómez 2005-2009, Blanca Irma Rodríguez de Herrera 2012.

Salvador since 1983, and more actively since 1993. The Lutheran Church of El Salvador has been a member of the LWF since 1986. The objects of collaboration with the Lutheran Church of El Salvador have been various. The representatives of the LWF have been enthusiastic but also frustrated. To investigate the history of this co-operation would benefit not only the Lutheran church but also the LWF.

The history of women in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador and the road they have travelled has been rough and colourful – like life. The lyrics of Violeta Parra in the song, *Gracias a la Vida*, is in line with the colourful Salvadoran life. Therefore, I conclude my research with this song:

*“Gracias a la vida, que me ha dado tanto.
Me ha dado la risa, me ha dado el llanto.
Así yo distingo dicha de quebranto,
Los dos materiales que forman mi canto,
Y el canto de ustedes que es el mismo canto
Y el canto de todos que es mi propio canto.”⁷⁷⁷*

777 “Thank you to life, which has given me so much. It gave me laughter and it gave me longing. With them I distinguish happiness and pain— The two materials from which my songs are formed, And your song, as well, which is the same song. And everyone’s song, which is my very song.” Translated by William Morrin.

PHOTOS



Photo 2



Photo 3



Photo 4



Photo 5



Photo 6



Photo 7



Photo 8



Photo 9



Photo 11



Photo 10



Photo 12



Photo 13

LIST OF PHOTOS, MAPS AND TABLES

Photo 1 Cover: Women pastors and Bishop Gómez 1.1.2005. Photographer Efraín Ramos. All other photos are taken by the author.

The upper row from left to right: Rev. Abelina Gómez, Rev. Cecilia Alfaro, Rev. Guadalupe Cortés, Bishop Medardo Gómez, Deacon Pastor Margarita del Castillo, Rev. Concepción Àngel, Rev. Blanca Irma Rodríguez. The lower row from left to right: Rev. Gloribel Rubio, Rev. Vilma Rodríguez, Rev. Blanca Lemus de Maravilla and Deacon Pastor Margarita Moreno de Rodríguez. (All women pastors are not in this picture.)

Photo 2 La Santísima Trinidad Church in Pasaquina.

Photo 3 Ciro Mejía, the first Salvadoran Lutheran pastor.

Photo 4 Doña Juanita, a fundadora.

Photo 5 Gloria Martínez, a fundadora.

Photo 6 Medardo Gómez, bishop of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador with a disabled child of the parishioners.

Photo 7 Abelina Gómez, one of the first women pastors in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador.

Photo 8 Victoria Cortez, bishop of the Lutheran Church of Nicaragua *Fe y Esperanza*.

Photo 9 Vilma Rodríguez, Reverend.

Photo 10 Cecilia Alfaro, Reverend.

Photo 11 Blanca Marina Méndez de Recinos, one of the first women pastors in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador

Photo 12 Blanca Marina Rodríguez de Herrera, Reverend.

Photo 13 *La Resurrección* Church in San Salvador

Maps

Map 1 of El Salvador

Tables

Table 1 The Groups of the Interviews

Table 2 Posts in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador

Table 3 Growth of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador

ABBREVIATIONS

ACT	Action of Churches Together
ALC	American Lutheran Church
ADIM	Association of Integral Aid of Women, Asociación de Desarrollo Integral de la Mujer
AMD	Demanding Mothers, Asociación de Mujeres Demandantes
AMES	Women's Association of El Salvador, Asociación de Mujeres de El Salvador
AMPES	Association of Progressive Women, Asociación de Mujeres Progresistas
AMS	Association for the Self-determination of Salvadoran Women, Asociación para la Autodeterminación de Mujeres Salvadoreñas,
ANDES	National Association of Salvadoran Educators, Asociación Nacional de Educadores Salvadoreños
ARENA	Allianza Republicana Nacional, Republican National Alliance
CAFTA	United States- Dominican Republic- Central America Free Trade Agreement
CAM	Central American Mission
CEB	Movement of Base Communities, Comunidades Eclesiales de Base
CEBES	Ecclesial Base Communities of El Salvador, Comunidades Eclesiales de Base de El Salvador
CEIPES	Ecumenical Coordination of the Church of the Poor, Coordinación Ecueménica de la Iglesia de las y los Pobres de El Salvador
CELAM	Bishops' Conference of Latin America, Consejo Episcopal Latinoamericano
CILCA	Council of Lutheran Churches of Central America, Consejo de Iglesias Luteranas de Centro América

CLAI	Latin American Council of Churches, Consejo Latinoamericano de Iglesias
CNI	National Council of the Churches of El Salvador, Consejo Nacional de Iglesias
COFAMIDE	Committee of Family Members of Migrants who have Died or Disappeared, Comité de Familiares de Migrantes Fallecidos y Desaparecidos
C.O.M.	Coordinator of Women's Organizations, Coordinación de Organismos de Mujeres
CONAMUS	National Coordination of Salvadoran Women, Coordinadora Nacional de la Mujer Salvadoreña
CO-MADRES	Committee Monseñor Oscar Arnulfo Romero of Mothers and Family Members of Disappeared and Political Victims of El Salvador, Co-Madres Monseñor Oscar Arnulfo Romero, Comité de Madres y Familiares de Detenidos Desaparecidos y Asesinados Políticos de El Salvador Monseñor Oscar Arnulfo Romero
CONIP	National Coordination of the People's Church, Coordinadora Nacional de La Iglesia Popular
CONPAP	Council of Lutheran Churches of Central America and Panama, Consejo de Iglesias Luteranas en Centro América y Panamá
CPC	People's Concertation for the Change, Concertación Popular por el Cambio
CPDN	Permanent National Debate, Consejo Permanente del Debate Nacional
CRIPDES	Christian Committee for the Displaced People of El Salvador, Comité Cristiano Por Desplazados de El Salvador
CRM	Revolutionary Coordinator of the Masses, Coordinadora Revolucionaria de Masas

CTCR	Commission on Theology and Church Relations of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod
DIGNAS	Association of Women for Dignity and Life, Asociación de Mujeres por la Dignidad y la Vida
DMD	Department for Development and Mission
DWS	Department for World Service
ELCA	Evangelical Lutheran Church of America
ERP	People's Revolutionary Army, Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo
FDR	Democratic Revolutionary Front, Frente Democrático Revolucionario
FECLAI	Ecumenical Council of the Latin American Churches, Foro Ecueménico del Consejo Latinoamericano de Iglesias
FMLN	Front of Farabundo Martí for the National Liberation, Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional
FPL	People's Forces for Liberation Farabundo Martí, Fuerzas Populares de Liberación Farabundo Martí
FSLN	Sandinista National Liberation Front, Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional
FUNVIPAZ	Foundation for Life and Peace Medardo Gómez, Fundación para la Vida y por la Paz Obispo Medardo Gómez
IDHUCA	Human Rights Institute of the UCA, Instituto de Derechos Humanos de la Universidad Centro-Americana
ILFORET	The Lutheran Institute for Theological Reflection and Training, Instituto Luterano de Formación y Reflexión Teológica.
ILS	Lutheran Church of El Salvador, Iglesia Luterana Salvadoreña

IMU	Institute of Investigation, Education and Development of Women, Instituto de Investigación, Capacitación y Desarrollo de la Mujer
LCA	Lutheran Church of America
LCMS	Lutheran Church – Missouri Synod
LWF	Lutheran World Federation
LWM	Lutheran World Ministry
MPJS	Popular Movement for Peace and Social Justice, Movimiento Popular por la Paz y la Justicia Social
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization, Organización Non Governamental
OEA	Organization of the American States, Organización de Estados Americanos
ORDEN	Nationalist Democratic Organisation, Organixación Democrática Nacionalista
ORMUSA	Salvadoran Women’s Organisation for Peace, Organización de Mujeres Salvadoreñas por la Paz.
PCN	National Conciliation Party, Partido de Conciliacion Nacional
PCS	Communist Party of El Salvador, Partido Comunista de El Salvador
PRS	Party of the Salvadoran Revolution, Partido de la Revolución Salvadoreño
PRTC	Central American Revolutionary Workers Party, Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores Centroamericanos
RN	National Resistance, Resistencia Nacional
UCA	Catholic University of Central America “José Simeon Cañas”, Universidad Centroamericana “José Simeon Cañas”
ULS	Lutheran University of El Salvador, Universidad Luterana Salvadoreña

UGB	Union of White Combatant, Unión Guerrera Blanca
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
WCC	World Council of Churches
WTO	World Trade Organization

BIBLIOGRAPHY

UNPUBLISHED SOURCES.

(Copies of all unpublished material are in author's possession)

ELCA Material from the Archives of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (Elk Grove Village, IL, USA)

LWM 3.2. box 1, f 3, El Salvador, General 1980-1983

LWM 3.2. box 1 f 7, General 1981, 1983 p t 1.

LWM 3.2. box 1 f 7, General 1981, 1983 p t 2

LWM 3.2. box 2 f 3, El Salvador Abductions 1983-1985

LWM 3.2. box 4 f 3, Consecration service

LWM 4.7. box 1 f 10, El Salvador 1980-1981

LWM 3.2. box 2 f 6, San Salvador – Managua delegation 1984

LCA 28.5.1.2. box 17 f 9, El Salvador Correspondence 1986

LCA 28.5.1.2 b 17, f 7, El Salvador, Synod, 1981-1988

Minutes and Other Material Concerning the *Mutirão* Process

1. Towards a Permanent *Mutirão*, Covenant of Mutual Commitments entered into during the *Mutirão* of SLS with its network of partners, San Salvador, October 7-9, 2004 (received from the LWF and the Finn Church Aid after the meetings).
2. Report on the *Mutirão* process with the Salvadoran Lutheran Synod, 2nd report, May – September 2005.
3. Progress report on the *Mutirão* process with the Salvadoran Lutheran Synod 3rd Report, October-December 2005.
4. Sinodo Luterano Salvadoreño, Terminos de Referencia para la Contratación de Firma Auditora.
5. Descripción del proyecto. A plan made for the new structure of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador in February 2006. The booklet with 21 pages includes the goals of the new structure, vision and mission of the church, analysis of the surrounding context and the contents and goals for each programme of the church.

6. Information Regarding the First Partnership Encounter Promoted through Sister Parishes: July 17, 18-19 2007, Salvadoran Lutheran Church.
7. Informe, Primer encuentro de hermandades, Sinodo Luterano Salvadoreño, Iglesias Hermanas, 17, 18 y 19 de Julio 2007.
8. II Encuentro de Hermandad El Salvador 2009, San Salvador, 16-19 Noviembre, Unidos en la Mesa del Señor.
9. Manual para las relaciones de hermandad, Iglesia Luterana Salvadoreña, Ministerios unidos en fe y vida, unidad de iglesias hermanas, Iglesia Luterana Salvadoreña, 2009.
10. Junge, Martin, Sustentabilidad de la iglesia. Apuntes intermedios del programa de la FLM en América Latina. A presentation of Martin Junge, San Salvador, sister parish meeting (11.11.2009).

Material for the Course in Women's Pastoral

1. Analysis of the Reality and Situation of Salvadoran Women (Análisis de la realidad, situación de las mujeres en El Salvador), 1995, Sínodo Luterano Salvadoreño. Pastoral de Mujeres. Universidad Luterana Salvadoreña.
2. Women in the Bible – a Feminist Rereading (Las mujeres en la Biblia – una relectura feminista), 1997, Cuaderno de estudios nr 02. Sínodo Luterano Salvadoreño. Pastoral de Mujeres. Universidad Luterana Salvadoreña. Oficina – Mujeres en la Iglesia y Sociedad – Federación Luterana Mundial.
3. Principal Themes of the Feminist Theology (Principales temas de la teología feminista), 1997. Cuaderno de estudios nr 03. Sínodo Luterano Salvadoreño. Pastoral de Mujeres. Universidad Luterana Salvadoreña. Oficina – Mujeres en la Iglesia y Sociedad – Federación Luterana Mundial.
4. Organisation, Planning and Spirituality (Organización, Planificación y Espiritualidad), 1998. Cuaderno de estudios nr 04. Sínodo Luterano Salvadoreño. Pastoral de Mujeres. Universidad Luterana Salvadoreña. Oficina – Mujeres en la Iglesia y Sociedad – Federación Luterana Mundial.

Other Unpublished Sources

Aaltonen, Heli, 2004, Projektista kumppanuuteen, Turku, Turun tuomiokapituli.

Las Actas, the handwritten minutes of the General Assemblies of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador (copies, the originals are in the church office in San Salvador).

Laukkanen, Riku, Report of the monitoring of the president election, March 2009, by a Finnish observer. Turku, Finland (30.3.2009).

Mejía, Ciro, Medardo, Vicario, Pastor, Obispo y Casi Mártir. Nine pages notes about the life of Medardo Gómez. No date. Mejía gave the paper to the author on 12.2.2006 in San Salvador.

Mejía, Ciro, Origen de la Iglesia Luterana en El Salvador, San Salvador (11.2.2006).

Gussick, Robert F., Proposal to the Mission Board of the Missouri Synod written on Epiphany 1955 in Indianapolis, Indiana. Sent by Douglas L. Rutt as e-mail-material to the author (17.2.2009).

Recinos López, Mauro, La Iglesia Luterana en El Salvador. No date, four pages, given to the author Blanca Marina Méndez de Recinos (widow of Mauro Recinos) in in Pasaquina (16.2.2006).

Recinos López, Mauro, Plan de Trabajo del Sínodo Luterano Salvadoreño correspondiente a los años 1989. 1990, 1991 y 1992. No date, 11 pages. Written appr. in 1988, signed by Mauro Recinos and Medardo Gómez. Given to the author Blanca Marina Méndez de Recinos in Pasaquina (16.2.2006).

Recinos López, Mauro, Reseña Historica de la Iglesia Luterana en El Salvador, Centro America. 26.7.2001. Three pages. Given to the author Blanca Marina Méndez de Recinos in Pasaquina (16.2.2006).

Rodríguez de Herrera, Blanca Irma, 2005, Iglesia Evangelica Luterana en Chile. Ministerio Ordenado Debe la Iglesia Ordenar Mujeres? The text is also to be found in <http://www>.

lareconciliacion.cl/spanisch2/ielch/ordenacionmujeres.pdf (6.6.2013)

Rodríguez de Herrera, Blanca Irma, Instituto Luterano de Formacion y Reflexion Teologica (ILFORET), Iglesia Luterana Salvadoreña. A short history about ILFORET, 11 pages (August 2007).

Rodríguez de Herrera, Blanca Irma, El Luteranismo en El Salvador. A short history about the Lutheran Church of El Salvador, nine pages (August 2007).

Vargas, Virginia, Lecture at LA-Net Conference in Roskilde, Denmark (4.6.2009). Author's notes.

Väyrynen, Mikko, Report of the Finnish Foreign Ministry of the situation in El Salvador concerning the domestic politics and economics (13.1.2005).

ELECTRONIC MATERIALS

Websites

<http://www.bcr.gob.sv/?x21=46>

Banco Central de Reserva de El Salvador, the Central Bank of El Salvador (6.6.2013).

<http://bookofconcord.org/augsburgconfession.php>

Confessio Augustana (6.6.2013).

<http://bookofconcord.org/lc-1-intro.php>

The Large Catechism (6.6.2013).

http://www.caftaintelligencecenter.com/subpages/What_is_CAFTA.asp

CAFTA Intelligence Centre, What is CAFTA? (6.6.2013).

<http://www.caminoglobal.org/about-us/who-we-are/>

The Central American Mission, CAM (6.6.2013).

<http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bsaenz.html>

Information about Bishop Saenz Lacalle (6.6.2013).

- <http://catholicnewsagency.com/utiles/myprint/print.php>
Archbishop calls for end to electoral violence in El Salvador, the article published on 4.3.2009 (6.6.2013).
- <http://cofamide.blogspot.com/>
About the Committee of Family Members of Migrants who have Died or Disappeared (COFAMIDE) (6.6.2013).
- <http://www.cursillo.net/about>
About Cursillo courses (6.6.2013).
- <http://www.diariocolatino.com/es/20090216/nacionales/63827/>
Monseñor Escobar Alas promises to be a bishop close to the people. The article was published 16.2.2009 (6.6.2013).
- <http://www.diariocolatino.com/es/20090216/nacionales/63827/>
The new archbishop demands for more just laws. Article published 16.2.2009 (6.6.2013).
- <http://www.oralhistory.org/about/principles-and-practices/>
Guidelines of the Oral History Association in USA. (6.6.2013).
- <http://www.elca.org/ELCA/Search.aspx?q=women%27s%20ordination>
First women's ordination by ELCA (6.6.2013).
- <http://www.elca.org/What-We-Believe/Social-Issues/Journal-of-Lutheran-Ethics/Issues/February-2010/The-Lutheran-Church-in-Latvia-wants-to-Ban-the-Ordination-of-Women.aspx>
The Lutheran Church in Latvia (6.6.2013).
- <http://www.ekd.de/bevollmaechtigter/stellungnahmen/52400.html>
Women's ordination in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Germany (6.6.2013).

http://www.elsalvador.com/mwedh/nota/nota_completa.asp?idCat=6358&idArt=3730587

The church supports the use of force against the criminality. Article published 14.6.2009 (6.6.2013).

<http://eltorogoz.net/pcs.htm>

History of the Communist Party in El Salvador (6.6.2013).

<http://esiglesialuterana.wordpress.com/2009/06/18/obispo-luterano-pide-a-la-iglesia-vigilar-que-el-nuevo-Gobierno-cumpla-lo-que-prometio>

The bishop of the Lutheran church asks the new government to fulfil its promises (6.6.2013).

<http://www.fmln.org.sv/oficial/>

About the history of the FMLN. (6.6.2013).

<http://global.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/99798/Catholic-Action> About Catholic Action. (6.6.2013).

<http://global.finland.fi/public/default.aspx?contentid=163693>
About clean water (6.6.2013).

http://www.history.ac.uk/makinghistory/resources/articles/oral_history.html

About oral history (6.6.2013).

<http://hotpeachpages.net/camerica/adim.html>

About feminist organisations. (6.6.2013).

http://www.history.ac.uk/makinghistory/resources/articles/oral_history.html

The Making of Oral History (6.6.2013).

http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/03/24/el-salvador-mara-18-truce_n_1376955.html

About Maras (6.6.2013).

www.iglesialuteranasalvadorena.org August 2004.

The pages from 2004 don't exist anymore in this address. Author has the printed pages concerning the short presentation and history about the Lutheran Church of El Salvador.

<http://www.lasdignas.org>.

About a feminist organisation Las Dignas in El Salvador. (6.6.2013).

<http://www.laht.com/article.asp?ArticleId=354298&CategoryId=23558>

President Funes apologises the murder of Óscar Romero (6.6.2013).

http://www.lcms.org/graphics/assets/media/CTCR/Woman_Suffrage1.pdf

Woman Suffrage in the Church, Parts I and II. A report of the Commission on Theology and church Relations of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod (1969) (6.6.2013).

http://www.lcms.org/graphics/assets/media/CTCR/Women_in_Church3.pdf

Women in the Church, Scriptural Principles and Ecclesial Practice. Introduction and Part I. A report of the Commission on Theology and Church Relations of the Lutheran church-Missouri Synod. September 1985 (6.6.2013).

<http://www.lcms.org/graphics/assets/media/CTCR/LAS%20MUJERES-CTCR-Final.pdf>

La Mujer en la Iglesia. Principios bíblicos y práctica eclesíastica. Un informe de la Comisión de Teología y Relaciones Eclesiásticas de la Iglesia Luterana-Sínodo de Missouri, Septiembre 1985 (6.6.2013).

<http://www.lwfcamerica.org/?art=1297&lang=es&tittle=El%20Salvador%20elecciones%20históricas>

About elections in El Salvador 2009 (6.6.2013).

<http://www.lhm.org/about/ourhistory.asp>

A history of the Lutheran Hour (6.6.2013).

<http://luterano.blogspot.fi/2006/04/from-14-families-to-8-business-groups.html>

The economical power in El Salvador (6.6.2013).

<http://luterano.blogspot.com/2009/01/final-election-results.html>.

Final election results (6.6.2013).

<http://luterano.blogspot.com/2009/03/funes-speaks-of-reconciliation-avila.html>

Funes speaks of reconciliation; Avila accepts defeat (6.6.2013).

<http://luterano.blogspot.com/2009/02/new-archbishop.html>

A new Archbishop, written by Carlos X. Colorado, the article published 15.2.2009 (6.6.2013).

<http://luterano.blogspot.com/2007/02/anti-terrorism-law-applied-against.html>

Anti-terrorism law applied against street protests, published 22.2.2007 (6.6.2013).

http://www.lutheranworld.org/What_We_Do/DMD/DMD-Annual_Reports-2006/DMD-Annual_Report_Latin_America-2006.pdf

Annual Report about Latin America 2006 (6.6.2013).

<http://www.lutheranworld.org/lwf/index.php/news-in-brief-august-1999.html>

About Åke Kastlund (6.6.2013).

<http://www.lutheranworld.org/lwf/index.php/womens-ordination-a-highlight-of-bolivian-lutheran-church-anniversary.html>

Ordination of the first women as pastors in the Lutheran Church of Bolivia. (6.6.2013).

<http://www.lutheranworld.org/lwf/index.php/mexican-church-female-leaders.html>

The ordination of the first women as pastors in the Lutheran Church of Mexico in 2009 (6.6.2013).

www.lutheranworld.org/news/Welcome.EN.html

About the murder of two Lutheran pastors, published 7.11.2006 (6.6.2013).

http://www.lutheranworld.org/Who_We_Are/LWF-Vice-Presidents_Treasurer.html

About Victoria Cortez as Vice President of the LWF (6.6.2013).

http://www.lutheranworld.org/LWF_Documents/LWF-Statistics-2001.pdf

Statistics about member churches in 2001 (6.6.2013).

http://www.lutheranworld.org/LWF_Documents/LWF-Statistics-2009.pdf

Statistics about member churches in 2009 (6.6.2013).

<http://www.lutheranworld.org/lwf/index.php/who-we-are/people/member-directory>

Member churches in 2012 (6.6.2013).

<http://www.lutheranworld.org/lwf/index.php/churches-say-no-violence-women.html>

Churches Say “No” to Violence against Women. Action Plan for the Churches (6.6.2013).

http://www.lutheranworld.org/Who_We_Are/Who_We_Are-Documents/EN/CV-Victoria_Cortez-EN.pdf

LWF- Curriculum Vitae of Bishop Victoria Cortez (6.6.2013).

<http://luterano.blogspot.com/2009/11/subversive-cross.html>
The story about the Subversive Cross (6.6.2013).

<http://www.lwfcamerica.org/?art=1297&lang=es&tittle=El%20Salvador%20elecciones%20históricas>
The Lutheran World Federation, Department for World Service, Central America Program, El Salvador elecciones históricas (6.6.2013).

<http://www.lahetysjuhlat.fi/ohjelma/symposiumi/>
Spijker-Niemi, Auli, "Use on Pastoral Care and Counseling in Africa – Cultural Dilemmas", lecture in a Missiological symposium in Varkaus, Finland, 11.6.2010 (6.6.2013).

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8586560.stm>
President Funes apologised the murder of Óscar Romero in the name of state (6.6.2013).

<http://www.oikoumene.org/en/resources/documents/wcc-commissions/faith-and-order-commission/i-unity-the-church-and-its-mission/baptism-eucharist-and-ministry-faith-and-order-paper-no-111-the-lima-text/baptism-eucharist-and-ministry.html>
The document of Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry (6.6.2013).

<http://www.oralhistory.org/about/principles-and-practices/#intro>
Oral History Association, USA (6.6.2013).

<http://www.oralhistory.org.uk/>
Oral History Society, UK (6.6.2013).

http://www.princeton.edu/~achaney/tmve/wiki100k/docs/Sandinista_National_Liberation_Front.html
About Sandinists in Nicaragua (6.6.2013).

<http://www.reformedreflections.ca/book-reviews/planting-development-missionary.pdf>

John Nevius. The Planting and Development of Missionary Churches (6.6.2013).

<http://www.reformiert-online.net/weltweit/land.php?id=110&lg=de>

About John Ritchie (6.6.2013).

http://www.releituras.com/rubemalves_bio.asp

Biography of Rubem Alvez (6.6.2013).

<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2033.htm>

USA government page about El Salvador (6.6.2013).

<http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2008/wha/119159.htm>

Human Rights Report El Salvador (6.6.2013)

<http://www.staugustinecatholicchurch.org/ministry-marriageencounter.php>

About Marriage Encounter (6.6.2013).

<http://www.svenskakyrkan.se/SVK/eng/press/98/tcaeng.htm>

Press release of the Church of Sweden, Uppsala 3rd of November 1998, Church Network has begun Relief Work in Central America (6.6.2013).

http://www.thelutheran.org/article/article.cfm?article_id=7476

Women's ordination in Bolivia (6.6.2013).

<http://www.ues.edu.sv/>. The University of El Salvador

(6.6.2013).

<http://www.un.org./documents/ga/res/37/a37r058.htm>

United Nations, General Assembly, A/RES/37/58, Distr. General, 3 December 1982, United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace. (6.6.2013).

http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/documents/ydiDavidGordon_poverty.pdf

About Poverty and Hunger (6.6.2013).

<http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=35456&Cr=SANITATION>
(6.6.2013).

<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/followuo/session/presskit/fs1.htm>
Women Watch (6.6.2013).

http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/SHS/pdf/Feminization_of_Poverty.pdf
(6.6. 2013).

<http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/international-migration/glossary/poverty/>
The UN-definition of extreme poverty (6.6.2013).

<http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/topic,4565c22538,459a87252,3ae6aba080,0,IRBC,SLV.html>
About CO-MADRES (6.6.2013).

<http://www.ustr.gov/trade-agreements/free-trade-agreements/cafta-dr-dominican-republic-central-america-fta/final-text>
(6.6.2013).

<http://voiceselsalvador.wordpress.com/2011/09/14/archbishop-romeros-killer-finally-identified/>
(6.6.2013).

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ft1pZ5hWqsg>
15.6.2009, Bishop Gómez encourages people to vote without fear (6.6.2013).

www.wels.net.
About Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod, WELS.
(6.6.2013).

E-mails

(Printed copies of these e-mails are in author's possession)

Medardo Gómez, La criatura de los acuerdos de paz a sus diez años de vida (16.1.2002).

Medardo Gómez, Llamado al acompañamiento fraternal (17.3.2005).

Information for the sister parishes from Bishop Gómez (5.11.2006).

Information from the LWF (7.11.2006).

Miriam Gaspár, a paper of CEIPES to a member of the parliament, Para un diálogo con el Frente desde CEIPES (30.9.2007).

Information letter from the Lutheran Church of El Salvador to the sister parishes (16.2.2007).

Information letter from the Lutheran Church of El Salvador to the sister parishes (5.11.2008).

Information letter from the Lutheran Church of El Salvador to the sister parishes (28.1.2009).

Information letter from the Lutheran Church of El Salvador to the sister parishes (June 2009).

Information letter from the Lutheran Church of El Salvador to the sister parishes, Vida Luterana Salvadoreña, including pictures and reportage of the inauguration of President Funes, and of some demonstrations. (June 2009).

Information letter about the MPJ (14.1.2009).

Information letter about the MPJS (7.2.2009).

E-mail from Douglas L. Rutt to the author (17.2.2009).

E-mail from Medardo Gómez to the author (18.9.2010).

E-mail from Abelina Gómez to the author (24.6.2009 and 19.3.2011).

E-mail from Erkki Koskenniemi to the author (7.2.2011).

E-mails from Vilma Rodríguez to the author (1.7.2009 and 16.2.2012).

E-mail from Blanca Irma Rodríguez de Herrera to the author

(16.7.2009 and 9.11.2012).

E-mail from Joanna Bornat to the author (18.9.2012).

E-mails from Betty Kempff to the author (20. and 21.4.2010).

E-mail from Elaine Neuenfeldt to the author (18.1.2013).

E-mails from Christian Chavarría to the author (15.1.2013 and 18.1.2013).

E-mail from Elizabeth Arciniegas de Lara to the author (19.2.2013).

INTERVIEWS

(Transcribed or recorded interviews are in author's possession)

Preparatory Interviews

1. Jukka Paarma, Turku, Finland (1.9.2004).
2. Reetta Leskinen, Helsinki, Finland (15.9.2004).
3. Tapani Ojasti, Helsinki, Finland (14.3.2007).
4. Jon Sobrino, San Salvador, El Salvador (28.1.2005).
5. Héctor Fernández, San Salvador, El Salvador. (8.2.2005 and 10.9.2007).
6. Christoph Jahnel, München, Germany (1.4.2005).
7. Silke Kapteine, San Salvador, El Salvador (17.2.2006).

Interviews with Representatives of the Lutheran Church of El Salvador

1. Medardo Gómez de Soto, San Salvador, El Salvador (7.2.2005 and 8.9.2007).
2. Victoria Cortez Rodríguez, Managua, Nicaragua (9.2.2005).
3. Christian Chavarría, San Salvador, El Salvador (31.1.2005)
4. Abelina Gómez de Centeno, Turku, Finland (5.1.2006 and conversation conducted by Christoph Jahnel 23.3.2002)
5. Vilma Rodríguez, San Salvador, El Salvador (10.2.2006, 15.3.2009 conducted by Riku Laukkanen, 28.1.2002 conducted by Christoph Jahnel, e-mail interview conducted by the author 1.7.2009).

6. Eva Cecilia Alfaro, San Salvador, El Salvador (10.2.2006).
7. Gloria de Martínez, San Salvador, El Salvador (12.2.2006).
8. Ciro Mejía Andrade, San Salvador, El Salvador (12.2.2006).
9. Miriam Gaspár, San Salvador, El Salvador (14.2.2006 and 12.9.2007).
10. Blanca Irma Rodríguez, San Salvador, El Salvador (6.9.2007) and in Turku, Finland (5.3.2013).
11. Norma Noemi Castillo, Turku, Finland (16.11.2008).
12. Blanca Marina Méndez de Recinos, conducted by Riku Laukkanen, San Salvador, El Salvador (15.3.2009).
13. Group interview with Vilma Rodríguez, Cecilia Alfaro, Concepción Ángel and Guadalupe Cortés (29.1.2005).
14. Group interview with Vilma Rodríguez, Cecilia Alfaro, Abelina Gómez and Blanca Irma Rodríguez de Herrera, San Salvador, El Salvador (27.11.2010).

Interviews with representatives of NGOs

1. Nora María Hernández, San Salvador, El Salvador (15.2.2006).
2. Armida Ponce, San Salvador, El Salvador (12.9.2007).
3. Josefina Menjivár, San Salvador, El Salvador (13.9.2007).
4. Alicia Emelina de Marcia, San Salvador, El Salvador (14.9.2007).
5. Ms. Maldeviña, San Salvador, El Salvador (14.9.2007).
6. Magdalena Mendoza, San Salvador, El Salvador (14.9.2007).
7. Larry José Madrigal Rajo, San Salvador, El Salvador (15.9.2007).
8. Yolanda Karina Cabezas Gutiérrez, San Salvador, El Salvador (15.9.2007).
9. Gloria Elizabeth Alfaro de Salgado, San Salvador, El Salvador (15.9.2007).

PUBLISHED SOURCES

(Copies are in author's possession)

Papers and Booklets

CILCA. Comunión de Iglesias Luteranas de Centro América.

Eine Information der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche in Bayern über ihre Partnerschaft mit der Gemeinschaft Lutherischer Kirchen in Zentralamerika (CILCA). 2005, Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche in Bayern.

Iglesia Evangelica Luterana de Colombia y la Ordenacion de Mujeres al Santo Ministerio. Publicaciones IELCO-SELIE. 1995, Bogotá, Colombia.

Identidad Luterana Salvadoreña. Por una Vida Plena: Evangelizamos con *Fe y Esperanza Viva*. 2012, Sínodo Luterano Salvadoreño.

The Lutheran Herald, April/1992. San Salvador.

The Lutheran Herald , July/1994. San Salvador.

The Lutheran Herald , August/1994. San Salvador.

The Lutheran Herald , October/1994. San Salvador.

The Lutheran Herald, April/1998, San Salvador.

La Prensa Gráfica, Semblanza, 13.12. 1988, San Salvador.

La Prensa Gráfica, Enfoques, 12.2.2006, San Salvador.

Reglamento Interno del “Sínodo de las Iglesias de Confesión y Rito Luterano”, 1993.

Solo por Fe, Año 2, No. 14, septiembre de 1996, “La Resurrección”: una iglesia que nació para servir. “24 años de caminar junto al pueblo y ser signo de defensa de la vida”. Es una publicación producida por la secretaria de Comunicaciones del Sínodo Luterano Salvadoreño. San Salvador.

Trasmallo, numero 1, año 1, 2006. Identidad, Memoria, Cultura. Museo de la Palabra y la Imagen. El Salvador.

Official Publications

- Annual Report 1995, Lutheran World Federation, Department for World Service, El Salvador.
- Annual Report 1996, Lutheran World Federation, Department for World Service, El Salvador.
- Annual Report 1997, Lutheran World Federation, Department for World Service, El Salvador.
- Annual Report 1998, Lutheran World Federation, Department for World Service, El Salvador/ Guatemala Program.
- Annual Report 1999, Lutheran World Federation, Department for World Service, El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras.
- Annual Report 2000, Lutheran World Federation, Department for World Service, El Salvador Guatemala and Honduras.
- Annual Report 2001, Lutheran World Federation, Department for World Service, El Salvador Guatemala.
- Annual Report 2002, Lutheran World Federation, Department for World Service, El Salvador Guatemala .
- Annual Report 2003, Lutheran World Federation, Department for World Service, El Salvador Guatemala.
- Report 2004, LWF/DWS Central American Programme, Lutheran World Federation, Department for World Service.
- Annual Report 2005, Central America Program, Lutheran World Federation.
- Annual Report 2006, Lutheran World Federation.
- Annual Report 2007, Lutheran World Federation, Department for World Service, Central America program.
- Bird, Susan, Delgado, Rutilio, Madrigal, Larry, Ochoa, Johan Bayron, Tejada, Walberto, Constructing an Alternative Masculine Identity: The Experience of the Centro Bartolomé de las Casas and Oxfam America in El Salvador in Gender and Development, Volume 15:1, March 2007, (pp.111-121). Routledge-Oxfam UK London.
- Brandt, Herman, 1999, Theologische Literaturzeitung 124.

- Carnage Again: Preliminary Report on Violations of the Laws of War By Both Sides in the November 1989 Offensive In El Salvador. November 24, 1989. An Americas Watch Report, printed in USA.
- Chapman, Richard, Still Looking for Liberation? Lutherans in El Salvador and Nicaragua. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, number 44/2012 (pp.39-70).
- Estrategia Regional Centroamérica 2008-2013. Federación Luterana Mundial/Departamento para el Servicio Mundial, 2008, San Salvador.
- Freihandel und Widerstand in Zentralamerika [2004]. Eine Broschüre von Ökumenisches Büro für Frieden und Gerechtigkeit e.v. Informationsbüro Nicaragua e.V. im Rahmen der Freihandeln. Eine Informations und Bildungskampagne zu Freihandel in Zentralamerika.
- Gómez, Medardo Ernesto, Theologie des Lebens. Wer sind denn die Armen? Befreiung durch eine Theologie des Lebens. *Lutherische Monatshefte*, Heft 10/1994, (pp. 19-22).
- Jugendbanden in El Salvador. Info-Blatt 65, Dezember 2004. Ökumenisches Büro für Frieden und Gerechtigkeit e.V., Periser Str. 13, 81667 München.
- Lehtiö, Pirkko, Naispappeudesta ekumeenisesti., *Teologinen aikakauskirja*, number 6/1981 (pp. 433-437), Helsinki.
- Olen kuullut kansani huudon, Luterilaisen maailmanliiton VIII yleiskokous 30.1.-8.2.1990 Curitiba, Brasilia.
- Planning and Monitoring Document, PMD 2005-2007. The Lutheran World Federation, Department for World Service, Central America Program, 2004, San Salvador.
- Primer Encuentro de Mujeres Mesoamericanas 2004, San Salvador, 16-18 de Julio de 2004, LWF.
- Rotkirch, Anna, *Kvinnoforskning* 3/2003 (pp.1-15).
- Rutt, Douglas L. "Developing an Indigenous Church in Guatemala: Robert Gussick, A Pioneer Strategic Planner." *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 69, 1996 (pp.183-199).

- Statement of the Bishops and Presidents on Economic Globalization, April 2002, Conferencia de Obispos y Presidentes de América Latina, The Lutheran World Federation.
- Svensson, Kerstin, Caring Power – Coercion as Care, *Outlines* 2/2002 (pp. 72-73).
- Tamayo, Juan Jose, Is Liberation Theology Dead? Originally published in Spanish in *El Pais*, October 12, 1999, No. 1257. Translated by Leslie Lopez for *Nuevo Amanecer* Press. (Author got the article from Jouni Pirttijärvi, 5.10.2006 suomi-latam@helsinki.fi mailing list.)
- Tamez, Elsa. Theology of Prosperity. In *Revista Interpretación Bíblica Latinoamericana* 30, 1982 (pp. 25-34.) Consejo Latinoamericano de Iglesias.
- Thompson, Alistair, Four Paradigm Transformations in Oral History. *The Oral History Review*. Vol.34/2007, Issue 1 (pp.49-71).
- Trade Policy Review, El Salvador, 1996, World Trade Organization, March 1997, Geneva.
- Una Decada Construyendo Feminismo ... Las Dignas. Cual es el problema de Amar la Libertad, Poder Decidir, Querer Justicia, Tomar la palabra... Ser Mujer y ser Digna? Yo queiro ser Feminista. *Las Dignas*, 2000, El Salvador.
- Wadkins, Timothy, Getting saved in El Salvador: the preferential option for the poor. *The International Review of Mission*, 1/2008, Volume 97 (pp. 31-49). World Council of Churches.
- Viterna, Jocelyn, Pulled, Pushed and Persuaded: Explaining Women's Mobilization into the Salvadoran Guerrilla Army. *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 112, July 2006 (pp. 1-45).
- Viterna, Jocelyn and Fallon, Kathleen M., Democratization, Women's Movements, and Gender-Equitable States: A Framework for Comparison. *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 73, August 2008 (pp.666-689).

PUBLISHED LITERATURE

Aaltonen, Heli

- 2007 Kirkko Köyhyyden ja väkivallan keskellä, El Salvadorin luterilainen kirkko. In *Lähetysteologinen aikakauskirja – Journal of Mission Theology*, Volume 9. Helsinki.

Aarts, Jan

- 1972 Die Lehre Martin Luthers über das Amt in der Kirche. Eine genetisch-systematische Untersuchung seiner Schriften von 1512 bis 1525. Schriften der Luther-Agri-cola-Gesellschaft A 15. Diss. Helsinki.

Ahola, Minna, Antikainen, Marjo-Riitta and Salmesvuori, Päivi,

2002 ed.

Eevan tie alttarille. Nainen kirkon historiassa. Helsinki.

Ahola, Minna, Antikainen, Marjo-Riitta and Salmesvuori, Päivi

- 2002 Kirkon naisten tuntematon historia. In *Eevan tie alttarille. Nainen kirkon historiassa* (pp. 9-15), Ahola, Minna, Antikainen, Marjo-Riitta and Salmesvuori, Päivi, ed. Helsinki.

Ahonen, Tiina, Komulainen, Jyri, ed.

- 2004 Teologian ilmiansuuntia, Näkökulmia uskontulkintoihin Aasiassa, Afrikassa ja Latinalaisessa Amerikassa. Helsinki.

Alasuutari, Pertti

- 1999 The Discursive Construction of Personality. In *Jos-selsson, Ruthellen and Lieblich, Amia, ed. (pp. 1-20). Making Meaning of Narratives. The Narrative Study of Lives*, vol.6. Thousand Oaks/London/New Delhi/Sin-gapore.

- 2011 Laadullinen tutkimus 2.0. First edition 1993. Fourth, renewed edition 2011. Tampere.

- Álvarez, Sonia E.
 2001 El Boom de organizaciones feministas no gubernamentales en América Latina. In Género, feminismo y masculinidad en América Latina (pp 51-80). Edición Marina Sandoval. El Salvador.
- Andrée, Uta
 2005 Die Theologie des Lebens. Die Lutherische Kirche in El Salvador auf dem Weg des Friedens und der Gerechtigkeit. Diss. Frankfurt am Main.
- Aquino, María Pilar
 1992 Nuestro Clamor por la Vida. Teología latinoamericana desde la perspectiva de la mujer. San José, Costa Rica.
- Aquino, María Pilar, Támez Elsa
 1998 Teología Feminista Latinoamerica. Quito-Ecuador.
- Aquino, María Pilar, Tepedino, Ana María
 1998 Entre la Indignación y la Esperanza. Teología Feminista Latinoamericana. Bogotá.
- Azzi, Riolando, Bastiano, Jean Pierre, Dussel, Enrique, Salinas, Maximilian.
 1993 Theologiegeschichte der Dritten Welt. Gütersloh.
- Baines, Beverley, Barak-Erez, Daphne, Kahana, Tswi
 2012 Feminist Constitutionalism. Global Perspectives. Cambridge/New York.
- Barry, Tom
 1990 El Salvador, A Country Guide. Albuquerque, New Mexico.
- Barth, Hans – Martin
 1990 Einander Priester sein. Allgemeines Priestertum in ökumenischer Perspektive. Göttingen.

- Beckford, James A. and Demerath, N.J., ed.
 1990 Gender Differences in Religious Practice and Significance. In *The Sage Handbook of the Sociology of Religion* (pp. 566-586). First published 1989. Reprinted 1990. London/ Newbury Park/ New Delhi/ Singapore.
- Berlis, Angela
 2008 Women's Ordination in the Old Catholic Churches of the Union of Utrecht. In *Women and Ordination in the Christian Churches. International Perspectives* (pp.144-154), Jones, Ian, Wootton, Janet and Thorpe, Kirsty, ed. London/New York.
- Bernauer, James, Rasmussen, David, ed.
 1988 *The Final Foucault*. Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Best, Marigold and Hussey, Pamela,
 1997 *Life Out of Death. The Feminine Spirit in El Salvador*. Washington.
- Bogdahn, Martin & Zerger, Immanuel
 1990 *Ich habe das Schreien meines Volkes gehört. Die Kirchen in El Salvador 10 Jahre nach der Ermordung von Oscar Arnulfo Romero*. München.
- Bonino, José Míguez
 1997 *Faces of Latin American Protestantism*, 1993 Carnahan Lectures, (Originally published as *Rostros del Protestantismo Latinoamericano* by Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1995). This translation 1997 Gran Rapids, Michigan/Cambridge, U.K.
- Bosch, David J.
 2004 *Transforming Mission. Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*. New York.
- Bowie, Fiona, Kirkwood, Deborah and Ardener, Shirley, ed.
 1993 *Women and Missions: Past and Present. Anthropological and Historical Perceptions. (Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Women. Volume 11)* Providence/Oxford.

- Burke, James C., Power, Politics, and the Missouri Synod.
2011 A Conflict that Changed American Christianity. Minneapolis.
- Burr, Vivien
2007 Sosiaalipsykologisia ihmiskäsityksiä. Tampere: Juvenes Print. Original title The Person in Social Psychology, 2002. Translation Jyrki Vainonen, 1. edition 2004, Vastapaino, 2. edition 2007, Tampere.
- Chinchilla, Miguel Angel, Juárez Salvador, ed.
1992 Medardo, Obispo de la Paz. San Salvador.
- Clegg, Stewart R.
1990 Frameworks of Power. First published 1989. Reprinted 1990. London/ Newbury Park/New Delhi.
- Cleve, Fredric
1985 Kyrkosyn och ämbetsuppfattning. Studier utgivna av institutionen för systematisk teologi vid Åbo Akademi, 15. Åbo.
- Cunningham, Valentine
1993 "God and Nature Intended You for a Missionary's Wife": Mary Hill, Jane Eyre and Other Missionary Women in the 1840s. In Women and Missions: Past and Present. Anthropological and Historical Perceptions (pp 85-105), Bowie, Fiona, Kirkwood, Deborah and Ardener, Shirley, ed. Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Women. Volume 11. Providence/ Oxford.
- Damerau, Hans
2000 Ärkebiskopen är mördad! Predikan som den levande teologins ort. Diss. Skellefteå.
- De Foulkes, Irene and Tamez, Elsa
1985 Pastoral de la Mujer. Una Antologia. San Jose.

Dussel, Enrique

- 1993 Formulierung der Theologie der Befreiung. In Theologiegeschichte der Dritten Welt (pp. 284-310), Azzi, Rioldo, Bastiano, Jean Pierre, Dussel, Enrique, Salinas, Maximilian. Gütersloh.

Eduards, Maud

- 2002 Förbjuden handling. Om kvinnors organisering och feministisk teori. Kristianstad.

Entre Huracanes, Terremotos y pobreza... Una obstinada

- 2001 esperanza
Honduras 2001, Geneve 2002.

El Salvador, Imágenes para no olvidar, Images we must not

- 2002 forget, 1900-1999
Primera edición Noviembre 1999, Primera Reimpresión 2002. San Salvador.

Erkkilä, Raija, Mäkelä, Maarit

- 2002 Face to Face. Human Dimensions in Biographical Interviews. In Narrative Research. Voices of Teachers and Philosophers (pp. 45-55), Huttunen, Rauno & Heikkinen, Hannu L.T. & Syrjälä, Leena, ed. Jyväskylä.

Eskola, Jari and Suoranta, Juha

- 2003 Johdatus laadulliseen tutkimukseen. Tampere.

Faubion, James D., ed.

- 2002 Michel Foucault. Power. Essential works of Foucault 1954-1984, vol. 3. Translated by Robert Hurley and others. (USA New Press 2000) London.

Fingerroos, Outi, Haanpää, Riina, Heimo, Anne and Peltonen,

- 2006 Ulla-Maija, ed.
Muistitietotutkimus. Metodologisia kysymyksiä. Helsinki.

Fingerroos, Outi and Peltonen, Ulla-Maija

2006 Muistitieto ja tutkimus. In Muistitietotutkimus. Metodologisia kysymyksiä (pp. 7-24), Fingerroos, Outi, Haanpää, Riina, Heimo, Anne and Peltonen, Ulla-Maija, ed. Helsinki.

Fingerroos, Outi and Haanpää Riina

2006 Muistitietotutkimuksen ydinkysymyksiä. In Muistitietotutkimus. Metodologisia kysymyksiä (pp. 25-48), Fingerroos, Outi, Haanpää, Riina, Heimo, Anne and Peltonen, Ulla-Maija, ed. Helsinki.

Fischer-Bollin, Peter

2000 Vom Bürgerkrieg zur Demokratie. Die schwierige Demokratisierung in Zentralamerika. In Lateinamerika, Analysen, Daten, Dokumentation. Nr. 44 – Dezember 2000. Zentralamerika am Beginn des neuen Jahrtausends – vermeintlicher oder realer Wandel? Hamburg.

Freire, Paulo

1993 Pedagogy of the Oppressed. New revised 20th-anniversary edition. Translated by Myra Bergman Ramos. New York.

Gebara, Ivone, Bingemer, Maria Clara, Kent

1989 Mary, Mother of God, Mother of the Poor. Great Britain and New York.

Gebara, Ivone

1999 Longing for Running Water. Minneapolis.

Gómez, Medardo Ernesto

1990 Y el Verbo se Hizo Historia. Homilias, Volumen Uno. San Salvador.

1992 Teología de la vida. Managua, Nicaragua.

1993 Latinoamerica, Testimonio de Vida y Esperanza. San Salvador.

1994 Theologie des Lebens. Botschaft der Hoffnung aus El Salvador. Übersetzt, herausgegeben und mit einem Vorwort versehen von Immanuel Zerger. Mit einem theologischen Vorwort von Oberkirchenrat Dr. Martin Bogdahn. Titel der spanischen Originalausgabe: Teología de la vida. Ediciones Nicarao, Managua, Nicaragua, 1992. München.

Gómez, Abelina

2003 El reconocimiento y la participación de la mujer en la Iglesia Luterana Salvadoreña periodo 1972-1992. Bachelor's thesis. San Salvador.

González, Ondina E., Gonzalez, Justo L.

2008 Christianity in Latin America. A History. New York/ Cambridge.

Gritsch, Eric W.

2010 A History of Lutheranism. Second edition. Minneapolis.

Hammarén, Nils, Johansson, Thomas

2009 Identitet. Malmö.

Hansson, Lars and Thor, Malin, ed.

2006 Muntlig historia. Lund.

Heikkinen, Hannu L.T.

2002 Narratiivisuus – ei yksi vaan monta tarinaa. In Minussa elää monta tarinaa. Kirjoituksia opettajuudesta (pp. 184-197), Heikkinen, Hannu L.T. & Syrjälä, Leena, ed. Helsinki.

Heikkinen, Hannu L.T.

2002b What ever is Narrative Research? In Narrative Research. Voices of Teachers and Philosophers (pp. 13-28), Hut-
tunen, Rauno & Heikkinen, Hannu L.T. & Syrjälä, Lee-
na, ed. Jyväskylä.

Heikkinen, Hannu L.T., Syrjälä, Leena, ed.

2002 Minussa elää monta tarinaa. Kirjoituksia opettajuud-
esta. Helsinki.

Helander, Eila

2001 Kutsumus kantaa. Naislähetit Suomen Lähetysseuran
työssä toisen maailmansodan jälkeen. Helsinki.

Hodgson, Dorothy L.

2005 The Church of Women. Gendered Encounters between
Maasai and Missionaries. Bloomington and Indianapo-
lis.

Holm, Nils G. and Wolf-Knuts, Ulrika, ed.

2003 Människan och tiden. Time and Humanity. Religions-
vetenskapliga skrifter nr 60. Åbo.

Holmes, Mary

2009 Gender and Everyday Life. The New Sociology. First
published 2009. London/New York.

Holy Bible

2011 New International version, NIV. Biblica, Inc.

Huber, Mary Taylor and Lutkehaus, Nancy C, ed.

2002 Gendered Missions. Women and Men in Missionary
Discourse and Practice. Published and first edition
printed in 1999. Michigan.

Humm, Maggie

1989 The Dictionary of Feminist Theory. New York, London,
Toronto, Sydney, Tokyo.

- Huovinen, Eero
 1987 Elävä dogma. Suomalaisen teologisen kirjallisuusseuran julkaisuja 155. Helsinki.
- Huttunen, Rauno, Heikkinen, Hannu L.T. and Syrjälä, Leena, ed.
 2002 Narrative Research. Voices of Teachers and Philosophers. Jyväskylä.
- Hägglund, Bengt
 2003 Teologins historia. En dogmhistorisk översikt. First edition 1956. Göteborg.
- Ibarra-T., Angel
 1999 Mitch en El Salvador. San Salvador.
- Jahnel, Christoph
 2003 Die Lutherische Kirche in El Salvador. Kirchwerdung im Kontext von US-amerikanischer Mission, denominationellem Pluralismus, sozialer Anomie und politischer Unterdrückung. Missionswissenschaftliche Forschungen. Neue Folge Band 21. Diss. Neuendettelsau.
- Jaquette, Jane S., ed.
 1989 The Women's Movement in Latin America. Feminism and the Transition to Democracy. London/Sydney/Wellington/Boston.
- Jones, Ian, Wootton, Janet and Thorpe, Kirsty.
 2008 Women and Ordination in the Christian Churches. International Perspectives. London/New York.
- Josselson, Ruthellen and Lieblich, Amia, ed.
 1999 Making Meaning of Narratives. The Narrative Study of Lives, vol.6. New York/London.
- Järvinen, Hanna and Kärki, Kimi, ed.
 2005 Avaintekstejä kulttuurihistoriaan. Cultural History – Kulttuurihistoria 6. Turku.

Kainulainen, Pauliina

2005 Maan viisaus. Ivone Gebaran ekofeministinen käsitys tietämisestä ja teologiasta. Diss. Joensuu.

Katekismus

2003 Suomen evankelis-luterilaisen kirkon kristinoppi. Accepted in the Church synod in 1999.

Kainulainen, Pauliina and Mäkinen, Aulikki, ed.

2006 Näen Jumalan toisin, Kristinuskon feministisiä tulkin-toja. Helsinki.

Kampwirth, Karen

2004 Feminism and Legacy of Revolution. Nicaragua, El Salvador, Chiapas. Ohio.

Kena, Kirsti

2000 Eevat apostolien askelissa: Naislähetit Suomen Lähetys-seuran työssä 1845-1945. Helsinki.

Kirkwood, Deborah

1993 Protestant Missionary Women: Wives and Spinsters. In Women and Missions: Past and Present. Anthropological and Historical Perceptions (pp 23-41), Bowie, Fiona, Kirkwood, Deborah and Ardener, Shirley, ed. Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Women. Volume 11. Providence/Oxford.

Kirkon tilastollinen vuosikirja 2012

2013 Helsinki.

Kokkonen, Jarmo

1993 Gustavo Gutiérrezin köyhyyden teologia. Master's thesis. Helsinki.

Koschorke, Klaus, Ludwig, Frieder & Delgado, Mariano, ed.; in

2007 co-operation with Roland Spliesgart
A History of Christianity in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, 1450-1990: a documentary sourcebook. Grand Rapids, Michigan/Cambridge, U.K.

- Kristensson Uggla, Bengt
2011 Homo Capax. Texter av Paul Ricoeur om etik och filosofisk antropologi I urval av Bengt Kristensson Uggla. Översättning Eva Backelin. Göteborg.
- Kurtenbach, Sabine, Mackenbach, Werner, Maihold, Günther
2008 und Wunderich, Volker, ed.
Zentralamerika heute. Frankfurt.
- Lande, Gunvor
2005 Naisnäkökulma ja ihmisoikeudet mission tulevaisuuden määrittäjinä. In Oikeus uskoon toivoon ja rakkauteen. Ihmisoikeudet ja kirkon missio (pp. 27-44), Pöntinen, Mari and Helminen, Mikko, ed. Pieksämäki.
- Lande, Gunvor
2002 Visjonen om Likeverdet. Det ökumeniske tiåret 1988-1998 – Kyrkjer i solidaritet med kvinner i El Salvador og Norge, Kenya og Japan. Diss. Lund.
- Latvus, Kari
2003 Arjen teologia, Johdatus kontekstuaaliseen Raamatun tulkintaan, Helsinki.
- Mc Laughlin, Janice
2003 Feminist Social and Political Theory. Contemporary Debates and Dialogues. Houndmills. Basingstoke, Hampshire, New York.
- Mc Nay, Lois
1992 Foucault and Feminism. Power, Gender and the Self. Cambridge.
- Lehman, David, Cornwall
1990 Democracy and Development in Latin America. Economics, Politics and Religion in the Post-War Period Polity Press. Cambridge, Oxford.

- Lehtiö, Pirkko
 2004 Nainen ja kutsumus. Naisteologiien tie kirkon virkaan 1800-luvun lopulta vuoteen 1963. Helsinki.
- Leydesdorff, Selma and Passerini, Luisa and Thompson, Paul,
 1996 ed.
 Gender and Memory. International Yearbook of Oral History and Life Stories. Volume IV. New York.
- Marander-Eklund, Lena
 2003 Hur förändras minnet av en upplevelse över tid? In Människan och tiden. Time and Humanity (pp. 53-74), Holm, Nils G. and Wolf-Knuts, Ulrika, ed. Religionsvetenskapliga skrifter nr 60. Åbo.
- Meissner, Diethelm
 2004 Die Kirche der Armen. Eine kirchliche Bewegung zwischen Volks- und Befreiungsorganisationen und der verfassten Kirche. Darstellung der historischen Zusammenhänge in der Zeit von 1962 bis 1992 und der politischen, sozialen und ekklesiologischen Probleme in ihrem Umfeld. Neuendettelsau.
- Mikkola, Teija, Niemelä, Kati and Petterson, Juha
 2006 Urbaani usko. Helsinki.
- Mizrachi, Beverly
 1999 The Recruitment of Women Into the Academic Elite in Israel. Anna's Narrative. In Making Meaning of Narratives (pp. 141-164), Josselson, Ruthellen and Lieblich, Amia, ed. The Narrative Study of Lives, vol.6. New York/London.
- Molina, Seija
 2010 Naiset ja naisten puheet kirkolliskokouksen naispappeuskeskusteluissa vuosina 1974-1987. Käytännöllisen teologian laitos. Diss. Helsinki.

Mombo, Esther

2008 The Ordination of Women in Africa. A historical Perspective. In *Women and Ordination in the Christian Churches. International Perspectives* (pp 123-143), Jones, Ian, Wootton, Janet and Thorpe, Kirsty. London/New York.

Nyhagen Predelli, Line, Miller, Jon

2002 Piety and Patriarchy: Contested Gender Regimes in Nineteenth-Century Evangelical Missions. In *Gendered Missions. Women and Men in Missionary Discourse and Practice*, Huber, Mary Taylor and Lutkehaus, Nancy C, ed. First edition printed in 1999. Michigan.

Niemelä, Kati

2006 Vieraantunut vai pettynyt? Kirkosta eroamisen syyt Suomen evankelis-luterilaisessa kirkossa. Kirkon tutkimuskeskus, julkaisuja Nro 95. Tampere.

Närhi, Paula

2012 Nainen, pappuus ja ristiriita? Diss. Helsinki.

Odenberg, Christina

2008 The Ordination and the consecration of Women in the Church of Sweden. In *Women and ordination in the Christian Churches. International Perspectives* (pp 113-122), Jones, Ian, Wootton, Janet and Thorpe, Kirsty, ed. London/New York.

Paixão, Márcia , Müller Fernandes, Ligiane

2009 Women in the Ordained Ministry: History, Experience, Witness. Brazil - IELCB. São Leopoldo.

Pakkasvirta, Jussi, Aronen, Jukka, ed.

1999 Café con tango, relaciones de Finlandia y América Latina. Tampere.

- Pakkasvirta, Jussi, Teivainen, Teivo, ed.
 1992 Kenen Amerikka? 500 vuotta Latinalaisen Amerikan valloitusta, Jyväskylä.
- Palvelijoiksi vihityt.
 2000 Suomen evankelis-luterilaisen kirkon vuonna 2000 asettaman virkarakennekomitean mietintö. Suomen ev.lut.kirkon keskushallinto. Helsinki.
- Peeler, John, Colorado
 1998 Building Democracy in Latin America. London.
- Peltonen, Ulla-Maija
 2006 Muistitieto folkloristiikassa. In Muistitietotutkimus. Metodologisia kysymyksiä (pp. 93-119), Fingerroos, Outi, Haanpää, Riina, Heimo, Anne and Peltonen, Ulla-Maija, ed. Helsinki.
- Pesonen, Heikki, ed.
 1997 Uskontotieteen ikuisuusksymyksiä. Helsinki.
- Peterson, Anna L.
 2001 "The Only Way I Can Walk": Women, Christianity, and Everyday Life in El Salvador. In Christianity, Social Change, and Globalization in the Americas (pp. 25-86), Peterson, Anna L., Vásquez, Manuel A., Williams Philip J., ed. New Brunswick, New Jersey and London.
- Peterson, Anna L., Vásquez, Manuel A., Williams Philip J.
 2001 The Global and the Local. In Christianity, Social Change, and Globalization in the Americas (pp. 210-228), Peterson, Anna L., Vásquez, Manuel A., Williams Philip J. ed. New Brunswick, New Jersey and London.
- Petrella, Ivan, ed.
 2005 Latin American Liberation Theology. The Next Generation. Maryknoll, New York.

- Pihkala, Juha
1992 Johdatus dogmatiikkaan. Espoo.
- Pihkala, Juha
2009 Uskoa tiedosta ja tietoa uskosta. Johdatus dogmatiikkaan. Helsinki.
- Pineda, Roberto and Dubon, Jaime
1997 El Papel del Ministerio Ordenado de la Iglesia Luterana Salvadoreña. Trabajo de tesis en cumplimiento del requisito para optar al grado de licenciatura en teología. San Salvador.
- Portelli, Alessandro
2006 Mikä tekee muistitietotutkimuksesta erityisen? In Muistitietotutkimus. Metodologisia kysymyksiä (pp. 49-64), Fingerroos, Outi, Haanpää, Riina, Heimo, Anne and Peltonen, Ulla-Maija, ed. Helsinki.
- Potthast, Barbara
2003 Von Müttern und Machos. Eine Geschichte der Frauen Lateinamerikas, Wuppertal.
- Prien, Hans-Jürgen, ed.
1981 Lateinamerika: Gesellschaft, Kirche. Theologie, Band I. Göttingen.
2007 Das Christentum in Lateinamerika, Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen, IV76, Herausgegeben von Ulrich Gäbler und Johannes Schilling, Begründet von Gert Haendler und Joachim Rogge, Leipzig.
- Pöntinen, Mari, Helminen, Mikko, ed.
2005 Oikeus uskoon toivoon ja rakkauteen. Ihmisoikeudet ja kirkon missio. Pieksämäki.

Raunu, Jukka.

- 2004 Vapautuksen teologiaa ja uskonnon vapaakauppaa Latinalaisessa Amerikassa . In Teologian ilmansuuntia, Näkökulmia uskontulkintoihin Aasiassa, Afrikassa ja Latinalaisessa Amerikassa (pp. 181-215), Ahonen, Tiina & Komulainen, Jyri, ed. Helsinki.
- 2008 The Mediated Immediacy. João Batista Libanio and the Question of Latin American Liberation Theology. Diss. Helsinki.
- 1998 Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft. Vierte, völlig neu bearbeitete Aufgabe herausgegeben von Hans Dieter Betz, Don S. Browning, Bernd Janowski, Eberhards Jüngel. Band 1. A-B. Tübingen.

Richard, Pablo

- 1987 Death of Christendoms, Birth of the Church. Historical Analysis and Theological Interpretation of the Church in Latin America. Maryknoll, New York.

Ricoeur, Paul

- 1990a Time and Narrative. Volume 1. (Originally published as Temps et Récit, 1983, translated by Kathleen McLaughlin and David Pellauer.) Chicago/London.
- 1990c Time and Narrative. Volume 3. (Originally published as Temps et Récit, 1983, translated by Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer.) Chicago/London.
- 2004 Memory, History, Forgetting.(Original title Mémoire, l'histoire, l'oubli.) Translated by Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer. Chicago/London.

Rodríguez de Herrera, Blanca Irma

- 1999 Teologia de la Vida: Una experiencia de fe desde la perspectiva evangélica luterana salvadoreña. Mestrado em teologia. Master's thesis. Sao Leopoldo.

- Romero, Óscar
1982 Die notwendige Revolution. Mainz/München.
- Ronkainen, Suvi
1999 Ajan ja paikan merkitsemät. Subjektiviteetti, tieto ja toimijuus. Diss. Tampere.
- Rundqvist, Ewa
2004 Power as authority. A caring science perspective. Diss. Vasa.
- Saarinen, Satu
2005 On sovelias ikeeni ja keveä kuormani. Diss. Oulu.
- Salmesvuori, Päivi
2009 Power and Authority. Birgitta of Sweden and her Revelations. Diss. Helsinki.
- Sandoval, Marina, ed.
2001 Género, feminismo y masculinidad en América Latina. Edición Marina El Salvador.
- Saraneva, Tapio
1991 Oikeudenmukaisuuden nälkä. Vapautuksen teologian haaste meille. Helsinki.
- Sarja, Karin
2002 “Ännu en syster till Afrika”. Trettiosex kvinnliga missionärer i Natal och Zululand 1876-1902. Studia Missionalia Svecana LXXXVIII. Diss. Uppsala.
- Schmiedt Streck, Valburga, Blasi, Marcia
2009 Questões de genero e a Igreja Evangélica de confissão Luterana no Brasil – IELCB. Estudos Teológicos, Vol. 49, No 2. São Leopoldo.
- Schäfer, Heinrich
1992 Protestantismo y crisis social en América Central. San José, Costa Rica.

- Schäfer, Heinrich,
 2008 Modernisierung und Identitätskonstruktion: Zum Protestantismus in Zentralamerika von 1980 bis heute. In *Zentralamerika heute* (pp. 485-506), Kurtenbach, Sabine, Mackenbach, Werner, Maihold, Günther und Wunderich, Volker, ed. Frankfurt.
- Schäferdiek, Knut
 1978 Theologische Realenzyklopädie. In Gemeinschaft mit Horst Robert Balz, Stuart G. Hall, Richard Heutschke, Günter Lauckowski, Wolfgang Müller-Lauter, Carl Heinz Ratschow, Knut Schäferdiek, Martin Schmidt, Henning Schroer, Clemen Thoma, Gustac Wingren. Herausgegeben von Gerhards Krausch und Gerhard Müller. Band II. *Agende – Anselm von Canterbury*. Berlin/New York.
- Schüssler Fiorenza, Elisabeth
 1994 *In Memory of Her. A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins*. First edition 1983. New York.
- Scott, Joan Wallach, ed.
 1996 *Feminism & History*. Oxford Readings in Feminism. Oxford/New York.
- Seppä, Anita
 2003 *The Aesthetic Subject. Exploring the Usefulness of Foucauldian tools in Feminism*. Department of Aesthetics, University of Helsinki. Diss. Helsinki.
- Shayne, Julie D.
 2004 *Revolution Question: Feminisms in El Salvador, Chile, and Cuba Compared*. New Brunswick, NJ, USA.
- Silber, Irina Carlota
 2011 *Everyday Revolutionaries. Gender, Violence, and Disillusionment in Postwar El Salvador*. New Brunswick, New Jersey, and London.

- Smith, Christian and Prokopy, Joshua,
1999 Latin American Religion in Motion. New York and London.
- Smith, Sidonie and Watson, Julia, ed.
1998 Women, Autobiography, Theory. A Reader. Wisconsin.
- Smith, Susan E.
2007 Women in Mission. From the New Testament to Today. New York: Maryknoll.
- Snellman, Gerd
2011 Sions döttrar. De lestadianska kvinnorna som traditionförmedlare i norra svenska Österbotten åren 1927-2009. Diss. Åbo.
- Stier, Jonas
2004 Kulturmöten. En introduktion till interkulturella studier. Lund.
- Svensson, Kerstin
2001 I stället för fängelse? En studie av vårdande makt, straff och socialt arbete i frivård. Lund.
- Tamayo-Acosta, Juan José
1989 Para Comprender La Teología de la Liberación. Estella.
1994 Presente y Futuro de la Teología de la Liberación. teología Siglo XXI. Madrid.
- Tamez, Elsa, ed.
1989 Through Her Eyes, Women's Theology from Latin America, New York.
- Thomas, Norman E., ed.
2005 Classic Texts in Mission and World Christianity. American Society of Missiology Series, No 20. New York.
- Thompson, Paul
1988 The Voice of the Past. Oral History. New Edition. Second Edition, First published 1978. Oxford/New York.

Thomsson, Heléne

2002 Kvinnor, makt och förändring – att möta kvinnor i behov av stöd. Lund.

Thor, Malin

2006 Inledning. In Muntlig historia (pp. 7-17), Hansson, Lars and Thor, Malin, ed. Lund.

2006 Muntliga källor och källkritik. In Muntlig historia (pp. 21-39), Hansson, Lars and Thor, Malin, ed. Lund.

Tineke, A. Abma

1999 Powerful Stories. The Role of Stories in Sustaining and Transforming Professional Practice within a Mental Hospital. In Making Meaning of Narratives (pp. 169-199), Josselsson, Ruthellen and Lieblisch, Amia, ed. The Narrative Study of Lives, vol.6. London.

Tombs, David

2002 Latin American Liberation Theology. Boston/Leiden.

Tuomaala, Saara

2006 Sukupuolen kokemuksista muistitietohistoriaan. In Muistitietotutkimus. Metodologisia kysymyksiä (pp. 271-288), Fingerroos, Outi, Haanpää, Riina, Heimo, Anne and Peltonen, Ulla-Maija, ed. Helsinki.

Vahtola, Pirjo and Lasse

2005 El Salvador – väkivaltaa ja alkuperäistä pyhyyttä. Suomen Liikemiesten Lähetysliitto ry, Turku.

Valtonen, Pekka

2001 Latinalaisen Amerikan historia. Helsinki.

Varanka, Jouni, Närhinen, Antti, and Siukola, Reetta, ed.

2006 Men and Gender Equality, Towards Progressive politics. Ministry of Social Affairs and Health. Reports 2006:75. Conference Report. Helsinki.

Varis, Tuula

- 1989 Vallan genealogia. Tutkimus Michel Foucault'n valtakäsityksistä. Department of Political Science and International Relations. Unit of Peace Research and Development Studies. Reports. Tampere.

Vásquez, Manuel A., Marquardt, Marie Friedmann

- 2003 Globalizing the Sacred. Religion across the Americas. New Brunswick, New Jersey and London.

Vikström, Björn

- 2000 Verkligheten öppnar sig. Läsning och uppenbarelse I Paul Ricouers bibelhermeneutik. Diss. Åbo.

Vuola, Elina

- 1986 Uusi nainen, uusi maa, Rosemary Radford Ruetherin feministinen teologia. Helsinki.
- 1991 Köyhien Jumala. Johdatus vapautuksen teologiaan. Jyväskylä.
- 1997 Limits of Liberation. Praxis as Method in Latin American Liberation Theology and Feminist Theology. Diss. Helsinki.
- 2006 Mitä feministiteologia on? In Näen Jumalan toisin. Kristinuskon feministisiä tulkintoja (pp. 25-50), Kainulainen, Pauliina & Mäkinen, Aulikki, ed. Helsinki.

Vähäkangas, Auli

- 1992 Argumentaatioanalyysi Tansanian evankelis-luterilaisen kirkon naispappeuskeskustelusta. Ekumeniikan pro gradu-työ. Master's thesis. Helsinki.
- 2004 Christian Couples Coping with Childlessness; Narratives from Machame, Kilimanjaro. Diss. Helsinki.

Weber, Max

1968 Economy and Society. Volume 1. An outline of Interpretative Sociology. Edited by Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich. Economy and Society is a translation of Max Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft. Grundriss der verstehenden Soziologie*, based on the 4th German edition, 1956. New York.

White, Alastair

1987 El Salvador. (First edition 1973 in English, Praeger Publishers), Primera edición 1983 (Spanish), Segunda edición 1987, Colección Estructuras y Procesos, Volumen 12. San Salvador.

Woodhead, Linda

1990 Gender Differences in Religious Practice and Significance. In *The Sage Handbook of the Sociology of Religion* (pp. 566-586), James A. Beckford and N.J. Demerath III, ed. First published 1989. Reprinted 1990. London/ Newbury Park/ New Delhi/ Singapore.

Öberg, Ingemar

1970 Himmelrykets nycklar och kyrklig bot i Luthers teologi 1517-1537. Diss. Uppsala.

APPENDICES

Examples of the interviews:

Interview of Abelina Gómez

REPORTAJE A ABELINA

¿Podría contar cómo ha sido el camino para llegar a ser una pastora luterana, y cómo ha sido el trabajo como pastora luterana en El Salvador?

Estudí en México. Es mi país de nacimiento. Ahí pasé mi niñez y mi juventud. Tuve la educación cristiana de la Iglesia Bautista. Mis padres y mis hermanos son de esa iglesia, aunque no todos (dos no son de ahí). Me llevaron a la iglesia desde pequeña, y yo tuve una educación cristiana desde pequeña en esa iglesia.

Estudí en la escuela primaria, la secundaria y la Escuela Normal, para maestra de educación primaria. Me gradué como maestra en 1964. Trabajé un año con el gobierno, pero sentía que no estaba satisfecha.

Yo seguía yendo a la iglesia, y en una ocasión llegaron personas del Seminario Bautista a ver si algunos de los jóvenes querían estudiar en el Seminario Bautista. A mí me gustaba mucho trabajar en la iglesia, y como me gradué de maestra, tenía a mi cargo los grupos de niños en la iglesia. Me gustaba enseñar a los niños, y pensé que sería bueno prepararme para trabajar en la iglesia, y decidí ir a estudiar al Seminario Bautista, para trabajar en una iglesia.

Lo que me dolió mucho es que mi papá no estuvo de acuerdo que yo fuera al Seminario. Y eso me dolió bastante. Él pensó que al terminar de estudiar yo iba a trabajar como maestra y les iba a ayudar a mantener a ellos, ya ancianos. Mi papá tenía razón, pero yo no sé por qué me fui al Seminario. Los dejé. Dejé a mi papá y a mi mamá. Me dolió mucho. Sin embargo, yo no tengo

malos recuerdos de mi papá ni de mi mamá. Ellos hicieron todo lo posible por mí. Mi padre fue lo mejor para mí. Mi madre también.

Con mucho dolor, una vez mi padre fue a visitarme al Seminario, a ver si yo estaba bien. Eso me duele mucho, porque siento que si yo me porté mal con ellos, mi papá y mi mamá nunca se portaron mal conmigo. Siempre fueron excelentes padres. Quizás yo fallé, porque mi papá y mi mamá sí tenían necesidad de que yo los mantuviera, porque ellos no tenían de qué vivir. Pero yo sé que mi padre, y eso es lo admirable, nunca necesitó de alguien. Él se mantuvo. Medardo también lo admira a mi papá. Así fue mi papá. Hacía lo que podía y se mantenían los dos. Eso es lo que me duele, pero tampoco me arrepiento de haberme ido al Seminario, porque fue algo bueno.

¿Eres la hija mayor de tu familia?

No, la menor. Una de mis hermanas me dio el estudio en la Escuela Normal mantuvo. Pagaba la mensualidad. Me daba los libros, vestidos, zapatos, ropa... todo lo que mis padres no podían. Posiblemente tenían la esperanza de que cuando yo me recibiera de maestra, pudiera ayudar a mis padres. Pero no fue así. Pero mi padre no desfalleció. Al contrario, respetó lo que yo decidí. Yo espero no haberle fallado a mi papá, porque lo que él más quería era que yo estuviera bien.

Mi hermana era enfermera en ese tiempo. Yo tengo en México una familia con muchas necesidades, pobre. Ahora ya están mejor, porque ya tienen una vida diferente. Pero nosotros crecimos con muchas necesidades.

En el Seminario estudié y me gradué también, pero sólo estudié tres años. Después de tres años fue que conocí a Medardo. Él era luterano, y yo bautista, pero nos pusimos de acuerdo, y yo decidí seguirlo a él, en la iglesia y en todo. El rector bautista decía que perdía a una bautista, pero que, de todos modos, la tierra es de Dios... Él me dijo: "Tú vas a servir a Dios dondequiera." El rector del Seminario Bautista y el rector del Seminario

Luterano nos casaron, a Medardo y a mí.

Cuando yo llegué a El Salvador la Iglesia Luterana donde estaba Medardo era del Sínodo de Missouri. Y como el Sínodo de Missouri no acepta mujeres pastoras, me puse a trabajar con los niños. Entonces le dije a Medardo por qué no pedía unas becas para fundar un colegio. Y fue así como nació el Colegio Luterano, con 20 niños becados.

Mi interés siempre ha sido la educación. Por bastante tiempo fui la directora del Colegio Luterano. Se fundaron otros colegios, que todavía están.

¿Cuántos colegios hay en total?

Ahora hay cinco colegios, aunque eran seis, pero el que estaba en San Blas se perdió. Del Colegio Luterano surgieron todos los demás colegios. Por bastante tiempo fui la directora de las escuelas, como parte del trabajo del Sínodo. Pero después, yo no sé por qué, dejé de ser la directora de las escuelas y me dediqué al trabajo de la mujer. Lo que más me sorprendió estando en un estudio con mujeres, fue como si me diera cuenta por primera vez de que yo soy mujer. “Yo soy mujer”, dije, y me dediqué de lleno al estudio de la pastoral de la mujer. Y el Sínodo me dijo que la mayoría de los miembros de la iglesia eran mujeres, y que los pastores querían que se educara a las mujeres. Entonces yo me encargué de eso. Y dije: Vamos a poner una escuela permanente, para la capacitación de mujeres. Y fue así como en 1991 se formó la oficina de la pastoral de la mujer.

El Sínodo de Missouri no estaba de acuerdo en muchas cosas con Medardo, por el compromiso ecuménico y por la apertura que se estaba dando a la mujer. En 1986 Medardo nos reconoció como pastoras-díaconas, por el trabajo que habíamos realizado, a Marina Mendez y a mí. Fue en 1986, después de que él fuera consagrado como obispo en la iglesia de El Salvador. En ese mismo año nosotras fuimos reconocidas como pastoras. Eso me dio autoridad para trabajar con la escuela permanente para mujeres, y se formó la oficina de la pastoral de la mujer en 1991. Y quizás

las mujeres tomaron mucha conciencia de sí mismas, y ahora tenemos bastantes mujeres catequistas, evangelistas... tenemos diáconas y también pastoras.

Fue bastante difícil, porque cuando yo comencé a aparecer en el altar vestida de pastora, y a dar la comunión, las mismas mujeres me rechazaban. Una de las hermanas iba a tomar la comunión, pero cuando vio que yo se la iba a dar, regresó hacia atrás, diciendo: "Yo nunca voy a tomar la comunión de una mujer." Y un hombre me dijo: "¡Qué barbaridad! Esta iglesia ya se está volviendo sucia, porque le da la oportunidad de estar en el altar a las mujeres, y estas mujeres son sucias." Él nos llamaba "sucias" por la menstruación. Decía que cómo era posible que una mujer sangrando estuviera en el altar, si la misma Biblia decía que es una suciedad. Entonces, eso no era posible.

Pero, yo no sé de dónde uno saca fuerzas. Hasta ahora estoy preguntándome por qué no dejé yo eso...

¿Cuánto tiempo duró ese rechazo?

Duró desde que yo fundé la pastoral de la mujer, y que tenía reuniones con mujeres. Eso fue terrible, terrible. Pero, bueno, fue hasta cuando se cerró la pastoral de la mujer, en el 2000.

En el 2000 comenzamos a dar estudios para mujeres, pero no terminamos. Hasta ahí llegó. Por las dificultades que estábamos teniendo, se cerró la oficina. No fue tanto que se cerró, sino que cambió de nombre. Decían que nosotros separábamos hogares, que nuestras reuniones eran para pelear con los hombres. Debido a eso, pues, las mismas mujeres se resentían. Aunque no todas; algunas no. Hasta ahora me reclaman por qué no siguieron los estudios. Pero sí algunas. Quizás porque tenían problemas en su hogar. Y al tener problemas con sus esposos, al tomar conciencia de que ellas son capaces de defender sus vidas, entonces llega el momento en que ellas dicen: "Ya no me estés maltratando. No me sigas pegando porque me duele. Entonces, ya no me pegues, porque mejor yo me voy." Y entonces el hombre dice: "¿Y a ésta qué le está pasando? Si antes se dejaba pegar, y estaba

aquí, aún con todos los golpes que yo le daba. Y ahora, le pego y quiere irse...”

¿Cómo cambiaron el nombre de la oficina?

Ya no quiso seguir llamándola “Pastoral de la mujer”, pero tampoco se quiso que el trabajo con las mujeres terminara, así que se le puso el nombre: “Género y familia”, y hasta hoy está con ese nombre. Pero, ya las mujeres tuvieron temor de reunirse solas (de reunirnos solas), por las acusaciones que nos estaban haciendo. Pero, ahora creo que lo vamos a hacer con más formalidad, ya por parte del Sínodo, porque ahora estamos pidiendo que el Sínodo tenga políticas para las mujeres, para los estudios con mujeres. Que el Sínodo diseñe la política cómo trabajar “género y familia.”

¿Piensa usted que en estas dificultades se refleja la controversia entre la gente que está a favor del Sínodo de Missouri, y por otro lado la gente que está a favor de otra teología?

Sí. El Sínodo de Missouri en su tradición y en la educación que ha dado, no permite el sacerdocio (femenino) o las mujeres pastoras. Así están educados los pastores. Así estaba educado Medardo. Pero Medardo tuvo otra visión y nos dio la oportunidad de salir adelante. Pero, siempre se encuentra con las ideas... podríamos decir “machistas.” Medardo puede tener esas ideas por su educación, pero a la vez es conciente que no es posible de que a la mujer se le cierre su espacio. Él dice que tanto mujeres como hombres hemos sido bautizados y enviados. Entonces, a pesar de haber tenido su educación, él da la oportunidad. Pero hay hombres que no. Que dicen: “¡Eso no, y no!” Y pastores que dicen: “Esto no.” Han habido pastores que dicen: “Yo en mi iglesia no quiero pastoras.”

¿Todavía existen? ¿Todavía hay?

Yo creo que ahora ya se está muriendo esa idea. Pero, en un

principio lo dijeron. Por eso yo digo que la irrupción de la mujer en la iglesia es como un proceso que va poco a poco. Porque no es así que de una sola vez ya está. Y las mujeres tenemos que trabajar en eso, porque ni la sociedad ni la iglesia está acostumbrada a ver una mujer en el altar, sino que ha sido solo la imagen masculina. Entonces, así de golpe la iglesia no lo va a aceptar, ni la sociedad tampoco. Es un proceso que la mujer tiene que ir ganando poco a poco. A las primeras que nos atrevemos a hacer eso, nos va a costar más. A las que llegan más atrás, le va a costar menos. Pero, todas las cosas nuevas cuestan; no son fáciles. Yo sé que todo esto es un proceso. Y siento que todo este proceso que está haciendo el Sínodo va a ser mucho mejor de lo que era antes... lo que quiso trabajar la pastoral de la mujer. Porque ya va a ser con los mismos pastores, y Medardo se da cuenta de que lo que hizo la pastoral de la mujer no fue negativo. Casi todo fue positivo. Fue para darle valor a la mujer, y para que se dé cuenta de que tiene capacidad. Que tal vez hay que hacerlo de otra forma, tal vez más sabia, más estratégica quizás... eso es necesario.

Va a ayudar más el pensamiento de algunos pastores hombres, que saben que el resultado de la pastoral fue positivo. Y las mujeres pastoras, que ya opinan también. Antes, cuando comenzábamos, tenían razón para decir. “Y ésta, ¿qué está haciendo en el altar, si nunca hemos visto una imagen femenina, y de repente se nos aparece una ahí?” A mí me costó, pero yo me atreví igual.

A veces digo que no sé por qué Dios me pone tantas cosas... A veces, en mis oraciones, yo le digo a Dios: “No Dios mío, ya no, ya no quiero tanta cosa que me das...” Pero Dios sabe lo que hace conmigo.

En Finlandia, las primeras pastoras fueron ordenadas un poquito más tarde, en el año 1988, y todavía existen problemas...

Sí, pero ya como pastoras, con toda la autoridad. Yo solamente fui como diácona. Pero ya como presbítera (porque el cargo de presbítera se lo dan al que tiene la licenciatura en teología).

¿Cómo le ha ido a la mujer en otros cargos en la iglesia?

Pues, fíjese, esa es la cosa. Yo le dije a Medardo que cómo era posible que se reconociera a mujeres como sociólogas y psicólogas en la iglesia? Porque durante la guerra se decía: “Aquí están estas hermanas para que den tratamiento psicológico; aquí están estas trabajadoras sociales para que se dediquen al trabajo social.” Bueno, mujeres. Y le dije. “¿Por qué se reconocía a las mujeres socialmente y la iglesia no las reconocía eclesialmente? Eso mismo fue lo que hizo que el Sínodo de Missouri rompiera relaciones con la Iglesia de El Salvador. El argumento que Medardo tuvo ante el Sínodo de Missouri fue eso, que las mujeres somos también bautizadas en la misma forma que el varón; tomamos la comunión en la misma forma que el varón, y que esas son órdenes de Dios, una ordenanza, un sacramento. Y si la mujer es partícipe de un sacramento, por qué no va a ser partícipe de un rito, que es el reconocerla... o ser pastora, pues; en ese rito eclesiástico. Por qué no se la va a reconocer en ese rito eclesial, que no es un sacramento. Ese fue el argumento que ocupó Medardo para el Sínodo de Missouri, porque el Sínodo de Missouri lo cuestionó que por qué estaba reconociendo...”

Fue después del año 86 cuando entraron más mujeres como catequistas...

Sí, sí. A partir de ahí las mujeres se entusiasmaron. Sí, aunque ya había. Siempre había antes, pero a partir de lo del 1986 fue que se animaron más, y no solamente a ser catequistas y evangelistas, sino a tomar cargos en la iglesia; responsabilidad en la iglesia. Porque antes podían ser catequistas, pero nada más, ahí. Pero ya después, sí; ya como que la mujer se animó a decir: “Bueno, yo soy catequista, o soy evangelista en la iglesia, y tomo esa responsabilidad, y esto tengo que hacer.”

¿Usted ha visto una relación entre el cambio de mentalidad de las mujeres en la iglesia, con el movimiento feminista en El Salvador, durante la misma época?

Sí. Sí. Yo misma tenía relación con los movimientos feministas. Y eso también es lo que causa problemas, porque los movimientos feministas son radicales, y yo siento que ese temor también tenían los pastores, de que nosotras también fuéramos muy radicales, y nos estuviéramos desviando de la palabra de Dios. Por eso fue que se dijo que se llamara “género”, porque era necesario que los pastores recibieran esta capacitación, porque ellos decían que necesitaban saber qué es lo que las mujeres aprendían, que las hacía ser más decididas, como diciendo “yo puedo hacer esto, y yo aquí estoy.” Más decididas para los cargos en la iglesia. Entonces los pastores mismos decían que querían estar en esos estudios. Y se abrió la participación para hombres. Pero, como estábamos acostumbradas a hablar como mujeres, entonces a varios hombres no les gustó. Porque se hablaba como mujeres. Decíamos “nosotras...” todo, todo en femenino. Entonces no les gustó, y mejor no asistieron. Entonces fue así como se rompió las reuniones con mujeres. Pero, yo misma decía en el Sínodo que era necesario que el mismo Sínodo dijera y pusiera políticas para ver cómo va a ser el trato entre hombres y mujeres, para tomar conciencia de nuestro papel en la iglesia y en la sociedad.

Yo les decía que era necesario que el hombre también tomara conciencia y viera a la mujer como compañera de trabajo, y no solamente como la mujer que está en la casa lavando, planchando, lavando trastos, haciendo comida, yendo al mercado, sino que la vea, no como esa mujer tradicional, sino que la vea como a una compañera de trabajo. Pero, para esto el hombre también necesita ser conciente de que esa mujer tiene valores, y que hay que respetarla por sus valores. No sólo porque es mujer para él, o para lavar, planchar, barrer, trapear; sino porque tiene valores intelectuales, y es capaz de muchas cosas.

Nos decía un señor que fue a hablar con nosotras, en un momento que estábamos reunidas con las mujeres, fue y nos dijo -él también se reunía con varones para hablar de su situación en

la iglesia y de la sociedad- entonces él nos dijo: “Nosotros los hombres tenemos capacidad de análisis, porque cuando vamos a hacer nuestro trabajo salimos afuera de la casa, y no pensamos que tenemos que llevar comida a la casa, que tenemos que ir al supermercado, que hay que traer los niños a la escuela, que hay que ayudarles a hacer los deberes... nosotros no pensamos en todo eso. Que hay que hacer comida, que hay que limpiar la casa, nosotros no pensamos en eso, sólo pensamos en la tarea que vamos a hacer ahí afuera. Entonces, nuestra capacidad de análisis allá es tal vez es mayor que el de las mujeres. Pero, eso no resta que la mujer sea capaz. Porque si ella es capaz de realizar una tarea allá fuera, y es capaz de llevar las cosas de su hogar, es porque también tiene capacidad de análisis, y hasta mayor capacidad de análisis que las que uno pueda tener. Pero la mujer tiene que demostrar también esa capacidad. Afuera, en la iglesia y en la sociedad.”

¿Entonces, la conclusión de ese hombre era que la mujer tiene doble capacidad de análisis?

Sí, pero que el hombre tiene esa capacidad de análisis porque la misma mujer se lo permite, ¿verdad? Porque sólo es ella la que está pensando en las cosas del hogar, y no es él. Entonces él se concentra allá afuera, y eso está bien; pero, si la mujer también es capaz de hacer cosas allá afuera, y pensar en su hogar, también tiene capacidad de análisis. Lo que pasa es que tiene que concentrarse en lo que está haciendo...

En Escandinavia el hombre también tiene que concentrarse en las cosas del hogar...

Bueno, quizás, allá hay otra educación. Pero en Latino América eso es lo difícil. Porque hay hombres que dicen: “¿Lavar un plato? ¿Yo lavar un plato? ¿Agarrar una escoba? Eso nunca lo verán tus ojos.” Pero, como es un proceso, yo creo que ahora ya hay hombres que están tomando conciencia. Sería demasiado que vea que la mujer viene también cansada de trabajar afuera, y realizar los trabajos en el hogar... sería demasiado no decir: “Voy

a ayudar.” Porque ahora en la sociedad ya sale el hombre y la mujer a trabajar en la calle, afuera, entonces... cómo se atiende la casa, ¿verdad? Es imposible. A fuerza el hombre tiene que tomar conciencia de que tiene que hacer algo en la casa. Y nosotras, en las reuniones de mujeres, enseñábamos que la casa la forma una familia, y cada miembro de la familia debe tener su responsabilidad.

Pero, fíjese, eso depende también de cómo se lo toman las mujeres. Porque había algunas mujeres que llegaban a sus casas de los estudios que teníamos, y le decían al esposo: “Mira, yo vengo de estar allá en los grupos con doña Adelina, y ella nos dijo que tú nos tienes que ayudar a lavar los trastos. Así que ahora me tienes que ayudar a lavar los trastos, porque doña Adelina dijo que el hombre tiene que ayudar...” Entonces el hombre decía: “Mamma mía! ¿Esa señora, quién es, pues, que tiene que ordenar lo que yo tengo que hacer en mi casa?” Entonces venían problemas entre ellos. Quizás esas mujeres usaban como excusa poder decir que alguien se lo dijo, que no lo decían ellas... pero eso tampoco, pues, porque lo mete en problemas a uno. Entonces, pues, tenía razón en decir quién soy yo para meterme en su casa.

He oído que una explicación del nacimiento del movimiento feminista es el hecho de que, durante la guerra las mujeres se capacitaron en varios cargos; pero después de la guerra quisieron enviarlas a los hogares, para que se dedicaran a las familias, y no aceptaban tanto a las mujeres en los cargos, como fue durante la guerra. Como resultado, las mujeres rechazaron las organizaciones femeninas del gobierno, y fundaron sus propias organizaciones feministas...

Sí, sí, así fue. Nos ha costado mucho. Fíjese que hubo una organización feminista que trabajó mucho para una educación no sexista. O sea, en ese sentido. Mire: Una educación no sexista yo digo que es, cuando, por ejemplo, en un matrimonio se están casando, dicen: “Lo que Dios juntó, no lo separe el hombre.”

Pero muchas veces no es solamente el hombre quien separa un matrimonio, sino también la mujer. Si hablamos de culpabilidad... a veces no tiene más culpa el hombre, sino la mujer. Y entonces, para no decir solamente: “No lo separe el hombre”, decir: “No lo separe nadie.” O sea, buscar el lenguaje apropiado, para no tener una educación sexista, ¿verdad? Pero para eso, claro, hay que hacer bastantes estudios. Y hubo una organización que quiso trabajar con niños y niñas, pero, esa señora que quiso trabajar en esto también salió de la escuela. Porque la misma sociedad no está preparada. Como siempre digo, es un proceso. Y las cosas, poco a poco, van caminando. Incluso nosotros como mujeres podemos cambiar la liturgia, y ponerla así como le digo. No solamente decir: “Que no lo separe el hombre”, sino decir: “Que no lo separe nadie.” Es decir, buscar palabras adecuadas, en nuestro lenguaje español, porque nuestro lenguaje es muy sexista.

¿Tienen actualmente relaciones entre la oficina de género y algún movimiento feminista?

No, fíjese que ahorita hemos quitado eso, aunque sí hay. Por ejemplo, Miriam Gaspar, la esposa de , con ella hemos continuado los estudios que se daban en la pastoral de la mujer. Se han continuado, pero a nivel de la Universidad. Y la Universidad invita a las mujeres del Sínodo. Entonces, hay algunas mujeres del Sínodo que vamos. Pero no como lo tenía la pastoral de la mujer. Pero ya no como antes. Porque yo iba a la “escuela de debates”, con las “mujeres por la dignidad y la vida.” Yo estuve yendo con ellas a algo que se llamaba “escuela de debates”, y que era una especie de foro, para discutir diversos temas.

Yo quisiera que el Sínodo formulara la política y las estrategias, y nosotras mismas volvamos a tener esos estudios de género y luego buscar también los avances de las organizaciones feministas... y hacer valoraciones nosotros, en nuestro contexto religioso. Porque las organizaciones feministas muchas veces no quieren reunirse con nosotras, las religiosas, porque dicen que la

Biblia, con su sistema patriarcal, es la causante de la marginación de la mujer. Hubo momentos en que estábamos ahí los que éramos de la iglesia, que no éramos muchas, y nos decían: “Bueno, vamos a tratar el tema de la Biblia. Si las mujeres que son de la iglesia se quieren ir, se pueden ir...” Porque iban a hablar del sistema patriarcal, que se maneja en la Biblia, y es bastante fuerte para las mujeres... “que la mujer calle en la congregación...” todo eso negativo que hay... Pero, con eso yo no quiero decir que la Biblia no sea palabra de Dios. Yo misma digo “es palabra de Dios.” Pero, es que la Biblia es palabra de Dios, pero ahí hay que buscar la palabra de Dios. Y claro que la Biblia fue hecha por hombres, sobre todo hombres, y tiene su forma, pues. Es cierto que Jesús sólo escogió doce apóstoles. Pero Jesús era sabio, y se hubiera metido en mayores problemas y quizás lo hubieran crucificado antes de tiempo, si llamaba a mujeres también con él, ¿verdad? Habrá sido estratégico que eligiera doce apóstoles, pero, a la vez estuvo defendiendo a las mujeres. Como le dijo a María: “Lo que tú has escogido nadie te lo va a quitar.” Y como le dijo a esa otra mujer: “Tu fe te ha salvado.” Y diciendo: “No he encontrado en Israel mayor fe que la de esta mujer.” Entonces siempre exaltaba el papel de la mujer. Hay que mirar todas esas cosas, que ahí está la palabra de Dios, ahí está Dios presente. Y esa es la diferencia que tenemos que ver nosotras, las mujeres. La primera mujer que dio testimonio de la resurrección de Jesús fue María Magdalena. Que no le creyeron los apóstoles... eso ya es otra cosa. Pero, fue ella. Y también el primer mensaje en decir que ha visto al Mesías, fue una mujer, la samaritana. Y también la mujer que embalsamó a Jesús antes de su muerte. Fue la única mujer que lo reconoció como profeta. Ninguno de sus discípulos lo había hecho, sin embargo, ella lo hizo. Por eso se ha hecho hasta un libro en memoria de ella, porque Jesús dijo: “Esto se va a escribir para memoria de ella.” Por eso digo que la Biblia no es tan así como dicen las hermanas feministas, sino que nosotras como mujeres tenemos que rescatar nuestra identidad, y decir que en la Biblia sí está la palabra de Dios.

Y eso es lo que yo decía sobre los hermanos pastores que nos criticaban mucho, y es que en realidad deberían estar en nuestros estudios para que vean nuestro pensamiento, nuestra forma de ser, que no estamos trabajando en contra del hombre. Estamos pensando, re leyendo la Biblia, para encontrar nosotras las mujeres en la Biblia, y que esto sigue siendo palabra de Dios. Pues sí, tenemos que estar juntos.

Interview of Cecilia Alfaro

Buenos días. ¿Cómo se llama?

Eva Cecilia Alfaro

Ah, mucho gusto. Yo quisiera saber cómo fue su camino a la Iglesia Luterana Salvadoreña. Y después, cómo fue el camino como Pastora de la Iglesia Luterana.

Llegué a la iglesia en el año 1981. Llegué a un par de actividades. Ya en 1982, me quedé en la iglesia. Yo vengo de la tradición católica. En la Iglesia Católica había habido una separación entre la iglesia tradicional, y lo que es la iglesia católica después del Vaticano II, que comenzó con la línea de la *(teología de)* liberación. Pero en mi comunidad, en Mejicanos, había todavía esa iglesia muy conservadora. Y la realidad, pues, que estaba viviendo el país, pues no correspondía mucho (a esa realidad). Pocos años antes -yo ya había ido a la universidad- tuve una confrontación interna, como una desilusión, y ahí me alejé un poco de la iglesia católica. Dejé todos mis compromisos (porque era una persona muy activa en la iglesia). Dejé mis compromisos en la iglesia y me dediqué a mis estudios, y comencé a trabajar como secretaria, como el señor Castro y Peña. Yo había tenido la ilusión de ser monja, pero mi mamá no aceptó eso. Como yo le ayudaba también en el trabajo... era vendedora en el mercado, cocinera... y teníamos un comedor, un negocio familiar. Entonces mi mamá no quería que yo, que era la mayor, entrara a un convento. Tampoco tenía idea de prepararme para

el matrimonio. Yo pensaba que no debería casarme nunca! (risas). Tal vez por eso es que surgió en mi la idea de irme como monja. Pero después tuve un rompimiento con la iglesia, tal vez al frustrarme en mis intenciones, porque yo soñaba con ser misionera. Yo vivía mucho con las hijas de María, que tienen misiones, que van al África, y eso. Pero, en la universidad, cuando llegué a la Iglesia Luterana, yo me di cuenta que no había necesidad de ir a África para hacer algo por mi pueblo. Pues mi pueblo me necesitaba como me necesitaba mucha otra gente, y yo me quedé en la iglesia. Como iglesia, en su conjunto, pensamos en el reto (= *desafío*) de recibir refugiados, y se formó un refugio. Yo entonces era voluntaria en el trabajo diaconal de la iglesia. Todavía no era confirmada, estaba en el proceso, y me confirmé en septiembre del año 1982. Ya tenía trabajo voluntario en el refugio, y entonces fui llamada como trabajadora de la iglesia. Pero, antes de ser trabajadora, hubo mi compromiso de confirmarme en la iglesia, ser miembro de la iglesia, y ese fue el paso más trascendental para mí. Porque entonces logré mi ubicación. Y siento que ahí recuperé, pues, mi proyecto de vida, que era servir. La doctrina luterana me hizo ver que había una realidad concreta, y que yo podía ser útil. Y en ese sentido, pues, comenzamos a trabajar como parte del equipo de la iglesia. Tanto que, casi un año después hubieron unas exigencias del gobierno de que hiciéramos planillas formales de pago, y también que fuéramos aseguradas, para tener las prestaciones de ley, porque antes era más el deseo de servicio de la iglesia, y no se tenían fondos para el pago de un personal (*empleados*) Poco a poco, se fue obteniendo ese dinero, para poder tener funcionarios en la iglesia y poder pagarles. Pero, yo considero que lo que más desarrollamos en ese tiempo de voluntarios es una mística de servicio, que no importa (*solamente cumplir con*) las 8 horas laborales, sino que hay que ver también las necesidades de la comunidad. Y si hay necesidad, pues, tanto obreros –seglares– feligresía, pastores... estamos a tiempo completo. En las necesidades, cuando hay emergencia, estamos convocados para estar

ahí, acompañando a nuestro pueblo.

Los años de la guerra fueron muy duros. Era un reto diario. Yo, en esos años, me hice el propósito de no formar una familia. Rompí mi noviazgo, porque consideraba que no era tiempo para tener hijos, ya que veíamos tantos niños huérfanos. Ya teníamos en el refugio muchas criaturas, y que podíamos también darles nuestro amor como madres, como padres también, y trabajar por ellos. Ancianos, gente que huía, y que ni podía estar en el refugio: había que sacarlos del país. Así ayudamos a muchas personas que salieron hacia Suecia y otros países: Canadá, Estados Unidos... sobre todo a países que le daban asilo político a la gente que era perseguida. Y en ese proceso fui encontrando también mi vocación como pastora, porque la gente venía hacia un funcionario de la iglesia, pero ellos no distinguían si éramos laicos o éramos pastores. La gente nos identificaba como iglesia en un servicio, y venía a confesarse. La gente venía a confesarnos su situación. En esas situaciones de tanto temor ponían sus intimidades ante nosotros, para decirnos: “Mire, yo hice esto... hice lo otro... estoy involucrado, o no estoy involucrado en el proceso revolucionario; ... no tengo nada que ver, pero vivo en una zona de conflicto. O, también a dar testimonio, de las atrocidades que habían hecho con sus familias. Los bombardeos, todo eso... La gente venía a darnos testimonio. Y daban el testimonio para pedir ayuda por su vida; para que entendiéramos la situación tan grave en la que estaban.

Y, poco a poco, creo yo que hemos crecido, como persona y como iglesia. Porque, de alguna manera el pueblo, ese pueblo sufriente, prácticamente es quien nos evangelizó. Porque a través de ellos hemos podido ver el rostro sufriente de Jesús, y donde debemos estar, y cuál es el papel que como cristianos tenemos que tomar. Entonces la gente nos hizo reflexionar en el por qué de la iglesia, y adónde debe estar la iglesia, en qué necesidades. Y sobre todo, que hay un proceso y un bienestar del pueblo que

buscar, pero que es el mismo pueblo el que lo tiene que hacer, ¿verdad? La iglesia no tiene más que acompañar esos procesos.

Y así, pasar de la caridad cristiana, que es importante -sobre todo en situaciones de emergencia, el rápido auxilio y ayuda al necesitado- pero después ver que eso no quede ahí. Por ejemplo, la situación de guerra necesitábamos parar la guerra, para que no siguiera habiendo víctimas. No era nuestro papel solamente estar atendiendo víctimas de la guerra. Sino que el otro paso ya era el paso político, no partidista pero político, lograr como iglesia influenciar en la sociedad, de que hiciera valer su derecho de no tener ya más guerra. De conquistar sus lugares de origen, en el caso de la gente que había salido bajo los bombardeos, de poder retornar a sus tierras. Y en ese sentido comienza un proceso de los que han emigrado, de los refugiados, por el retorno a sus lugares de orígenes. Y, a la vez, un llamado por la paz, y actividades por la paz, exigiéndole tanto al FLN, la guerrilla que estaba alzada en armas, como a la fuerza armada Salvadoreña (ejército) y al gobierno Salvadoreño, que era la otra parte del conflicto. Hacer un llamado a que se diera un diálogo y negociación. Que se resolviera el problema por el diálogo, y no por las armas. Porque además de la ayuda norteamericana que venía para las armas, había también un desarrollo de la guerrilla, que iba mejorando cada vez más su ejército. Entonces había como un empate técnico. En lo militar, en lo técnico, no había ganador, y no se veían perspectivas de que hubiese un ganador. El gobierno norteamericano tiene suficientes recursos como para permitir eso, pero, mientras tanto la guerra se alargaba y seguían habiendo miles de víctimas.

En ese sentido, creo que la iglesia (luterana) hizo un papel importante, como otras iglesias, por supuesto, como todo el movimiento ecuménico, para parar esa guerra. Parte de los acuerdos de paz, creo yo, que es fruto del trabajo del pueblo y de las iglesias. O sea, no sólo del gobierno y de los alzados en armas,

sino sobre todo, de la población que exigía esa paz.

Desgraciadamente, aunque los acuerdos de paz fueron una buena base y una gran esperanza, no se ha logrado cambiar la correlación de la distribución de la riqueza. Lo económico no se modificó. Hubo modificaciones en otras áreas: en lo judicial, en lo político, en el ejército y en los cuerpos de seguridad, que eran como la amenaza, y se creó la policía nacional civil en el país. Pero, hubo un deterioro, y han ido cambiando esas condiciones que dejaron los acuerdos de paz, pero no hacia una base para la democracia. Estamos en el gran peligro de un retroceso. Y la iglesia está inmersa en esta situación.

Además, los problemas medioambientales, que pasan por problemas mundiales, pero que también a nivel nacional ha habido un gran deterioro. Eso pone a nuestra sociedad en una gran desventaja. Pone a la sociedad en una gran vulnerabilidad económica, ecológica, y política porque hay una gran violencia, sobre todo con los jóvenes. La pos guerra se manifiesta así, con organizaciones violentas en la juventud, en grupos que se meten a las drogas, que se matan entre ellos... El panorama es bastante triste. Se ha deteriorado la agricultura y la industria. No hay producción nacional y hay mucha emigración. Y en todo esto, pues, el trabajo de las iglesias, si quieren ser luz... y dentro del trabajo de las iglesias, las mujeres como actoras en ese servicio.

Ha habido un gran progreso, porque comenzamos siendo misión de (el Sínodo) Missouri, desde los años 50 hasta casi los años 80. Ha habido como un despertar de la iglesia. Con el apoyo a las víctimas de la guerra también hubieron cambios en la manera y en la forma de ser iglesia. Nos dimos cuenta de que necesitábamos un respaldo político, y una notoriedad, y por eso se decidió tener un obispo. Un obispo que tuviera el mismo respeto que un obispo católico. Entonces, por eso viene un obispo de Suecia a ordenar al obispo Medardo, para que también tuviera sucesión apostólica, que eso es muy importante dentro del

pueblo católico. Entonces iba a tener un respeto similar, ¿verdad? No puede decirse que este obispo tiene menos cosas que los obispos católicos. Tiene una notoriedad también. Podemos hablar de que tiene una sucesión apostólica. Y eso tal vez dentro del mundo luterano no sea tan importante, pero en la sociedad Salvadoreña ese era un punto que nos da ventaja. Ventaja en el sentido de que entonces se presenta a la iglesia con cierto poder, diciendo “detrás de mí hay otro montón de iglesias luteranas, somos parte de la comunión mundial.” Y el obispo es tan similar como otro obispo, católico. Era muy importante eso en los años de la guerra. Y por esa razón, no por vanidades humanas, sino por necesidades concretas en la sociedad, y para la iglesia, es que se optó por tener obispo, y fue asignado Medardo Gomez. Y también, el obispo en su visión, él y otro pastor que murió hace poco, recibieron hacer una escuela pastoral. Y comenzaron a llamar al ministerio a diferentes personas, con diferentes grados escolares. Y así pues, animaron a algunos para seguir la carrera de teología. Y así pues, algunos hombres y mujeres somos presbíteros, pero también hay algunos ministerios que se consideran ministerios nacionales, como catequista, evangelista y diácono. Y esas personas, después de una formación, están asumiendo también responsabilidades en las iglesias, como cualquier pastor ordenado, solo que son ministerios que se van renovando cada año. Es una cuestión local. El presbítero en cambio es ordenado para toda la vida. Y será reconocido en todos lados. Pero sí podemos decir que esto ha sido muy importante para la iglesia, porque ahora podemos presentar una obra de más de 60 iglesias (tenemos 62 iglesias en el país) donde trabajamos, ya sea con pastores ordenados a nivel nacional, o con pastores presbíteros y la obra de la iglesia es muy reconocida. No somos la iglesia evangélica más grande, pero sí de las que tienen mejor reconocimiento en la sociedad. La presencia de la iglesia en la sociedad es una voz ética, que se respeta y que se solicita para

muchos de los problemas nacionales. Quieren que la iglesia se pronuncie, que la iglesia oriente, y ese papel se sigue haciendo, se sigue jugando, sobre todo en la personalidad del obispo, que tiene un carisma muy especial. Podrán venir otros obispos más adelante, pero él es un obispo muy especial. Es nuestro maestro, nuestro formador, nos ha inculcado una ética en el servicio: no hay que ser burocráticos, hay que ser pronto en la acción. Hay que ser conciliadores... y es en ese sentido que trabaja la iglesia.

Como mujeres sí hemos tenido que ganar batallas. El mismo obispo ha tenido un gran progreso en esto del trabajo de la mujer, aceptando el trabajo de la mujer. La iglesia comenzó como un trabajo de misión del Sínodo de Missouri (éramos misión de Missouri). Y, poco a poco, al atender a las víctimas de la guerra nos involucramos en un trabajo ecuménico, para hacerlo en un sentido de grupo en el país.

Con los ministerios nacionales también se abrió la oportunidad para las mujeres, de ser parte del ministerio ordenado. Lo mismo, la designación del obispo. Missouri entró en contradicciones con eso. No estaba de acuerdo en que hubiera obispo, no estaba de acuerdo en el trabajo ecuménico, y menos todavía con la ordenación de mujeres. Fue precisamente este punto el que nos llevó a un cambio de relaciones. Missouri retiró el apoyo a la iglesia, pero logramos que no se fueran peleados. Ya no nos iban a financiar, pero seguimos respetándolos como la iglesia que nos dio a luz, como nuestra iglesia madre, pero también ellos entendieron que nosotros crecimos, que alcanzamos una cierta estatura y madurez para ser una iglesia nacional. Y así comenzó el proceso siendo parte de la Federación Luterana Mundial, y parte del Consejo Mundial de Iglesias. Entramos a ese rol más amplio, más ecuménico.

Al principio, en mi trabajo, comencé como asistente de Victoria Cortez, que en esos momentos estaba como directora de lo que se formó como “socorro luterano salvadoreño”; o sea, la

diaconía de la iglesia. Pero ella, al año de estar en ese trabajo tuvo que salir a Nicaragua, por persecución. Porque había sido capturado el obispo Gomez, la buscaban a ella... El obispo fue secuestrado por los “escuadrones de la muerte”. Y apareció tres días después en la policía nacional, que lo entregaron a su esposa. Y al doctor Ibarra lo mandaron preso seis meses, a Madióna, y luego de allí salió a Canadá. Después de eso yo me quedé en la dirección del socorro luterano salvadoreño. Estuve en ese cargo prácticamente hasta la ofensiva, en 1989. Y ahí tuve que salir dos años y medio a Guatemala. Era una manera de exilio. Regresé cuando ya se había hecho la tregua para la firma de los acuerdos de paz. Y regresé a trabajar siempre con la iglesia. En el año 2000 se estructuró de nuevo la iglesia, y asumí el cargo de la dirección ejecutiva. Pero hemos seguido con dificultades. Desde el año 2000 hasta el año 2004 estuve como directora ejecutiva. Pero, se está haciendo una reestructuración, y por eso depusimos nuestros cargos. Ahora siento, y estoy muy dolida, que no sólo se nos está discriminando como mujeres, sino que se está despreciando el papel que muchas mujeres hemos tenido aquí en la iglesia, y con agentes de la cooperación (lo cual es peor). Pienso, no estoy segura, de que muchas de las cosas que salen afuera, y que conocen las personas de la cooperación, deben salir de aquí mismo. No creo que salga de las mujeres, sino de algunos hombres, que quieren borrar nuestro trabajo, la influencia que hemos tenido aquí. Quiérase o no, veníamos también con preparación académica para trabajar en estos cargos que hemos tenido. En el caso de Vilma, psicóloga; y yo soy socióloga, y después hemos estudiado para el pastorado, hecho una licenciatura. Hemos tenido dificultades aquí mismo para tener el título; hemos finalizado, nos hemos graduado, pero son dificultades técnicas las que nos amarran (frenan). Hemos recibido el apoyo del obispo, que nos instaló ya como pastoras. El caso de doña Abelina, que ella también es maestra; estudió en

Méjico junto con su esposo, pero como pertenecían a Missouri ella no fue instalada como pastora, sino que hasta que el obispo reconoce ese ministerio y ella vuelve a la Universidad a sacar la licenciatura en teología, es que se le reconoce de nuevo como pastora. Ella fue de las primeras que se instaló en el país -con doña Chita- como pastora. Entonces, después que seguimos nosotros los estudios hemos recibido el pastorado. Pero también hemos cursado una carrera. Tenemos un desarrollo. Además, en el trabajo hemos aprendido cómo llevar ese trabajo, dentro de la sociedad salvadoreña, poniéndonos a la par de otros equipos, de otras iglesias, que no por ser iglesias no tienen nivel técnico. Sabemos de lo que estamos hablando. Sabemos del compromiso. Incluso, la persecución que hemos tenido es por los niveles de compromiso. Para nosotros, señalados políticamente, tildados, no es tan fácil ir a trabajar a otro lado. Y hay gente que se quiere empeñar en sacarnos. Por ejemplo, vino una carta de Martín Schunk, en la que dice que ahora que se está por instalar y que se ha hecho una reestructuración, quiere caras nuevas. Nosotros estamos asumiendo con la iglesia aquí un nuevo compromiso, de seguir adelante con menos salario. Somos profesionales. Podríamos estar ganando mejor en otro lado. Esos son -como podría decir yo- las cargas personales, pero que también tienen que ver con el desarrollo de la iglesia; de cómo se va a comportar la iglesia, y cómo va a desarrollar los derechos humanos de aquí en adelante. Tampoco podemos ser botados (echados) cuando nos faltan dos o tres años para ser jubiladas. Hay un grupo de mujeres, como una 6 mujeres, que estamos ya en la recta final de nuestra vida productiva, y creo que no es justo que nos vayan a tratar mal, y que haya presión, incluso de fuera, de otras iglesias, para que pase eso con nosotros. Creo que no es correcto. No es justo.

¿En qué años has sido ordenada como pastora?

En 1999 fui ordenada como presbítera.

¿Cuándo trabajaste como directora de desarrollo?

Trabajé toda la década del 80 en la época más dura de la guerra. Por eso yo no pude después ir a trabajar a otro lado. Tenía que estar. Pero ha habido un compromiso. Estuve unos años en una organización defensora de la paz, fundada por el obispo, que ahora la atiende una hija de él. Siempre estuve vinculada a la iglesia. Porque también en la iglesia yo he tenido un rol pastoral. En esos tiempos estaba desarrollando mi trabajo técnico, como directora del trabajo social de la diaconía. Pero siempre estuve también ayudando a la formación del equipo pastoral como socióloga. Pero también dando doctrina, formando a la gente en la iglesia, en diferentes iglesias, formando catequistas, formando a los evangelistas, con diferentes temáticas: con historia de la iglesia, con doctrina, con las cuestiones económicas, y otras cuestiones que también tienen que conocer, para tener un conocimiento más amplio: análisis sociológico... Trabajando en las comunidades para la organización comunal... Tenemos experiencia. Por ejemplo, yo manejo las técnicas de la educación popular y organización. Apoyo a organismos. Incluso ahora estoy apoyando a un organismo de ex combatientes en mi comunidad. Para que estén organizados, para que sigan peleando como gremio sus derechos. Y así, tenemos experiencia de un trabajo fuerte. Entonces, yo digo, está bien que tenga diabetes, y necesito evitar un trabajo tan comprometido, o tensionado. Entonces, cuando me dijeron que van a reorganizar los puestos, está bien. Yo no vine aquí por cargos. Yo he venido aquí por la oportunidad de servicio, en nombre de Dios. Y esa fue la hermandad y la acogida que encontramos en la iglesia. Y así hemos hecho nuestra iglesia. Esa es la identidad que tiene nuestra iglesia.

Creo que es correcto, y estoy de acuerdo y estoy dispuesta

con que haya cambios generacionales. Y sé que vamos a salir, sólo faltan unos cuantos años para que muchas de nosotras ya no estemos más aquí. A lo mejor vamos a morir. Este año he visto morir como a 5 ó 6 personas de nuestra generación. Ahora mismo se enterró a una compañera, que ha sido una mujer de lucha, que luchó en este pueblo; que ha trabajado por la vivienda de diferentes comunidades pobres. Hoy fue enterrada.

[...]

¿Tienes –o has tenido- contactos con el movimiento feminista en El Salvador?

Sí. Siempre hemos hecho un trabajo a nivel ecuménico. Por ejemplo, la iglesia, y unidos en lo que fue “diakonía”, donde participábamos diferentes iglesias cristianas, tuvimos la iniciativa de enviar una carta a nivel mundial, también a Ginebra, a la Federación, en 1989. Esta fue una carta que dio vuelta al mundo. Donde explicábamos la situación, que estaba siendo objeto de represión los organismos de mujeres. Hemos tenido un desarrollo, tanto a nivel de la iglesia, ya con estudios bíblicos, toda una pastoral de la mujer, en la que ha habido un trabajo de reflexión de los cuadros... O sea, hemos tenido a nivel de cuadros de mujeres un trabajo de desarrollo, de reflexión. Hemos hecho estudios bíblicos con la feligresía. Hemos trabajado con el movimiento ecuménico de mujeres, entre las iglesias. Como CLAI, como consejo latinoamericano de iglesias. Y así hemos tenido un vínculo con los organismos de mujeres. Hay diferentes organismos en el país. Ellas han dado charlas, hay congresos, hay eventos en los que participamos. Hay una relación. También esas mujeres nos apoyan en las comunidades, para formar a la gente, para formar a las mujeres en las comunidades. Así, pues, hemos tenido un desarrollo en las relaciones entre los géneros, al grado de ver que ahora hay una necesidad de trabajar más fuerte hacia la sensibilización con los hombres. No basta que la mujer tenga en claro su feminidad; hay que cambiar ciertos patrones que el hombre no cambia. Eso es lo que nos ha dado dificultades en

la comunidad, en la iglesia, incluso aquí, dentro de los mismos equipos pastorales nos ha dado dificultades. Porque el hombre no comprende esos cambios y necesidades, y cómo la mujer ve de diferentes maneras la problemática y las relaciones dentro de su hogar, las relaciones en el trabajo, las relaciones en la iglesia y en la sociedad. Y en ese sentido, pues, se ha ido avanzando también. Y ahora, este año esperamos hacer un trabajo más fuerte, de cara hacia los pastores, para –tal vez- penetrar más hacia las comunidades, tanto a nivel eclesial, como en la sociedad. No solo con los organismos de mujeres, sino también con mujeres líderes de la iglesia nos relacionamos con otros organismos, que llevan un trabajo de incidencia: las propuestas para los cambios democráticos en el país. Por ejemplo, pertenecemos al foro para la defensa de la constitución política. El obispo es el representante principal, pero yo como su asistente también estoy siendo parte. Yo soy la que llevo todo el trabajo operativo en esa relación del foro. Cuando se hacen congresos en el país, también somos invitadas por los organismos femeninos para participar representando la iglesia, y también dándole la importancia a que somos pastoras. Todavía es muy nuevo el rol de la mujer en la iglesia. Tradicionalmente el trabajo del púlpito ha sido para los hombres.

¿Has participado de los encuentros feministas de Latinoamérica y del Caribe?

No, yo no he participado. No sé si doña Abelina, creo. No sé si ella ha participado en representación de la iglesia.

Hay encuentros de pastoras también, pero no en todos los encuentros estamos invitados. Tal vez porque desconocen nuestro trabajo.

¿Y cómo son los contactos con la teología feminista en América Latina?

Con teólogas feministas hemos tenido contacto a través de CLAI (Consejo Latino-Americano de Iglesias). Y a veces a través

de la Universidad Luterana. Hemos tenido, para los diplomados de la mujer, que se hicieron aquí en la Universidad Luterana, pero como responsabilidad de la iglesia, hemos tenido cursos con una monja que se llama Irene, que es teóloga feminista. Con Elsa Tamez y con varias otras líderes de la teología feminista. En Centro América hemos tenido varios contactos, y a través de CLAI hemos participado varias mujeres, no sólo yo.

¿Qué enseña la Iglesia Luterana sobre los anticonceptivos, y sobre el aborto?

Creemos que hay que prevenir los embarazos no deseados. Hay necesidad de orientar a nuestras mujeres y a nuestras jóvenes. Crecimos en una sociedad donde muchos de estos temas eran tabú. Y la tradición católica aquí es muy fuerte, en términos de no al aborto. Como mujeres, como madres, no decimos: “Sí al aborto.” Pero como pastoras tenemos que asumir que en la sociedad esta situación se da, queramos o no. Y cuando una mujer está en crisis, y ha hecho un aborto, no tenemos (*que hacer otra cosa*) más que apoyarla.

Sí creemos que hay que educar a nuestra juventud y a nuestras mujeres, e incidir también en los hombres, porque muchas veces no les gusta prevenir, y andan dejando mujeres embarazadas por todos lados. Creemos que hay necesidad de una educación sexual adecuada. Y sí creemos que debe promoverse desde las escuelas, aunque aquí eso espanta un poco. Pero somos firmes en eso, y a través de los programas de salud que la iglesia ha tenido, esto se ha hecho. En las comunidades se promueve el uso del condón y otros preservativos, tanto en la mujer como en el hombre. Se orienta a las parejas, en cuanto a que el hombre también puede tener la operación para no tener hijos, para evitar los hijos no deseados. Y hay apoyo pastoral para todas las mujeres que han cometido un aborto. Pero siempre –y este es un aspecto muy personal- cuando vamos a aconsejar, yo nunca le voy a decir a una mujer que aborte. Le voy a aconsejar cómo puede salir mejor de su situación, y cómo puede evitar más ad-

elante (*un embarazo no deseado*). Puedo contarte un caso así, de una persona que aceptó no abortar; además era ya muy riesgoso para su embarazo, tenía ya casi los cinco meses... Ese es un hijo que yo tengo, un segundo hijo, porque ella no iba a poder mantener a ese niño. Pero sí se le aconsejó a la muchacha para que no se quedara embarazada de nuevo. Pero claro, no podemos hacerlo con toda la sociedad. Tampoco podemos detener muchos abortos. Pero para evitarlos más adelante, (*apoyamos*) una buena educación sexual. Creemos que es importante que conozcan el uso del preservativo.

Muchas gracias Cecilia.

E-mail interview of Vilma Rodríguez 1.7.2009

Con respecto a las fechas de mi servicio en la Iglesia inicia en 1981 donde vine para colaborar como psicóloga clínica voluntaria, para atender a niños y niñas de los colegios luteranos y apoyar a los docentes en el entendimiento y orientación psicopedagógica de los/as estudiantes; así como en la conducción de las escuelas para padres y madres de familia, donde se orientó el rol del padre y madre de niños y niñas con problemas de aprendizaje y conducta.

Para 1982 me vine a trabajar al Sínodo Luterano Salvadoreño y se me solicitó que creara el departamento de Psicología de la Iglesia, donde se reclutó a la Psicóloga Carmen Yolanda Cardoza y se coordinó con la Universidad Nacional y la Universidad Francisco Gavidia, para que sus estudiantes de último año en las carreras de Trabajo Social y Psicología, vinieran hacer sus prácticas de graduación en el Sínodo Luterano Salvadoreño.

En Mayo de 1982 se abrió el Refugio *Fe y Esperanza*, primer refugio del Sínodo para familias desplazadas por los enfrentamientos armados durante la guerra civil, constituidas en su mayoría por mujeres, niños/as y ancianos que se encontraban viviendo en las zonas de conflicto.

En el departamento de Psicología durante el conflicto armado

llegamos a atender integralmente con enfoque multidisciplinario a 7 centros de refugios, proporcionando atención psicológica clínica, terapia ocupacional, atención psicopedagógica y de integración social a nivel personal, familiar y comunitaria. Continuamos atendiendo a los colegios luteranos y también brindamos atención psicológica integral a la membresía de las Iglesias Luteranas y a los centros de refugios Santa Teresita y Santiago, ubicados en la zona de Ilopango San Salvador, respondiendo a una petición hecha al Sínodo Luterano Salvadoreño, por la Iglesia Católica Romana.

En 1984 al 1986 el Obispo Gomez nos solicitó que le apoyara en la Formación pastoral continuada que era impartida a los pastores y liderazgo laico, así proporcioné clases de Consejería profesional con enfoque pastoral, educativo y clínico.

En 1986 las familias albergadas en los centros de refugios algunas empezaron a retornar a sus lugares de origen y otras fueron trasladadas a otras ciudades y áreas rurales menos conflictivas, para que ellas tomaran control de sus propias vidas y la reintegración familiar y comunitaria.

En 1987 se me asignó en el Sínodo una tarea administrativa, el cargo de Directora del Departamento de Personal, donde se atendí los recursos humanos y colaboré con el diseño de los manuales de puestos de trabajo y de funcionamiento administrativo. Continué colaborando con los colegios luteranos, atendiéndoles niños con problemas de aprendizaje y conducta.

De 1987 hasta 1989 colaboré con el proceso de repatriación de salvadoreños refugiados en los campamentos en Honduras. Este trabajo lo realizó el Sínodo en coordinación con la Federación Luterana Mundial, y otras iglesias y organizaciones que atendían a desplazados y refugiados.

En 1990 ya en el exilio, me constituí en una Misionera, cofundadora de la Iglesia Santísima Trinidad, en la Ciudad de Guatemala. Fecha de mi Misión: 1990-1991, Posición: Directora del Departamento de Psicología. Organización: Iglesia Luterana Santísima Trinidad, Ciudad de Guatemala. Fecha de empleo:

1990- Enero de 1992. Posición: Psicóloga clínica.

En 1992 -1995 ya retornada del exilio, se me asignó en El Salvador, el cargo de Co-Directora del Área de Educación y Psicología, en la Fundación para la Vida y la Paz (FUNVIPAZ), Organización del Sínodo Luterano Salvadoreño.

De 1992 -1997 realizo mis estudios de Licenciatura en Teología, en la Universidad Luterana Salvadoreña.

De mayo 1997 a Diciembre 1999 me voy a estudiar al Seminario Luterano “Wartburg” en Dubuque, Iowa, USA. La maestría en Teología, Evangelismo y Desarrollo Sustentable.

Del 2000 al 2005 se me asigna la posición de Directora del Departamento Diaconía y Desarrollo sustentable, que incluía las áreas Fe y Servicio, Derechos Humanos y Salud integral.

En el 2006 se hace una reestructuración administrativa en el Sínodo y se me asigna la posición de Coordinadora del Programa Evangelismo y Formación pastoral continuada del Sínodo Luterano. La actividad de formación continuada se hace en coordinación con la Universidad Luterana Salvadoreña. Actualmente aún soy la responsable de esta coordinación.

En 2006 la Universidad Luterana Salvadoreña solicitó mi participación como docente de la carrera de Teología. Actualmente imparto la materia de Psicología Pastoral y también colaboro como jurado de tesis de graduación.

Heli Aaltonen

Fe y Esperanza

Women's Road to Leadership and Ministry
in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador
1952-2009

The Lutheran Church of El Salvador made a decision, in 1986, to open the ministry to women. How was it possible in the midst of a Latin American macho culture and after having been influenced by the theologically conservative, North American mission work? This research examines the kinds of internal and external factors which led women to leadership and ministry, and the context in which this development occurred.

The roles of women have been scrutinised during several time periods. During 1952-1974 the focus was on women as missionary wives and fundadoras (founding mothers). Women's roles as laywomen grew in 1975-1985. After the outburst of the civil war in 1980, women advanced to lay leaders. The ministry was opened for women and the first deacon pastors were installed in 1986 and the first presbyter pastors were ordained in 1994. In 2009, more women than ever were working in different levels – from laywomen to leaders – in the Lutheran Church of El Salvador.

The research shows that the reasons for the development and changes concerning women's positions and roles lie in the impact of significant individuals, liberation theology, the feminist and women's movement, civil war and the theology of life.



9 789517 657105