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Religion, Class and Ethnicity: Liberation Theology and the Transformation of Social Movements in Ecuador and Peru (1960s to 1980s)

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1. Introduction

The paper addresses the impact of liberation theology on the development of social movements in Ecuador and Peru from the 1960s to the 1980s, combining a local approach based on two case studies concerning the districts of Riobamba (Ecuador) and Cusco (Peru) with a comparative and transnational perspective. While recent research on Latin American (new) social movements has focused heavily on the spread of indigenous movements from the 1990s to the present, scientific investigation regarding the significance of liberation theology in Latin America has developed particularly around topics related to the most important protagonists, theological debates and the spread of Christian base communities.

However, more research needs to be done with regard to the concrete entanglement of clerical actors and rural communities, and the impact of these interactions on the configuration and transformation of social movements. The paper discusses (1) the changes in pastoral discourse and practice in the Riobamba and Cusco districts from the 1960s onwards, and (2) the influence of these changing pastoral attitudes on the ideological outline and mobilization patterns of social movements, paying especial attention to the discursive intersection of religious, class and ethnic semantics. While the cases of Riobamba and Cusco both highlight the strong clerical interest in and growing commitment to indigenous culture, they differ with regard to the impact that the interactions with rural communities had on the origin and development of indigenous movements.

The paper is based on the authors ongoing research on the role of ethnicity in social mobilization and governance in the Andean region within a comparative and global perspective. The focus on liberation theology is linked to a collective research project funded by the Swiss Science Foundation for the period 2016-2019, starting in September 2016, led by the author. The project incorporates two Ph.D. projects focusing on the Ecuadorian and the Peruvian case, and two MA projects investigating the impact of liberation theology on the theory and practice of development aid of two European Catholic mission/development agencies, the Swiss Mission Society Bethlehem and Misereor Germany, with regard to the Andean region.

2. Research agenda

The research project analyses the influence of Latin American liberation theology on the origin and transformation of social movements in Ecuador and Peru from the 1960s to the 1980s. From a comparative and transnational perspective, and combining theoretical and methodological approaches from the social sciences and the humanities (frame analysis, historical discourse analysis, *oral history*), the project addresses the interaction of religious and secular actors in two selected regions - the province of Chimborazo (Ecuador) and the Department of Cusco (Peru) - and questions the transformation of discourses and practices on the part of ecclesiastical actors and social movements.

Historical, sociological and anthropological research has focused frequently on the influence of clerics on social movements in Latin America as a result of the 2nd Vatican Council (1962-1965) and of the Episcopal Conferences of Medellin (1968) and Puebla (1974). Nevertheless, there are hardly any works that deal with the specific influences of discourses and actors of liberation theology on the formation or transformation of social movements. Many studies on liberation theology focused heavily on their outstanding actors and central theological positions. Studies on indigenous movements, in turn, address primarily their heyday in the 1990s.

Within this research context, the project starts from the hypothesis that liberation theology not only significantly influenced the organizational development of social movements during the period from the 1960s to the 1980s, but had also a decisive impact on the formation of an ethnic collective identity discourse that displaced or complemented the traditional class-specific semantics of these social movements.

The selection of case studies, that is the districts of Riobamba in Ecuador and Cusco in Peru, is based primarily on the fact that from the 1960s to the 1980s both regions were marked by a strong contingent of liberation theology orientated clerics, including representatives from the high church hierarchy. In addition, census data and population estimates for the two regions identify a persistently high percentage of indigenous population. The special attraction of the comparative approach is that the pastoral discourses and practices were increasingly coined in both regions by the perception and appreciation of a specific indigenous culture. Nonetheless, social mobilization and identity construction influenced by liberation theology in the rural communities have resulted only in Ecuador up to the 1990s in the

emergence of a strong indigenous movement on the national level. Therefore, the project focuses on (1) the development and content of pastoral discourses and practices related to liberation theology and (2) on the impact of these discourses and practices on the formation and development of social organizations and (3) the construction and transformation of collective identities.

3. State of research and research questions

Until the 1980s trade unions, peasant organizations and guerrilla groups dominated the social movement landscape of Latin America, as well as historical and social science research.¹ As early as the 1980s, however, there was an increasing diversity and heterogeneity of so-called "new" social movements, based on "collective identities" that differed from classical socio-economic or political categories, including in particular the indigenous movements.² Research on indigenous movements in Latin America starts, apart from studies on (post-)colonial indigenous rebellions,³ with the early 20th century intellectual and political movement of indigenism, with a focus on Mexico and the Andean region. Indigenism had its political heyday from the 1920s to the 1940s, although the indigenist construction of the backward contemporary "indio", which had irrevocably lost the heroic roots of the Aztec or Inca period, remained socially and politically influential until the 1970s and 1980s.⁴

In addition to this ethnocentric and sometimes openly racist devaluation of the "Indian" culture, the continued expansion of private haciendas at the expense of communal

¹ Jürgen Mittag and Georg Ismar (eds.), „¿El pueblo unido?“ Soziale Bewegungen und politischer Protest in der Geschichte Lateinamerikas, Münster 2009; Dieter Boris, Soziale Bewegungen in Lateinamerika, Hamburg 1998; Susan Eckstein (ed.), Power and popular protest. Latin American social movements, Berkeley 1989.

² See in general Marc Edelman, Social Movements: Changing Paradigms and Forms of Politics, in: Annual Review of Anthropology, 30 (2001), S. 285-318; with regard to Latin America Arturo Escobar and Sonia E. Alvarez, Introduction: Theory and Protest in Latin America Today, in: Escobar and Alvarez (eds.): The Making of social movements in Latin America. Identity, strategy, and democracy, Boulder 1992, p. 4; Wera Reusch and Antje Wiener, Geschlecht, Klasse, Ethnie. Alte Konflikte und neue soziale Bewegungen in Lateinamerika, Saarbrücken 1991.

³ Steve Stern (ed.), Resistance, Rebellion, and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World, 18th to 20th century, Wisconsin 1987; Nicholas P. Higgins, Understanding the Chiapas rebellion. Modernist visions and the invisible Indian, Austin 2005.

⁴ Henri Favre, El movimiento indigenista en América Latina, Lima 2007; José Alcina Franch (ed.), Indianismo e indigenismo en América, Madrid 1990; Laura Giraudo and Juan Martín-Sánchez (eds.), La ambivalente historia del indigenismo. Campo interamericano y trayectorias nacionales, 1940-1970, Lima 2011; Ulises Juan Zavallos Aguilar, Indigenismo y nación. Los retos a la representación de la subalternidad aimara y quechua en el Boletín Titikaka (1926-1930), 2. Ed. Puno 2013.

land intensified in many Latin American countries the "proletarianization" of the rural population, which, as Florencia Mallon has shown for Peru, until the middle of the 20th century, led to the disappearance of traditional languages and social structures and practices of rural communities.⁵ Due to the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920) and the rise of socialist and communist parties throughout Latin America since the 1920s, the "peasant" became the privileged subject and actor of political mobilization in the countryside.

The examples of Peruvian intellectual José Carlos Mariátegui in the 1920s and the *Federación Ecuatoriana de Indios* (FEI) founded in Ecuador in 1944 represented continuing efforts to combine socio-economic and cultural categories in social analysis and political agendas.⁶ However, with the boom of agrarian reforms during the 1960s and 1970s, trade unions and peasant organizations became the most important social movements and the privileged subject of social movement research.⁷ The research on the importance of cultural or specific ethnic categories of social mobilization receded into the background.⁸ This is also true for studies on rural insurgencies in the 1960s and 1970s, which were in direct relation to the previously mentioned agricultural reforms.⁹ However, as the studies on the Ecuadorian and Peruvian "developmental dictatorship" of the 1960s and 1970s show, the reform agendas and models of society that these regimes developed combine class-specific arguments with references to those parts of the population addressed as "indians".¹⁰

⁵ Florencia E. Mallon, *The defense of community in Peru's central highlands. Peasant struggle and capitalist transition, 1860-1940*, Princeton 1983.

⁶ José Carlos Mariátegui, *Sieben Versuche, die peruanische Wirklichkeit zu verstehen*, Berlin and Freiburg 1986; Stephan Scheuzger, *Der Andere in der ideologischen Vorstellungskraft. Die Linke und die indigene Frage in Mexiko*, Frankfurt/M. 2009; vgl. Marc Becker, *Indians and Leftists in the Making of Ecuador's Modern Indigenous Movements*. Durham 2008.

⁷ Linda J. Seligman, *Agrarian Reform and Peasant Studies*, in: Deborah Poole (ed.), *A Companion to Latin American Anthropology*, Oxford 2008, pp. 325-351; Pablo González Casanova, *Historia política de los campesinos latinoamericanos*, 4 vols., Mexico 1984-1985.

⁸ F. LeMond Tullis, *Lord and Peasant in Peru. A Paradigm of Political and Social Change*, Harvard 1970; Cynthia McClintock, *Peasant Cooperatives and Political Change in Peru*, Princeton 1981.

⁹ William C. Thiesenhusen (ed.), *Searching for Agrarian Reform in Latin America*, London 1989; Peter Dorner, *Latin American land reforms in theory and practice. A retrospective analysis*, Madison 1992; Robert J. Alexander, *Agrarian Reform in Latin America*, New York, London 1974; Edda Eisenlohr, *Agrarreform in Ecuador im entwicklungspolitischen Kräftespiel*, Dortmund 1969; David Guillet, *Agrarian reform and peasant economy in southern Peru*, Columbia 1979; Harald Fuhr, *Agrarreform und Bauernbewegung in Peru*, Frankfurt/Main, New York 1979; Harald Fuhr, *Bauern und Parteifunktionäre. Eine Untersuchung zur politischen Dynamik des peruanischen Agrarsektors 1969-1981*, Saarbrücken, Fort Lauderdale 1987.

¹⁰ Cf. for the Peruvian case Anna Cant, 'Land for Those Who Work It': A Visual Analysis of Agrarian Reform Posters in Velasco's Peru, in: *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 44:1 (2012), pp. 1-37.

It was during the 1960s when in the Amazon Lowlands new specific indigenous organizations were founded with the commitment of missionary activities from catholic church institutions, like the *Federación de Centros Shuar* in Ecuador supported by the Salesians.¹¹ In 1972 the *Ecuador Runakunapac Rikcharimui* (Ecuadorunari) was founded in the Ecuadorian Province of Chimborazo, representing the first regional indigenous organization of the South American Highland region, which, however, replaced only in the mid-1970s its initial peasant discourse in favor of an explicit cultural approach based on indigeneity.¹² However, investigations on Chiapas and Bolivia have shown that the categories of class and ethnicity are neither mutually exclusive nor historically successive in the context of social identification and mobilization.¹³ Nonetheless, for Latin America as a whole it can be said that until the 1990s, indigenous organizations have replaced the traditional peasant or workers' organizations with regard to their potential for social and political mobilization. By the 1990s, the role of indigenous movements in the social and political development of Latin America has become one of the most dynamic and widest fields of research in the humanities and social sciences, especially in social anthropology, political science and history.¹⁴ In addition to structural and organizational issues of indigenous mobilization special research attention is paid to the construction of indigenous identity and the emergence and importance of indigenous identity

¹¹ Janet Hendricks, Symbolic counterhegemony among the Ecuadorian Shuar, in: Greg Urban und Joel Sherzer, (ed), Nation-States and Indians in Latin America, Austin 1991, pp. 53-71; for Peru see Oscar Espinosa, ¿Salvajes opuestos al progreso? Aproximaciones históricas y antropológicas a las movilizaciones indígenas en la Amazonía peruana, *Anthropologica*, 27 (2009), pp. 123-168;

¹² Amalia Pallares, From peasant struggles to Indian resistance. The Ecuadorian Andes in the late twentieth century, Norman 2002.

¹³ Shannon L. Mattiage, To See With Two Eyes. Peasant Activism & Indian Autonomy in Chiapas, Mexico, Albuquerque 2003; Jeffrey R. Webber, Red October. Left-Indigenous Struggles in Modern Bolivia, Leiden, Boston 2011.

¹⁴ Cf. Roberto Stavenhagen, Indigenous Organizations: Rising Actors in Latin America, in: Dwight B. Heath, Contemporary Cultures and Societies of Latin America. A Reader in the Social Anthropology of Middle and South America, 3. Ed. Illinois 2002, pp. 151-164; Donna Lee Van Cott: Constitutional Reforms in the Andes: Redefining Indigenous-State Relations, in: Rachel Sieder (ed.), Multiculturalism in Latin America. Indigenous Rights, Diversity and Democracy, London 2002, pp. 45-73; Christine Hünefeldt und Leon Zamosc (ed.), *Ethnicity from various angles and through varied lenses. Yesterday's Today in Latin America*, Brighton 2011; Raúl L. Madrid, The Rise of Ethnic Politics in Latin America, Cambridge 2012; Erick D. Langer and Elena Muñoz (ed.), Contemporary Indigenous Movements in Latin America, Delaware 2003; Marc Becker, Pachakutik. Indigenous movements and electoral politics in Ecuador, Toronto 2012; Kenneth J. Mijeski and Scott H. Beck, Pachakutik and the rise and decline of the Ecuadorian indigenous movement, Athens 2011; Donna Lee van Cott, Radical Democracy in the Andes, Cambridge 2008; John D. Cameron, Struggles for local democracy in the Andes, Boulder 2010; Melina Selverston-Scher, Ethnopolitics in Ecuador. Indigenous Rights and the Strengthening of Democracy, Miami 2001.

politics.¹⁵ In addition to the numerous national and regional studies, in recent times the transnational entanglement of indigenous actors and discourses has attracted special interest.¹⁶

While the indigenous organizations of Ecuador occupy a prominent position in the national and international landscape of social movements, as well as in scientific research, the exact opposite applies to Peru. Notwithstanding the fact that recent Latin American population surveys indicate that the proportion of people categorized as "indigenous" is significantly higher in Peru (22%) than it is in Ecuador (7%), and despite comparable socioeconomic structures and processes during the course of the 20th century, no significant national indigenous organization has emerged to this day in Peru.¹⁷ In their influential study on the city of Cusco in the 20th century Marisol de la Cadena has explained this "Peruvian exceptionalism" with the strategic decision of local social actors to undermine the continuing racism of mainstream (white or mestizo) society by avoiding to make use of an explicit indigenous discourse in order to be able to conquer social space for a new and self-determined cultural location.¹⁸ It has been critically noted, however, that Marisol de la Cadenas' findings for the urban area of Cusco cannot be extended without further research on the Andean rural communities.¹⁹ Alberto Flores Galindo highlighted already in 1978 the long tradition of indigenous semantics in social movements and rebellions since colonial times that can also be

¹⁵ *Christian Büschges and Joanna Pfaff-Czarnecka* (eds.), *Die Ethnisierung des Politischen. Identitätspolitik in Lateinamerika, Asien und den USA*, Frankfurt/M. und New York 2007; *Philipp Altmann*, *Die Indigenenbewegung in Ecuador. Diskurs und Dekolonialität*, Bielefeld 2014; *Barbara Hirschmann*, *Del indio al maya. Identitätspolitik der Maya-Bewegung in Guatemala*, Viena, Berlin, Münster 2010; *Lukas Rehm*, "No caer en el proceso de transculturación". Die Ursprünge der guatemalteckischen Maya-Bewegung 1976-1985, Berlin 2008.

¹⁶ *Thomas D. Hall and James V. Fenelon*, *Indigenous Peoples and Globalization. Resistance and Revitalization*, London 2009; *Alison Brysk*, *From Tribal Village to Global Village. Indian Rights and International Relations in Latin America*, Stanford 2000; *Ronald Niezen*, *The Origins of Indigenism. Human Rights and the Politics of Identity*, Berkeley 2003; *Marisol de la Cadena and Orin Starn* (ed.), *Indigenous Experience Today*, Oxford und New York 2007.

¹⁷ Data on population in *CEPAL*, *Los pueblos indígenas en América Latina: avances en el último decenio y retos pendientes para la garantía de sus derechos*, Chile 2014, cf. *Ulrich Mücke*, *Die unsichtbaren Indios: Ethnizität und Politik in Peru seit der Unabhängigkeit*, in: *Christian Büschges and Joanna Pfaff-Czarnecka* (Footnote. 15), pp. 81-104.

¹⁸ *Marisol de La Cadena*, *Indigenous Mestizos. The politics of race and culture in Cuzco, Peru, 1919-1991*, Durham 2000; cf. *Carlos Iván Degregori*, *El aprendiz de brujo y el curandero chino. Etnicidad y modernidad en el Perú*, Lima 2014.

¹⁹ *Shane Greene*, *Getting over the Andes: The Geo-Eco-Politics of Indigenous Movements in Peru's Twenty-First Century Inca Empire*, in: *Journal of Latin American Studies* 38:2 (2006), pp. 327-354.

found during the land conflicts of the 1960s.²⁰ Other critical voices regarding the topos of a Peruvian *Sonderweg* stress the ethnic motives in the political agenda of several Peruvian politicians and governments from the military dictatorship of the late 1960s to the present.²¹ María Elena García therefore advocates a differentiation of the Peruvian case by combining increased research on the local and regional level with a comparative and transnational perspective.²²

Regarding the question of the impact of liberation theology on the social movements of Latin America from the 1960s onwards, the global Catholic reform movement that resulted from the 2nd Vatican Council (1962-1965) and particularly the Episcopal Conferences of Medellín (1968) and Puebla (1974) has to be considered first. Various Latin American liberation theologians had participated in the Vatican Council and the Latin American Episcopal Conferences, including the Ecuadorian bishop Leonidas Proaño, the Mexican archbishop Samuel Ruiz and the Peruvian archbishop Luis Vallejos Santoni. Latin American liberation theology has often been dealt with in general surveys on church history.²³ Furthermore, there are several collections of primary sources and (auto) biographies of outstanding actors.²⁴ Further studies offer a theological classification of liberation theology.²⁵

²⁰ *Alberto Flores Galindo*, *Apuntes sobre las ocupaciones de tierras y el sindicalismo agrario 1945-1964*, in: *Allpanchis*, 11/12 (1978), pp. 175-185; cf. *Florencia E. Mallon*, *The Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru*, Berkeley 1995.

²¹ With regard to the Peruvian Amazon region *María Elena García*, *Making indigenous citizens. Identities, education, and multicultural development in Peru*. Stanford 2005; on the national level cf. *Shane Greene* (note 19).

²² *María Elena García*, *Making indigenous citizens. Identities, education, and multicultural development in Peru*. Stanford 2005; cf. García and José Antonio Lucero, *Authenticating Indians and Movements: Interrogating Indigenous Authenticity, Social Movements, and Fieldwork in Contemporary Peru*, in: Laura Gotkowitz (ed.), *Histories of Race and Racism. The Andes and Mesoamerica from Colonial Times to the Present*, Durham und London 2011, pp. 278-298.

²³ See *Enrique Dussel*, *Die Geschichte der Kirche in Lateinamerika*, Mainz 1988, pp. 200-404; cf. *Dussel*, *Historia general de la iglesia en América Latina*, 9 vols., Salamanca 1983ff; *Hans-Jürgen Prien*, *Die Geschichte des Christentums in Lateinamerika*, Göttingen 1978.

²⁴ To name just a few *Johannes Meier* (ed.), *Die Armen zuerst. 12 Lebensbilder lateinamerikanischer Bischöfe*, Mainz 1999; *Fernando Castillo* (ed.), *Die Kirche der Armen in Lateinamerika. Eine theologische Hinführung*, Fribourg 1987, *Mariano Delgado* (ed.), *Gustavo Gutiérrez, Nachfolge Jesu und Option für die Armen. Beiträge zu einer Theologie der Befreiung im Zeitalter der Globalisierung*, Fribourg, Stuttgart 2008; *Enrique Rosner*, *Revolution des Poncho. Leonidas Proaño – Befreier der Indios*, Frankfurt/M. 1991.

²⁵ *Thomas Schreijäck*, *Außereuropäische Theologien*, in: *Wolfgang Pauly* (ed.), *Geschichte der christlichen Theologie*, Darmstadt 2008, pp. 230-246; *Enrique Dussel*, *Entwurf einer Geschichte der Theologie in Lateinamerika*, Fribourg und Brig 1989.

From an interdisciplinary perspective the growing literature on contextual, intercultural or indigenous theology since the 1980s is of a special importance.²⁶

With regard to the influence of liberation theology on the social movements in Latin America some overviews and anthologies can be found.²⁷ Historical studies on particular regions are still the exception. In this context it should be emphasized that the liberation theology must be understood in the plural. The Church's major events of Rome, Medellín and Puebla, as well as the writings of various liberation theologians (especially of Gustavo Gutiérrez, Enrique Dussel, Leonardo Boff) were without any doubt of large, transnational relevance for the diffusion of new pastoral discourses and practices. Furthermore, the Latin American Episcopal Council (CELAM) and its national organizations played an important role in spreading the discussions on theological and pastoral principles of the Episcopal Conferences of Medellín and Puebla throughout Latin America.²⁸ Due to the increasing marginalization of liberation theology orientated clerics within the CELAM from the early 1970s onwards, new liberation theology oriented research and training institutes were established in various Latin American countries, including the *Comisión para el Estudio de la Historia de las Iglesias en América Latina y el Caribe* (CEHILA) founded in 1973 in Quito at the instigation of Enrique Dussel, or the *Instituto Bartolomé de las Casas* opened in 1974 by Gustavo Gutierrez. There were also a number of international conferences, for example since 1973 the *Encuentros de Latinoamericanos CEHILA*, and other meetings that included representatives from the US and increasingly from Africa and Asia.²⁹

In addition to these important national and transnational actors and institutions, however, we may take into account the numerous actors at the local and regional level,

²⁶ *Mariano Delgado* and *Guido Vergauwen* (ed.), *Interkulturalität. Begegnung und Wandel in den Religionen*, Stuttgart 2010; *Thomas Schreijäck* (ed.), *Die indianischen Gesichter Gottes*, Frankfurt/M. 1992; *Josef Estermann*, *Apu Taytayku. Religion und Theologie im andinen Kontext Südamerikas*, Frankfurt/M. 2012; *Hans-Jürgen Prien* (Note 23), pp. 1026-1041; *Stephen P. Judd*, *The Indigenous Theology Movement in Latin America: Encounters of Memory, Resistance, and Hope at the Crossroads*, in: *Cleary and Steigenga* (eds.), *Resurgent Voices in Latin America. Indigenous Peoples, Political Mobilization, and Religious Change*, New Brunswick 2004, pp. 210-230; *Kristin Norget*, "Knowing Where We Enter": Indigenous Theology and the Popular Church in Oaxaca, Mexico", in: *ibid.*, pp. 154-186.

²⁷ *Aparecida Vilaça* and *Robin M. Wright*, *Native Christians. Modes and Effects of Christianity among Indigenous Peoples of the Americas*, Farnham 2009; *Alicia Puente Lutteroth* (ed.), *Actores y dimensión religiosa en los movimientos sociales latinoamericanos 1960-1992*, Porrúa 2006; *Edward Cleary* and *Timothy Steigenga* (Footnote 26); *Christian Smith*, *The Emergence of Liberation Theology. Radical Religion and Social Movement Theory*, Chicago/London, 2001.

²⁸ *Christian Smith* (note 27), pp. 201f.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 206-209.

including the steadily growing base communities, whose momentum must not be underestimated and which have not been sufficiently addressed in historical research.³⁰ Even within national borders different pastoral discourses and practices were provoked by the general spirit of ecclesiastical reform. This applies in the case of Peru to the relationship between the major international center of liberation theology, the *Instituto Bartolomé de las Casas*, and Gustavo Gutiérrez as its main representative on the one hand and, on the other hand, the liberation theology oriented institutions in Cusco, led by the *Instituto de Pastoral Andina* and the *Centro Bartolome de las Casas*, including various important clerics such as the Jesuit and anthropologist Manuel Marzahl, all of whom kept a decidedly independent position towards Lima. In the case of Ecuador, we can identify these different initiatives already at the regional level, for example in the case of the Jesuit priest Julio Gortaire who during his first four years after his arrival in 1973 practiced a very cautious pastoral approach with regard to local communities of the canton Guamote, a concept and practice that differed considerably with the systematically organized and development-oriented approach of bishop Leonidas Proaño.³¹

Research on the influence of liberation theology on the social movements of the time is mainly concerned with the land issue, which provoked social unrest, political disputes and violent conflicts throughout Latin America during the 1960s and 1970s. Liberation theologians were particularly involved in rural social mobilization during the era of agricultural reform, since liberation theology's "option for the poor" not only foresaw the organization of Christian base communities but also promoted independent social movements of the lower classes and engaged in contact with existing peasant and trade union organizations.³² The existing literature on this topic, however, has a strong focus on the infrastructural and organizational level and often follows a macro-perspective approach.³³

³⁰ In general *Thomas Buhl*, *Option für die Armen. Theologie der Befreiung und kirchliche Basisgemeinden in Lateinamerika 1990*; cf. *Leonardo Boff*, *Die Neuentdeckung der Kirche: Basisgemeinden in Lateinamerika*, Mainz 1983.

³¹ Interview with Julio Gortaire, August 10th, 2014.

³² *Carlos David Castro-Gómez*, *La Opción por los Pobres: Análisis Crítico de sus Posibilidades y Limitaciones en un Mundo Globalizado*, in: *Genaro Zalpa Ramírez and Hans Egil Offerdal* (ed.), *¿El reino de dios es de este mundo? El papel ambiguo de las religiones en la lucha contra la pobreza*, Bogotá 2008, pp. 23-51; *Coto Murillo Paulo and Salgado Ramírez Moisés*, *Entre el dolor de la pobreza real y el gozo de la pobreza espiritual*, in: *ibid.*, pp. 89-114; vgl. *Agustín Bravo Muñoz*, *Dimensión política de la fe. Monseñor Proaño Villalba*, Riobamba 2011.

³³ See e.g. *Edward Cleary and Timothy Steigenga* (Fuss. 26); *Christian Smith* (Footnote. 27).

This project is based on the thesis that liberation theology has made a decisive contribution to the culturalization of identity and resistance discourses of social movements in Latin America. It was the liberation theologians turn to learn from the poor, which led to a perception of cultural difference, which in turn led to an ethnicization of liberation theology, in the sense that the defense, development and organizational strengthening of a specifically indigenous culture became a central element of liberation theology inspired pastoral discourses and practices.³⁴ On the discursive level liberation theology contributed for example with its concept of Christian base communities to a (re)conceptualization of the notion of community, that up to the present day occupies a central role in the discourse of indigenous identity.³⁵

It should be noted that in addition to the Catholic Church, other religious communities during the investigation period increased their pastoral presence in the rural communities. The influence of evangelical churches increased markedly during the investigation period in Latin America and so also in Ecuador and Peru.³⁶ Following Guillermo Trejo social activism and the promotion of ethnic collective identities among rural communities by Catholic clerics in Latin America was not so much a consequence of certain religious doctrines, radical theological transformations or conflicts between church and state, but resulted from the religious competition between the Catholic Church and the Protestant churches.³⁷ Competition between different churches and religions certainly has to be considered as one reason for the increasing social commitment of the Catholic Church to the rural communities

³⁴ Cf. *Christine Kovic*, Rights of the Poor. Progressive Catholicism and Indigenous Resistance in Chiapas, in: Pedro Pitarch (ed.), *Human Rights in the Maya Region. Global Politics, Cultural Contentions, and Moral Engagements*, Durham und London 2008, pp. 257-178; cf. with regard a focus on the 1990s *Alison Brysk*, *From Civil Society to Collective Action. The Politics of Religion in Ecuador*, in: *Cleary/Steigenga* (Footnote 26), pp. 25-42.

³⁵ *Xochitl Leyva Solano* and *Gabriel Ascencia Franco*, *Lacandonia al filo del agua*, Mexico 1996, pp. 154-161.

³⁶ *Edward Cleary* and *Timothy Steigenga*, *Resurgent Voices: Indians, Politics and Religion in Latin America*, in: *Cleary/Steigenga* (Footnote 26), p. 12; *Mario Humberto Ruz* and *Carlos Garma Navarro*, *Protestantismo en el mundo maya contemporáneo*, Mexico 2005; *Juan Illicachi Guzñay*, *Diálogos del catolicismo y protestantismo indígena en Chimborazo*, Quito 2014; *Susana Andrade*, *Protestantismo indígena. Procesos de conversión religiosa en la provincia de Chimborazo*, Quito, Lima 2004; *Juan B.A. Kessler*, *Conflict in Missions. A history of Protestantism in Peru and Chile*, Denver 2001; *Tomás Gutiérrez S.*, *Los evangélicos en Perú y América Latina. Ensayos sobre su historia*, Lima 1997.

³⁷ *Trejo, Guillermo*, *Religious Competition and Ethnic Mobilization in Latin America: Why the Catholic Church Promotes Indigenous Movements in Mexico*, in: *The American Political Science Review* 103:3 (2009), pp. 323–342; cf. for Ecuador *Roberto Santana*, *Les Indiens d'Équateur, citoyens dans l'ethnicité?* Paris 1992, pp. 103-150.

during the 1960s. However, competition was just manifold in this period in both the national and the international sphere, with left wing political movements and guerrilla groups as well as conservative reform programs (agrarian reform, Kennedy's "Alliance for Progress") that appealed in the wake of the Cuban Revolution and the growing international confrontation during the Cold War to the social mobilization potential of urban and rural lower classes.

With regard to the impact of liberation theology on social movements in particular during the 1970s the topics of human rights and development have to be addressed. The 1970s are considered a period of reorientation of human rights policy. On the global level and also in Latin America, next to Marxist and anti-imperialist positions a broad, socially and politically heterogeneous human rights activism spread in civil society, in the form of various national and international NGOs.³⁸ The Catholic Church had, on several occasions since the early 1960s, taken a position on the issue of human rights, particularly in the context of the 2nd Vatican Council, and also during the 1970s, in the *World Council of Churches*.³⁹ Various liberation theologians in Latin America participated in the international human rights debate. The Bishop of Riobamba, Leonidas Proaño, was elected as Vice President of the *Asociación Latinoamericana de Derechos Humanos* (AALDHU) in 1979, and the Archbishop of Chiapas, Samuel Ruiz, founded his diocese the *Centro de Derechos Humanos Fray Bartolomé de las Casas* in 1989.⁴⁰

Of particular importance for the present project is the concept of the "human right to development" that emerged during the early 1970s as part of the UN debates on international law and culminated in 1986 in the "Declaration on the Right to Development" adopted by the UN General Assembly.⁴¹ In the tradition of Catholic social teaching, Pope Paul VI. in his encyclical "Populorum Progressio" of 1967 had already called for the international duty of

³⁸ Jan Eckel and Samuel Moyn (ed.), *Moral für die Welt? Menschenrechtspolitik in den 1970er Jahren*, Göttingen 2012; Samuel Moyn, *Die Rückkehr des verlorenen Sohnes – Einleitung: Die 1970er Jahre als Umbruchphase in der Menschenrechtsgeschichte*, in: Jan Eckel und Samuel Moyn, *ibid.*, p. 14f; Jan Eckel, *Neugeburt der Politik aus dem Geist der Moral – Erklärungen einer heterogenen Konjunktur*, in: Jan Eckel und Samuel Moyn, *ibid.*, pp. 22-67. Cf. Micheline R. Ishay, *The History of Human Rights. From Ancient Times to the Globalization Era*, Berkeley 2004, p. 248ff.

³⁹ Konrad Hilpert, *Die Menschenrechte in Theologie und Kirche*, in: Michael Durst und Hans J. Münk (Hg.), *Theologie und Menschenrechte*, Freiburg Schweiz 2008, S. 68-71; Alf Tergel, *Human rights in cultural and religious traditions*, Uppsala 1998, S. 36.

⁴⁰ Enrique Rosner (Footnote 24), p. 53; Christine Kovic (Footnote 34), pp. 259-263.

⁴¹ Oliver Neß, *Das Menschenrecht auf Entwicklung. Sozialpolitisches Korrektiv der neoliberalen Globalisierung*, Münster 2004, pp. 20-22; Franz Nuscheler, *Recht auf Entwicklung – Involution zum „Recht auf alles“?*, in: Klaus Dicke (ed.), *Menschenrechte und Entwicklung*, Berlin 1997, p. 78.

solidarity with regard to the development of poor countries. Additionally, the global and increasingly ecumenical ecclesiastical debates of the 1960s regarding the need for a stronger social and political engagement of ecclesiastical social welfare work in the "Third World" led to a growing church commitment to development cooperation.⁴²

Prominent representatives of liberation theology, for example Gustavo Gutiérrez, Leonidas Proaño, and the Boff brothers in Brazil, took a critical position in relation to the contemporary "western" liberal concepts of development and human rights, as these concepts were based on the assumption of a level of social equality that simply did not exist in Latin America. Instead of "human rights" liberation theologians championed the concept "rights of the poor".⁴³ At the same time the liberation theologians criticized contemporary notions of development related to the sociological modernization theory of the 1950s and 1960s and stressed instead of the – mainly economical – "development" the – primarily spiritual – "liberation".⁴⁴

Collaboration between Christian clerics and actors of rural communities during the period under investigation is therefore marked by different development paradigms and human rights concepts that were of crucial importance to the construction of collective identities and social mobilization of rural communities.⁴⁵ The social anthropologists Shannon Speed, Xochitl Leyva Solano and Christine Kovic have proven, for the case of Chiapas, that the conception of human rights in liberation theology and the church conducted community

⁴² In the case of Switzerland cf. *Renate Spörri*, Der Einfluss der Erklärung von Bern auf den Bund. Von den Anfängen in der ökumenischen Bewegung 1968 bis zum Bundesgesetz über Entwicklungszusammenarbeit und humanitäre Hilfe 1976, in: *Peter Hug and Beatrix Mesmer* (ed.), Von der Entwicklungshilfe zur Entwicklungspolitik, Bern 1993, pp. 550-569; *Michael Vesper*, Misereor und die Dritte Welt. Zur entwicklungspolitischen Ideologie der katholischen Kirche, Saarbrücken 1978; *Josef Senft*, Entwicklungshilfe oder Entwicklungspolitik. Ein interessenpolitisches Spannungsfeld, dargestellt am Kirchlichen Hilfswerk Misereor, Münster 1978; *Bischöfliches Hilfswerk Misereor* (ed.), Indios in den Anden. Leidensweg-Hoffnungsweg, Aachen 1986; *Fritz Frei* (ed.), Bibliographie neuere Forschungen und Publikationen zur Missionsgesellschaft Bethlehem (SMB) und Bethlehem Mission Immensee (BMI), 1994-2009, Immensee 2009.

⁴³ *Christine Kovic* (Footnote 34), pp. 258f.

⁴⁴ Cf. *Stefan Indermühle*, Modernisierung - das Zauberstück? Die Modernisierungstheorie, ihre Rezeption und Adaption in der Schweiz während der Anfangsphase der Entwicklungshilfe 1956-1961, in: *Peter Hug und Beatrix Mesmer* (ed.), Von der Entwicklungshilfe zur Entwicklungspolitik, Bern 1993, pp. 202-216.

⁴⁵ Cf. *Philip Berryman*, Liberation Theology – The Essential Facts about the Revolutionary Movement in Latin America and beyond, New York 1987, pp. 113ff; also *Agustín Bravo Muñoz*, Dimensión política de la fe. Monseñor Proaño Villalba, Riobamba 2011, pp. 70-71 and 161ff. With regard to indigenous human rights *Monseñor Leonidas Proaño Villalba*, Abriendo surcos indígenas. Vol. 2: Escritos de pastoral indígena 1986-1988, Riobamba 2011, pp. 226ff.

training since the 1970s, had a direct impact on the concept of specific cultural (group) rights that indigenous organizations elaborated most recently during the 1990s and that are discussed in current international law and human rights debates.⁴⁶ The inclusion of cultural issues in debates on the "human right to development" has finally influenced development policy worldwide stressing the need for "development with identity".⁴⁷

4. The case studies

The research project combines two case studies based in the province of Chimborazo (Ecuador) and in the department of Cusco (Peru). As already mentioned, the selection of these two areas is due, initially, to the high concentration of rural communities considered as indigenous. In addition, numerous liberation theologians were active in these regions during the period under investigation, including members of the highest church hierarchy, the already mentioned Leonidas Proaño, Bishop of the diocese of Riobamba between 1954 and 1988, and Luis Vallejos Santoni, archbishop of the diocese of Cusco from 1975 to 1982. Furthermore, in both regions we notice during the investigation period a high degree of social mobilization of rural communities. While the Chimborazo province developed during the investigation period into an outstanding nucleus of the national indigenous movement of Ecuador, according to previous research the Cusco department was dominated by peasant organizations and discourses. In view of these similarities and differences, the project will also investigate the transnational relations between ecclesiastical and secular actors of both regions.

For both regions a local focus is chosen in order to both enable an empirical depth of research and to ensure its feasibility. According to a first pre-selection with regard to the presence of liberation theological actors and social movements, the local focus of research in

⁴⁶ Shannon Speed and Xochitl Leyva Solano, *Global Discourses on the Local Terrain. Human Rights in Chiapas*, in: Pedro Pitarch u.a. (Footnote 34), pp. 209-231; Christine Kovic (Footnote 34), pp. 257-277. Cf. for Latin America as a whole (and Africa) William H. Brackney, *Human Rights and the World's Major Religions*, condensed and updated edition, Santa Barbara 2013, pp. 89f. Zum Verhältnis von Menschen- und kulturellen Rechten in globaler Perspektive Rodolfo Stavenhagen, *Cultural Rights and Human Rights*, in: Pedro Pitarch (see above), pp. 27-50; cf. Ronald Niezen (Footnote 16), pp. 94-144.

⁴⁷ Robert Andolina, *Indigenous Development in the Andes. Culture, Power, and Transnationalism*, Durham und London 2009, pp. 53-79; Heiner Bielefeldt, *Menschenrechtliche Universalität und Entwicklungszusammenarbeit*, in: Ulrich Pöchner and André Habisch (ed.), *Signale der Solidarität. Wege christlicher Nord-Süd-Ethik*, Paderborn 1994, pp. 41-47; for Ecuador Víctor Bretón Solo de Zaldívar, *Cooperación al desarrollo, capital social y neo-indigenismo en los Andes ecuatorianos*, in: *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, 73 (2002), pp. 56f.

the Chimborazo province concentrates on the rural communities Yaruquíes, Licto, Cacha and Guamote, and in the case of the department of Cusco on the rural communities Urcos, Andahuailillas, Catca and Ocongate. Another spatial confinement is being considered and should be finalized in view of the criteria of historical relevance and source density on-site. The interaction of ecclesiastical and civil actors in the field should be considered within the context of pastoral discourses and practices of the (arch-) Episcopal Curia in Riobamba or Cusco.

As a first step, the content and development of *liberation theology-oriented pastoral discourses and practices* are taken into account. In this context the impact of Vatican II, the Latin American Episcopal Conferences of Medellín and Puebla, the theological and pastoral positions of the Latin American Bishops' Council (CELAM) as well as the writings of leading liberation theologians will be analyzed. On the one hand the reception of liberation theology-oriented currents by the clergy and church organizations at the national and regional level in Ecuador and Peru are examined, as well as exchanges between actors from both countries (and other Latin American countries), for example on the occasion of a meeting of various (Arch-) Bishops of Latin America and the United States in Riobamba in 1976. On the other hand, and as already mentioned, the local movements in both regions should not be underestimated. What are the concrete pastoral practices that were designed and implemented? How did pastoral discourses and practices change over time due to social interaction with the rural communities? Did clerical actors already have or did they develop different ideas and practices with regard to pastoral work? How was the concept of the "option for the poor" adopted in the analysis of local social relations? What role did the perception of a specific indigenous culture have for pastoral discourses and practices? How were pastoral, socio-economic and ethnic discourses combined with international debates on development, human rights and cultural (indigenous) rights? Which concepts of development already existed at the local and regional level and how did they influence pastoral work?

Overlooking the formulation of pastoral concepts central to liberation theology special attention must be paid to the principle of *concientización* ("awareness", "sensitization"), which is based on Brazilian educator Paulo Freire's paradigm of *conciencia crítica* ("critical consciousness"), a fact that represents another transnational dimension of liberation

theology, which included personal contacts.⁴⁸ Freire's approach represents a branch of adult education, which corresponds with the socio-pedagogical approach of *educación popular* ("popular education").⁴⁹ The goal of *educación popular* was to establish an equal relationship between teachers and students and to foster among the poor the awareness that their life in poverty is not a matter of fate, but is due to the prevailing power relations in society.⁵⁰ The relevant research questions to be investigated are therefore if liberation theology's reception of Freire's educational approach intensified pastoral work in the rural communities, and if the idea of a non-hierarchical interaction between students and teachers adopted by liberation theologians influenced the reception of local cultural differences?

Finally, within the context of interactions between liberation theologians and local actors of rural communities, specific repercussions on the concept of liberation theology are taken into account, especially with regard to the reflections of Leonidas Proaño and Manuel Marzahl on an indigenous theology or pastoral during the late 1980s.⁵¹

In a second step, the *influence of liberation theology on the genesis and transformation of social organizations* in the rural communities will be explored. How did the genesis and transformation process evolve? Until the 1960s, the formation of social organizations in the two research areas had been implemented mainly by socialist or communist parties and positioned themselves within the field of trade unions and peasant movements. In the 1960s and 1970s, however, church representatives played a prominent role in the organization process of the rural communities. How much support did social activists of rural communities receive from clerics? Which organizations emerged due to local initiatives, which were initiated by churchmen? How did the relationship between ecclesiastical and civil actors and organizations develop during the period under investigation?

In the department of Cusco various peasant organizations were active during the period of investigation, primarily the *Confederación Campesina del Perú* (CCP) founded in

⁴⁸ Paulo Freire, *Pädagogik der Unterdrückten*, Reinbek bei Hamburg 1973, p. 71ff; cf. For the case of Chiapas Christine Kovic (Footnote 34), p. 262.

⁴⁹ Philip Berryman (Footnote 45), pp. 35f; Rita María Ceballos, *Pobreza, desarrollo y espiritualidad en experiencias religiosas pentecostales*, in: Genaro Zalpa Ramírez and Hans Egil Offerdal (ed.), *¿El reino de dios es de este mundo? El papel ambiguo de las religiones en la lucha contra la pobreza*, Bogotá, Buenos Aires, Bergen 2008, pp. 60ff.

⁵⁰ Peter Schreiner (ed.), *Paulo Freire – Unterdrückung und Befreiung*, Münster 2007, S. 24; Paulo Freire, *Education for Critical Consciousness*, New York 1973, pp. 43ff; cf. Philip Berryman (Footnote 45), pp. 35ff; Heinz-Peter Gerhardt, *Zum Geleit: Paulo Freire lesen*, in: Peter Schreiner (see above), p. 12.

⁵¹ Leonidas Proaño Villalba, *Abriendo surcos indígenas. Escritos de Pastoral Indígena*, 2 vols., Riobamba 2011; Manuel M. Marzahl (ed.), *El rostro indio de Dios*, Lima 1991.

1947, which was strongly rooted in the department of Cusco during the agrarian conflict and reform era of the 1960s and 1970s. In addition, the Jesuit order founded in 1971 the *Centro de Capacitación Agroindustrial Jesús Obrero* (CCAIJO) and, in 1979, the ecclesiastical NGO *Centro Guaman Poma de Ayala*, which were both active in the entire department of Cusco.⁵² It is important to ask here how the relationship between the established peasant organizations and the new ecclesiastical actors and organizations developed.

At the beginning of the 1970s, in Ecuador and the province of Chimborazo new, indigenous organizations emerged.⁵³ The most important was the *Ecuador Runakunapac Rikcharimui* (ECUARUNARI), which continues today. It was founded in 1972 with the significant support of the Diocese of Riobamba in the training house Tepeyac, but then cut its religious roots around the middle of the decade. The acquisition of land and its legal recognition, education, the right to freedom of association and political participation presented the main demands during the foundation period.⁵⁴ From a comparative perspective between the Ecuadorian and Peruvian case studies it is of special interest, that there emerged, also in the province of Chimborazo during the period under investigation, social organizations which did not pursue any explicit ethnically legitimized agenda. That is the case of the *Federación de Trabajadores Agropecuarios* founded in 1965 (today *Federación Nacional de Organizaciones Campesina, indígena y Negras del Ecuador*) that fought primarily for improvements in labor law concerning the rural population.⁵⁵ In the case of ECUARUNARI, shortly after the foundation period conflicts between leftist and ethnic agendas broke out until eventually in 1976 members opposing the ethnic self-definition were expelled from the organization.⁵⁶

With regard to the emergence and transformation of new, indigenous organizations several questions affecting the relationship between ecclesiastical and civil actors arise out of the project's perspective. How and why did particular indigenous organizations cut their ecclesiastical roots? Did conflicts emerge during the start-up and transition process? How

⁵² *Abdón Palomino*, Andahuaylillas 1974: Un movimiento de reivindicación campesina dentro del proceso de reforma agraria, in: *Allpanchis*, 11/12 (1978), pp. 187-211.

⁵³ See e.g. the *Movimiento Indígena de Chimborazo* (indigene Bewegung Chimborazo – MICH) or the *Movimiento Pastoral Indígena Monseñor Proaño*; cf. *Luis Alberto Tuaza Castro*, La crisis del movimiento indígena ecuatoriano, Quito 2011, p. 13. Cf. also *Enrique Rosner* (Footnote 24), pp. 201ff.

⁵⁴ *Luis Alberto Tuaza Castro*, La crisis del movimiento indígena ecuatoriano, Quito 2011, pp. 156ff.

⁵⁵ Cf. *Julián Guamán Julián Guamán*, Indígenas evangélicos ecuatorianos. Evangelización, organización e ideología, Quito 2003, pp. 81ff.

⁵⁶ *Zeljko Crncic*, Die indigene Bewegung Ecuadors (CONAIE). Strategien der Nutzung des Framing und der politischen Gelegenheitsstrukturen, Berlin 2012, pp. 210 ff.

were the newly created organizations seen and received in the rural communities? How successful were the various organizations with respect to the influence they could exert? In other words: Were their demands and agendas taken up or implemented by regional or national governments? How did the relationship between indigenous and ecclesiastical or mixed organizations develop? What influence did ecclesiastical actors have on the formulation of class-specific or indigenous political agendas? What are the reasons for the persistent absence of explicitly ethnically defined social organizations in the department of Cusco?

In a third step the construction and transformation of collective identities in the rural communities are examined. A central question from the perspective of the project concerns the influence of liberation theology on the construction of these identities. In both regions the perception of local communities through church actors includes both a socio-economic discourse of poverty and underdevelopment and a discourse of cultural alterity. The latter seems to be of ever-increasing importance from the 1960s onwards, and the analysis of Church documents of both the Diocese of Chimborazo and the Archdiocese of Cusco show already for the 1960s an increasing ecclesiastical interest in local cultural and religious concepts and practices identified as indigenous.

In this research context, the following questions have to be asked: What discourses of collective identity developed within the context of social mobilization of rural communities? How did these discourses change? How did religious, class-specific and ethnic identity dispositions relate to each other, and what influence did the discourse of liberation theology have on this relation? Here the central hypothesis of the project has to be discussed, that is that the pastoral work, and especially the Christian education programs led to – or affected at least significantly – an ethnicization of collective self-identification of the rural population as "Indigenous". Similarly, the question has to be asked if and how the ecclesiastical training in and the discussion on issues of development and human rights influenced discourses of indigenous identity, especially with regard to the formulation of specific cultural (indigenous) rights, which are in Ecuador, since the 1980s, a central part of the political agenda of the indigenous organizations. From a comparative perspective the question is why in the department of Cusco ethnic semantics played apparently a subordinate role in the (official) self-identification of social movements.

5. Sources and Methods

The sources of the project and its two sub-projects are mainly written archival documents and interviews with contemporary activists and witnesses, which can roughly be assigned to the three main research perspectives mentioned above:

Regarding the problem of the *liberation theology oriented pastoral theory and practice* the relevant source editions and archives regarding the major ecclesiastical events of time will initially be analyzed, that is, source editions of the 2nd Vatican Council and the Latin American Episcopal Conferences of Medellín and Puebla.⁵⁷ Further documentation on these ecclesiastical events can be found in the archive of the Diocesan Archive of the Curia of Riobamba (Fondo Leonifas Proaño). The respective documents include numerous copies of documents of CELAM and their extensive correspondence with various other Latin American (arch) bishops and other clerics. Other important official writings on ecclesiastical matters can be found in the library of the *Instituto Bartolomé de las Casas* in Lima.

Moreover, the published writings and correspondence of important protagonists of liberation theology will be analyzed, especially of Gustavo Gutiérrez, Leonidas Proaño and Luis Vallejos Santoni. Archival sources on regional pastoral discourses and practices of liberation theology in Peru and the department of Cusco can be found in the *Instituto Bartolomé de las Casas* (IBC) in Lima, and in the *Centro Bartolomé de las Casas* (CBC), the *Instituto de Pastoral Andina* (IPA) and the archive of the Cathedral in Cusco. For Ecuador and the province of Chimborazo the previously mentioned archive of Bishop Leonidas Proaño is of special importance. Numerous official documents and correspondence on pastoral issues as well as questions of development policy or human rights can be found here. In addition various magazines and other periodical publications of regional liberation theology institutions can be analyzed, like *Allpanchis* (1969ff) by the IPA, or the *Pastoral Andina* (1974ff) by the CBC, both published in Cusco. The archival sources have already been located and will be further supplemented by interviews with witnesses from the church area.

With regards to questions over the *influence of liberation theology on the genesis and transformation of social organizations* in the rural communities, archival sources of the IBC, the CBC, the IPA and the archive of the Cathedral of Cusco (Peru) as well as the archive of Leonidas Proaño (Ecuador) can be used. Moreover, eyewitness interviews with actors of the

⁵⁷ See e.g. Zweites Vatikanisches Konzil. Dokumente, Texte, Kommentare, 4 vols., Osnabrück 1963-1966; Zweites Vatikanisches Ökumenisches Konzil, eingeleitet und erläutert von Konzilsvätern, Konzilsberatern und Gelehrten, Münster 1965-1968; Alfred T. Hennelly, *Liberation Theology. A Documentary History*, Maryknoll N.Y 1992.

Church and the rural communities will be conducted, as well as interviews with social anthropologists and development actors that were active in Riobamba or Cusco during the investigation period, especially from the the Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSCO) in Quito and the *Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú* (PUCP) in Lima.

For questions regarding the *construction and transformation of collective identities*, sources from the IBC, the CBC, the IPA and the archive of the Cathedral of Cusco and the archive of Leonidas Proaño have already been and will again be consulted. Here too, eyewitness interviews with actors of the Church, the rural communities, and with social anthropologists and development actors will be conducted.

The methodological framework of the project and its two sub-projects are defined by various theoretical approaches. An important space is devoted to the question of ethnicity. In anthropological tradition the project distinguishes between the language of the actors (emic level) and the scientific and analytical language (etic level).⁵⁸ The research project is based on a constructivist concept of ethnicity that allows an analytical perspective on the situational and procedural change of ethnic identification, and on intersections between different discourses of identity.⁵⁹ This perspective is of special importance for research on

the so-called new social movements that form around specific collective identities.⁶⁰ The constructivist approach on ethnicity is particularly interesting for the comparative perspective of the project, in so far as both regions, despite their similarities in the social and economic structures, reveal a different intensity and different forms of ethnic mobilization during the period under investigation. Of further importance for the project are theoretical and methodological debates arising from the concepts of "inter-" and "transculturality", which help to understand the fluidity and contingency of boundaries between different cultural (religious, ethnic) beliefs and practices.⁶¹

⁵⁸ *Rogers Brubaker*, *Ethnicity without Groups*. Cambridge 2004, p. 10, *Wolfgang Gabbert*, *Concepts of Ethnicity*, in: *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies*, vol. 1:1 (2006), pp. 85-103.

⁵⁹ *Rogers Brubaker*, *Ethnicity without Groups*. Cambridge 2004; cf. Karl-Heinz Kohl, *Ethnizität und Tradition aus ethnographischer Sicht*, in: *Aleida Assmann und Heidrun Friese* (ed.), *Identitäten*, Frankfurt/M., pp. 269-287, and *Peter Wade*, *Race and Ethnicity in Latin America*, 2. Ed., London/ New York 2010. Cf. *Laura Gotkowitz* (ed.), *Histories of Race and Racism. The Andes and Mesoamerica from Colonial Times to the Present*, Durham und London 2011.

⁶⁰ *Arturo Escobar* and *Sonia E. Alvarez* (ed.), *The Making of social movements* (Footnote 2).

⁶¹ *Catherine Walsh*, *Interculturalidad crítica y (de)colonialidad. Ensayos desde Abya Yala*, Quito 2012. *Klaus Hock*, *Transculturation. Some Exploratory Remarks*, in: *Adam Jones* (ed.), *Transculturation. Mission and Modernity in Africa*, Leipzig 2003, pp. 25-32; *Andreas Langenohl* (ed.) *Transkulturalität. Klassische Texte*, Bielefeld 2015.

From the perspective of this project, the relationship between class-specific, peasant discourses and ethnic, indigenous semantics of social identification is of special interest. The transitions and entanglements between class-specific and ethnic discourses of collective identity from the 1960s to the 1980s have been influenced, as this project argues, in a decisive manner by the commitment of ecclesiastical actors and the discourse of liberation theology. In order to be able to show and explain the discourse entanglements and transitions, as well as the resulting consequences for the social mobilization of the examined rural communities, theories of Social Movement Research will be utilized, that is the Structural-Strains, Collective Identity, Framing, Resource Mobilization and Political Opportunity Structures approaches.⁶²

With the help of Historical Discourse Analysis the relevant discourses concerning various development paradigms, links between human rights and development discourses, reflections on the peasant or indigenous movement and its theological dimensions will be uncovered, analyzed and interpreted.⁶³ In this respect historical discourse analysis relates to the Framing approach of the Social Movement research.⁶⁴ The methodological classification of the interviews that will be carried out follows the principles of non-standardized interviewing.⁶⁵

⁶² Kai-Uwe Hellmann, Paradigmen der Bewegungsforschung. Forschungs- und Erklärungsansätze – ein Überblick, in: Kai-Uwe Hellmann und Ruud Koopmans (ed.), Paradigmen der Bewegungsforschung. Entstehung und Entwicklung von Neuen Sozialen Bewegungen und Rechtsextremismus, Wiesbaden 1998, pp. 17-25; Sebastian Haunss, Identität in Bewegung. Prozesse kollektiver Identität bei den Autonomen und in der Schwulenbewegung, Wiesbaden 2004, pp. 21-77.

⁶³ Achim Landwehr, Historische Diskursanalyse, Frankfurt am Main 2009 (2. Ed.).

⁶⁴ Cf. Zeljko Crncic (Footnote 56), p. 105.

⁶⁵ Gerhard Schulze and Leila Akremi, Einführung in die Methoden der empirischen Sozialforschung. Bamberger Beiträge zur empirischen Sozialforschung, Bamberg 2006, pp. 103ff.