

PALGRAVE STUDIES IN RELIGION, POLITICS, AND POLICY



POPE FRANCIS AS A GLOBAL ACTOR

Where Politics and Theology Meet



EDITED BY
ALYNNA J. LYON, CHRISTINE A. GUSTAFSON,
AND PAUL CHRISTOPHER MANUEL



Palgrave Studies in Religion, Politics, and Policy

Series editor

Mark J. Rozell

Schar School of Policy and Government

George Mason University

Arlington, VA, USA

A generation ago, many social scientists regarded religion as an anachronism, whose social, economic, and political importance would inevitably wane and disappear in the face of the inexorable forces of modernity. Of course, nothing of the sort has occurred; indeed, the public role of religion is resurgent in US domestic politics, in other nations, and in the international arena. Today, religion is widely acknowledged to be a key variable in candidate nominations, platforms, and elections; it is recognized as a major influence on domestic and foreign policies. National religious movements as diverse as the Christian Right in the United States and the Taliban in Afghanistan are important factors in the internal politics of particular nations. Moreover, such transnational religious actors as Al-Qaida, Falun Gong, and the Vatican have had important effects on the politics and policies of nations around the world. Palgrave Studies in Religion, Politics, and Policy serves a growing niche in the discipline of political science. This subfield has proliferated rapidly during the past two decades, and has generated an enormous amount of scholarly studies and journalistic coverage. Five years ago, the journal *Politics and Religion* was created; in addition, works relating to religion and politics have been the subject of many articles in more general academic journals. The number of books and monographs on religion and politics has increased tremendously. In the past, many social scientists dismissed religion as a key variable in politics and government. This series casts a broad net over the subfield, providing opportunities for scholars at all levels to publish their works with Palgrave. The series publishes monographs in all subfields of political science, including American Politics, Public Policy, Public Law, Comparative Politics, International Relations, and Political Theory. The principal focus of the series is the public role of religion. "Religion" is construed broadly to include public opinion, religious institutions, and the legal frameworks under which religious politics are practiced. The "dependent variable" in which we are interested is politics, defined broadly to include analyses of the public sources and consequences of religious belief and behavior. These would include matters of public policy, as well as variations in the practice of political life. We welcome a diverse range of methodological perspectives, provided that the approaches taken are intellectually rigorous. The series does not deal with works of theology, in that arguments about the validity or utility of religious beliefs are not a part of the series focus. Similarly, the authors of works about the private or personal consequences of religious belief and behavior, such as personal happiness, mental health, or family dysfunction, should seek other outlets for their writings. Although historical perspectives can often illuminate our understanding of modern political phenomena, our focus in the Religion, Politics, and Policy series is on the relationship between the sacred and the political in contemporary societies.

More information about this series at
<http://www.palgrave.com/gp/series/14594>

Alynnna J. Lyon
Christine A. Gustafson
Paul Christopher Manuel
Editors

Pope Francis as a Global Actor

Where Politics and Theology Meet

palgrave
macmillan

Editors

Alynn J. Lyon
University of New Hampshire
Durham, NH, USA

Christine A. Gustafson
Saint Anselm College
Manchester, NH, USA

Paul Christopher Manuel
American University
Washington, DC, USA

Palgrave Studies in Religion, Politics, and Policy
ISBN 978-3-319-71376-2 ISBN 978-3-319-71377-9 (eBook)
<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-71377-9>

Library of Congress Control Number: 2017959727

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2018, corrected publication April 2018
This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use. The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Cover credit: dpa picture alliance / Alamy Stock Photo

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by Springer Nature
The registered company is Springer International Publishing AG
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

PRAISE

“This is a rewarding collection of essays analyzing the ‘Francis factor’ on such critical global political issues as the environment, immigration and refugees, and socio-economic inequality.”

—José Casanova, *Professor of Sociology and Theology & Senior Fellow at the Berkley Center for Religion, Peace and World Affairs at Georgetown University, USA*

“In the five years since Jorge Mario Bergoglio became Pope Francis, there has been much discussion about his role both in the Catholic Church and more generally in international relations. This topical and wide-ranging survey of what Pope Francis has done in these regards is highly recommended. It shows how he has become a leading focus of concerns linked to human rights and international development and explains this in terms both of his theology and socio-political outlook.”

—Jeff Haynes, *Professor of Politics & Director of the Centre for the Study of Religion, Conflict, and Cooperation at London Metropolitan University, UK*

“This well-conceived and closely integrated edited volume focuses explicitly on the deeply theological grounding of Francis’ distinctive worldview and wide-ranging breadth of political commitments. In so doing, it persuasively captures the complex essence of this provocative and compelling Pope.”

—Tim Byrnes, *Charles A. Dana Professor of Political Science, Colgate University, USA*

“This book uses a distinct methodology to explain the moral engagement and political activism of Pope Francis. It does this through an analysis of his unique Latin American roots and Jesuit background; his people-oriented Catholic theology, and his advocacy for the poor and marginalized. I found this book to be invaluable for my own research and recommend it to anyone seeking to understand the positive, political role that religious leaders can play in an increasingly globalized and secular world.”

—Jo Renee Formicola, *Professor of Political Science and Public Affairs, Seton Hall University, USA*

“The essays collected in this volume address two major questions: how do the theological ideas and religious commitments held by Pope Francis shape his political views? What is the global impact of the papacy of Francis? The contributing authors bring an array of scholarly competencies and cultural backgrounds to the task of answering those two questions. The editors are to be commended for providing a valuable book that will enrich the understanding of anyone seeking insight into the significance of Pope Francis for our global society.”

—Kenneth R. Himes, *O.F.M., Professor of Theological Ethics, Boston College, USA*

“This collection of intellectually stimulating essays from social scientists and theologians unpacks the relationship between theology and politics in the era of Pope Francis. Employing the perspective of Pope Francis as a global actor, the volume melds a rich span of public policy issues and geographical regions with theological and historical insight. An invaluable resource for scholars and students of political science and theology, as well as anyone interested in the theology and global impact of Pope Francis.”

—Susan Crawford Sullivan, *Associate Professor, Sociology, College of the Holy Cross, USA*

*Many things have to change course, but it is we human beings
above all who need to change.*
—Pope Francis on Twitter, June 18, 2015

FOREWORD

Pope Francis has established a distinct narrative about his papacy, one that has been remarkably positive and resilient. It has resisted counter-narratives both inside and outside the church that might be critical of his papacy. However, this popular narrative is not the whole story, and this edited volume aims to add depth and perspective to the political and theological self-understanding of Francis, and to situate his papacy within an analysis of global Catholicism as expressed within a variety of particular locales.

The popular narrative about Pope Francis has been much more successful than that of his immediate predecessor, Pope Benedict XVI. Benedict will certainly be remembered for one key feature of his papacy, that of his voluntary resignation from it. Remembered as well will be the theology of Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger during his long tenure as prefect for the Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith. Pope Benedict might also be remembered for attributing his name, albeit in a secondary way, to what in politics in the last year or so has come to be known as *The Benedict Option*.

One reason that this present book is so timely is that Francis's impulse is not at all in line with *The Benedict Option*, at least as interpreted by Rod Dreher.¹ However, I, as a Benedictine monk, would not say that the Francis approach is antithetical to the spirit of Saint Benedict of Nursia (the more immediate attribution for Dreher's title), especially as Franciscans and Benedictines have had very friendly relations since the time of Saint Francis. And while I acknowledge that Francis's religious background is Jesuit (and not Franciscan), I think it entirely appropriate that part of the genesis of this present book took place at a Benedictine institution of higher education, my very own Saint Anselm College.

Another reason to single out this present edited work is the communitarian nature of the academic product, which arose not out of a group of individual authors writing loosely related articles around a common theme, but out of four separate meetings of the various authors over two years, including one here at Saint Anselm at an academic symposium entitled “Where Theology and Politics Meet: Pope Francis as a Global Actor,” in the fall of 2016. The authors have been engaging each other on Francis and his political Catholicism both in writing and in person, and this volume is a fruit of that engagement.

While Francis to date does not have the same theological *œuvre* as his predecessor, the current work examines his politics and his theology, and how they interact in tandem. While Francis and Benedict are clearly both sons of the same church, and both fully in line with post-conciliar thought, Francis’s outlook and emphases are distinct. This work aims to investigate this distinction.

Saint Anselm College
Manchester, NH, USA

Brother Isaac Murphy, O.S.B.

NOTE

1. Rod Dreher, *The Benedict Option: A Strategy for Christians in a Post-Christian Nation* (New York: Sentinel, 2017).

PREFACE: WHERE POLITICS AND THEOLOGY MEET

Pope Francis's commentary on 1 Corinthians 11: 17–34, appearing in his apostolic exhortation *Amoris Laetitia*, is illustrative of how he views the world. Specifically, the early Christians disputed who should participate in worship. They argued over whether the existing order of social divisions should be maintained, or if something novel was required. Reflecting on that passage, Francis finds commonality with the social division of today:

We do well to take seriously a biblical text usually interpreted outside of its context or in a generic sense, with the risk of overlooking its immediate and direct meaning, which is markedly social. I am speaking of 1 Cor 11:17–34, where Saint Paul faces a shameful situation in the community. The wealthier members tended to discriminate against the poorer ones, and this carried over even to the agape meal that accompanied the celebration of the Eucharist. While the rich enjoyed their food, the poor looked on and went hungry: “One is hungry and another is drunk. Do you not have houses to eat and drink in? Or do you despise the Church of God and humiliate those who have nothing?” (vv. 21–22).¹

This commentary brings us to the heart of this volume: it argues that Pope Francis might be understood to be a singular global actor precisely because he seeks to reframe political dialogue by crafting morality-based approaches to many of the world's contentious political, economic, and social issues. As the Vicar of Christ, he rails against man-made convention and social divisions, and has consequently placed an increased emphasis on the spiritual and material needs of all people, including those served by the Catholic

Church as well as those of other confessions, and those without a belief in God. Pope Francis asks each of us to help the other in any way we can, to build a more just global society. To accomplish that goal, as the chapters in this volume will discuss, politics is meeting theology in most novel and unexpected ways.

NOTE

1. Francis, *Amoris Laetitia*, The Vatican Website, March 19, 2016, 185, https://w2.vatican.va/content/dam/francesco/pdf/apost_exhortations/documents/papa-francesco_esortazione-ap_20160319_amorislaetitia_en.pdf

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The idea for this book started as a discussion between three professors at the Tombs restaurant in Georgetown in October 2015. They were there to celebrate the book launch of their volume, *Religion and Politics in a Global Community: the Portuguese-Speaking World in Comparative Perspective*, at the Berkley Center for Religion, Peace and World Affairs at Georgetown University. During their conversation, the three of them were astonished at how much of the discussion at the book launch revolved around Pope Francis and his global influence. At that point, Alynna Lyon suggested a novel idea: that we should work on a volume specifically geared to better understand his role as a global policy entrepreneur. Both Christine Gustafson and Paul Manuel found this to be an excellent suggestion, and thus this volume was born!

Over the last few years, we discussed the project with a variety of scholars and practitioners, including political scientists, historians, theologians, and an official of the Holy See. A number of the contributors first presented papers on this topic at the 2016 annual meeting of the New England Political Science Association in Newport, Rhode Island. The New England meeting gave us a valuable chance to reflect on the themes of the volume and integrate them into a coherent whole. One of the topics that runs across many cases is how Pope Francis handles traditional church theological teaching on the one hand (i.e. abortion, same-sex marriage, human rights, social inequality) and engages all people of “good will” in a

quest to find solutions to pressing global political challenges (i.e. poverty, global warming, acts of terror) on the other. The scholars in this proposal subsequently met at a research symposium on Pope Francis at Saint Anselm College on October 7, 2016. That symposium gave us a chance to identify some key themes for the volume, and to offer constructive criticisms to each other. Our final meeting took place at the 2017 annual meeting of the New England Political Science Association in Providence, Rhode Island. We continued our discussion over two panels: one focused on theological issues; the other on the global impact of Francis. These panels provided the occasion for lively discussion among the panelists and the audience, as well as for a review of second drafts of chapters. At the point, we knew we had the final shape of the volume.

There are many people who made this volume possible. We are grateful to our colleagues at the University of New Hampshire, Saint Anselm College, and American University for providing helpful and thought-provoking environments. We are especially thankful to Ted Jelen and Mark Rozell, the series editors at Palgrave Studies in Religion, Politics, and Policy, for their support of this project. Sadly, Ted Jelen passed away as we were finishing the manuscript. We are indeed indebted to Ted for his many insights and great wisdom. Both of our editors at Palgrave Macmillan, Chris Robinson and Michelle Chen, as well as John Stegner, our editorial assistant at Palgrave, have been very patient with us. We are indebted to the anonymous reviewers of the original proposal for this volume for their very useful comments, as well as to the many people who offered valuable observations at our research symposium on Pope Francis at Saint Anselm College, including Montague Brown, Abbot Mark Cooper, O.S.B., Mark Cronin, Daniel Daly, Michele Dillon, Fr. Peter J. Guerin, O.S.B., Nicole Leapley, Kevin McMahon, and Brother Isaac Murphy, O.S.B. Tom Banchoff, vice president for global engagement and the founding director of the Berkley Center for Religion, Peace and World Affairs at Georgetown University, and Melody Fox Ahmed, the associate director for programs at the Berkley Center, graciously welcomed our book launch in 2015, which served as the basis for this volume. Steven Lichtman of Shippensburg University and the executive director of the New England Political Science Association worked closely with us in organizing our conference panels in 2016 and 2017. We are most

grateful to Heather Dubnick for her masterful copyediting job. Our project enjoyed the generous support of the Center for the Humanities at the University of New Hampshire, and from the Saint Anselm College Fund for Catholic Social Teaching. Finally, we would like to thank our families for their support of our work. *We dedicate this work to them.*

Durham, NH, USA
Manchester, NH, USA
Washington, DC, USA

Alynn J. Lyon
Christine A. Gustafson
Paul Christopher Manuel

CONTENTS

Part I	Where Politics Meets Theology Under Pope Francis	1
1	Eluding Established Categories: Toward an Understanding of Pope Francis	3
	Alynnna J. Lyon, Christine A. Gustafson, and Paul Christopher Manuel	
2	How the Theological Priorities of Pope Francis Inform His Policy Goals	23
	Paul Christopher Manuel	
3	The First Jesuit Pope: The Contribution of His Jesuit Charism to His Political Views	41
	Thomas Massaro, S.J.	
4	Eternal Law and Environmental Policy: Pope Francis, <i>Laudato Si'</i>, and a Thomistic Approach to Climate Change	59
	James T. McHugh	
5	Love the Prisoner, Ban the Substance: Pope Francis and the War on Drugs	81
	Margaret MacLeish Mott	

6	“To Show Concern”: Early Coverage of John Paul II, Benedict XVI, and Francis in the American National News Media	97
	MaryAnne Borrelli	
Part II	The Global Politics of Pope Francis	117
7	Pope Francis as a Global Policy Entrepreneur: Moral Authority and Climate Change	119
	Alyna J. Lyon	
8	The Pope and the United States: Faith as Dialogue	143
	Anne Marie Cammisa	
9	Sign o’ the Times: Does Francis’ Papacy Represent a New Era for Western Europe?	169
	Elizabeth Carter	
10	The Pope and Latin America: Mission from the Periphery	189
	Christine A. Gustafson	
11	The Pope and Asia: Building Bridges—Reconciliation with the People’s Republic of China	215
	Lawrence C. Reardon	
12	Pope Francis and India: Mutual Enrichment and Challenges	245
	John Chathanatt, S.J.	
13	“You Are Instead a Gift”: Pope Francis’s Response to Global Migration and the Refugee Crisis	267
	Tara Carr-Lemke and Miguel Glatzer	
	Erratum to: Sign o’ the Times: Does Francis’ Papacy Represent a New Era for Western Europe?	E1
	Index	285

ABOUT THE EDITORS

Alynn J. Lyon is associate professor of political science at the University of New Hampshire. Her research focuses on international organizations, peacekeeping, and American foreign policy, with specific attention to the politics of identity and religion. She has authored several books and articles on these topics including *US Politics and the United Nations* (Lynne Rienner, 2016). She currently serves as chair of the International Organization section of the International Studies Association. She holds an MA from New Mexico State University and a PhD from the University of South Carolina.

Christine A. Gustafson is associate dean of the college and associate professor of politics at Saint Anselm College. Her areas of research interest include the international political economy of development, Brazilian political economy, theories of culture and institutional change, and the politics of religion. Her most recent work has examined the divergent political strategies of Catholics and Evangelical Protestants in Latin American countries, and she has authored several works on the subject. She holds an MA from the University of Southern California and an MA and PhD from Brown University.

Paul Christopher Manuel is distinguished scholar in residence in the department of government in the School of Public Affairs at American University. He is also a research fellow at the Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs at Georgetown University and a local affiliate at the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies at Harvard University, where he cochaired the Iberian Studies Group. His research

interests address comparative democratization, comparative public policy, and the relationship between religion and politics. Manuel has authored or coauthored nine books and numerous articles. He holds an MTS from Boston College (Weston Jesuit School of Theology) and a PhD from Georgetown University.

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

- MaryAnne Borrelli** Connecticut College, New London, CT, USA
Anne Marie Cammisa Georgetown University, Washington, DC, USA
Elizabeth Carter University of New Hampshire, Durham, NH, USA
Tara Carr-Lemke La Salle University, Philadelphia, PA, USA
John Chathanatt, S.J. Vidyajyoti College of Theology, Delhi, India
Miguel Glatzer La Salle University, Philadelphia, PA, USA
Thomas Massaro, S.J. Santa Clara University, Santa Clara, CA, USA
James McHugh University of Akron, Akron, OH, USA
Brother Isaac Murphy, O.S.B. Saint Anselm College, Manchester, NH, USA
Margaret MacLeish Mott Marlboro College, Marlboro, VT, USA
Lawrence C. Reardon University of New Hampshire, Durham, NH, USA

LIST OF FIGURES

- Fig. 1.1 US religious groups recording favorable opinion of Pope Francis. Source: Claire Gecewicz, “U.S. Catholics, non-Catholics continue to view Pope Francis favorably,” Pew Research Center, January 19, 2017, <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/01/18/favorable-u-s-views-pope-francis/> 15
- Fig. 1.2 US “favorability” rating for John Paul II, Benedict XVI, and Francis. Source: Claire Gecewicz, “U.S. Catholics, non-Catholics continue to view Pope Francis favorably” Pew Research Center, January 19, 2017, <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/01/18/favorable-u-s-views-pope-francis/> 16
- Fig. 2.1 A polyhedron 27
- Fig. 7.1 Gallup Survey 2000–2017—US Views on Cause of Global Warming. Source: Lydia Saad, “Global Warming Concern at Three-Decade High in US” *Gallup*. March 14, 2017, <http://www.gallup.com/poll/190010/concern-global-warming-eight-year-high.aspx> 131

LIST OF TABLES

Table 6.1	The first four years: newspaper issues with first-page (FP) articles and photographs relating to John Paul II, Benedict XVI, and Francis	106
Table 6.2	Coverage by year: newspaper issues with first-page (FP) articles and illustrations relating to John Paul II, Benedict XVI, and Francis	107
Table 6.3	The first four years: topics addressed in first-page (FP) articles relating to John Paul II, Benedict XVI, and Francis	108
Table 6.4	The first four years: “above-the-fold” (ATF) first-page photographs of John Paul II, Benedict XVI, and Francis	109
Table 7.1	Parallels between <i>Laudato Si’</i> and the UN Sustainable Development Goals	128
Table 8.1	Policies mentioned by Pope Francis in his speech before Congress, September 24, 2015	159
Table 10.1	Religious affiliations of Latin Americans	203
Table 10.2	Latin American opinions of Pope Francis (% who describe their opinion as . . .)	205
Table 10.3	Why Protestant converts stopped being Catholic (% of Catholic-to-Protestant converts who say each item was an important reason they are no longer Catholic)	206

PART I

Where Politics Meets Theology Under
Pope Francis

Eluding Established Categories: Toward an Understanding of Pope Francis

*Alyssa J. Lyon, Christine A. Gustafson,
and Paul Christopher Manuel*

Pope Francis scrambles our categories. In a very short time, he has managed to change the way many view the role of the church, and perhaps even the role of religion in politics. The 266th pope is distinct from other popes in several regards. He is the first Jesuit pope, the first from the Global South, the first from the South American continent, the first to “tweet,” as well as the first non-European pope in 1200 years. In 2013, he received accolades from popular culture and was named *Time* magazine’s “Person of The Year.”¹ He is also the first to take “Francis” as his papal name, invoking Saint Francis of Assisi. In harmony with that fifteenth-century Italian saint, we can clearly see an emphasis on both the poor and the natural world under Pope Francis. Indeed, the motto he chose for his pontificate, *Miserando atque eligendo*, may be translated into

A. J. Lyon (✉)

University of New Hampshire, Durham, NH, USA

C. A. Gustafson

Saint Anselm College, Manchester, NH, USA

P. C. Manuel

American University, Washington, DC, USA

© The Author(s) 2018

A. J. Lyon et al. (eds.), *Pope Francis as a Global Actor*,
Palgrave Studies in Religion, Politics, and Policy,

https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-71377-9_1

English as “by having mercy, by choosing him,” or perhaps “lowly but chosen.”² This papal motto, which invokes the mercy Jesus showed toward sinners in the New Testament, also signals a leadership style that is refreshingly humble, forgiving, and yet, optimistic and resolutely engaged with the world. He adamantly embraces the poor, defends the marginalized, attacks greed, and champions the environment. In this regard, he is unapologetically political, often chides world leaders, and frequently comments on global economic systems. He is media savvy; aware of optics, placement, and messaging; and prefers the unassuming Fiat to the iconic “Popemobile”—a very twenty-first-century pontiff.

At the same time, Francis’s papacy also retains important traditional elements: he espouses established teachings on morality, sexuality, and marriage; he is an “Italian” pope, as the son of Italian immigrants; and he lobbied against gay marriage when he was Cardinal of Buenos Aires.³ As John Allen aptly noted, “Pope Francis will try to live up to his namesake, Francis of Assisi, as a man of the poor and of peace, but that doesn’t signal any retreat from the moral and cultural positions associated with the papacies of John Paul II and Benedict XVI.”⁴ As such, there are both progressive and conservative elements to Pope Francis. The Argentine priest Carlos Maria Galli notes the irony, observing that “Pope Francis is popular, but he is not a populist.”⁵ Scrambled categories, indeed.

A SINGULAR GLOBAL ACTOR

Many political science and international relations scholars tend to think about political or moral leaders in terms of preestablished left–right, or progressive–conservative categories. That is, a leader who favors traditional morality is typically placed on the right, conservative side of the political scale; by contrast, another leader open to new forms of human association would be placed on the left, progressive side of that same scale. Similarly, a leader favoring free-market capitalism would be placed on the right, conservative side, and one who prefers more state-run welfare programs on the left, progressive side. These categories tend to help social scientists make sense of the political life of a given society, but there are limits to their utility.

Pope Francis overturns the appellation of such simplistic classificatory schemes. He genuinely confuses most political observers because his papacy does not fit neatly into any such scheme. To this point, Father Carlos Maria Galli noted that “to understand Francis, you don’t need labels. You need to understand where he comes from.”⁶ Likewise, Emma

Green observed during the Pope's visit to the United States, "Francis does not fit neatly into American categories. To understand him and his agenda, it's more helpful to look at America through his eyes than to look at him through an American's eyes."⁷ For instance, as noted above, Pope Francis has argued in favor of traditional marriage as well as state-run welfare programs to help the poor, policies associated with both the right and the left. Social science lacks the vocabulary required to grasp this seeming contradiction. We agree with both Galli and Green's assessment, and we argue that social scientists must move beyond a one-dimensional, instrumental way of understanding religious leaders such as Francis—an approach that is unable to grasp his papacy. One purpose of this volume is to do just that—to broaden our understanding of Francis's distinctive blending of theology and politics as well as his ability to authentically embrace normally dichotomous views.

While we note his ambitions, it is instead the open and humble leadership style of Pope Francis that has charmed the world. Without significant changes to church doctrine, he is engaging a variety of conversations on a global scale that in some regards were inconceivable under prior popes. This volume asks what this leadership approach might mean for politics and public policy and thus also explores the relationship between theology and politics from the perspective of Pope Francis as a global actor. Recognizing that his approach is both consistent with and distinct from his immediate predecessors, Pope Benedict XVI and John Paul II, the volume questions whether Francis has found a new way for the nonsecular to make a contribution to civic dialogue in an era when moral teachings are often isolated from society. Has Pope Francis figured out how the Catholic Church can pursue a religious mission in an unreceptive milieu and have a real impact on policy? Has he found a new way for theology and politics to meet?

Finally, these questions also lead to more general lines of inquiry about the role of the Catholic Church and the pope in the twenty-first century. Modernity includes an emphasis on the secular and may even postulate that religion is antiquated and holds little place in contemporary life, where science guides epistemology. Thus, when the church enters the public square, how does it do so, and to what effect? What are the impacts on both church and state, and what place does religion have in a contemporary political life? Can theology engage with science and provide direction for solving contemporary global challenges (e.g. environmental damage, poverty, and conflict)? Pope Francis's leadership stands in defiance of a secular worldview, one that proclaims there is no place for religion in

modernity. In fact, Francis highlights that modernity has proven to be fallible—it has problems which include significant inequalities in humans’ life chances, terrorism, and for some, a path into a moral abyss.

This volume, aptly subtitled “Where Theology Meets Politics,” proposes a new encounter between the disciplines of moral theology and the social sciences in order to properly situate the papacy of Francis. Its contributors explore the connections among Francis’s theological foundations, his personal history and experience, his public words, writings, and deeds as pope, and his potential impact on the challenges facing the public square. Doing so from a global perspective, we believe, offers greater clarity about this singular moral and political actor. Together, the chapters ask how Francis’s moral theology informs his engagement in public narratives on morality, obligation, poverty, identity, and stewardship of the natural environment. We now turn to a brief overview of some of the recent scholarship on Pope Francis.

SCHOLARSHIP ON POPE FRANCIS

Prior to the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), research about the theology or political approach of sitting pontiffs was scarce. There was a change after the council, when scholars started writing books and articles on the social and political teachings of popes, but it remains a relatively new field. In the time since his 2013 election as pope, Francis has drawn widespread interest. Works that treat Francis and his papacy tend to fall into three categories: biographical works that explore his formation, life, and experiences in Argentina; devotional hagiographical work that focuses on his religious writings and ministry; and a more scholarly body of work that analyzes his thinking and policies. We would place our own volume in the latter category, though we have benefited from the contributions of all three bodies of work.

First, there are many books that examine Pope Francis’s background, training, and life in Argentina.⁸ These works are generally well researched and provide the reader with a deeper sense of Francis. In particular, they offer valuable insight into the life experiences and in many cases the theological ideas that have shaped Francis’s words and deeds as pope. Paul Vallely, in *Pope Francis: Untying the Knots* (2015), adds a twist to this generally positive literature, with a specific focus on some of Francis’s

questionable actions when he served as the Jesuit provincial superior in Buenos Aires during Argentina's Dirty War, raising some tough questions about the limits of his leadership abilities.⁹

A second genre of hagiographical devotional works focuses on Francis's ministry, perhaps best illustrated by Mark Shriver's *Pilgrimage: My Search for the Real Pope Francis* (2016).¹⁰ As the nephew of President John F. Kennedy—the first and thus far only Roman Catholic elected president in the United States—the words of the Kennedy/Shriver family on religion continue to resonate with many American Catholics, especially those who associate with the Democratic Party. In his book, Shriver speaks to how Francis's emphasis on faith, love, hope, and mercy, and his commitment to the marginalized, has brought Shriver, and others, back into a regular communion with the church.¹¹

A third category of work on Pope Francis focuses on his theological and political thought. More academic in nature than the other genres, these works provide the reader with an opportunity to understand how he thinks, and how he engages in the public realm. Francesca Ambrogetti and Sergio Rubin, in *Pope Francis: Conversations with Jorge Bergoglio: His Life in His Own Words* (2013); John Allen Jr., in *The Francis Miracle: Inside the Transformation of the Pope and the Church* (2015); and Mariano Fazio, in *Pope Francis: Keys to His Thought* (2017)¹² are three fine examples of this genre. Francis's speeches, encyclicals, and other public pronouncements have also been published, which affords a treasure trove of material to study his logic and political devotions.¹³ This volume seeks to contribute to this scholarly conversation.

The 2014 volume by Uruguayan philosopher Alberto Methol Ferré and the Italian-Argentinian journalist Alver Metalli, *El papa y el filósofo* [The Pope and the Philosopher], is a particularly valuable contribution on how Francis engages modernity. A close friend of Pope Francis, Methol Ferré provided Francis with the philosophical construct he calls "libertine atheism" to evaluate the role of the church in the contemporary world.¹⁴ Libertine atheism—or the idea that society must categorically reject any moral system derived from religious or other nonrational sources—is, in the words of Francis, "the new opium of the people."¹⁵ According to Sandro Magister, the Pope considers libertine atheism—a Marxism-inspired idea and practice—to be both a dangerous and a failed contemporary way of life, precisely because it separates truth from its origins in goodness and justice.¹⁶ Methol Ferré, whom the pope calls the "brilliant thinker of the

Rio de la Plata,”¹⁷ therefore suggests that the remedy to that practice is not in philosophical debate, but rather engaging in a corrective practice, one that connects truth to its origins in a merciful and just God. Ferré holds that the “church is the only subject present on the stage of the contemporary world that can confront libertine atheism. To my mind only the church is truly post-modern.”¹⁸ He further adds that the church is able to make “the heart burn” and is singularly capable of restoring happiness to a confused and fallen world.¹⁹

Theologians Juan Carlos Scannone, Carlos María Galli, Diego Fares, Antonio Spadaro, and Massimo Faggioli each offer sober academic assessments of Francis’s papacy.²⁰ These works all suggest that Francis’s native country of Argentina has informed his current approach to theology. Scannone, who was the Pope’s teacher, provides the seminal statement on how Francis views the world in his 2016 article published in *Theological Studies* called “Pope Francis and the Theology of the People.” This approach is a unique Argentinian response to the economic challenges of the contemporary period, famously deliberated at the May 2007 Fifth General Conference of the Bishops of Latin America at the Shrine of Our Lady of *Aparecida* in Brazil. Specifically, the final document of the conference calls for a preferential option for the poor, an emphasis on popular religion, and the development of a missionary movement designed to find Christ among the poor. Cardinal Jorge Bergoglio, now known as Pope Francis, chaired the committee responsible for that final document.²¹ Scannone explores how national conversations in Argentina began incorporating general ideas from liberation theology, and then argues that this phenomenon informed Francis’s current understanding of how theology should meet politics. This understanding eventually led to Francis’s 2013 call for “a Church that is poor and for the poor,” and undergirds his Apostolic Exhortation *Evangelii Gaudium*.²² Similarly, at an April 4, 2016, presentation at Boston College, Argentine priest Carlos Maria Galli, who is also a friend of Pope Francis, counseled that “to understand the pope, one must follow him home,”²³ implying an engagement with the theological approach called “theology of the people.”

In a similar vein, and as mentioned above, this current volume seeks to make an original theoretical contribution in its examination of the myriad encounters that theology and politics are having under the papacy of Francis. It contributes to the scholarly literature by including chapters by

both theologians and political scientists, many of whom dialogue with Scannone's article, in the effort to show how the theology of the people helps to account for how the pope thinks, what he sees, and what he does. This volume asks whether Francis has found a new way for theology and politics to meet, both in the scholarly discussion and in practical policies.

KEY QUALITIES OF THE PAPACY OF FRANCIS

Before turning to a description of the volume's structure and contents, we think it useful to discuss two defining elements of Francis's papacy. These emerge over the course of the book and provide recurring and unifying motifs to, what are in other respects, very diverse chapters. These elements highlight that although Francis maintains fundamental consistency with church teaching and doctrine, his pragmatic and pastoral approach to global leadership, as well as his engagement with the town square are innovative. Let us briefly examine each.

A Pragmatic and Pastoral Leader

We must be careful not to overthink Pope Francis. He is a moral leader who emphasizes concrete reality over abstract thinking. Francis presents his beliefs through his actions, not merely by writing or speaking them. Pope Francis is informing individuals and modeling (through thought, word, and deed) a life that is simple and spiritually powerful. He is not the first pope to do this. However, his efficacy has been significantly enhanced by his deeds; not only is he writing about compassion and humility, but he is also living it and modeling such a way of life. Henna Inam helpfully observes that this pragmatic pope, with his emphasis on authenticity, integrity, and transparency, has surprised the world with his common, "man-on the street" touch:

This Pope is known to get out of the Popemobile (in the U.S. visit it was the Jeep Wrangler) to connect with people lined up to see him. He is the first Pope to spread his message on social-media platforms, tweeting in nine languages. He posts online video messages. He is approachable and human, often taking selfies with people. His talks about his love of soccer and tango. To influence others we have to first connect with them authentically, human to human, even if you do happen to be the Pope!²⁴

As such, Inam and others have praised his unorthodox and transformative leadership approach to the papacy that contains elements of both progressive and traditional views.²⁵ He was named pope during a very difficult time in the life of the church, which was trying to recover from the sex abuse scandal as well as facing financial mismanagement, inside-the-Vatican palace intrigue, staff in-fighting, and an increasing distance between the clergy and the flock around the globe. Since his March 2013 election, Francis has sought to address these varied problems, as well as simultaneously committing the church to serving the poor and being a good steward of the planet earth. Just days after his election as pontiff, he shared his hope that the Roman Catholic Church should be “a poor Church, for the poor,”²⁶ a welcoming place for all, especially those in greatest need.

Pope Francis’s 2016 book *The Name of God Is Mercy* continues this pragmatic line of thinking. This work features a conversation between the Pope and Vatican reporter Andrea Tornielli; in Francis’s responses, we can discern a singular, simple, and direct approach to the challenge of our times. His first thought is that the world is in desperate need of unconditional love and mercy. He wants Roman Catholics, and indeed all people of good will, to engage the world in a humble, simple fashion, by offering forgiveness, love, and support to all who ask for it. Interestingly, he also offers a pragmatic explanation of his famous response of “who am I to judge?” to the question about the role of LGBT persons in the church. He explains that his words do not represent a new teaching or a novel engagement with modernity, but rather are informed by the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (1997), which emphasizes on both obedience to the law of God and unconditional love and compassion for the other.²⁷

Another noteworthy example of this pragmatic leadership approach took place in 2017, when the Pope decided to replace the headline theologian German Cardinal Gerhard Müller as prefect of the important Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith with Archbishop Luis Ladaria Ferrer, a Jesuit from Spain. It appears that Müller and Francis shared many disagreements over how to properly interpret and apply Catholic doctrine, and especially around his 2016 papal exhortation *Amoris Laetitia* [The Joy of Love].²⁸ That document caused an uproar among conservative theologians because it allowed for a more merciful application of church teachings, especially to topics like divorce, sexual morality, and access to communion. Whereas Müller favored a strict reading of moral

theology, the pope preferred a more generous and unconditional dispensing of mercy by Catholic priests. Both traditionalists and progressives would be incorrect to assume that this decision indicates a profound theological difference between Cardinal Müller and Pope Francis; a more nuanced assessment brings us to an understanding that this Pope prioritizes mercy over punishment.²⁹ This understanding has big implications for the church in the town square, a topic to which we now turn.

Leading the Church in the Town Square

Pope Francis offers a novel and refreshing vision for the church in the town square. Under Pope Benedict, one focus of the public church was an intellectual debate around the religion–reason dialectic. For instance, in the 2008 volume he coauthored with philosopher Jürgen Habermas, *Dialectics of Secularization: On Reason and Religion*, Benedict powerfully examines the ongoing role of religion in public life in a secular age, in a mostly intellectual, abstract way. For his part, Pope Francis brings a more practical understanding of the role of the church in the town square. Given the complexities of our time, including economic injustices, bruising cultural “wars” over, for example, abortion and marriage, and other difficulties associated with modernity, Francis describes a wounded world, with many people calling out for help. He therefore evokes a public image of the church “as a field hospital, where treatment is given to those most wounded.”³⁰ As such, he manages to confront questions of the church and modernity, not with abstract arguments, but by instead focusing attention on the horrific and real conditions of the poor and the marginalized, which are a historical legacy of unjust economic systems in the present. For Francis, the concrete problems of poverty, economic oppression, and social marginalization trump intellectual debates and require immediate action: *praxis* over theory. His own words explain his view that political activism is essential:

None of us can say, ‘I have nothing to do with this, they govern. . . .’ No, no, I am responsible for their governance, and I have to do the best so that they govern well, and I have to do my best by participating in politics according to my ability. Politics, according to the Social Doctrine of the Church, is one of the highest forms of charity, because it serves the common good. I cannot wash my hands, eh? We all have to give something!³¹

Like Aristotle, who offers a more empirically grounded philosophy than either Plato or Socrates, Pope Francis also tends to be more pragmatic than Pope Benedict, his immediate predecessor.³² Cardinal Pietro Parolin, the Vatican's secretary of state, specifically noted the parallel between Pope Francis and Aristotle—as well as Thomas Aquinas and the medieval scholastics—arguing that we must move beyond the idea of economics as an abstract science and instead return to the human dimension of economic activity, noting that “economic theory and policy are thus primarily ‘practical’, subordinated to the life of the pólis and morality, and meant to be directed by the virtues of justice and prudence.”³³ If people are suffering in the town square, then the church needs to be a place for both material support and spiritual healing. The church is therefore not a place for blame, judgment, or abstract theories, but rather, just like a hospital—where doctors and nurses do not blame the infirm for being sick—priests, nuns, and the faithful must work to help heal all the sick, whether they hold traditional or progressive views. For Pope Francis, everything is connected: just as economic activity must be linked to human flourishing, theological thinking must be coupled to a broader hermeneutical understanding of the human good. To that point, Habermas's insights are particularly apt: just as his work has deepened our understanding of how written accounts of religion are passed from generation to generation, Pope Francis invites each new generation—even those occupying the secular world—to pursue a moral life by enlivening it through works of service to the poor and the marginalized.³⁴

As the chapters in this volume will demonstrate, Pope Francis actively introduces moral reasoning into policy dialogue and frequently applies his views to current hot button topics ranging from capital punishment, to LGBT rights, to the politics of climate change, and even tiptoeing into American electoral politics. In *The Name of God is Mercy*, Francis devotes an entire chapter around the idea that the world needs more shepherds, and not more lawyers and judges, noting that “sometimes, when Christians think like scholars of the law, their hearts extinguish that which the Holy Spirit lights up.”³⁵ He also asks believers to avoid the temptation of becoming “armchair Catholics” and of adopting all the harsh judgments of others that such a condition implies; rather, he implores his flock to go to those in need, as “apostles on the go,” and to share Christianity's positive message most generously.³⁶ This emphasis, both on ministering to actual need and on approaching societal issues with generous openness, is

a defining feature of how Pope Francis leads the church in the town square. By his example, he is also providing government administrators, who may be losing sight of human need, with the perspective of a moral compass.

Francis is ambitious; however, this stance is transformative, not revolutionary. There is aspiration in Francis's moral advocacy, and his agenda goes past the personal to the public and political. He aims to provide a compass for individuals seeking a moral life, as well as direction to world leaders and their communities as they respond to the social and economic challenges of the twenty-first century. Pope Francis humanizes modernity—humans are central, they are valuable, all people have a place, and humans are at the center of economies, globalization, climate change, consumerism, and injustice. Furthermore, he repeatedly points out that one does not have to reject reason to have faith. He contends that both reason and science point to the human capacity to change and show compassion, and suggests that popular religiosity could be an antidote to the supposed nihilism of modernity and globalization. The next section briefly examines the capacity of the papacy to bring theology to policy.

THE POPE AND POLITICS: MORAL AUTHORITY AND GLOBAL LEADERSHIP

The Pope is perhaps the most widely recognized religious leader in the world. Given this position, what role can a pope play in the political debates of our time? What powers and capacities are available to engage the political realm? In 1935, Joseph Stalin famously asked, “And how many divisions has the pope?”³⁷ According to the *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, the Pope has complete and universal power over the entire Catholic Church, as “the Pope enjoys, by divine institution, supreme, full, immediate, and universal power in the care of souls.”³⁸ With 1.2 billion Catholics globally, this is a significant voice; daily mass is celebrated in nearly every country on the planet.³⁹ Traditionally, the Catholic Church can petition the people and, in doing so, can indirectly influence governments and policy. Beyond the Catholic Church, the papacy holds a unique position. Most world leaders are a rather transient group and even those with charisma and a global agenda are only one of over 200 voices. There is always only one pope. This exclusive station enhances the ability for popes to command moral authority and engage in politics.⁴⁰

The individual characteristics of a pope, in terms of agenda and charisma, can also elevate the political capacities of a pope. This was the case of Pope John Paul II, who marshaled opposition to several communist governments, and many credit him with encouraging the Solidarity labor movement in the 1980s.⁴¹ Increasingly, in the last few decades, popes have tried to harvest their position to provide global moral authority and help communities navigate times of war, poverty, and the evils of modern societies. For instance, Pope John XXIII embraced this role as “mother and teacher” to “all men of good will.”⁴²

Mother and Teacher of all nations—such is the Catholic Church in the mind of her Founder, Jesus Christ; to hold the world in an embrace of love, that men, in every age, should find in her their own completeness in a higher order of living, and their ultimate salvation. She is “the pillar and ground of the truth.” To her was entrusted by her holy Founder the twofold task of giving life to her children and of teaching them and guiding them—both as individuals and as nations—with maternal care. Great is their dignity, a dignity which she has always guarded most zealously and held in the highest esteem.⁴³

Similarity, through his moral teachings and social concern, Pope Francis clearly embraces a politically active papacy.

While the office holds the potential for global leadership, Francis has demonstrated that he can be an exceptionally prominent transformational leader. In part, this is a sign of the times in which he lives. As global media capacity has grown, so too have the informal powers of a pope. YouTube, Twitter, and Facebook provide new capacities—and indeed Pope Francis tweets (with over 1400 tweets and 32 million followers) and hosts his own YouTube channel.⁴⁴ A pope can connect with millions with the simple click of a button, reaching far beyond individual congregations, Catholic communities, and traditional media outlets. Francis has clearly leveraged these resources. Within the United States, Francis holds significant support from US Catholics, with an 87 percent approval rating in January 2017.⁴⁵ As Fig. 1.1 demonstrates, in terms of non-Catholics in the United States, a little over half of white evangelical Protestants record a favorably rating; for those who are self-declared “atheist,” “agnostic,” or “nothing in particular,” over 70 percent have a favorable view of Pope Francis, while white mainline Protestants record a 72 percent favorable rating of Francis. Given this interfaith appeal and global platform, Pope Francis increases his potential to impact politics.

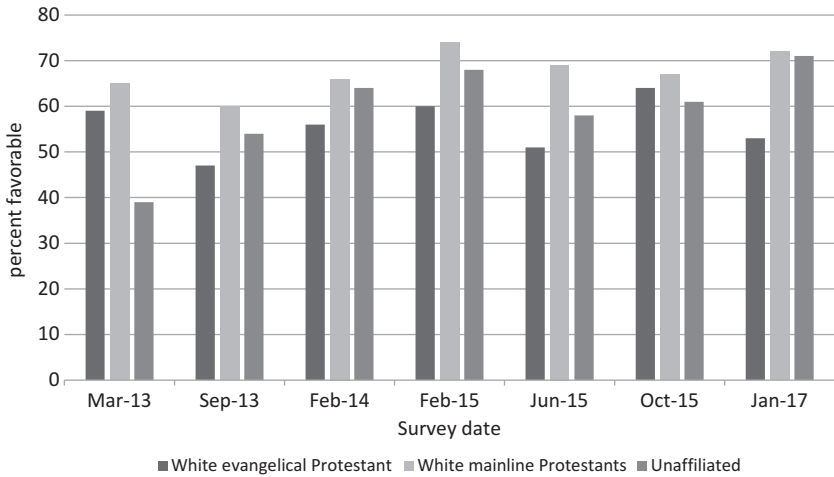


Fig. 1.1 US religious groups recording favorable opinion of Pope Francis. Source: Claire Gecewicz, “U.S. Catholics, non-Catholics continue to view Pope Francis favorably,” Pew Research Center, January 19, 2017, <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/01/18/favorable-u-s-views-pope-francis/>

Pope Francis’s effort at reframing political issues around morality has been both welcome and resisted. Figure 1.2 details the popularity of the last three popes in the United States based on surveys conducted by the Pew Research Center. It finds that Francis’s popularity averages in the high 80 percent range, which is higher than that of Pope Benedict, who averaged a popularity in the mid-70 percent range, but behind the immense popularity enjoyed by Pope John Paul II, who recorded over 90 percent approval in the United States. One explanation for this variation is that although Francis has been embraced by progressives, traditionalists have been less enthusiastic about his unorthodox statements and manner.⁴⁶ This volume tries to further explore this tension through discussion of the two themes introduced above. While many hold a contrary view, Pope Francis does not waver from traditional Catholic Church doctrine. At the same time, he is unusual in his pragmatic and pastoral approach to leadership, as well as his transformative engagement with global political dialogues.

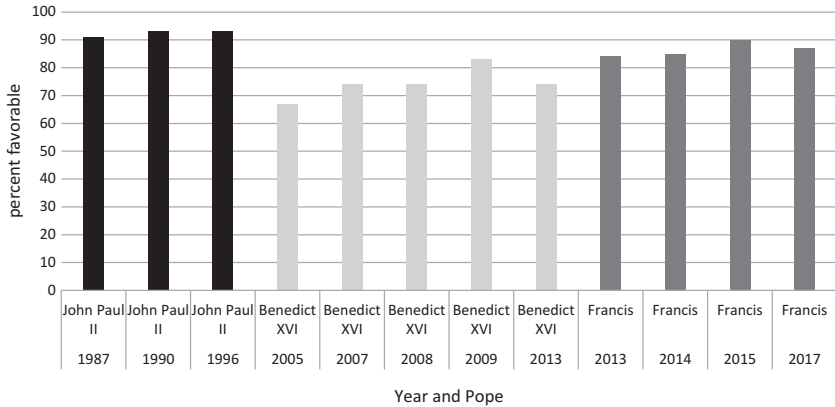


Fig. 1.2 US “favorability” rating for John Paul II, Benedict XVI, and Francis. Source: Claire Gecewicz, “U.S. Catholics, non-Catholics continue to view Pope Francis favorably” Pew Research Center, January 19, 2017, <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/01/18/favorable-u-s-views-pope-francis/>

THE VOLUME: THOUGHT, WORDS, AND DEEDS

In its entirety, this volume offers an original theoretical contribution by showing how theology meets politics, in both the scholarly conversation and in matters of global public policy. We are convinced that such a dialogue enriches both fields, deepens our shared vocabulary, and enables a more robust understanding of Pope Francis.

What does Pope Francis’s leadership approach mean for public policy and politics? Has he found a new way to bring Catholic doctrine into civic dialogue? What role do the Catholic Church and the Pope play today? Can theology help address global issues? The volume addresses these queries in several ways. Each of the chapters examines the complex and complicated aspects of Pope Francis, including his theological views and Jesuit roots; the issues of climate, the war on drugs, peacemaking, and the refugee crisis; and how his message has resonated in the United Nations (UN), Europe, Asia (China, Vietnam, and India), and the Americas.

The first section of the volume, “Where Politics Meets Theology,” features chapters which examine how the theological background of Pope Francis

informs his views. To begin, Paul Manuel (Chap. 2) suggests ways that the field of moral theology might offer political scientists a vocabulary to meaningfully place the words and actions of Pope Francis in context. Thomas Massaro, S.J. (Chap. 3) discusses “the Jesuit angle” of the new Pope, which implies the “so what” question, of what difference it makes to Francis’s papacy, and the “timing” question, which implies both the past (why did it take so long for a Jesuit to become pope) and the present (the larger implications of his Jesuit identity, as well as the distinctiveness of his Jesuit vision for political positions). Next, James McHugh (Chap. 4) examines the contribution that the encyclical *Laudato Si’* has made and the political conflict related to global climate change. Margaret MacLeish Mott (Chap. 5) tries to make sense of some of the pope’s statements in favor of abstinence in the so-called War on Drugs, and wonders how this message resonates with those less capable of following the path of avoiding drugs. We finish the first part of the volume with a contribution from MaryAnne Borrelli (Chap. 6), who examines the frames embraced and imposed by national newspapers in the United States as they report and interpret the moral and political actions of a pope who expresses faith through the mundane as well as the spiritual, through politics as well as prayer.

The second part of the volume examines the global impact of Pope Francis, and includes chapters on the UN, the United States, Europe, China and Vietnam, India, Latin America, and the Syrian refugee crisis. It begins with a contribution by Alynna Lyon (Chap. 7), who looks at Francis as a global policy entrepreneur as he actively engaged the UN and other global policy venues advocating for the UN Sustainability Development Goals and the Paris Climate Change agreement in 2015. Her case study not only examines Francis’s activism, but also the consequences and politicization of his messaging. The next few chapters explore how different regions of the world have responded to Pope Francis. Anne Marie Cammisa (Chap. 8) offers a policy analysis of Pope Francis’s 2015 address to the US Congress. Elizabeth Carter (Chap. 9) follows with an assessment of Pope Francis as creatively bridging the gap between secularism and Christianity in Europe, in terms of a renewed focus on economic justice. Christine Gustafson asks what difference does it make that Pope Francis is from Latin America (Chap. 10), with a focus on the socioeconomic and political drama of the last five decades in that region, as well as

on the development of a distinctive pastoral mind-set (including a view of politics) among the highest leaders of the church in Latin America. Lawrence C. Reardon (Chap. 11) examines the rapport between the Vatican and China under Pope Francis, with particular focus on recent diplomatic meetings signaling the birth of a significant new understanding between them, and on the special role of Cardinal Parolin, the secretary of state. John Chathanatt, S.J. (Chap. 12) looks at both the theological and political challenges of the theology of Pope Francis in India, as well as the Indian response to Francis. The volume finishes with an examination of how Pope Francis has responded to the Syrian refugee crisis. Tara Carr-Lemke and Miguel Glatzer (Chap. 13) examine the many ways that Pope Francis counters contemporary anti-immigrant sentiment through his rhetoric, writing, and symbolic actions, reimagining traditional attitudes toward migrants—certainly a fitting concluding chapter on how theology and politics interact globally under Pope Francis.

Pope Francis offers the church a dynamic and powerful new leadership style. He holds a commitment to serving the poor, upholds the tenets of Vatican II and the theology of the people, and rejects neo-Marxism. He has placed an increased emphasis on interfaith dialogues, a humble, more accessible papacy, and greater engagement and outreach with all people—all with the simple joy of a follower of Christ. In the words of Father Carlos Galli:

Joy and peace. Joy is the key to his pontificate. He insists on it in his three major documents—“*Evangelii Gaudium*,” “*Laudato Si*” and “*Amoris Laetitia*”—and in his talk to the 36th General Congregation of the Jesuits. This insistence on joy is an underlying theme of contemporary Catholicism, starting with John XXIII’s address at the opening of Vatican II and that council’s document on the church in the modern world, “*Gaudium et Spes*.”⁴⁷

With joy, and without changing any church doctrine, Pope Francis has unsettled the traditional understanding of religion and politics as he tries to engage all people of good will into a variety of conversations in a way unimaginable under prior popes.

In toto, the chapters in this volume examine the ancient relationship between theology and politics—traditionally understood as public policy supporting the common good—in terms of the scrambled progressive and conservative categories of his papacy, and, as such, offer us a novel way to understand Pope Francis.

NOTES

1. See cover image, *Time.com*, December 23, 2013, <http://content.time.com/time/covers/0%2C16641%2C20131223%2C00.html>
2. See *Vatican News (Vatican Radio)*, “Pope Francis: ‘Miserando atque eligendo,’” March 22, 2013, <http://www.news.va/en/news/pope-francis-miserando-atque-eligendo>
3. See *TheRecord.com*, “Argentine Gays Remember New Pope’s ‘War’ against Gay Marriage When He Was Cardinal,” March 15, 2013, <http://www.thercord.com/news-story/2626170-argentine-gays-remember-new-pope-s-war-against-gay-marriage-when-he-was-cardinal/>; and Laurie Goodstein, “Pope Francis’ Mixed Messages on Sexuality,” *The New York Times*, July 28, 2015, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2015/07/24/us/29popegaymarriage.html>
4. John L. Allen Jr., “Francis Vows to Press Benedict’s Fight vs. ‘Dictatorship of Relativism,’” March 22, 2013, <https://www.ncronline.org/blogs/ncr-today/francis-vows-press-benedicts-fight-vs-dictatorship-relativism>
5. Gerard O’Connell, “Pope Francis Is Popular but Not a Populist,” *America*, March 13, 2017, <https://www.americamagazine.org/faith/2017/03/13/pope-francis-popular-not-populist-prominent-argentinean-theologian-says>
6. Inés San Martín, “For Pope Francis, People are More Important than Ideas,” September 18, 2015, *Crux*, <https://cruxnow.com/papal-visit/2015/09/18/for-pope-francis-people-are-more-important-than-ideas/>
7. Emma Green, “Pope Francis Is Not ‘Progressive’—He’s a Priest: How to Read the Pontiff as He Visits the United States of America,” *The Atlantic*, September 22, 2015, <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2015/09/pope-francis-is-not-a-progressive-or-a-liberalhes-a-priest/406519/>. See also a fascinating discussion about how to understand Pope Francis with Devin Singh, Sister Simone Campbell, Nathan Schneider, and Father Stephen Gaertner, at *OxideRadio.org*, June 24, 2017, <http://www.oxideradio.org/episodes/2017/6/24/episode-13-religion>
8. Austen Ivereigh, *The Great Reformer: Francis and the Making of a Radical Pope* (New York: Picador, 2014); Thomas J. Craughwell *Pope Francis: The Pope from the End of the Earth*, foreword Cardinal Seán O’Malley (Charlotte, NC: Saint Benedict, 2013); Marie Duhamel, *Pope Francis: The Story of the Holy Father* (Paris: Hachette Books, October 18, 2016); David Willey, *The Promise of Francis: The Man, the Pope, and the Challenge of Change* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2017); Robert Moynihan, *Pray for Me: The Life and Spiritual Vision of Pope Francis, First Pope from the Americas* (New York: Crown Publishing Group, 2013); Elisabetta Piqué, *Pope Francis: Life and Revolution: A Biography of Jorge Bergoglio* (Chicago: Loyola Press, 2014).
9. Paul Vallely in *Pope Francis: Untying the Knots*. London: Bloomsbury, 2013, second edition 2015.
10. Mark K. Shriver, *Pilgrimage: My Search for the Real Pope Francis*. Random House Publishing, 2016.

11. Matthew E. Bunson, *Pope Francis* (2013), *Our Sunday Visitor* (2013); Michael J. Ruzsala, *Pope Francis: Pastor of Mercy* (Sudbury, MA: Wyatt North Publishing, 2013).
12. Sergio Rubin *Pope Francis: Conversations with Jorge Bergoglio: His Life in His Own Words* (New York: Penguin, 2013); and Mariano Fazio, *Pope Francis: Keys to His Thought*, Strongsville (Ohio: Scepter, 2017). One might also include in this category Michael J. O'Loughlin's *The Tweetable Pope: A Spiritual Revolution in 140 Characters* (New York: HarperCollins, 2015) and John Gehring's *The Francis Effect: A Radical Pope's Challenge to the American Catholic Church* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015).
13. See, for instance, Jorge Mario Bergoglio, "Discurso inaugural," in Congreso Internacional de Teología, "Evangelización de la cultura e inculturación del Evangelio," *Stromata* 61 (1985): 161–65; *Laudato Si': On Care for Our Common Home*, 2015; Francis, *The Name of God Is Mercy* (2016); Francis, *The Joy of the Gospel: Evangelii Gaudium*, trans. Oonagh Stransky (Dublin: Veritas, 2013).
14. Sandro Magister, "The Pope and the Philosopher," *Chiesa Espresso* online, March 31, 2014, http://chiesa.espresso.repubblica.it/articolo/1350753bdc4.html?eng=y&refresh_cc
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. See, for instance, Juan Carlos Scannone, *La teología del pueblo: Raíces teológicas del papa Francisco* [*The Theology of the People: Theological Roots of Pope Francis*] (Bilbao, Spain: Editorial Sal Terrae, 2017); Carlos María Galli, *Dios vive en la ciudad: hacia una nueva pastoral urbana a la luz de Aparecida y del proyecto misionero de Francisco* [*God lives in the City: Towards a new urban pastoral in the Light of Aparecida and of the Missionary Project of Francisco*] (Barcelona, Spain: Herder Editorial, 2014); Diego Fares, *The Heart of Pope Francis: How a New Culture of Encounter Is Changing the Church and the World*, foreword by Antonio Spadaro (New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company, 2015); Massimo Faggioli, *Pope Francis: Tradition in Transition* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2015).
21. Ernesto Cavassa, S.J., "On the Trail of Aparecida: Jorge Bergoglio and the Latin American Ecclesial Tradition," *America*, October 13, 2013, <https://www.americamagazine.org/trail-aparecida>
22. *Evangelii Gaudium*, 198. Also see Joshua J. McElwee, "Pope Francis: 'I Would Love a Church That Is Poor,'" March 16, 2013, *National Catholic Reporter*. Robert S. Pelton assembled a useful edited volume about *Aparecida* in 2014, entitled *Aparecida: Quo Vadis?* (Scranton, OH: University of Scranton Press, 2009). Similarly, Massimo Faggioli's important 2017 book, *Catholicism and Citizenship. Political Cultures of the Church in the Twenty-First Century*, (Collegeville, MN: Michael Glazier

- Publishers, 2017) explores how the church is engaging the modern and globalized world, in the light of Vatican II, in the age of Francis, with particular emphasis on *Gaudium et Spes*.
23. Tara García Mathewson, “To Understand the Pope, One Must Follow Him Home,” *National Catholic Reporter*, April 8, 2016, at <https://www.ncronline.org/news/people/understand-pope-one-must-follow-him-home>
 24. Henna Inam, “The Pope: Six Lessons on Transformational Leadership,” *Forbes*, October 1, 2015, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/hennainam/2015/10/01/lead-like-the-pope-6-lessons-on-transformational-leadership/#7128290739cf>
 25. See John L. Allen Jr., *The Francis Miracle: Inside the Transformation of the Pope and the Church* (New York: Time, 2015); Noah Rayman, “5 Leadership Lessons You Can Learn From Pope Francis,” *Time*, March 10, 2015, <http://time.com/3737887/pope-francis-leadership-lessons/>; Robert Brehl, “Francis Is a True Transformational Leader,” *The National Catholic Register*, May 7, 2015, <https://www.catholicregister.org/opinion/columnists/item/20197-francis-is-a-true-transformational-leader>
 26. Inam, “The Pope: Six Lessons on Transformational Leadership”; Joshua J. McElwee, “Pope Francis: ‘I Would Love a Church That Is Poor,’” March 16, 2013, *National Catholic Reporter*, <https://www.ncronline.org/blogs/francis-chronicles/pope-francis-i-would-love-church-poor>. “Pope Francis Wants ‘Poor Church for the Poor,’” March 16, 2013, *BBC News*, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-21812545>
 27. Joshua J. McElwee, “Francis Explains ‘Who Am I to Judge?’” January 10, 2016, *National Catholic Reporter*, <https://www.ncronline.org/news/vatican/francis-explains-who-am-i-judge>
 28. Francis, *Amoris Laetitia*, The Vatican Website, April 8, 2016, http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/apost_exhortations/documents/papa-francesco_esortazione-ap_20160319_amoris-laetitia.html
 29. Gerard O’Connell, “Pope Francis Appoints Spanish Jesuit Ladaria to Replace Müller at CDF,” *America*, July 1, 2017, <https://www.americamagazine.org/faith/2017/07/01/pope-francis-appoints-spanish-jesuit-ladaria-replace-muller-cdf>
 30. Pope Francis and Oonagh Stransky, *The Name of God Is Mercy* (New York: Penguin Random House, 2016), 8. Also see chapter 6, pp. 55–74.
 31. Jessica Ravitz, “The Pope: Not Just for Catholics Anymore,” *CNN*, September 15, 2015, <http://www.cnn.com/2015/09/13/us/pope-francis-non-catholic-flock/index.html>
 32. Carol Glatz, “In Latest Interview, Pope Francis Reveals Top 10 Secrets to Happiness,” July 29, 2014, *National Catholic Reporter*, <https://www.ncronline.org/blogs/francis-chronicles/latest-interview-pope-francis-reveals-top-10-secrets-happiness>
 33. *Catholic World News* “Cardinal Parolin Links Pope Francis’s Economic Teaching to Aristotle, Pope Benedict,” November 4, 2014, <https://www.catholicculture.org/news/headlines/index.cfm?storyid=23120>

34. See Jürgen Habermas, *Religion and Rationality: Essays on Reason, God and Modernity*, Studies in Contemporary German Social Thought (Padstow, Cornwall: Polity, 2002); Joseph Ratzinger and Jürgen Habermas, *The Dialectics of Secularization: On Reason and Religion* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2006).
35. Francis, *The Name of God is Mercy*, 68.
36. Carol Glatz, “Pope Tells Archbishops Not to Be ‘Armchair Catholics,’ but Apostles,” *Crux*, June 29, 2017, <https://cruxnow.com/vatican/2017/06/29/pope-tells-archbishops-not-armchair-catholics-apostles/>
37. Stalin is quoted by George Weigel, “The Pope’s Divisions,” *Washington Post*, September 22, 1996, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/entertainment/books/1996/09/22/the-popes-divisions/cf1d1735-450e-46e1-bd59-39fda4ee0ad8/?utm_term=.15ddb2f7f561
38. See *The Catechism of the Catholic Church* (New York: Doubleday, 1995), also available online at www.vatican.va/archive/ccc_css/archive/catechism/p123a9p4.htm, point 937: “The Pope enjoys, by divine institution, “supreme, full, immediate, and universal power in the care of souls (CD 2).”
39. *BBC News*, “How many Roman Catholics are there in the world?,” March 14, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-21443313>; Fallible Blogma, “Some Have Estimated That 350,000 Daily Masses Take Place Around the Globe,” *Fallibleblogma.com*, August 30, 2010, <http://fallible-blogma.com/index.php/now-this-is-communion/>
40. Paul Hofmann, “Embracing a Mission of Global Moral Authority,” *The New York Times*, October 7, 1979.
41. To that point, see the fascinating PBS *Frontline* story by Jane Barnes and Helen Whitney, “John Paul II and the Fall of Communism,” *Public Broadcasting System*, n.d., <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/pope/communism/>
42. John XXIII, “*Mater et Magistra*, Encyclical of Pope John XXIII on Christianity and Social Progress,” The Vatican Website, May 15, 1961, http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-xxiii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_j-xxiii_enc_15051961_mater.html
43. *Ibid.*
44. Carlo Marroni, “Pope Francis has 32 million followers on Twitter,” *ItalyEurope24*, December 19, 2016, <http://www.italy24.ilssole24ore.com/art/panorama/2016-12-19/vatican-112115.php?uuid=ADVgmWGC>
45. Claire Gecewicz, “U.S. Catholics, Non-Catholics Continue to View Pope Francis Favorably,” Pew Research Center, January 18, 2017, <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/01/18/favorable-u-s-views-pope-francis/>
46. Tracy Connor, “Not Everyone Loves Pope Francis: Conservative Catholics Voice Concern Over ‘Revolutionary’ Message” *NBC News*, October 15, 2013, <http://www.nbcnews.com/news/other/not-everyone-loves-pope-francis-conservative-catholics-voice-concern-over-f8C11398435>
47. Gerard O’Connell, “Pope Francis Is Popular but not a Populist.”

How the Theological Priorities of Pope Francis Inform His Policy Goals

Paul Christopher Manuel

As discussed in the introduction of this volume, social scientists trying to make sense of the complicated and confusing papacy of Francis face an array of conceptual difficulties. *Being There*, a 1979 comedy drama starring Peter Sellers, offers a valuable cautionary tale.¹ The film introduces the fascinating character of Chance the gardener, a middle-aged man who spends his days tending to the garden at a large Washington, DC, estate. When the owner dies, Chance is forced to leave the only home he has ever known. As the story unfolds, Chance ends up meeting many influential people, who begin to project upon him their hopes and expectations. Each character in the film interprets Chance in the way he or she wants him to be, without bothering to understand who he is, how he thinks, and what he is talking about. Nobody takes the time to get to know and truly understand him. The film therefore cautions us to be careful to take the time to listen to each other before we jump to conclusions based on half-truths or preconceived notions.

A similar problem applies to the way some observers talk about Pope Francis; some have even suspected that Pope Francis holds neo-Marxist inclinations.² This chapter tries to correct such misconceptions, and instead move toward a more robust comprehension of how theology

P. C. Manuel (✉)
American University, Washington, DC, USA

informs his policy goals. To that end, it will review the main priorities of his papacy, which are derived from the Argentine theology of the people, and subsequently detailed in his 2013 apostolic exhortation *Evangelii Gaudium*. This chapter also suggests that the field of moral theology offers social scientists a novel vocabulary to dialog about how Pope Francis sees, understands, and prioritizes his papacy.

THE THEOLOGY OF THE PEOPLE

As the first pope from Latin America, Pope Francis has based the priorities of his papacy around the main tenets of the “Argentine theology of the people”—a term, according to Jesuit Juan Carlos Scannone, possibly derived from the “Argentine school of popular pastoral theology,” attributed to Joaquin Luco Alliende.³ Claudio Remeseria notes that the Argentinian theology of the people has also been referred to in various ways: as the national-popular line of liberation theology, theology of the popular pastoral, and the theology of culture.⁴ This reformist theological approach emerged from the documents approved at the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), particularly *Gaudium et Spes*, which discussed the role of the church in the world, as well as the discussions around liberation theology that took place at the meetings of the Council of Latin American Bishops [*Consejo Episcopal Latinoamericano*, CELAM] at Medellin, Colombia (1968) and Puebla, Mexico (1979).⁵ In his seminal article, “Pope Francis and the Theology of the People,” Juan Carlos Scannone, who was the Pope’s teacher, citing Peruvian priest and liberation theologian Gustavo Gutierrez, argues that the Argentine theology of the people is “a current with its own characteristics (*rasgos propios*) within Liberation Theology.”⁶ The Latin American bishops have focused much of their theological work over the last 50 years on specifying both the unjust economic systems that lead to much suffering, poverty, social marginalization, and displacement and the concrete steps required to alleviate the suffering.⁷ Christine Gustafson’s chapter in this volume also examines this issue.

The final documents from the 2007 meeting of the Latin American bishops in *Aparecida*, Brazil, respond to these needs. Then known as Cardinal Jorge Mario Bergoglio, Francis, with Carlos Maria Galli, authored the final documents of that 2007 meeting.⁸ Ernesto Cavassa contends that “Aparecida was not just another event,” because it recognized “the maturation of the church in Latin America after the Second Vatican Council,”⁹ and “Aparecida repeated a style and highlighted some issues that have been part of the church’s identity since the first CELAM meeting in Medellin in 1968.”¹⁰

The basic idea of the theology of the people is bottom-up: that the honest and sincere love of God practiced by people at the local level might inform the theological understanding and religious behavior of the global church. The echoes of this theological approach may be traced back to the early days of Spanish and Portuguese colonialization: for instance, the sixteenth-century Dominicans Bartolomé de Las Casas of Spain and Fernando Oliveira of Portugal both condemned the treatment of indigenous peoples by the Spanish and Portuguese authorities.¹¹ Five hundred years later, poverty and marginalization continue to plague Latin America and the global South and demand concrete action; the theology of the people is a contemporary spiritual and practical response to the ongoing challenges of spiritual despondency, economic oppression, social marginalization, and dialogue with other faith traditions. Pope Francis had identified these areas as key priorities for his pastoral work in Argentina as early as the 1970s.¹² They were subsequently developed for close to 40 years, and eventually took form in *Evangelii Gaudium*.¹³

An important work describing the main tenets of the theology of the people, and providing insight into the papal priorities under Francis, was published in Italy in 2015. Called *Introduzione alla teologia del popolo: Profilo spirituale e teologico di Rafael Tello* [*Introduction to the Theology of the People: A Theological and Spiritual Profile of Rafael Tello*],¹⁴ it features an introduction by Pope Francis, which had been originally composed in 2012 when he was still the Cardinal of Buenos Aires. Francis commented on the evolution of the theology of the people, as he praised the theological contribution of Rafael Tello to its development.¹⁵

Combined, *Aparecida* and the *Introduzione alla teologia del popolo* set forth some of the basic principles of the theology of the people, including the appreciation of diverse cultural realities, the obligation to promote the well-being of the poorest in any given society, and the development of practical solutions to varied economic, social, and spiritual problems.¹⁶ This approach rejects neo-Marxist libertine atheistic understandings; rather, in its call for the development of a poor church for the poor, it emphasizes the need to place Christ—who lived among the poor and the socially marginalized—at the center of all activities.¹⁷ As such, the theology of the people was viewed among Argentinian theologians as acceptable alternative to more radical liberation theological approaches elsewhere in Latin America. To that point, Andrea Gagliarducci aptly notes that “while radical liberation theologians looked to Marxist, immanentist interpretations of the Gospel, theology of the people was founded on common people’s culture and devotion, including

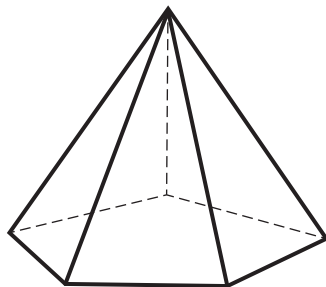
their spirituality and sense of justice.”¹⁸ Likewise, Carlos Maria Galli argued at an April 2016 lecture at the School of Theology and Ministry at Boston College, at a forum on the Latin American Intellectual Roots of Pope Francis’s Pontificate, that “*Aparecida*, a theology that Francis once helped define, . . . now defines his papacy.”¹⁹ Juan Scannone observes that “[the theology of the people] began in Argentina and then was taken to Rome by the Synod. There Paul VI deepened it, before it was taken up in Puebla and further enriched at *Aparecida* (2007). Now it returns to Rome with Pope Francis, who has helped it flourish, to the enrichment of the universal church.”²⁰ The approach clearly influenced the 2013 apostolic exhortation *Evangelii Gaudium* [the Joy of the Gospel], where Francis argues, among other important points, that “the need to resolve the structural causes of poverty cannot be delayed . . . because society needs to be cured of a sickness which is weakening it.”²¹ The focus on the poor is central to this papacy.

Evangelii Gaudium and the Four Bergoglian Priorities

At a March 27, 2017, Georgetown University panel discussion entitled “The Francis Factor, After Four Years,” Archbishop Christophe Pierre, the Papal Nuncio, pointed out that Pope Francis believes that the “church is in the business of evangelization.”²² However, his understanding of evangelization, and hence the business of the church, might be a source of confusion for observers. “To evangelize,” according to *Merriam-Webster*, means “to preach the gospel,” or “to convert to Christianity.”²³ For their part, the US Conference of Catholic Bishops define “evangelization,” following Pope Paul VI, *Evangelii Nuntiandi* [On Evangelization in the Modern World], as “bringing the Good News of Jesus into every human situation and seeking to convert individuals and society by the divine power of the Gospel itself.”²⁴ Both of these definitions provide a general understanding of the work of the church, but they do not capture how Francis sees, understands, and prioritizes his papacy.

For answers, we would do well to start with his namesake, Saint Francis of Assisi. Shane Macedonio, in *Rise: The Harvard College Leadership Review*, astutely notes that “by choosing the name Francis after St. Francis of Assisi, the Pope revealed his intention to promote simplicity, the protection of the poor, humility, and most importantly, the rebuilding of the Church.”²⁵ Similarly, a quote attributed to Saint Francis is that his followers ought to “preach the gospel at all times; when necessary, use

Fig. 2.1 A polyhedron



words.” Putting aside the question of whether he actually said it, those words nonetheless bring us to a rich idea of how Pope Francis envisions the business of the church: he prioritizes action over words (Fig. 2.1).

Francis frames his priorities as pope around the fascinating image of a polyhedron,²⁶ defined by *Merriam-Webster* as “a solid formed by plane faces.”²⁷ The pope writes in *Evangelii Gaudium* that “here our model is . . . the polyhedron, which reflects the convergence of all its parts, each of which preserves its distinctiveness . . . it is the sum total of persons within a society which pursues the common good, which truly has a place for everyone.”²⁸ As such, this image directly leads to the notion of community obligations. Gerald Schlabach explains, “Both a sphere and a polyhedron can serve as metaphors for human equality, but the first is individualistic and the second is communal. While a sphere seems to offer perfect equidistance from the center, the egalitarian justice of a sphere is deceptive, for its cost is the globalized smoothing out of all cultural differences. A polyhedron, in contrast, offers the image of a richer justice of equality through participation in local cultures that have not lost their distinctiveness.”²⁹

As such, the polyhedron provides a useful context of the main Bergoglian priorities, which are intended to engage the church, and indeed all people of good will, to look beyond the small things and onto a larger conversation on how to improve the human condition. As Francis argues, “The church sometimes has locked itself up in small things, in small-minded rules.”³⁰ By using the polyhedron image, the pope is trying to move the church away from a narrow application of rules, and instead on to his larger priorities around the issues of community building and social solidarity.

There are, of course, many issues that require Francis’s attention. The day after his election as pope, Michael Hirst usefully listed a number of priorities facing him, including the management of the Vatican bureaucracy, dealing

with the sex abuse scandal, revisiting the role of women in the church, fewer people participating in the life of the church, and decline in the number of priests.³¹ Also, and as Austen Ivereigh reminds us in his important work, *The Great Reformer: Francis and the Making of a Radical Pope*, the main priorities while he was in Argentina were around the questions of spiritual worldliness, the poor, politics, education, and dialogue with other faiths.³² These remained his main priorities as pope, and they gained global salience with the issuance of *Evangelii Gaudium*.³³

Juan Scannone contends that four main priorities inform his papacy. As listed in Box 2.1, these priorities are certainly consistent with his theological understandings and approach to ministry during his years in Argentina, but have taken a more innovative form. They include “time is greater than space,” “unity over conflict,” “concrete realities over abstract ideas,” and “the superiority of the whole over the parts.”³⁴ These are certainly ponderous terms; simultaneously intriguing and confusing. Through them, however, Francis connects his theological principals with the practical challenges of a world characterized by huge gaps between the haves and the have not’s. In a word, these priorities bring Francis from theory to *praxis*. Let us briefly examine each.

Box 2.1 The Four Bergoglian Priorities

1. Time is greater than space (EG 222–25)
2. Unity prevails over conflict (EG 226–30)
3. Realities are more important than ideas (EG 231–33)
4. The whole is greater than the part (EG 234–37)

Source: *Evangelii Gaudium*, Chapter 4, Part III, “The common good and peace in society” [217–37]. They were dubbed “priorities” by Juan Carlos Scannone, “Pope Francis and the Theology of the people,” *Theological Studies*, 127–30.

First Priority: Time Is Greater Than Space

The first priority is predicated on the idea that people should be more concerned with using their God-given gifts to serve humankind, rather than being narrowly focused on personal gain and comfort. The “time” spent on helping others is much greater than the “space” they occupy, be it the title they carry, or the office they hold. The pope wants people to

think beyond the narrow confines of the so-called corporate ladder and, instead, identify and develop their talents to enrich those around them, in the present; such good works could then reverberate into the future. From this perspective, “time” is an open, never-ending possibility, always reaching into the future, and connects our work to the Almighty, who exists outside of time as we know it. “Time” is also much greater than “space,” which is bound to a particular moment, and could lead us to prioritize inappropriate goals in life.

Most importantly, the pope asks people to prioritize their work in the current moment to advance the condition of generations of yet-to-be born human beings. As he stated in his July 27, 2013, address to the Brazilian bishops: “The church’s legacy is transmitted through witness.”³⁵ However, immediate material concerns often distract people, who lose sight of what is truly important. Cognizant of that danger, Pope Francis wrote that “sometimes I wonder if there are people in today’s world who are really concerned about generating processes of people-building, as opposed to obtaining immediate results which yield easy, quick short-term political gains, but do not enhance human fullness.”³⁶ The inordinate desire for money is an age-old problem, which has the potential to damage both the individual as well as society.

A focus on the problem of inordinate attachments to things of this world brings us to the crux of this priority: “Time is greater than space.” Desires for money, prestige, and power have deceived people since the birth of civilization; this problem remains deeply rooted in society. One example of how this problem expresses itself can be found in an important 2006 study by Donald McCabe, Kenneth Butterfield, and Linda Treviño on cheating in schools. They found that the desire for success, based on a me-first “culture of greed,” has rendered business students more likely to cheat than others.³⁷ More recently, their 2017 book *Cheating in College: Why Students Do It and What Educators Can Do about It* studies how group think might lead to dishonest behavior for personal gain.³⁸ This work is in harmony with the Pope’s concern for the future of society: What will the future look like if our young leaders continue to engage in unethical behavior for short-term personal gain?

This problem also extends to the larger global context, where the gap between rich and poor is growing. A 2016 report by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) finds an increase in global wealth disparity, between the haves and the have-nots.³⁹ The pope’s teaching is that becoming powerful and wealthy, although a common recipe

for success, is deceptive and has the potential of distancing the individual from God. As a remedy to that danger, this first priority, then, encourages a move away from inordinate desires of status, office, power, or money, and instead on to helping others.

As Pope, Francis serves as the Vicar of Christ and teaches his flock to live as Christ lived. He warns against any materialist economic system—capitalism or communism—that favors status, power, and wealth over social solidarity, and therefore moves people away from God.⁴⁰ Francis notes, “Whenever our interior life becomes caught up in its own interests and concerns, there is no longer room for others, no place for the poor. God’s voice is no longer heard, the quiet joy of his love is no longer felt, and the desire to do good fades.”⁴¹ This leads to the theological understanding that public policy should be based on both a historical and a Christocentric anthropology—to find Jesus in all work, places, and activities, whatever one’s role.

Francis calls for a poor church that will serve the poor precisely because a divorce from transient material things is the clearest path to God. We can find this priority expressed throughout *Evangelii Gaudium*—with its emphasis on accompanying the poor through their daily struggles. As such, Francis prioritizes action, or praxis, in history; that the good works one generation accomplishes might reverberate well into the future.⁴² As such, this first priority is a pastoral concern to be faithful to the Gospel, and certainly not an appeal to an atheistic Marxist ideology.

Second Priority: Unity Over Conflict

The controlling idea behind the second priority is theological, derived from Matthew 5: 9: “Blessed are the peacemakers.” The issue of conflict between people and nations is as challenging today as it was 2000 years ago. As we gaze around the contemporary world, it is difficult to find any place devoid of war. In 2017, *Foreign Policy Magazine* reports that among the most troubling areas are Syria, Iraq, Turkey, Yemen, the Greater Sahel and Lake Chad Basin, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, South Sudan, Afghanistan, Myanmar, Ukraine, and Mexico.⁴³ Correspondingly, the Center for Preventive Action at the Council for Foreign Relations Global produces a Conflict Tracker, with similar results.⁴⁴ Many other organizations also keep track of the innumerable conflicts in the world. Indeed, in Chap. 13 of this very volume, Tara Carr-Lemke and Miguel Glatzer examine this problem as it relates to global migration and the refugee crisis. Conflict among peoples and nations remains a major global problem.

This second priority responds to that problem. It asks people to move toward a resolution of conflict through open dialogue. Pope Francis seeks a world in which people, and countries, willingly acknowledge their differences, and then engage in open and honest dialog, to identify the causes of the conflict and possibly to move toward a resolution.⁴⁵ He envisions that a resolution would be positive for all involved, “This principle, drawn from the Gospel, reminds us that Christ has made all things one in himself . . . the sign of this unity and reconciliation of all things in him is peace. Christ ‘is our peace’.”⁴⁶

Theological reflections such as these are often considered to be naïve, simplistic, unsophisticated, and unworkable in the real world replete with nuclear weapons, bands of armed terrorists, drug lords, and other dangers. However, the pope is not working from the same playbook as political leaders. His priority is to help move people away from conflict and violence, and on to a peaceful, cooperative world.

Third Priority: Concrete Realities Are More Important Than Ideas

The third priority is a central organizing principle of his papacy and brings us to the idea of the historical Christ. Given Pope Francis’s conviction that God took the human form of Jesus Christ at a precise place and time in human history, he prefers concrete realities over abstract ideas.⁴⁷ Rather than view grace and sin as mere abstract concepts, the pope argues that Christians, and all people of good will, should identify ways to live according to God’s commandments, in this time and in this place. As he says, “Being a Christian is not the result of an ethical choice or a lofty idea, but the encounter with an event, a person, which gives life a new horizon and a decisive direction.”⁴⁸

To that point, the noteworthy Brazilian liberation theologian Antonio Moser points out that any discussion about moral theology in Latin America must start with the historical Christ.⁴⁹ For him, this starting point leads to a very accessible and practical theology, that connects our beliefs to our actions, and demands that we act accordingly: “God’s heart has a special place for the poor, so much so that he himself became poor.”⁵⁰ As evidenced by the *Aparecida* documents, and his apostolic exhortations, Pope Francis extends traditional Catholic notions of sin as acting in disharmony with God, from a limited concern with moral sin (i.e., an individual in disharmony with God by disobeying His commandments), to also encompass the liberation theology idea of structural sin (i.e., any economic

system that distances people from God). For Francis, structural sin can be found in the concrete reality of economic structures that favor the rich at the expense of the poor or the marginalized, thereby breaking down natural solidarity among people. He has strived to focus attention on the need to address such systemic injustices in policy formation, especially as expressed by the preferential option for the poor.

In a 2013 interview, the Jesuit liberation theologian José Sobrino noted that although the words of Pope Francis about global poverty were very good, the real test would be in his actions—specifically, whether Francis does something about the dual problems of indifference from those who have, and oppression for those who have not.⁵¹ In this regard, one could argue that Pope Francis has performed reasonably well in the first few years of his papacy. Among other steps, pastoral and relief efforts for the poor are ongoing, as discussed elsewhere in this volume. Also, as Margaret Mott and MaryAnne Borrelli argue in their chapters, the pope has endeavored to make the Catholic Church itself a more welcoming, open, and more just place for all.

Fourth Priority: The Whole Is Greater Than the Part

The fourth priority envisions the relationship between the local (parts) and the larger global community (whole) to be one of shared obligations.⁵² This priority informed Pope Francis's 2013 address to the Brazilian bishops, in which he noted that “central bureaucracy is not sufficient; there is also a need for increased collegiality and solidarity,” implying greater participation of local and regional elements.⁵³ This priority infers the principle of subsidiarity, or the idea of moving decision-making from the center to the local levels.⁵⁴ Pope Francis is committed to subsidiarity, noting that “we can work on a small scale, in our own neighborhood, but with a larger perspective . . . the global need not stifle, nor the particular prove barren.”⁵⁵ Nathan Schneider has insightfully observed that the Pope's October 2015 address to the American Congress touched on the idea of subsidiarity, whereby national and local levels share power and responsibility: “Mutual responsibility, I think, is the side of subsidiarity that Francis most meant to emphasize today. While conservatives and progressives in the United States have different social visions, and have the right to live their lives accordingly, they also have to cooperate for the good of all.”⁵⁶

Shared responsibility between the whole and the parts is particularly significant in the increasingly globalized world. This notion is suggestive of the so-called glocal movement—a word that combines “global” with

“local.” The term originated in the business world to describe how products and best business practices from the larger world could be adapted to a local level (e.g., McDonald’s adapting its American menu to other countries, for instance serving wine in France)—and has since expanded to other fields.⁵⁷ Sociologist Roland Robertson usefully defined the term “glocalization” to mean “the simultaneity—the co-presence—of both universalizing and particularizing.”⁵⁸ Glocalization also speaks to the complex challenges facing world leaders—the interrelationship between their countries and the larger world.⁵⁹

Loosely applying the glocal idea to theology, one might argue that the local-to-central “bottom-up” moral reasoning could originate with popular piety and eventually move to the global church. Claudio Remeseira observes that “at the heart of this strategy is the celebration of popular faith as the pillar of evangelization—the preaching of God’s word and the conversion into true Christians.”⁶⁰ To that point, the pope observed on the 100th anniversary of the start of the Marian apparitions in Fátima, Portugal, that “in Fátima the Virgin chose the innocent heart and the simplicity of little Francisco, Jacinta, and Lucia, as guardians of her message. These children received it worthily, so to be recognized as reliable witnesses to the apparitions, and to become models of Christian life.”⁶¹ Hence, according to Francis, the local experience of the three children in Fátima prompted a conversion in the larger global church; the children modeled a more perfect Christian life for believers around the world. In this case, the whole (global church) was enriched from the parts (local events at Fátima); whose contribution (popular religiosity and model of Christian life) was then recognized by the whole (several papal visits to Fátima). Pope Francis sees such a mutually enriching, local-global relationship, as a corrective to a stale and uniform centralized and secularized world.⁶²

CONCLUSION

As the above discussion indicates, the theology of the people helps to explain Pope Francis’s theological reasoning, his apostolic exhortations, and encyclicals, as well as the policy priorities of his papacy. Social scientists would do well to engage in a dialogue with moral theologians to better understand the papacy of Francis I. The four Bergoglian priorities are a good place to start the conversation precisely because they lead to a deeper understanding of how Pope Francis sees, understands, and prioritizes his actions, or how theology informs his policy goals.

NOTES

1. Thanks to Tom Massaro for very useful comments on a draft of this chapter. *Being There* (1979), directed by Hal Ashby, written by Jerzy Kosinski, and starring Peter Sellers, Shirley MacLaine, and Melvyn Douglas.
2. Robert Barron, "Is Pope Francis a Marxist Prophet?" July 15, 2015, *RealClear Religion*, http://www.realclearreligion.org/articles/2015/07/15/is_pope_francis_a_marxist_prophet.html; George Neumayr, "The Pope's Marxist Head of the Jesuits," *The American Spectator*, May 19, 2017, <https://spectator.org/the-popes-marxist-head-of-the-jesuits/>; "Many Accuse Pope Francis of Socialist, Even Communist Leanings—is he?" *Catholic Online*, July 23, 2015, <http://www.catholic.org/news/hf/faith/story.php?id=62261>
3. J C Scannone discusses the possible influence of Joaquin Luco Alliende on the development of the Theology of the People in "Pope Francis and the Theology of the People," *Theological Studies* 77, no. 1 (2016): 118–35; 123, footnote 14.
4. See Claudio Ivan Remeseira, "Pope Francis, Perón, and God's People: The Political Religion of Jorge Mario Bergoglio," *Medium*, September 17, 2015, <https://medium.com/@hispanicnewyork/pope-francis-per%C3%B3n-and-god-s-people-the-political-religion-of-jorge-mario-bergoglio-2a85787e7abe#.ffr3boix8>
5. Pope Paul VI, Pastoral Constitution of the Church in the Modern World, *Gaudium et Spes*, December 7, 1965, http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19651207_gaudium-et-spes_en.html; Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, *Lumen Gentium*, Solemnly Promulgated by His Holiness Pope Paul VI, November 21, 1964, http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19641121_lumen-gentium_en.html
6. Juan Carlos Scannone, S.J., "Pope Francis and the Theology of the People," *Theological Studies* 77, no. 1 (2016): 118–35; 124. Also see Gustavo Gutierrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics and Salvation*, trans. Sister Caridad Inda and John Eagleson (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1988). Also see Gustavo Gutierrez, *Theology of Liberation: Perspectives* (Salamanca: Sigueme Publishing, 1974), "Remembering the Poor: An interview with Gustavo Gutierrez," *America*, February 3, 2003, <http://americamagazine.org/issue/420/article/remembering-poor-interview-gustavo-gutierrez>; and *In the Company of the Poor: Conversations with Dr. Paul Farmer and Fr. Gustavo Gutierrez*, ed. Michael Griffin and Jennie Weiss Block (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis: 2013).
7. Some of the documents about the response of the Latin American bishops to a myriad of social problems can be found at the following websites. First,

- the documents of the Second Vatican Council provide the main theological justification for their work, available at the Vatican website, http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/index.htm. In addition, a variety of theological and social programs are described at the website of the Latin American Episcopal Conference (CELAM), available at <http://www.celam.org/>. Of note, John A Allen Jr. offers some important insights in “CELAM Update: The Lasting Legacy of Liberation Theology,” *National Catholic Reporter*, May 24, 2007, available at <https://www.ncronline.org/news/celam-update-lasting-legacy-liberation-theology>
8. Jorge Mario Bergoglio (Pope Francis) and the Latin American Episcopal Conference (CELAM). *The Aparecida Document* (CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform: An Amazon Company, 2013).
 9. Ernesto Cavassa, S.J., “On the Trail of *Aparecida*: Jorge Bergoglio and the Latin American ecclesial tradition,” *America*, October 30, 2013, <https://www.americamagazine.org/trail-aparecida>
 10. Ibid. The significance of *Aparecida* is ongoing: Pope Francis later appointed two of the most significant members of the conference, Cardinal Oscar Rodríguez Maradiaga and Cardinal Francisco Javier Errázuriz, to the eight-member papal advisory committee on the universal church.
 11. David Thomas Orique, O.P., “A Comparison of the Voices of the Spanish Bartolomé de Las Casas and the Portuguese Fernando Oliveira on Just War and Slavery,” *E-Journal of Portuguese History* e-JPH, 12, no. 1 (June 2014), http://www.brown.edu/Departments/Portuguese_Brazilian_Studies/ejph/html/issue23/pdf/v12n1a04.pdf
 12. Francis’s priorities appear in his 1982 book *Meditaciones para Religiosos* (Madrid: Ediciones Diego De Torres, 1982) in the section “Formación permanente y reconciliación.” Even earlier, in 1974, he discusses his theological priorities in J. M. Bergoglio, “Una institución que vive su carisma,” *Boletín de Espiritualidad* 55 (1978): 27–32; Francesco (Jorge Mario Bergoglio) and F. Angeletti, *Nel cuore di ogni padre. Alle radici della mia spiritualità* (Vatican: Vatican Publishing, 2016).
 13. For a useful account of his earlier pastoral work in Argentina, see Austen Ivereigh, *The Great Reformer: Francis and the Making of a Radical Pope* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2014).
 14. Ciro Enrique Bianchi, *Introduzione alla teologia del popolo: Profilo spirituale e teologico di Rafael Tello*. [Introduction to the Theology of the people: A Theological and Spiritual Profile of Rafael Tello] (Rome: Editrice missionaria italiana, 2015). See also Allan Figueroa Deck, “Rafael Tello: Pensatore creativo del cristianesimo popolare,” *La Civiltà Cattolica*, Quaderno 3997, Anno 2017, Volume I: 81–93, <http://www.laciviltacattolica.it/articolo/rafael-tello/>

15. See also a useful YouTube video presentation on *Introduzione alla teologia del popolo: Profilo spirituale e teologico di Rafael Tello*, at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-baz2LbdSTE>. Interview for Radio Laghi by Dante Cerati, translation by Laura Cerati, voice of Nicola Martinelli.
16. See Cavassa, “On the Trail of *Aparecida*.”
17. Juan Carlos Scannone, S.J., *Evangelización, cultura, y teología* (Buenos Aires, Guadalupe, 1990; 2nd edition, Buenos Aires: Docencia, 2012); Scannone, “Interrelación de realidad social, pastoral y teología. El caso de ‘pueblo’ y ‘popular’ en la experiencia, la pastoral y la reflexión teológica del catolicismo popular en la Argentina”, *Medellin* 49 (1987) 3–17; Scannone, “Pope Francis and the Theology of the People”, *Theological Studies* 77, no. 1 (2016): 118–35; Tara García Mathewson, “To Understand the Pope, One Must Follow Him Home,” *National Catholic Reporter*, April 8, 2016, <https://www.ncronline.org/news/people/understand-pope-one-must-follow-him-home>; Rafael Luciani and Félix Palazzi, “Pope Francis’ Theology Begins with the People’s Faith,” April 25, 2016, <http://www.americamagazine.org/issue/popular-voice>
18. Andrea Gagliarducci, “The ‘Theology of the People’, According to Pope Francis,” *Catholic New Agency*, April 27, 2015, <http://www.catholic-newsagency.com/news/the-theology-of-the-people-according-to-pope-francis-83384/>. Also see Esteban Pittaro, “La Teología del Pueblo en el Papa Francisco,” *Aleteia* January 28, 2014, <https://es.aleteia.org/2014/01/28/la-teologia-del-pueblo-en-el-papa-francisco>
19. Tara García Mathewson, “To Understand the Pope.” Galli’s lecture is available at <https://www.bc.edu/schools/stm/edevnts/CampusEvents/PastLectures/2016/latin-roots-francis.html>. Also see Carlos Maria Galli, “Introducción,” in Eduardo Pironio, *Signos en la Iglesia latinoamericana: Evangelización y liberación* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Guadalupe, 2012), 3–11; Carlos Maria Galli, “Papa Francisco,” *Vida Pastoral* 328 (May 2014): 14; and Francis Cardinal George, “Reflections on Pope Francis and the Future of the Church, in ed. Michael L. Budde, *New World Pope: Pope Francis and the Future of the Church* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2017), 1–9.
20. Scannone, “Pope Francis and the Theology of the People,” 123.
21. See Francis, “Apostolic Exhortation on The Proclamation of the Gospel in Today’s World,” *Evangelii Gaudium*, 201 and 202, http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/apost_exhortations/documents/papa-francesco_esortazione-ap_20131124_evangelii-gaudium.html
22. Archbishop Christophe Pierre with John Carr, Georgetown University panel discussion, “The Francis Factor After Four Years,” March 27, 2017.
23. “Evangelize,” *Merriam-Webster.com*, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/evangelize>

24. United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, "What is Evangelization? Go and Make Disciples," http://www.usccb.org/beliefs-and-teachings/how-we-teach/evangelization/go-and-make-disciples/what_is_evangelization_go_and_make_disciples.cfm; see also Pope Paul VI, "Apostolic Exhortation on Proclaiming the Gospel," *Evangelii Nuntiandi*, http://w2.vatican.va/content/paul-vi/en/apost_exhortations/documents/hf_p-vi_exh_19751208_evangelii-nuntiandi.html
25. Shane Macedonio, "Leadership in the Papacy: Pope Francis I, The Servant Leader," *Rise: The Harvard College Leadership Review*, March 19, 2013, <http://harvardleadershipmag.org/leadership-in-the-papacy-pope-francis-i-the-servant-leader/>
26. Sabrina Vourvoulias, "Not a Sphere but a Polyhedron": The Sacred Geometry of Pope Francis," *Al Día Daily*, September 27, 2015, <http://aldianews.com/articles/opinion/not-sphere-polyhedron-sacred-geometry-pope-francis/40704>
27. "Polyhedron," *Merriam-Webster.com*, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/polyhedron>
28. *Evangelii Gaudium*, 236. See also Drew Christiansen, "The Global Vision of *Evangelii Gaudium*: Cultural Diversity as a Road to Peace," in *Pope Francis and the Future of Catholicism: Evangelii Gaudium and the Papal Agenda*, ed. Gerard Mannion, 203–20 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 211.
29. Gerald W. Schlabbach, "Signs of That Peace: Peacemaking is Everybody's Business," *America*, December 11, 2014, <https://www.americamagazine.org/issue/signs-peace>
30. Antonio Spadaro, "Interview with Pope Francis," August 19, 2013, Casa Santa Marta, Vatican City, https://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2013/september/documents/papa-francesco_20130921_intervista-spadaro.html
31. Michael Hirst, "Papal inbox: Priorities for Pope Francis," *BBC News*, March 14, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-21415636>
32. Ivereigh, *The Great Reformer*, 246–47.
33. Juan Carlos Scannone, "Pope Francis and the Theology of the People," 127–30; they appear in *Evangelii Gaudium*, Chap. 4, Part III.
34. Scannone, "Pope Francis and the Theology of the People," 127–30.
35. Thomas Reese, "Pastoral Priorities from Pope Francis for the US Bishops," *National Catholic Reporter*, November 7, 2013, <https://www.ncronline.org/blogs/ncr-today/pastoral-priorities-pope-francis-us-bishops>
36. *Evangelii Gaudium*, 224.
37. Donald L. McCabe, Kenneth D. Butterfield, and Linda K. Treviño, "Academic Dishonesty in Graduate Business Programs: Prevalence, Causes, and Proposed Action," *Academy of Management Learning &*

- Education* 5, no. 3 (2006): 294–305, <http://cmsdev.aom.org/uploaded-Files/Publications/AMLE/Butterfield.pdf>. See also see Katherine Mangan, “More than Half of the Graduate Business Students Surveyed Recently Admitted to Cheating at Least Once,” *Chronicle of Higher Education*, September 19, 2006. http://softwaresecure.typepad.com/multiple_choice/files/mba_cheaters_article.pdf
38. Donald L. McCabe, Kenneth D. Butterfield, and Linda K. Treviño, *Cheating in College Why Students Do It and What Educators Can Do about It* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2017).
 39. OECD Centre for Opportunity and Equality, “Income Inequality and Poverty,” July 13, 2017 <http://www.oecd.org/social/inequality-and-poverty.htm>. See also Roper Center Polling Data, Cornell University, “If I Were a Rich Man: Public Attitudes About Wealth and Taxes,” February 4, 2015 <https://ropercenter.cornell.edu/public-attitudes-wealth-taxes/>
 40. Francis, *Evangelii Gaudium*, 1–8.
 41. *Ibid.*, 2.
 42. *Ibid.*, “Time Is Greater Than Space,” 223–25.
 43. Jean-Marie Guéhenno, “10 Conflicts to Watch in 2017: From Turkey to Mexico, the List of the World’s Most Volatile Flashpoints Got a Lot More Unpredictable This Year,” *Foreign Policy*, January 5, 2017, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/01/05/10-conflicts-to-watch-in-2017/>. For its part, the Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research (HIIC), based at the Department of Political Science at the University of Heidelberg in Germany, annually produces a “conflict barometer,” detailing both conflicts on a national and subnational. It’s most recent report in 2016 contained information on hundreds of conflicts. The Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research, Department of Political Science at the University of Heidelberg. The Conflict Barometer may be viewed at <https://www.hiik.de/en/>
 44. Council on Foreign Relations Global Conflict Tracker, <https://www.cfr.org/interactives/global-conflict-tracker#!/global-conflict-tracker>
 45. Francis, *Evangelii Gaudium*, 226–30.
 46. Ephesians, 2: 14.
 47. *Ibid.*, 231–33.
 48. *Ibid.*, 7; Francis is citing Benedict’s Encyclical Letter *Deus Caritas Est* (December 25, 2005), 1. See also Gerard Farrell, ed., *Argentina: alternativas frente a la globalización* (Buenos Aires: San Pablo, 1999).
 49. Antonio Moser, “Como se faz Moral no Brasil Hoje,” *Revista Eclesiástica Brasileira* 44 (July 1984): 242–64; Moser, “A Pastoral Familiar a Partir dos Menos Favorecidos,” *Revista Eclesiástica Brasileira* 53 (December 1993): 771–90; and Antonio Moser with Bernadino Leers. *Moral Theology: Dead Ends and Alternatives*, trans. Paul Burns (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1990).
 50. *Evangelii Gaudium*, 197.

51. Joe Drexler-Dreis, "Interview with Jon Sobrino," *Newsletter CLT 6* (September 2013), https://theo.kuleuven.be/en/research/centres/centr_lib/interview-with-jon-sobrino.pdf. Sobrino also notes that "[t]he important thing is that Pope Francis performs in actu the liberation of the poor. That he takes risks for it, and challenges the powerful of this world."
52. *Evangelii Gaudium*, "The Whole Is Greater Than the Part," 234–37.
53. Reese, "Pastoral Priorities from Pope Francis for the US bishops."
54. The principle of subsidiarity emerged from the development of Catholic social thinking (CST) over the past century. See a list of foundational documents on CST at the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops website, <http://www.usccb.org/beliefs-and-teachings/what-we-believe/catholic-social-teaching/foundational-documents.cfm>
55. *Evangelii Gaudium*, 235.
56. Nathan Schneider, "What Does Subsidiarity Mean? A Papal Explainer," *America*, September 24, 2015, <https://www.americamagazine.org/content/all-things/subsidiarity-papal-explainer>
57. See Birgit Meyer and Peter Geschiere, eds., *Globalization and Identity: Dialectics of Flow and Closure* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999); Peter Beyer, *Religion and Globalization* (London: Sage, 1994).
58. Robertson also notes that "Glocalization" refers to the way in which globalization and localization affect each other, and in particular to the effect of localizing global processes and products. Glocalization was defined as "the simultaneity—the co-presence—of both universalizing and particularizing tendencies." R. Robertson, "Comments on the 'Global Triad' and 'Glocalization,'" in *Globalization and Indigenous Culture*, ed. Nobutaka, Inoue, 221–25 (Kokugakuin, Japan: Institute for Japanese Culture and Classics, Kokugakuin University, 1997), <http://www2.kokugakuin.ac.jp/ijcc/wp/global/15robertson.html>. See also Peter Beyer, "Globalization and Glocalization," in *The SAGE Handbook of the Sociology of Religion*, ed. James A. Beckford and N. J. Demerath III, 98–117 (London: Sage, 2007).
59. See Peter Cabus and Martin Hess, "Regional Politics and Economic Patterns: 'Glocalisation' and the Network Enterprise," *Belgium Journal of Geography*, special issue: 29th International Geographical Congress Regional Politics and Economic Patterns: 'Glocalisation' and the Network Enterprise 1-2-3-4, (2000): 79–102, <https://belgeo.revues.org/13923>
60. Remeseira also notes that "That is, in Francis' view, the Church's ultimate mission: to get out of itself and to put aside all its institutional trappings in order to lead the march of the People of God to Salvation. In doing so, the Church must share the lot of the poorest and most neglected of all, among whom a merciful Christ reenacts his Passion daily." Claudio Ivan Remeseira, "Pope Francis, Perón, and God's People: The Political Religion of Jorge Mario Bergoglio," *Medium*, September 17, 2015, <https://medium.com/@hispanicnewyork/pope-francis-per%C3%B3n-and-god-s-people-the-political-religion-of-jorge-mario-bergoglio-2a85787e7abe#.ffr3boix8>

61. The first apparition took place on May 13, 1917. Hannah Brockhaus, "Pope Francis: Fatima Reminds Us to Care for the Faith of Children," *Catholic News Agency*, May 14, 2017, <http://www.catholicnewsagency.com/news/pope-francis-fatima-reminds-us-to-care-for-the-faith-of-children-28700/>. Pope Francis elevated two of the seers of Fatima, Blessed Jacinta and Blessed Francisco, to Saints of the Catholic Church on May 13, 2017. See Gerard O'Connell, "Pope Francis Makes History and Canonizes Jacinta and Francisco, Two Child Saints," *America*, May 13, 2017, <https://www.americamagazine.org/faith/2017/05/13/pope-francis-makes-history-and-canonizes-jacinta-and-francisco-two-child-saints>
62. To this point, Scannone reminds us: "When Bergoglio was rector of the Faculties of San Miguel, he organized the first conference on evangelization of culture and inculturation of the gospel ever to take place in Latin America (1985). He organized it with the presence of theologians of South and North America, Europe, Asia, and Africa. In his own opening plenary he spoke about the inculturation, citing Pedro Arrupe, who was a pioneer in the use of this neologism." Scannone, "Pope Francis and the Theology of the People." p. 127, n. 29. See also Jorge Mario Bergoglio, "Discurso inaugural," in Congreso Internacional de Teología, "Evangelización de la cultura e inculturación del Evangelio," reprinted in *Stromata* 61 (1985): 161–65.

The First Jesuit Pope: The Contribution of His Jesuit Charism to His Political Views

Thomas Massaro, S.J.

Though it may startle some casual observers, there is nothing new about a pope declaring, “A good Catholic meddles in politics,” as Pope Francis is fond of asserting.¹ Nor will anybody paying close attention to the reinvigorated style and substantial enhancement of political engagement on the part of the Roman Catholic community throughout the world (especially since the close of the Second Vatican Council in 1965) be surprised to hear a pope calling politics “a lofty vocation.” Pope Francis dedicated a particularly spirited paragraph of his first major papal document (the Apostolic Exhortation *Evangelii Gaudium*, or “Joy of the Gospel”) to the entreaty: “I ask God to give us more politicians capable of sincere and effective dialogue aimed at healing the deepest roots . . . of the evils in our world.”² For centuries now, popes have been encouraging the application of sincere conscience and concerted energy in pursuit of the common good in political matters in local, national, and international arenas. So what is new and noteworthy on this score in the papacy of Francis?

As the first Jesuit pope, Francis brings to the highest office in the Roman Catholic Church a distinctive background and set of social concerns and priorities. Much of the Jesuit inheritance that informs his work as Universal Pastor exerts a direct bearing on how he views and how he

Thomas Massaro, S.J. (✉)
Santa Clara University, Berkeley, CA, USA

manages the vital relationship between religion and politics, in both the theoretical and more practical spheres. While later chapters of this volume will trace the implications of the theological and ethical commitments of Francis to specific issues and regions of the world, this chapter will focus on the ways that the pontiff's Jesuit background influences the style and substance of his political involvements on the world stage.

It will be important to avoid exaggerated claims, such as the simplistic notion that one's identity as a member of the Society of Jesus completely determines his approaches to issues and strategies of action. Anyone who has met more than one Jesuit in his or her lifetime can readily testify that there is no cookie-cutter template or strict "party line" that we can expect every son of Saint Ignatius of Loyola to reflect—certainly not on issues that touch on the prudential judgments that apply in the complex arena of international politics. As one venerable quip runs, if you have met one Jesuit, you have met (just) one Jesuit. Another old saw attests: if you put three Jesuits in a room, you will soon have at least four opinions to sort out! Like any group of educated men, Jesuits defy easy categorization and reflect a wide variety of political and ecclesial viewpoints. In addition, any given Jesuit may well shift his overall stance, not to mention opinions on discrete issues of political importance, over the course of his Jesuit life. The major biographies of Jorge Mario Bergoglio,³ the Argentinian Jesuit who held many important positions in the Society of Jesus before becoming an auxiliary bishop, then Cardinal Archbishop of Buenos Aires, and eventually pope, all attest to noticeable evolutions (if not full-blown about-faces or conversions) in his approach to ecclesial and public affairs in the course of his remarkable career. In short, the fluid pluralism of Jesuit life rules out the adoption of any simple mono-causal model behind the political stances of Pope Francis (as they would regarding any world leader).

Does it make any difference at all, then, that Francis is a Jesuit? Absolutely so. While there are precious few things Francis has done since his accession to the chair of Saint Peter in 2013 that can be attributed solely to his identity as a Jesuit,⁴ we nevertheless are wise to scrutinize his decisions, initiatives, and overall style of leadership for evidence of the influence of his Jesuit background. Identifying the "Jesuit layer" or "Ignatian lens" of the papacy of Francis will shed much light on his work as a global actor, on those occasions "when theology and politics meet," as this volume aspires to do. This chapter aims specifically to assist those less familiar with the finer points of Jesuit history and spirituality as they seek to appreciate how the "Jesuit DNA" of Pope Francis has shaped his

“way of proceeding” (to introduce the first of many phrases below that have come to be associated with the Society of Jesus and its governance and ministries).

The papacy is an institution that exhibits a remarkable continuity between successive office-holders, who rarely repudiate the teachings or contributions of their predecessors. At the same time, recent history witnesses undeniable innovations put into place by successive pontiffs. Every pope puts his own distinctive “spin” on the office and how it is executed, even as major points of Catholic doctrine and basic stances of the Catholic Church remain firmly in place over the long run. For example, the background of Saint John Paul II as a personalist philosopher and church leader in Communist-controlled Poland and the previous work of Benedict XVI as an academic theologian and official guardian of Catholic doctrine certainly affected their teachings and actions throughout the course of their respective papacies. Each left a distinctive legacy that reflects his personal history and particular concerns, on top of the overriding continuity that characterizes practically all the operations of Roman Catholicism, including its central administrative offices in Vatican City supervised by the Holy See.

Descriptions of the Roman Catholic Church, among the world’s oldest continuously operating institutions, often invoke the metaphor of an ocean liner: a large vessel whose sheer inertia presents an overwhelming challenge to anyone expecting to turn it on a dime. Yet even the largest ships do respond to a determined helmsman, one intent on steering the vessel on a certain path. Those seeking insight into the future course of such a ship certainly do well to pay attention to the identity and character of the person at the rudder, even to the point of speculating on the major influences on his or her priorities and current state of mind. As a global actor, the pope enjoys significant sway over a certain range of world events. Even while operating under significant constraints, a given pope plays a unique role in international political processes and outcomes, and it is well worth the effort of political scientists to discover and articulate “what makes the current pope tick.”

This chapter will be advancing the central thesis that the single most important influence on the papacy of Francis—the item that supplies the “spin” he places on his own papal leadership—is his Jesuit background. The Jesuit identity Francis brings to his office provides the unifying element both in the *substance* of his theological and ethical teachings and in the inspiration for his unique *style* of leadership in the church and world.

Perhaps the best metaphor to capture this claim is one introduced by Saint Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1150) in his *De Consideratione*: “Bibet de fonte putei sui primus ipse.” Translated from the original Latin as “We drink from our own wells,” this insight serves as the English title of the highly influential volume on Latin American spirituality by the man widely recognized as the “father of liberation theology,” Peruvian priest and visionary Gustavo Gutiérrez.⁵ While the context of the aphorism is specific to the people of Latin America (felicitously appropriate for present purposes, as we assess the global political leadership of the first Latin American pope), the insight is straightforward and universal in relevance. Each of us draws from our own particular background in putting our own personal stamp on our actions and endeavors. To indulge in another metaphor, the fingerprints we leave on external matters display an indelible aspect that can readily be traced back to us and our initial formation.⁶ While everyone, over the course of a lifetime, naturally supplements the elements of his or her core identity with a variety of new influences, we carry within ourselves the concerns and commitments that have shaped us—the undeniable experiences and appropriated values that remain etched in our consciousness.

Applying this dynamic to Pope Francis is a straightforward task, one made rather easy by transparent biographical facts and the pontiff’s own personal testimony. Jorge Mario Bergoglio, an Argentinian-born youth whose family had migrated from Northern Italy, entered the Society of Jesus at age 21, underwent 15 years of Jesuit formation and held a series of important positions within the order, including as director of novices, rector of a major house of studies and Provincial superior. He lived in large apostolic communities of Jesuit priests and brothers continuously until being named a bishop at the age of 55. Like all members of religious congregations who become bishops, Bergoglio at that point was released from his specifically Jesuit vows (as it would be a serious conflict of interest for a bishop to be under obedience to a religious superior other than the pope) and ceased to live in a Jesuit residence.

After being elected pope at the age of 76 (the first Jesuit ever⁷ and first member of any religious order to be elected pope since 1831), Francis faced repeated questions from interviewers about the significance of his Jesuit origins. His ready answers reflect ample awareness that his Jesuit identity remains at the core of his being and thinking—at least as important in influencing his approach to world affairs as his identity as an Argentinian, his pastoral experience, or personal predilections, as difficult as these factors are to disaggregate. In an impromptu back-of-the-airplane

press conference on the return trip to Rome after the World Youth Day in Rio de Janeiro in July 2013, Francis encountered reporters who asked whether he still considers himself a Jesuit. He replied with a knowing smile: “I feel I am a Jesuit in my spirituality, in the spirituality of the Exercises, the spirituality that I have in my heart. I have not changed my spirituality, no. Francis, Franciscan, no. I feel Jesuit and I still think like a Jesuit.”⁸ Argentinian journalist and papal biographer Elisabetta Piqué (personally well acquainted with Bergoglio long before his election as pope) reports the same in her account of exclusive interviews with the newly elected Pope Francis.⁹

So, if the Jesuit identity and background of Pope Francis are indeed relevant to his performance in the papal office, it becomes important to identify and describe the chief aspects of Jesuit life that continue to exert influence on him, and specifically to assess how they might influence his behavior as a global political actor. What is there about being a Jesuit that might shape his commitments in the sphere of international political life? How does the inheritance of Jesuit history and life, the “well from which he drinks,” make him different from other popes?

Two key terms that arise immediately as we grapple with such questions are *spirituality* and (the only technical theological term in the title of this essay) *charism*. These words possess wide semantic fields (sometimes mad-denyingly so), and have come to be employed in theological circles in ways that are somewhat distinct from how they are utilized in common parlance. A *spirituality* is an overall way of being in relationship with the Deity or other elements of the nonmaterial realm. Spiritualities are often defined by specific texts, prayer techniques, and practices that inspire a distinctive way of religious life. The image of “a way” and even “a pilgrim’s way” is a recurring motif within the work of those who study traditions of spirituality, within both Christianity and beyond.

The broadest definition of the word *charism* is a talent or power that is conferred and projected in a specific way. Political scientists will be most familiar with the way Max Weber, in seminal texts from about a century ago, described the functions of personal charisma and charismatic authority in contrast to other types of legal and rational authority. In religious circles in general, charism is understood as a power that has been conferred by God upon an individual and especially a spiritually inspired group who execute it for the good of the wider community. In Christianity, it is more specifically a gift of grace that is poured out from the Holy Spirit and rests upon both individuals and groups, who channel it in service to the Christian

community. Treated extensively in the letters of Saint Paul and derived from the Koine Greek word for both grace and gift, a charism is a God-given power intended to be shared with others for the common good.

In the wake of the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), congregations of consecrated men and women were encouraged to renew their own traditions and deepen their understanding and practice of their own charism—that is, the original inspiration and specific focus of their institute, whether monastic or actively apostolic in character. For hundreds of religious congregations of sisters, brothers, and priests, following the mandates of Vatican II’s Decree on the Adaptation and Renewal of Religious Life (the document *Perfectae Caritatis*)¹⁰ meant getting more deliberately in touch with the original visions of the men and women who founded and inspired these religious communities throughout the world. Not so much a call for returning to past practices as an exhortation to update customary ways of proceeding with a studied view of mission and original purpose, this mandate encouraged religious congregations to reaffirm their core identities and adapt to changing times and the needs of the modern church while remaining true to the original charism of each.

For Jesuits, the road of renewal naturally led back to the founder Saint Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556), a Basque soldier and courtier whose conversion after a battlefield injury led him to capture his own profound religious experiences in a handbook that became the *Spiritual Exercises*. Jesuit renewal in the past 50 years has centered on forging a deeper understanding and updated practice of the *Spiritual Exercises*, as well as the Jesuit *Constitutions*, on which Ignatius labored in the final years of his life, once the fledgling Society of Jesus had won official papal approval and recognition in 1538. These two documents, supplemented by documents and decrees from the 36 General Congregations of the Society of Jesus that have been convened over nearly five centuries of Jesuit history, constitute the very foundation of Jesuit spirituality.

For present purposes, it is crucial to note that Vatican II met during the very years when an Argentinian Jesuit named Jorge Mario Bergoglio was engaged in the philosophy and theology studies that prepared him for ordination to the priesthood (he was ordained in 1969, four years after the closing of the Council). The renewal of Jesuit spirituality was in full swing as Bergoglio was studying for the priesthood and as he served in his first full-time Jesuit posts, as novice director, professor of theology and provincial in the 1970s and early 1980s—positions that required him to speak and write on the development of Jesuit spirituality for new and longer-term

members of his province of Argentina. Documents from that era in his life, including the texts of addresses he gave to fellow Jesuits, demonstrate deep engagement with many of the rich themes of Ignatian spirituality.¹¹ The specific versions of these Jesuit themes that would be most familiar to Bergoglio then (and Pope Francis now) are the versions that emerged in the wake of Vatican II, as the renewal of the Jesuit charism reframed the content and reset the context of how Jesuit spirituality came to be understood and interpreted.¹²

What follows is a brief sketch of five of those elements of the “Jesuit charism” which bear the greatest relevance to how Pope Francis views political life in general and how he understands and executes his role as a global political leader. Admittedly, there is an element of speculation in proposing any particular list of items as seminal for Pope Francis, as nobody can with confidence and without remainder “read the mind” of a world leader to reveal essential commitments and approaches. But on each item below, it would indeed be surprising if Pope Francis was not greatly influenced by these elements of his Jesuit inheritance, as he continues, admittedly with great creativity, to “drink from his own wells.”

First, the Jesuit charism is decidedly a spiritual orientation, as opposed to being in any way primarily materialistic in nature. Near the beginning of the text of the *Spiritual Exercises*, Saint Ignatius draws upon the content of innumerable versions of Christian catechisms to identify the overall purpose of life: “Man was created to praise, reverence and serve God, and thereby to save his soul. And the other things on the face of the earth were created for man’s sake, and to help him in following out the end for which he was created.”¹³ These seminal sentences prioritize spiritual life over material progress without in any way denigrating the physical needs and well-being of people (or, arguably, nonhuman creation). This key paragraph of the founding document of Jesuit spirituality also provides conceptual grounding for the Jesuit commitment to the virtue of spiritual detachment. Ignatius exhorts his readers and followers to practice a healthy indifference to material things (even states of affairs like health and sickness, good or bad reputation) that do not advance the state of one’s soul or the spiritual welfare of others whom they seek to assist along their own way to God.

This profound starting point most evidently leads Pope Francis (as it does all sincere and faithful adherents of Ignatian spirituality) to the simplicity of lifestyle for which he has become famous, to a desire for humble service rather than ostentation, and to a close identification with the poor and outcast of the world. As a young Jesuit, Bergoglio would

have meditated on this principle many times, including on his annual eight-day retreats and in 30-day silent retreats during his 1st and 15th year as a Jesuit. The call to prioritizing the spiritual over the material was reinforced by a requirement of frequent humble service among the poor and marginalized from the days of his novitiate, throughout his formation and beyond. As novice director, Bergoglio was himself responsible for supervising the customary Jesuit practice of engaging in “humble experiments” for many of his young charges, and he developed a reputation for relishing this kind of direct pastoral work among struggling urban and rural communities in Argentina. Throughout his career, Bergoglio displayed a legendary personal generosity to families in special need of material assistance and spiritual support, reflecting the principle of “gratuity of ministries” to which Ignatius (himself a man of extraordinary generosity) exhorted his confreres. The deep support of Pope Francis for the series of World Meetings of Popular Movements he has sponsored and convened as well as his evident enthusiasm for mingling with people of humble estate during his travels abroad reflect this commitment to embrace the way of humility and closeness to the poor whenever possible. Against the criticisms of certain papal detractors that his “popular touch” is somehow contrived, Francis exhibits a deep and genuine desire to be close to common folk and to know and share their humble condition. While it may be difficult to draw any firm conclusions about how this orientation of Jesuit spirituality directly affects Pope Francis in his global political activities, there is no question that an international political leader whose first instinct is to advance the spiritual as well as the material progress of under-resourced people stands apart in many ways from ordinary leaders.

Second, the Jesuit charism consistently focuses one’s energy outside of oneself, for service rather than self-aggrandizement of any sort. Indeed, the phrase perhaps most commonly associated with the Society of Jesus is the overarching purpose that Saint Ignatius repeats many times in the text of the Jesuit *Constitutions*: “for the greater glory of God.” This signature marker of Jesuit identity and resolve leaves no room for unhealthy self-regard. The follower of Ignatius is called to put aside all personal ambition, self-concern, and greed (“riches, honor, pride” in the idiom of the *Spiritual Exercises*) in order to engage in collective efforts to serve others. The Jesuit vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience that Bergoglio pronounced; the prayer for generosity of Saint Ignatius that Pope Francis has repeated throughout his lifetime; the prodigious efforts at asceticism and self-denial that have been required of him throughout his eventful life—all reflect an

affirmation and personal appropriation of an extraordinary self-mastery that Francis has practiced for decades. How does this Jesuit orientation toward service of others affect his global political leadership? Again, it is hard to identify specific decisions or issues, but featuring such an other-directed leader does make a tangible difference to an institution. An analogy that will appeal to those familiar with Jesuit educational philosophy may help illustrate this point. Just as Jesuit educational institutions display a distinctive ethos (in comparison to parallel schools and universities lacking such a strong service orientation in their mission definition) due to their operative goal of “forming men and women for others,” just so does the Vatican’s profile in world affairs reflect the core commitment to service embodied in its current leader.

Third, the Jesuit charism includes the practice of deep and sincere discernment, a spiritual practice described in Jesuit documents in the Latin phrase *caritas discreta* (or discerning love). Among the fresh themes that Ignatius brought to the Catholicism of his era was a dedication to listening—both to the interior movements in the hearts of his interlocutors and to developments in the larger world—that informs all good decisions. By paying patient attention to the way that the Holy Spirit speaks through individuals (their dreams and “holy desires”) and entire cultures (what would later be termed “the signs of the times”), the Ignatian listener commits himself or herself to the arduous process of discovering the best path forward, indeed God’s compassionate will for the world. As a Jesuit in formation, Bergoglio developed distinctive methods for discernment within his own personal life: a dedication to daily prayer, examination of conscience, and other techniques to enhance self-awareness and foster sound decision-making. As a Jesuit superior, he learned how to employ the more specific tools that assist Jesuit governance and corporate discernment, including an annual “account of conscience” (well described as “a frank dialogue of the heart”) that each Jesuit renders to his superior and that provides the raw material for leadership decisions.

The discernment process thus emerges as the nexus between the life of prayer and the life of action; the Jesuit commitment to good discernment is not surprisingly reflected in the signature Jesuit aspiration to remain *simul in actione, contemplativus*, or a contemplative in action. This dual regard for the interior life and external effectiveness quite evidently characterizes the leadership of Pope Francis, accounting for the observation of many that he appears uniquely “comfortable in his own skin.” If he projects confidence in his demanding office, it is because this Jesuit pope trusts

in the discernment process that brought him thus far. Turning his back neither on the inner or outer dimensions of his somewhat paradoxical role as a spiritual leader within the global political landscape, Francis draws on the Ignatian heritage of deep spiritual discernment even as he faces many highly practical decisions.

Fourth, the Jesuit charism includes a signature commitment to “finding God in all things,” a telling phrase that has lent a highly constructive tenor to Jesuit efforts to dialogue with culture and secular learning in many lands and cultural contexts over several centuries. Because of its confidence in the coherence of faith and reason, Ignatian spirituality has been described as world-embracing, incarnational, and transformationalist. These labels quite accurately capture the Jesuit proclivity to trust that God’s purposes can be achieved precisely by engaging cultures and drawing out of them what is best and most coherent with gospel values. Within the sixteenth-century European context of their founding, the earliest Jesuits made great efforts to break down the animosities unleashed by the Protestant Reformation and founded schools dedicated to principles of Christian humanism and broad toleration. Their creative work in the arts and sciences of the time displayed their eagerness to resist the temptation of feeling in any way threatened by secular learning. Beyond Europe, their courageous participation in the age of exploration, colonization, and missionary expansion that forged a global Christianity reflected their keen desire to engage other cultures and religions. Starting with the great missionary Saint Francis Xavier, who paved the way for the creative evangelizing work of Matteo Ricci in China and Robert de Nobili in India, Jesuits have distinguished themselves as pioneers of enculturation—the project of adapting the message of European-based Christianity to new contexts in respectful and sensitive ways that welcome new dialogue partners into a respectful process of mutual discovery. Although no religious group can boast a perfect record of practicing consistently sensitive methods of evangelization since the era of global missions began in early modern times, the Society of Jesus has operated on the Ignatian premise that God is already actively present in those we encounter in new settings and to whom we owe great reverence.

As a Son of Ignatius, Pope Francis displays a deep commitment to respectful interreligious dialogue, building creatively upon both his own previous work with various faith leaders in Argentina and the fine example of his papal predecessors. If recent popes built bridges to other faith communities, it appears that Francis intends to cross boldly over those same bridges, for example, in encouraging interfaith efforts to protect the natural

environment and combat climate change. His encyclical *Laudato Si'* draws explicitly upon insights of several world religions and eagerly invites future ecological collaboration with people of all faiths. Francis describes this priority for limitless outreach as “the culture of encounter,” and it applies to political and diplomatic spheres as surely as it does to interreligious dialogue. From the Jesuit inheritance, Francis draws a profound openness to engagement in all areas of public life, displaying a willingness to approach anyone of good will and to reach out the hand of diplomacy in rather bold ways. Witness the back-channel brand of diplomacy (for which the Vatican is uniquely well positioned and often successful) that Francis eagerly employed in facilitating a breakthrough in Cuban–American relations in 2014. Both Barack Obama and Raoul Castro attribute the rapid progress toward normalization of diplomatic relations between the two nations to the intervention of Pope Francis, whose knowledge of Latin American political affairs appears to have made a tangible difference. In the end, it would be most accurate to attribute the constructive developments we are witnessing to three factors: the personal qualities and priorities of Pope Francis himself, the long Jesuit heritage of dialogue that shaped him, and the unique position of the Holy See in the international community. Under the leadership of Francis, the Catholic Church definitively renounces any sort of defensive crouch and emerges as an especially promising partner in any coalition for constructive social change, such as for greater global social justice and conflict transformation.

The final phrase immediately above tips off the reader to the fifth and final element of the Jesuit charism to be treated here. Although it may not be as foundational within Jesuit spirituality or as closely associated with the work of the Society of Jesus today as the four themes above, the theme of peace and reconciliation is an essential legacy of Ignatian values that clearly inspires the papacy of Francis. As pope, Francis never misses an opportunity to advocate for disarmament and to publicize the urgent need for peaceful resolution of conflicts. To appreciate how central the theme of peace-building is within the Jesuit charism, it is helpful to recall that Ignatius Loyola was himself a soldier, a knight struck by a cannonball at the Battle of Pamplona in 1521. His subsequent conversion (while convalescing for months in a sickbed in his family castle) to a new way of life included a renunciation of violence that was symbolized by his laying down his soldier’s sword before the Virgin of Montserrat in the Benedictine abbey located near a mountain peak in Basque territory, along his pilgrim’s route to Jerusalem. Upon his ordination as a priest, he took up the

priestly mandate to serve as an agent of reconciliation for all—which he understood as not only spiritual reconciliation with God for individual penitents who might approach him in the confessional, but interparty reconciliation on larger societal stages as well. Part Seven of the Jesuit *Constitutions* (which deal with the mission and ministries of the Society) explicitly mentions “the reconciliation of quarreling parties” as a key activity by which the new order may produce apostolic fruit and contribute to the progress of souls.¹⁴ Not only does peace-making recommend itself as a helpful component of any pastoral activity, but fostering social peace and resolving large-scale discord is a promising way to advance the common good and assist the poor, who invariably suffer most from internecine conflict and war.

It is no wonder that the early generations of Jesuits took up with such assiduous dedication the specialized ministry of serving as mediators and arbitrators in the local clan feuds that convulsed many villages in the Italian peninsula, among other places.¹⁵ The early Jesuits frequently worked with civic leaders to defuse the grudges and animosities that fueled simmering civil strife—a situation captured vividly by Shakespeare in his fictional portrayal of the feud between the Capulet and Montague families of Verona—the backdrop for the tragedy *Romeo and Juliet*. While this ministry of reconciliation constituted hazardous duty for sixteenth-century Jesuits, it engaged their energies fully as an outward sign of their inner spiritual desire to share the peace of God promised in Scripture. Today we have more developed and primarily secular models of this variety of work, and we more often speak of peace-building or conflict transformation. In fact, these phrases quite aptly capture the efforts of Pope Francis in a number of famous instances (most notably, in Syria and the Israeli–Palestinian conflict) where he went to great lengths to promote peace in any way possible. By inviting world leaders to meet in prayer in the Vatican gardens, by speaking out against violence in all its forms, by presiding over solemn peace vigils in Saint Peter’s Square, and by using his Twitter feed to urge peaceful resolution of hostilities—Pope Francis is repeatedly enacting the Jesuit charism to foster peace and reconciliation among peoples.

This concludes the list of core political commitments evident in the Petrine ministry of Pope Francis that spring from the core Jesuit charism. It would be easy to compile a longer list of elements of Jesuit spirituality that have evidently influenced the leadership of Pope Francis in general, and specifically his political values and actions. Several additional candidates for our attention are closely related to themes already treated above.

For example, from his Jesuit origins, he clearly derives an abiding passion for social justice, a priority of the Society of Jesus that imbues all its apostolates in recent decades. It is significant that, as provincial superior in the mid-1970s, Bergoglio represented the province of Argentina at the Thirty-Second General Congregation in Rome, a worldwide legislative meeting at which the Society of Jesus adopted a seminal document that recommitted all Jesuits and their works to “the service of faith and the promotion of justice.”¹⁶ While it is undoubtedly true that all recent popes have spoken eloquently and acted boldly to promote social justice, Francis brings to the table distinctive approaches to addressing proper social order, not to mention a wealth of administrative and direct pastoral experience in challenging social contexts that has most evidently shaped his political imagination.

Also lurking within the Jesuit background of Pope Francis is the potential influence of some well-articulated political theories pertaining to questions of power, legitimate authority, church and state relations, and the virtues associated with proper governance. No Jesuits have been more influential within the history of Christian political thought than two prominent contemporaries, the theologians Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621) and Francisco Suárez (1548–1617). Although space does not allow a full treatment or assessment of their contributions to political theory, suffice it to say that their writings on the origins of political power and what would later be called popular sovereignty and social contract theory exerted great influence around the world, and especially where Jesuits settled and worked. Their treatises on politics were widely considered subversive, as they challenged received notions such as the legitimacy of absolutism and the divine right of kings. When the Jesuits reached South America and gradually (in fits and starts) set up the missionary ventures that came to be known as the Paraguay Reductions, some considered these settlements of the indigenous Guaraní peoples as miniature utopian experiments—communities modeled on the principles of participatory democracy (albeit a paternalistic version) outlined by Jesuit theorists Suárez and Bellarmine. An influential biography of Pope Francis by Austen Ivereigh¹⁷ and a more recent monograph by political scientist Thomas Rourke¹⁸ propose that some of the “Jesuit DNA” of the reductions (eventually destroyed amidst violent colonial rivalry, as viewers of the motion picture *The Mission* will surely recall) not only lingered in collective memory for centuries, but came to form part of the intellectual patrimony of Argentina. Here they influenced not only contemporary Jesuit thought but also the populist social democracy movement

known as Peronism (after mid-twentieth-century presidents Juan and Isabel Perón), which in turn influenced the political views of the young Jorge Mario Bergoglio (by his own admission, a one-time enthusiast for Peronism).

Assessing these matters, while beyond the scope of this chapter, is a worthy research agenda for anyone seeking a comprehensive understanding of the political influences on the man we call Pope Francis. Similarly fascinating and worthwhile for purposes of political comprehension would be an evaluation of precisely how Francis routinely negotiates the boundaries of faith and politics, including how he actually regards liberation theology, especially in comparison with its distinctive Argentinian variant *teología del pueblo*, or theology of the people.¹⁹ Weighty topics like these relating to the papacy of Francis abound. The more we know about the intellectual and spiritual wells from which Pope Francis drinks, the more fully will we be able to appreciate the unique role that the first Jesuit pope plays as a global political actor.

NOTES

1. See for example, “A Good Catholic Meddles in Politics,” *Vatican Insider*, September 16, 2013, <http://www.lastampa.it/2013/09/16/vaticaninsider/eng/the-vatican/francis-a-good-catholic-meddles-in-politics-zItEROWIDaSRq8k3OHYmTI/pagina.html/>. Bergoglio had been using this aphorism for at least a decade, dating to his leadership of the archdiocese of Buenos Aires during some fierce church-state controversies in Argentina.
2. *Evangelii Gaudium*, paragraph 205.
3. See especially Austen Ivereigh, *The Great Reformer: Francis and the Making of a Radical Pope* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2014); Paul Vallely, *Pope Francis: The Struggle for the Soul of Catholicism* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015).
4. Perhaps the most obvious candidate for such an action might be the canonization of Peter Faber (1506–1546), a sixteenth-century Jesuit who was the very first companion of Jesuit founder Saint Ignatius Loyola and who remains a favorite of Jesuits around the world, including Bergoglio, who has often cited Faber’s “prayer for detachment.” Pope Pius IX beatified him in 1872, but the cause for Blessed Peter Faber’s canonization languished for 140 years, lacking evidence of sufficient miracles attributed to his intervention. Pope Francis dispensed with this requirement and announced his canonization as a saint December 17, 2013. On many other matters, Pope Francis has seemingly deliberately restrained from demonstrating any partiality by bestowing special favors on the Society of Jesus during his papacy.

5. Gustavo Gutiérrez, *We Drink from Our Own Wells: The Spiritual Journey of a People* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1984). The epitaph from Saint Bernard of Clairvaux (which provides the volume's title) appears on p. vii.
6. Chris Lowney, the author of one of the very first full-length volumes about the leadership of Francis to appear in English after his papal election, makes occasional use of this metaphor of fingerprints. See Lowney, *Pope Francis: Why He Leads the Way He Leads: Lessons from the First Jesuit Pope* (Chicago: Loyola Press, 2013). For example, on page 67, Lowney claims that "Pope Francis's commitment to immersion in the world . . . bears the fingerprints of his Jesuit formation, specifically the worldview he imbibed from Ignatius's Spiritual Exercises."
7. At the time of the election of Francis, some observers wondered aloud why it had taken over 450 years of Jesuit history for the order to supply a pope to the universal Church. The inquiry is easily answered upon examination of the content of the vows that Jesuits take upon solemn profession. Jesuit founder Ignatius of Loyola was so convinced of the necessity of binding members of the Society of Jesus to the intention never to ambition to high ecclesiastical office that he included in the Jesuit *Constitutions* a solemn vow never to actively seek (or even accept if offered, at least initially) positions such as bishop and pope. The rare Jesuit who does become a bishop or cardinal represents an exception to this rule, justified by especially pressing needs of the church, and only after a process that includes an initial attempt to decline the nomination before being prevailed upon by ecclesiastical authorities, and of course always with the permission of legitimate superiors. That said, there have on occasion been previous Jesuit cardinals who have been considered *papabile* going into conclaves to elect a pope. The most famous episode unfolded early in the seventeenth century when Jesuit Cardinal Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621) reportedly received votes in at least two consecutive papal conclaves, including the highly charged election of 1605. The scholarly and highly ascetical Bellarmine expressed his relief at dodging papal election, and his jocular prayer is repeated to this day: "Lord, deliver me from the papacy." In sum, having a Jesuit serve as pope is an extraordinary departure from normal expectations.
8. Cited in Philip Endean, "Writings on Jesuit Spirituality by Jorge Mario Bergoglio, S.J.," in *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 45, no. 3 (Autumn 2013): 2.
9. Elisabetta Piqué, *Pope Francis: Life and Revolution: A Biography of Jorge Bergoglio* (Chicago: Loyola Press, 2014), 288.
10. The full text in English of this 1965 document is found in Walter M. Abbott, S.J., ed., *The Documents of Vatican II* (New York: America Press, 1966), 466–82.

11. While the texts of many such addresses are by now available in Spanish especially in Argentinian publications such as *Boletín de espiritualidad*, the most extensive collection in English of Bergoglio's addresses and writings on Jesuit spirituality during this era are found in the two consecutive issues of the journal *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 45, no. 3–4 (autumn and winter 2013), edited by Philip Endean, S.J. shortly after the election of Francis and titled "Writings on Jesuit Spirituality by Jorge Mario Bergoglio, S.J.," parts I and II.
12. A key example would be the mode in which the spiritual exercises are administered. Before the post-Vatican II renewal of Jesuit sources, most retreats based on the rather open-ended schema of the spiritual exercises were of the preached variety, with retreatants simply listening over the course of 8 or 30 days to short sermons preached about the movements that Saint Ignatius recommended and described in his classic handbook of prayer. By 1970, Jesuit retreat houses throughout the world were returning to the original practice pioneered by Saint Ignatius of inviting retreatants to meet individually each day and at length with a spiritual director who offers guidance and suggestions for the prayer of the retreatant, in a style that is more flexible than the practice of the previous several hundred years of Jesuit spiritual practice. There are many other examples where the fruits of scholarship on Jesuit origins encouraged approaches to Jesuit ministries (pastoral, spiritual, educational) that seemed novel in some ways, but actually represent a return to sources such as the original inspiration of Saint Ignatius himself.
13. Text of the "Principle and Foundation" as found in Joseph Richaby, S.J., *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola: Spanish and English with a Continuous Commentary*, 2nd ed. (London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, Ltd., 1913), 18.
14. These words are contained in no. 650, which appears on page 298 of *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and their Complementary Norms* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996).
15. Accounts of this variety of ministry appear in all the standard histories of the Society of Jesus, although the major single-volume accounts of Jesuit history generally move very quickly from the papal approval of the order in 1540 to the high-profile missionary enterprises that began almost immediately (Xavier departed Lisbon for Goa, India and the East Indies in April 1541) and give short shrift to the manifold Jesuit ministries within Europe before the establishment of the first Jesuit schools in subsequent decades. For an older account, see Thomas J. Campbell, S.J., *The Jesuits 1534–1921* (New York: The Encyclopedia Press, 1921), especially chap. 2 ("Initial Activities"), pp. 36–71. For a more recent account, see John W. O'Malley, S.J., *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), esp. 168–71.

16. This phrase forms the subtitle of Decree Four (“Our Mission Today: The Service of Faith and the Promotion of Justice”) of General Congregation 32, promulgated May 8, 1975, and appearing in English translation in *Documents of the 31st and 32nd General Congregations of the Society of Jesus* (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1977), 411–38.
17. Austen Ivereigh, *The Great Reformer: Francis and the Making of a Radical Pope* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2014), esp. 58–65.
18. Thomas R. Rourke, *The Roots of Pope Francis’s Social and Political Thought: From Argentina to the Vatican* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2016), esp. 15–40.
19. See Rafael Luciani, *Pope Francis and the Theology of the People* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2017).

Eternal Law and Environmental Policy: Pope Francis, *Laudato Si'*, and a Thomistic Approach to Climate Change

James T. McHugh

Climate change is, arguably, the most challenging global crisis of the early part of the twenty-first century. Thomistic thought, though more commonly associated with the reconciliation of medieval theology with ancient and modern philosophy, offers a more relevant approach to public policy than might, otherwise, be assumed, especially in areas related to the natural and physical sciences. A key to that relevance is the relatively neglected category of Thomistic thought known as the eternal law. That potential was revealed by the publication of Pope Francis's encyclical on this subject and its related consequences, *Laudato Si'*.

The publication of this encyclical has made a significant contribution to the political conflict related to global climate change.¹ That significance is due to the moral authority that Pope Francis (formerly Jorge Maria Bergoglio) exercises among Roman Catholics, who constitute the largest Christian denomination and the world's second largest religious denomination, just behind Sunni Islam. It also is significant because he studied and taught chemistry and, therefore, approaches his

J. T. McHugh (✉)

University of Akron/University of Vermont, Akron, OH, USA

© The Author(s) 2018

A. J. Lyon et al. (eds.), *Pope Francis as a Global Actor*,
Palgrave Studies in Religion, Politics, and Policy,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-71377-9_4

position from a perspective that is grounded not only in Christian morality (which he links to the economic consequences of climate change) but also in scientific facts.²

This encyclical was created in response to the increasing evidence of a global crisis in relation to climate change. Pope Francis issued it both as an inspiration to members of the Church and as an appeal to people around the world. A particularly important target audience were political leaders, especially within industrial countries that have been especially responsible for creating the conditions that have contributed to the human-made elements of this crisis, such as the widespread use of fossil fuels and the habits of mass consumerism that have expanded that use. While many Catholics and other people appeared to be greatly encouraged by the Pope's intervention in this issue, other parties (especially certain politicians within the United States, including Catholic ones) expressed annoyance at the perception that he was meddling in affairs that they argued are not strictly religious in nature. However, given the severely detrimental effect that global climate change has had, and is projected to have, upon the world's population (especially the most impoverished and vulnerable ones), the Pope argued that his participation in the discourse on this subject was not only appropriate but morally imperative.

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY

The approach that Pope Francis has adopted relating to his arguments within this encyclical provide, therefore, for an interesting and, arguably, effective overlap of religious and secular norms. In order to achieve that result, he appears to have embraced a theological tradition that has not often been embraced by religious leaders, particularly within Christianity. As a member of the Society of Jesus, Jorge Maria Bergoglio was strongly influenced by its emphasis upon critical learning and its relationship to faith. Pope Francis was inspired, directly, by various sources, particularly the early twentieth-century Italian-born priest and theologian Romano Guardini, whose approach to Church reform emphasized the desire to move beyond the ceremonial aspects of the faith toward an application of their meaning that would involve and transform the people who participate in them.³ Guardini warned against a negative effect upon modern society that technology and consumer culture could impose, especially when done without regard for its ultimate human cost.⁴ Pope Francis repeated that theme within the encyclical:

105. There is a tendency to believe that every increase in power means “an increase of ‘progress’ itself”, an advance in “security, usefulness, welfare and vigour; ... an assimilation of new values into the stream of culture”, as if reality, goodness and truth automatically flow from technological and economic power as such. The fact is that “contemporary man has not been trained to use power well” because our immense technological development has not been accompanied by a development in human responsibility, values and conscience. Each age tends to have only a meagre awareness of its own limitations. It is possible that we do not grasp the gravity of the challenges now before us. “The risk is growing day by day that man will not use his power as he should”; in effect, “power is never considered in terms of the responsibility of choice which is inherent in freedom” since its “only norms are taken from alleged necessity, from either utility or security.” But human beings are not completely autonomous. Our freedom fades when it is handed over to the blind forces of the unconscious, of immediate needs, of self-interest, and of violence. In this sense, we stand naked and exposed in the face of our ever-increasing power, lacking the wherewithal to control it. We have certain superficial mechanisms, but we cannot claim to have a sound ethics, a culture and spirituality genuinely capable of setting limits and teaching clear-minded self-restraint.⁵

Given this direct influence of Guardini, the indirect influence of other notable thinkers, such as Plato, Saint Augustine of Hippo, and Friedrich Nietzsche, can also be inferred, if not directly cited, within the text.⁶ Additional philosophical influences are also acknowledged within this encyclical, such as Paul Ricœur’s hermeneutical analysis of the relationship of the self to those phenomena that are found beyond the self.⁷ These ideas helped to shape a broader approach to social and economic justice that has come to characterize many of the attitudes expressed by Pope Francis, including within encyclicals such as *Laudato Si’*.

Other important influences include popular theological currents that surrounded Jorge Maria Bergoglio as a seminarian, priest, and bishop in Argentina. Those theological ideals could be identified as part of a broader Argentinian movement of the “theology of the people” that has drawn upon a variety of Latin American theological trends that emerged during the latter part of the twentieth century. That movement has emphasized Catholic social teaching in addressing the spiritual and physical needs of the poor.⁸ Within Argentina, that movement could be linked to the development and suppression of Peronism, including its policies directed toward labor reform.⁹ Although the principles surrounding Juan Peron’s

politics of economic nationalism and social justice could seem inconsistent (and despite a strain of anti-clericalism within his policies), Peronism, its populism, and its social democratic policies that sought to alleviate conditions of impoverishment and the good of all Argentinian classes complemented Catholic social teaching in this area, including variations upon the broader movement of liberation theology.¹⁰

The relationship between a theology of the people and liberation theology may have had a profound influence upon the ideals that would motivate Pope Francis in areas such as environmental policy. Despite varied interpretations, different strains of liberation theology share a central goal of freeing disadvantaged people (especially the poor) from oppression in a manner consistent with the central message of the Gospels, including in terms of opposition to the sort of sinful behavior that contributes to poverty and a lack of conditions associated with modern human rights. The theological teachings of Gustavo Gutiérrez have been particularly influential among Argentinian activists, including in terms of their emphasis upon *praxis* over doctrine in achieving practical as well as spiritual salvation for the people.¹¹ Pope Francis' emphasis upon "the faithful people" appears to reflect not only this influence but the way he would address areas of public policy that adversely and disproportionately affect the most vulnerable people of the planet.¹²

Yet this logical connection between the Gospels and public policy is also implicit in the methodology of Thomistic thought. That relationship could be identified in relation to the activism of Father Lucio Gera, who was a prominent Argentinian advocate for the poor and powerless during the early 2000s (when Pope Francis was serving as Archbishop of Buenos Aires) and who related the theology of the people to the priorities of then-Cardinal Bergoglio's emphasis upon urban ministries. That connection was expressed rhetorically through reference to the fictional character of Juan Pueblo who is identified with the common people and was the pen name that Gera used for a commentary written on the Second Vatican Council's Pastoral Constitution for the Church in the Modern World, *Gaudium et spes*.¹³ Additionally, Juan Pueblo has provided a link between the emotional and spiritual populism of the theology of the people with the formal and more intellectually driven theology of Saint Thomas Aquinas.

Puebla connects the religion of the people with sapiential knowledge, that is, a form of wisdom that does not replace scientific knowledge, but rather situates it, existentially, complements it, and confirms it. TP [theology of the people] considers sapiential knowledge to be crucial in mediating the faith

of the people and an inculturated theology. Pope Francis recognizes its importance when he talks about connatural knowledge, following not only Thomas Aquinas but also *DP* [Pueblo Document] and Gera.¹⁴

Laudato Si' and Thomistic Thought

It is possible to find the influence of a theology of the people (including a strain of liberation theology) within *Laudato Si'*, especially in terms of the strong sentiments and concerns regarding the effect of climate change upon the neediest people of the planet. Nonetheless, the specific theological arguments that are used to articulate the central thesis of this encyclical tend to reflect the formal training and education associated with Pope Francis' Jesuit background.¹⁵ While the theology of the people may have provided a source of inspiration, a focus upon the principles of Thomistic thought appears to offer a particularly consistent rationale for its methodological approach and ultimate conclusions.

Therefore, the more prominent and universal theological influence for combining faith and reason within the sort of discourse that *Laudato Si'* represents arguably is found within the writings of Saint Thomas Aquinas. Indeed, the principles expressed within that encyclical reveal a strong Thomistic influence, especially in terms of reconciling the teachings of the Church with the international policy implications of a call to address the potentially devastating environmental, political, and economic effects of climate change. Of course, the Thomistic influence upon the teaching and training of the Catholic Church has been profound for centuries. In certain respects, that influence identifies this encyclical as a conventional one.¹⁶

The discovery of works of Aristotle and other ancient philosophers that had been presumed to be lost, together with the influence of Arabic scholarship (both of which had been bolstered through increased contact between Europe and the Middle East) and the writings of Roman jurists, all posed a challenge to church teachings during the latter centuries of the medieval period. By studying and adapting Aristotle's methods and other traditions of thought (while leading away from Platonic methods), Saint Thomas Aquinas advanced the influence of scholasticism within Catholic theology and jurisprudence, simultaneously influencing Western secular (including political, legal, and scientific) thought in general.¹⁷ It is that heritage that has provided not only a philosophical basis for Catholic theology but also the opportunity for a religious leader such as Pope Francis to engage in a discourse with secular leaders and their respective publics concerning the economic, political, and cultural implications of environmental science.¹⁸

AQUINAS AND THE ETERNAL LAW

However, a careful analysis of this encyclical suggests an influence from an area of Thomistic thought that has been far less understood, let alone invoked, than other Thomistic themes among theorists and Church leaders. The eternal law is another of the four categories of law identified by Thomas Aquinas within the treatise on the law of the *Summa Theologiae*. It reflects an attempt to classify not only a fundamental source of moral guidance but, also, a foundational one as it is identified with the intrinsic relationship between God and the universe. In his response to the question of whether or not necessary and eternal things are subject to the eternal law, Aquinas alluded to the inevitability of this law that ultimately transcends attempts to contravene it.

[T]he eternal law is the type of the Divine government. Consequently, whatever is subject to the Divine government, is subject to the eternal law: while if anything is not subject to the Divine government, neither is it subject to the eternal law. The application of this distinction may be gathered by looking around us. For those things are subject to human government, which can be done by man; but what pertains to the nature of man is not subject to human government; for instance, that he should have a soul, hands, or feet. Accordingly all that is in things created by God, whether it be contingent or necessary, is subject to the eternal law: while things pertaining to the Divine Nature or Essence are not subject to the eternal law, but are the eternal law itself.¹⁹

Therefore, even those actions that appear to be subject to the rational control of humans (such as the actions of government) remain, nonetheless, ultimately determined by the eternal law that God has established as a manifestation of divine will. It is, therefore, ultimately futile for humans and their governments to act in a manner that contradicts the eternal law, not because it is morally objectionable but because it cannot succeed. The only rational course of action is for humans to allow themselves to act in a manner that will direct them toward an end that is, indeed, inevitable. The only difference that may occur will be found within the intermediate consequences, such as increased and unnecessary evil and suffering that may result from contradicting the workings of that eternal law.²⁰

This interpretation of the eternal law has obvious and strong implications for the relationship between religious faith and scientific knowledge. Rather than deferring to an uncritical assumption that scientific theory

and observation must be faulty if it contradicts a reference found within scripture or some other religious source (such as the orbit of the earth around the sun, rather than the opposite cosmic relationship), Francis has embraced the position that scientific truth constitutes a manifestation of the will and nature of God.²¹ Therefore, contradiction of that scientific truth constitutes a contradiction of God's universe, which is especially serious when it results in negative consequences for people and their planet. That interpretation reflects the Thomistic description of the eternal law as an imprint of God's will upon all of nature that cannot be altered by human reason, though humans can refer to it as a means of persuading other humans to act in accordance with it.

Consequently man cannot impose laws on irrational beings, however much they may be subject to him. But he can impose laws on rational beings subject to him, in so far as by his command or pronouncement of any kind, he imprints on their minds a rule which is a principle of action.

Now just as man, by such pronouncement, impresses a kind of inward principle of action on the man that is subject to him, so God imprints on the whole of nature the principles of its proper actions. And so, in this way, God is said to command the whole of nature, according to Ps. 148:6: "He hath made a decree, and it shall not pass away." And thus all actions and movements of the whole of nature are subject to the eternal law. Consequently irrational creatures are subject to the eternal law, through being moved by Divine providence; but not, as rational creatures are, through understanding the Divine commandment.²²

The capacity for humans to know and understand the world at all is tied to the doctrine that all things ultimately end in God.²³ This aspect of Thomistic thought is connected to the principle of essence. In Thomistic scholarship, essence is a quality of being that eternally exists while *esse* refers to the act of participating in that essence.²⁴ Only God is *esse* by reason of his own essence; all other creatures must participate in that essence in order to achieve their own *esse*.²⁵ That participation requires recognition of that essence, which is, itself, the eternal law. Therefore, for humans, ultimate fulfillment and happiness can occur only when they recognize and allow themselves to follow their role within the eternal law as God has established it.²⁶ In other words, God *is* the eternal law while humans should be participants in it.²⁷

Now God, by His wisdom, is the Creator of all things in relation to which He stands as the artificer to the products of his art, as stated in the FP, Question [14], Article [8]. Moreover He governs all the acts and movements that are to be found in each single creature, as was also stated in the FP, Question [103], Article [5]. Wherefore as the type of the Divine Wisdom, inasmuch as by It all things are created, has the character of art, exemplar or idea; so the type of Divine Wisdom, as moving all things to their due end, bears the character of law. Accordingly the eternal law is nothing else than the type of Divine Wisdom, as directing all actions and movements.²⁸

Yet, a presumably different and more obviously relevant emphasis for this sort of Thomistic approach might, instead of eternal law, be natural law theory. The distinction between eternal law and natural law can, understandably, appear to be very subtle. But the important distinction can be found in terms of the relationship between the observation of truth and the action taken in response to that truth. This theoretical tradition predates Thomistic philosophy by many centuries and it has been expressed in many different variations, including an Aristotelian form that influenced Aquinas.²⁹ It came to dominate Catholic thought, particularly in its emphasis upon the capacity of humans to recognize, and act upon, moral imperatives through the application of reason.³⁰ Because the natural law directs human action (and serves as a reference for determining whether a particular human law is morally acceptable),³¹ its preferential application to the sort of theological arguments raised within a work such as *Laudato Si'* is anticipated. That anticipation is especially relevant as it would provide a measure of the moral validity of policies and practices relating to the environment and its repercussions.

Eternal law has been described as a “metaphysical explanation of the natural law.” It is based upon archetypes associated with the very consciousness of God that permeates the universe. It is explained in Thomistic thought in terms of the divine essence but it could also be explained in terms of evolutionary principles that do not, necessarily, require a belief in God.³² It is bound, therefore, to the nature of the universe, itself, and serves as an expression of God as pure being and a “first principle” from which all creation ultimately emanates.³³ Therefore, eternal law dominates the other Thomistic categories of law because it is the embodiment of the “highest truth.”³⁴ It is also the ultimate source of causation that is bound to existence itself.³⁵ Thus eternal law could be described as having a distinctly *ontological* character, serving as a metaphysical underpinning responsible for a physical and rational universe that operates according to logical and empirical principles, such as the natural and physical sciences reveal.

FROM ETERNAL TO NATURAL LAW

But natural law, as it has evolved, generally (and especially within Catholic thought), is regarded as being complete only when both its *ontological* and its *deontological* characteristics are followed.³⁶ The *ontological* characteristics of natural law overlap with the eternal law because they share the same foundation of divine truth.³⁷ It is the *deontological* characteristic in which the distinction is significant.³⁸ Natural law prescribes a course of moral duty that follows the discovery of the essence of something.³⁹ Eternal law is that essential something and its workings *in itself*.⁴⁰ Consequently, eternal law may be compatible with human freedom to operate with it or against it, though there will be consequences associated with the latter choice.⁴¹ The overlap between these two categories of law is not only understandable but it is actually suggested by Aquinas himself:

Wherefore, since all things subject to Divine providence are ruled and measured by the eternal law, as was stated above; it is evident that all things partake somewhat of the eternal law, in so far as, namely, from its being imprinted on them, they derive their respective inclinations to their proper acts and ends. Now among all others, the rational creature is subject to Divine providence in the most excellent way, in so far as it partakes of a share of providence, by being provident both for itself and for others. Wherefore it has a share of the Eternal Reason, whereby it has a natural inclination to its proper act and end: and this participation of the eternal law in the rational creature is called the natural law.⁴²

So, because natural law has been a particularly strong focus of Catholic teaching for centuries, it would be understandable to assume that it would be prominent within this encyclical as well. After all, if a scientific truth has been identified with a moral truth, it would be rational to assume that it requires a positive response from humanity,⁴³ especially those humans in a position of political authority who are best able to be effective in that response. In fact, Francis does make some general recommendations to the global community that do appear to reflect, somewhat, that sort of *deontological* command:

173. Enforceable international agreements are urgently needed, since local authorities are not always capable of effective intervention. Relations between states must be respectful of each other's sovereignty, but must also lay down mutually agreed means of averting regional disasters which would

eventually affect everyone. Global regulatory norms are needed to impose obligations and prevent unacceptable actions, for example, when powerful companies or countries dump contaminated waste or offshore polluting industries in other countries.⁴⁴

The encyclical offers criticism of the underlying economic contributions to climate change that certainly implies a *deontological* command that is consistent with a natural law influence. In particular, Pope Francis targets the power of multinational corporations, especially in terms of an apparent lack of care for the harmful effects of climate change on the underprivileged states and people of the planet. In particular, he recommends the Thomistic principle of subsidiarity as a path toward establishing the common good⁴⁵ (which has been used as a guide for delegating the interpretation of policy through implementation from central to decentralized communities, particularly within a federal system⁴⁶) as a strategy for addressing the implication of this crisis. It is in this area that Francis approaches the public policy implications of his moral teachings and warnings.

196. What happens with politics? Let us keep in mind the principle of subsidiarity, which grants freedom to develop the capabilities present at every level of society, while also demanding a greater sense of responsibility for the common good from those who wield greater power. Today, it is the case that some economic sectors exercise more power than states themselves. But economics without politics cannot be justified, since this would make it impossible to favor other ways of handling the various aspects of the present crisis.⁴⁷

SCHOLASTICISM, SCIENTIFIC TRUTH, AND PUBLIC POLICY

Pope Francis is not unique in making a critical connection between Christian theology and environmental stewardship, including a mystical celebration of a “living cosmology.”⁴⁸ This concept of environmental stewardship, thus, can be further understood as an expression of justice.⁴⁹ This cosmological thought of Thomas Aquinas has been related to a more specific concern for ecological ethics with the natural universe conceived as an extension of God and God’s divine plan.⁵⁰ The natural universe from a Thomistic perspective is, therefore, understood to be a gift from God that should be treated with the appropriate gratitude and care that scientific knowledge and reason may provide.⁵¹

Ultimately, though, Francis avoids advocating specific courses of action, especially in terms of public policy prescriptions. Furthermore, he also appears to avoid an insistence on any particular response toward climate change. Instead, his emphasis is upon a recognition and acknowledgment of both the crisis and the empirical truths that cause and reveal this crisis. He appears to appeal to people in general and political leaders in particular to cease resisting this recognition and the subsequent struggle against nature. In other words, he appears to be extolling world leaders to allow themselves to participate in this universal, scientific truth, rather than continuing to resist it in a manner that, ultimately, cannot be sustained and will result in catastrophe as the natural world seeks its own resolution of these problems.

68. This responsibility for God's earth means that human beings, endowed with intelligence, must respect the laws of nature and the delicate equilibria existing between the creatures of this world, for 'he commanded and they were created; and he established them for ever and ever; he fixed their bounds and he set a law which cannot pass away' (*Pf* 148:5b–6). The laws found in the Bible dwell on relationships, not only among individuals but also with other living beings.⁵²

The approach that Pope Francis uses in *Laudato Si'* reflects the reconciliation of science and theology that constituted the culmination of scholasticism in the High Middle Ages.⁵³ Saint Thomas Aquinas addressed the movement that was particularly notable within the University of Paris by successfully arguing that not only could the various scholarly disciplines be studied as discreet categories of learning but also they would prove to be complementary and, even, mutually reinforcing.⁵⁴ Thus, Pope Francis promotes the belief that science and religion are not mutually contradictory areas—scientific and religious truths are not in competition with each other but, instead, provide an outlet for revealing even more profound truths.

66. The creation accounts in the book of *Genesis* contain, in their own symbolic and narrative language, profound teachings about human existence and its historical reality. They suggest that human life is grounded in three fundamental and closely intertwined relationships: with God, with our neighbor, and with the earth, itself. According to the Bible, these three vital relationships have been broken, both outwardly and within us.⁵⁵

Clearly, that approach undermines any literalist interpretation of religious scripture (such as the creation stories of the Book of Genesis) and shifts the

responsibility for determining spiritual lessons toward an understanding of the moral lessons that scientific realities pose, especially when scientific developments have consequences for human society. The eternal law teaches that it is necessary for humans to participate in this reality and the first step is the recognition and acceptance of these universal truths of nature.

23. The climate is a common good, belonging to all and meant for all. At the global level, it is a complex system linked to many of the essential conditions for human life. A very solid scientific consensus indicates that we are presently witnessing a disturbing warming of the climatic system.⁵⁶

As a result of this recognition of the diverse consequences of climate change, it is necessary to consider this interdependence more closely. A willful failure to accept these truths represents, therefore, a potentially tragic resistance to participating in the eternal law. That level of understanding ultimately informs Francis's overall message to world leaders and the human community in general.

25. Human beings, too, are creatures of this world, enjoying a right to life and happiness and endowed with unique dignity. So we cannot fail to consider the effects on people's lives of environmental deterioration, current models of development, and the throwaway culture.⁵⁷

Again, Pope Francis cites these consequences but does not offer specific prescriptions. While decrying a culture of mass consumerism, he does not demand particular moral duties in response to that concern. In this way, his approach is not rooted in natural law because it lacks a clear *deontological* element. Instead, it emphasizes consequences from a failure to understand and accept the eternal law as science reveals it, thus warning of the collateral effect that such a failure will have upon the rest of creation. In other words, a failure to participate in one aspect of the universal order will result in disorder in other aspects of the universal order.

67. We are not God. The earth was here before us and it has been given to us. This allows us to respond to the charge that Judaeo-Christian thinking, on the basis of the *Genesis* account which grants man 'dominion' over the earth (cf. *Gen* 1:28), has encouraged the unbridled exploitation of nature by painting him as domineering and destructive by nature. This is not a correct interpretation of the Bible as understood by the Church.⁵⁸

This approach raises a question concerning the broader political purpose and efficacy of *Laudato Si'*. Technically, Pope Francis is a head of state for a sovereign (albeit tiny) country but his influence is not drawn from that position. The fact that he has avoided offering specific policy proposals and is not a participant in any treaty negotiations in this area underscores his more ambiguous role in international relations. In fact, his use of the eternal law as a foundation for his encyclical suggests that he is well aware of this limitation and, therefore, he is engaging, instead, in an act of public diplomacy. From that perspective, the recourse to eternal law appears to be an appropriate basis for this activity. Its one policy prescription is a call for a truly international solution to this crisis because, like the eternal law, climate change is not confined to a parochial source or effect.

164. Beginning in the middle of the last century and overcoming many difficulties, there has been a growing conviction that our planet is a homeland and that humanity is one people living in a common home. An interdependent world not only makes us more conscious of the negative effects of certain lifestyles and models of production and consumption which affect us all; more importantly, it motivates us to ensure that solutions are proposed from a global perspective, and not simply to defend the interests of a few countries.

173. Enforceable international agreements are urgently needed, since local authorities are not always capable of effective intervention. Relations between states must be respectful of each other's sovereignty, but must also lay down mutually agreed means of averting regional disasters which would eventually affect everyone. Global regulatory norms are needed to impose obligations and prevent unacceptable actions, for example, when powerful companies or countries dump contaminated waste or offshore polluting industries in other countries.⁵⁹

Rather than attempt to command a particular response to the crisis of climate change and its economic consequences, Pope Francis is providing a statement that affirms the scientific truth and the moral urgency of this issue. By presenting it as an essential truth that is bound to the nature of the universe, itself, he is challenging world leaders with an assessment that is grounded upon an inescapable reality, thus asserting that appropriate action is both obvious and inescapable. The only choice is whether to address it now or have it addressed for the world when the consequences of violating these truths are no longer avoidable.

68. This responsibility for God's earth means that human beings, endowed with intelligence, must respect the laws of nature and the delicate equilibria existing between the creatures of this world, for 'he commanded and they were created; and he established them for ever and ever; he fixed their bounds and he set a law which cannot pass away' (*Pf* 148:5b-6). The laws found in the Bible dwell on relationships, not only among individuals but also with other living beings.⁶⁰

THE MORAL IMPERATIVE OF SCIENTIFIC REVELATION

Eternal law presents the universe as it is. In Catholic teaching, its workings are a manifestation of God and the universe through which God functions. Therefore, humans can choose to identify and participate within the eternal law or have that law ultimately impose itself upon them with potentially disastrous consequences. The encyclical is a call to accept science as a divine manifestation. A refusal to accept it is not only a rejection of God's universe but also a self-defeating path.

76. In the Judaeo-Christian tradition, the word "creation" has a broader meaning than "nature" for it has to do with God's loving plan in which every creature has its own value and significance. Nature is usually seen as a system which can be studied, understood, and controlled, whereas creation can only be understood as a gift from the outstretched hand of the Father of all and as a reality illuminated by the love which calls us together into universal communion.⁶¹

Unlike natural law, eternal law does not impose a moral duty upon human activity but simply requires a willingness to accept an *ontological* reality. In that way, natural law participates in the eternal law, though it remains distinct from it.⁶² That message is the source of this public diplomacy by the Vatican and an appeal to the eternal law is the chosen method for extolling and defending it. Pope Francis is not trying to impose a course of action; instead, he is revealing a faulty economic and political paradigm (faulty because it is based upon a contradiction of the eternal law, which ultimately cannot be contradicted) and thus trying to persuade other people (including political leaders) to reject that faulty paradigm as being untenable *because* it fails to understand and accept that eternal law.

106. The basic problem goes even deeper: it is the way that humanity has taken up technology and its development *according to an undifferentiated and one-dimensional paradigm*. This paradigm exalts the concept of a subject

who, using logical and rational procedures, progressively approaches and gains control over an external object. This subject makes every effort to establish the scientific and experimental method, which in itself is already a technique of possession, mastery and transformation ... This has made it easy to accept the idea of infinite or unlimited growth, which proves so attractive to economists, financiers and experts in technology. It is based on the lie that there is an infinite supply of the earth's goods, and this leads to the planet being squeezed dry beyond every limit.⁶³

Thus, Francis makes the transition from scientific truth to economic truth, both of which are bound by this moral truth. It is at this point that the religious message overlaps with the political message. In particular, the traditional Christian emphasis upon the poor and powerless is most effectively advanced through an eternal law that is grounded upon God's love for all:

158. In the present condition of global society, where injustices abound and growing numbers of people are deprived of basic human rights and considered expendable, the principle of the common good immediately becomes, logically and inevitably, a summons to solidarity and a preferential option for the poorest of our brothers and sisters. This option entails recognizing the implications of the universal destination of the world's goods, but, as I mentioned in the Apostolic Exhortation, it demands before all else an appreciation of the immense dignity of the poor in the light of our deepest convictions as believers.⁶⁴

Nonetheless, consistent with the tradition of scholasticism, Francis insists that scientific truth is not an end in itself nor does it offer a moral conclusion.⁶⁵ Certainly, a Catholic encyclical could not confine itself to that sort of perspective. The eternal law is, first, the law through which God creates this rational universe and places humans within it.⁶⁶ Therefore, a proper appreciation of scientific truth requires that it be juxtaposed with corresponding truths through which a truly moral conclusion can be identified. Only in that way can humans truly come to participate in the eternal law, which unites seemingly disparate truths into a comprehensive whole that is, indeed, the universal order as, it contends, God has established it:

199. It cannot be maintained that empirical science provides a complete explanation of life, the interplay of all creatures and the whole of reality. This would be to breach the limits imposed by its own methodology. If we reason only within the confines of the latter, little room would be left for aesthetic sensibility, poetry, or even reason's ability to grasp the ultimate meaning and

purpose of things ... The ethical principles capable of being apprehended by reason can always reappear in different guise and find expression in a variety of languages, including religious language.⁶⁷

So *Laudato Si'* ends with a message of hope. It expresses a spiritual optimism that humans are capable of accepting and following the truth as it is eternally revealed to them. It reflects its author's belief in the essential goodness of humanity and the capacity of its political leaders to respond to difficult problems in an ultimately ethical manner. Thus, the burden is returned to humans and their political leaders with the Church merely providing moral guidance and encouragement.

205. Yet all is not lost. Human beings, while capable of the worst, are also capable of rising above themselves, choosing again what is good, and making a new start, despite their mental and social conditioning. We are able to take an honest look at ourselves, to acknowledge our deep dissatisfaction, and to embark on new paths to authentic freedom. No system can completely suppress our openness to what is good, true and beautiful, or our God-given ability to respond to his grace at work deep in our hearts. I appeal to everyone throughout the world not to forget this dignity which is ours. No one has the right to take it from us.⁶⁸

This approach might, understandably, assume characteristics that are associated with consequentialist thought. The belief that people should participate in the eternal law because failure to do so not only will violate the foundation of God's moral universe but will also have bad and avoidable practical consequences for the planet and its inhabitants is a shift in perspective that is not typically associated with Thomistic thought or, indeed, any of the virtue-based approaches to moral philosophy. In this case, though, both moral absolutes and practical results are capable of asserting a presence within this encyclical as well as within the ethical premise that prompts its conclusions. Moreover, eternal law has been associated with an ultimate expression of divine causality.⁶⁹ Therefore, that relationship could be, arguably, extended to a logically consequentialist outcome.

ETERNAL LAW AND CONSEQUENTIALISM

Assumptions that Thomistic thought is wholly *deontological*⁷⁰ (thus inferring that it identifies moral choices that must be made, regardless of practical consequences) have been strongly challenged, especially within the context of Thomistic legal philosophy.⁷¹ It has also been noted that Aquinas

is remarkably consequentialist in defending his positions and demonstrating their appropriateness, such as in the case of his argument that acquisition of a person's property through stealth is not morally wrong when it is conducted under conditions of dire exigency.⁷² Likewise, religious precepts such as the Golden Rule and the Augustinian just war thesis can be treated as being justified through their consequences as well as because they reflect an absolute moral principle grounded in religious truth.⁷³ Furthermore, the identification of causality and participation as bound to universal existence⁷⁴ might also suggest consequentialist conclusions in terms of rational outcomes resulting from certain actions that contradict the fundamental workings of nature. So it is plausible to argue that the eternal law is based upon a theoretical construct that is both morally absolute and subject to unavoidable consequences when its precepts are violated.

Interestingly, a body of consequentialist thought exists that ties both traditions of ethical thought to the human treatment of the environment. Arguably, it is possible for value ethicists and consequentialists to arrive at similar conclusions even though they reach them through a different philosophical paradigm. Therefore, the protection of the environment can be reconciled to both approaches: one because it is a good in itself, and the other one because it will bear good consequences.⁷⁵ Indeed, true consequentialists contend that effects are not merely morally relevant but are *all* that is relevant. Virtue ethicists such as Aristotle routinely appeal to moral principles as properties of actions and their results, promoting, ultimately, those "best activities" that produce the best results. Therefore, actions can be both morally superior and practically right.⁷⁶ *Laudato Si'* appears to make the same argument.

Therefore, the eternal law is a theoretical principle that can be particularly effective in support of the sort of purpose that Pope Francis appears to have wanted for *Laudato Si'*. While an encyclical is, first, intended for the Catholic faithful, it also may be directed toward the wider world, consistent with the mission of Catholicism as a universal church. In this case, Pope Francis has ardently tried to persuade the global community and its political leaders to treat climate change and its consequences with the urgency that he feels they merit. Rather than simply note the scientific consensus and its economic, political, and moral implications and, then, proffer a policy solution, Francis is urging those leaders to recognize the crisis and adopt policies of their own. Therefore, he is not prescribing a course of action but, instead, exhorting the world and its leaders to accept a powerful scientific truth and the fact that a failure to accept that truth will undermine an even wider universal order.

CONCLUSION

The eternal law is based upon the belief that a failure to act in accordance with it will have disruptive consequences in a multitude of interconnected ways. The order of the universe is a holistic one through which even God acts as an extension of divine governance.⁷⁷ A belief that nature can be bent to human preference will, inevitably, fail—and with devastating consequences. That inevitable failure is based upon the ultimate futility of acting outside of the eternal law. Because that law cannot be altered, only true participation in it can produce harmonious results. Defiance of the lessons that the universe and nature provide will not alter them to conform to contradictory expectations.

Therefore, Pope Francis is urging a simple willingness to acknowledge that reality. In that way, he returns decision making to the political realm, thus reinforcing the traditional role of religion as one of guidance rather than imposition. In that way, the use of eternal law as a basis for this encyclical could prove to be more effective than the use of another theological and philosophical appeal might be. An unwillingness to accept the truths that science provides and apply them to public policy in a rational manner ultimately will not bend the universe toward wishful outcomes. But a participation in that eternal law and its natural manifestation (including in terms of global climate) may redress the negative outcomes (both moral and practical) that resistance and defiance have produced and will continue to produce.

This influence of Thomistic thought within public policy could be significant for the future. In other areas of the natural and physical sciences, it could exert an influence that could complement other political and scientific efforts to influence public policy while, also, potentially countering anti-intellectual objections that might also be rooted in different sources of religious opinion. The eternal law is merely one possible source for this movement and the contributions that Thomistic inquiry may continue to make to modern policy debates and concerns, especially as they affect social justice themes and their moral and practical consequences.

NOTES

1. Ban Ki-moon, “Statement attributable to the Spokesman for the Secretary-General on the Papal Encyclical by His Holiness Pope Francis,” Office of the Secretary General, United Nations, New York, June 18, 2015, <http://www.un.org/sg/statements/index.asp?nid=8732>; Coral Davenport, “Pope’s Views

- on Climate Change Add Pressure to Catholic Candidates,” *New York Times*, June 16, 2015, http://www.nytimes.com/2015/06/17/us/politics/popes-views-press-gop-on-climate-change.html?_r=0; John Vidal, “Explosive Intervention by Pope Francis Set to Transform Climate Change Debate,” *The Guardian*, June 13, 2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jun/13/pope-francis-intervention-transforms-climate-change-debate>
2. Elisabetta Piqué, *Pope Francis: Life and Revolution* (Chicago: Loyola Press, 2013), 47.
 3. “The Liturgical Act, Today,” Letter of Romano Guardini to Johannes Wagner, April 1964, <http://www.ecclesiadeci.nl/docs/guardini.html>
 4. Romano Guardini, *The End of the Modern World* (Wilmington, DE: ISI Books, 1998), 82, 87–88.
 5. Francis, *Laudato Si: On Care for Our Common Home* (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2015), section 105.
 6. Frank O’Malley, “The Thinker in the Church II: The Urgencies of Romano Guardini,” *Review of Politics* 25, no. 4 (October 1963): 451–59.
 7. Paul Ricœur, *Philosophie de la Volonté, tome II: Finitude et Culpabilité* (Paris: Aubier Montagne, 2009), 215–17; Paul Ricœur, Charles E. Reagan, and David Stewart, “Existence and Hermeneutics,” in *The Philosophy of Paul Ricœur: An Anthology of His Work*, ed. Charles E. Reagan and David Stewart, 101–6 (Boston: Beacon Press, 1978).
 8. Rafael Luciani, *Pope Francis and the Theology of the People*, trans. Philip Berryman (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2017), 1–20.
 9. Juan Carlos Scannone, S.J., “Pope Francis and the Theology of the People,” *Theological Studies* 77, no. 1 (2016): 120–21.
 10. James Brennan and Marcelo Rougier, *The Politics of National Capitalism: Peronism and the Argentine Bourgeoisie* (State College: Penn State University Press, 2010), ix–xxii, 105; Benjamin Southerland, *Pope Francis: A Biography of an Inspirational Leader* (Minneapolis: ABDO Publishing, 2017), 23–24.
 11. Gustavo Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics, and Salvation*, trans. Cardida Inda and John Eagleson (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1988), 35–39; Mee-Ae Kim, “Liberation and Theology: A Pedagogical Challenge,” *The History Teacher*, 46, no. 4 (August 2013): 606–7.
 12. Scannone, “Pope Francis,” 124–26.
 13. *Ibid.*, 121, 123.
 14. *Ibid.*, 123.
 15. Southerland, *Pope Francis*, 27–30.
 16. Willis Jenkins, “Biodiversity and Salvation: Thomistic Roots for Environmental Ethics,” *Journal of Religion* 83, no. 3 (July 2003): 403–5.
 17. G. K. Chesterton, *St. Thomas Aquinas* (Mineola, NY: Dover, 2009), 35–57.
 18. Jenkins, *Biodiversity and Salvation*, 405–8.

19. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* (Rochester, NY: Aquinas Institute, 2012), Question 93, article 4.
20. John Finnis, *Aquinas: Moral, Political, and Legal Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 307–9.
21. Michael Zuckert, “The Fullness of Being: Thomas Aquinas and the Modern Critique of Natural Law,” *Review of Politics*, 69, no. 1 (Winter 2007): 34–35.
22. Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, Question 93, article 5.
23. Fergus Kerr, *After Aquinas* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 26–34.
24. Cornelio Fabro, “The Intensive Hermeneutics of Thomistic Philosophy: The Notion of Participation,” *Review of Metaphysics* 27, no. 3 (March 1974): 1226–29.
25. John Wippel, *The Metaphysical Thought of Thomas Aquinas: From Finite Being to Uncreated Being* (Washington, DC: Catholic University Press, 2000), 94–131.
26. Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, Question 5, article 1; John Rziha, *Perfecting Human Actions: St. Thomas Aquinas on Human Participation in Eternal Law* (Washington, DC: Catholic University Press, 2009), 93–97.
27. Rziha, *Perfecting Human Actions*, 97–112.
28. Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, Question 93, article 1.
29. Ralph McInerney, “Thomistic Natural Law and Aristotelian Philosophy,” in *St. Thomas Aquinas and the Natural Law Tradition*, ed. John Goyette and Mark S. Latkovic (Washington, DC: Catholic University Press, 2004), 25–41.
30. Shadia B. Drury, *Aquinas and Modernity: The Lost Promise of Natural Law* (Plymouth, England, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2008), 25–32.
31. Michael S. Moore, “Law as Justice,” in *Natural Law and Modern Moral Philosophy*, ed. Ellen Frankel Paul and Fred D. Miller, Jr., 115–45 (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2001).
32. Anthony J. Liska, *Aquinas’ Theory of Natural Law: An Analytical Reconstruction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 119–20.
33. Richard J. Taylor, “Aquinas, the *Plotiniana Arabica*, and the Metaphysics of Being and Actuality,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 59, no. 2 (April 1998): 217–18.
34. John Wippel, *The Metaphysical Thought of Thomas Aquinas* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2000), 68–70.
35. Fabro, “Intensive Hermeneutics,” 1225–28.
36. Jack Donnelly, *Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989), 13–20; John Finnis, *Natural Law and Natural Rights* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 205–10; Dennis Lloyd *The Idea of Law* (London: Penguin, 1987), 311–14.

37. Ernst Bloch, *Natural Law and Human Dignity* (Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1986), 25–27; Ralph McInerny, *St. Thomas Aquinas* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1977), 63–70.
38. Shadia B. Drury, “The Resilient Core of Natural Law,” in *Law and Politics*, ed. Shadia B. Drury, assoc. ed. Rainer Knopff, 41 (Calgary: Detselig, 1980).
39. Lloyd L. Weinreb, *Natural Law and Justice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 9–12, 224–65.
40. John Finnis, “Nature, Reason, and God in Aquinas,” in *St. Thomas Aquinas on Politics and Ethics*, ed. Paul E. Sigmund, 190–91 (New York: Norton, 1988).
41. Romanus Cassario, “Why Aquinas Locates Natural Law within the *Sacra Doctrina*,” in *St. Thomas Aquinas and the Natural Law Tradition: Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. John Goyete, Mark S. Latkovik, and Richard S. Myers, 80–85 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2004).
42. Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, Question 91, article 2.
43. Michael J. Dodds, *Unlocking Divine Action: Contemporary Science and Thomas Aquinas* (Washington, DC: Catholic University Press, 2012), 105–18.
44. *Laudato Si'*, section 173.
45. Nicholas Aroney, “Subsidiarity, Federalism, and the Best Constitution: Thomas Aquinas on City, Province, and Empire,” *Law and Philosophy* 26, no. 2 (March 2007): 168–75.
46. Antonio Estella, *The EU Principle of Subsidiarity and Its Critique* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 1–35; James T. McHugh, “The Constitutional Presence within North America,” in *Toward a North American Legal System*, ed. James T. McHugh, 69–70 (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).
47. *Laudato Si'*, section 196.
48. Matthew Fox, *The Coming of the Cosmic Christ* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1988), 114–16.
49. Jenkins, *Biodiversity and Salvation*, 414–20.
50. Michael Northcott, *The Environment and Christian Ethics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 226–56.
51. Jenkins, *Biodiversity and Salvation*, 408–11.
52. *Laudato Si'*, section 68.
53. Eilene Serene, “Demonstrative Science,” in *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, ed. Norman Kretzmann and Anthony Kenny, 496–517 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).
54. L. C. Kondrick, “Thomism and Science Education: History Informs a Modern Debate,” *Integrative and Comparative Biology* 48, no. 2 (August 2008): 208–11.

55. *Laudato Si'*, section 66.
56. *Ibid.*, section 23.
57. *Ibid.*, section 25.
58. *Ibid.*, section 67.
59. *Ibid.*, sections 164, 173.
60. *Ibid.*, section 68.
61. *Ibid.*, section 76.
62. Craig A. Boyd, "Participation Metaphysics in Aquinas' Theory of Natural Law," *American Catholic Philosophical Quarterly* 79 (2005): 431–35.
63. *Laudato Si'*, section 106.
64. *Ibid.*, section 158.
65. Peter M. J. Hess and Paul L. Allen, *Catholicism and Science* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2008), 149–58.
66. John Bowlin, *Contingency and Fortune in Aquinas' Ethics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 120–23.
67. *Laudato Si'*, section 199.
68. *Ibid.*, section 205.
69. Fabro, "Intensive Hermeneutics," 1225–228.
70. Alan Donegan, *Human Ends and Human Actions* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1985), 17; Mathew H. Kramer, "How Not to Oppugn Consequentialism," *Philosophical Quarterly* 46, no. 183 (April 1996), 214–17.
71. Daniel Westberg, *Right Practical Reason: Aristotle, Action, and Prudence in Aquinas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 234–38.
72. Kramer, "How Not to Oppugn Consequentialism," 216.
73. Donald Secrest, Gregory G. Brunk, and Howard Tamashiro, "Empirical Investigation of Normative Discourse in War: The Case of the Donagan-Aquinas Thesis," *Journal of Peace Research* 28, no. 4 (November 1991), 396–98.
74. Fabro, "Intensive Hermeneutics," 1225–228.
75. Katie McShane, "The Bearers of Value in Environmental Ethics," in *Consequentialism and Environmental Ethics*, ed. Avram Hiller, Ramona Ilea, and Leonard Kahn, 17–34 (New York: Routledge, 2013).
76. Paul Hurley, *Beyond Consequentialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 116–17, 124–25.
77. Rziha, *Perfecting Human Actions*, 26–27.

Love the Prisoner, Ban the Substance: Pope Francis and the War on Drugs

Margaret MacLeish Mott

Progressive Americans have found much to their liking in the papacy of Francis. Upon taking office, Francis rejected the splendor of the Apostolic Palace, choosing to remain in the Vatican guest house. His earliest visits were to prisons and soup kitchens where the Pope administered to the most vulnerable. Both of his papal encyclicals, *Evangelii Gaudium* (The Joy of the Gospel) and *Laudato Si'* (Praise Be to You), question the blessings of capitalism because of its effects on the most vulnerable, both human and non-human. Speaking before Congress in 2015, Francis derided economic values as insufficient to truly lead a country. He warned against “new global forms of slavery, born of grave injustices” and urged American leaders to remember the poor.¹ Everything he said and did seemed to confirm that this Pope stood with progressives and in opposition to conservatives.

Immediately following the Pope’s address to Congress, a headline in the online journal *Salon* declared, “The Pope is Neoliberalism’s Enemy No. 1.” Neoliberalism, explained reporter Sean Illing, “is the bedrock ideology of laissez-faire capitalism; it’s an ideology of mass privatization, unfettered deregulation, corporate tax cuts, trade liberalization, and a near-total reduction of the role of government in social life.” It isn’t

M. M. Mott (✉)
Marlboro College, Marlboro, VT, USA

enough to call capitalism the enemy, explained Illing, one must understand how capitalism encourages a “pathological devotion to money.”² Because the Pope understands the sickness created by neoliberal policies, Illing assumed he must share the values of *Salon’s* readership.

But while many of Francis’s concerns align with progressive goals, his political philosophy is explicitly illiberal. In that same speech before Congress, Francis emphasized unity over conflict, building a whole, rather than deliberating differences. Politics, he explained, is “an expression of our compelling need to live as one, in order to build as one the greatest common good: that of a community which sacrifices particular interests in order to share, in justice and peace, its goods, its interests, its social life.”³ This is a very different vision of politics than the one envisioned by the framers of the US Constitution, which focused on division, deliberation, and competing powers. In an explicitly illiberal argument, Pope Francis promotes politics as the process of unification.

The vast difference between progressives and Pope Francis becomes most clear when we consider their respective stances on the War on Drugs. Progressives denounce the War on Drugs for targeting poor communities of color, for militarizing the police, for contributing to mass incarceration, and for being completely ineffective at stopping drug use.⁴ By contrast, the Pope remains one of its most vocal supporters. During the Pope’s visit to Brazil in 2013, Francis posed for an AP camera, flanked on both sides by uniformed and armed Rio police officers. The pontiff is dressed in white, the police in black motorcycle garb. Together the ensemble creates a white-breasted bird, its fierce black wings outstretched on either side. Everyone is smiling above a caption that points to the “huge burden on authorities” as they fight the battle against drugs.⁵

One year later, at a drug enforcement conference in Rome, Francis spoke out against efforts to legalize any controlled substances: “Drug addiction is an evil, and with evil there can be no yielding or compromise.” The conference took place one month after Uruguay legalized recreational marijuana, and the Pope used the podium to chastise Uruguayan lawmakers: “To think that harm can be reduced by permitting drug addicts to use narcotics in no way resolves the problem.”⁶ Francis lay the responsibility for drug use at the feet of “a deplorable commerce which transcends national and continental borders.”⁷ Not only is a well-armed police force necessary to protect the people from the violence and temptations of drug cartels, allowing individuals the freedom to use marijuana is antithetical to the Pope’s project. The people that the Pope wants to build do not need those sorts of choices.

But just because the Pope disagrees with progressive principles doesn't mean he stands completely with conservatives. While the Pope encouraged his audience in Rome to say "no to every type of drug use," a phrase reminiscent of Nancy Reagan's "Just Say No" campaign, he put a very different twist on that famous meme: "To say this no, one has to say yes to life, yes to love, yes to others, yes to education, yes to greater job opportunities. If we say yes to all these things, there will be no room for illicit drugs, for alcohol abuse, for other forms of addiction."⁸ Where Nancy Reagan's campaign reinforced the neoliberal value of personal responsibility, the Pope called for public funding for education and jobs and for strong and loving social bonds.

The Pope's comments at the Rome conference reveal a vastly different moral compass than is used by either conservatives or progressives. Conservatives who generally support the War on Drugs do not favor creating social programs, arguing that government programs create the vice of dependency.⁹ Progressives favor providing social programs and ending criminalization of drug use, arguing that basic needs must be provided and individual choices must be honored. The Pope argues for strong social programs and a zero-tolerance approach to drug use. Within the entrenched positions of American politics, Francis's position makes no sense. But Francis is not operating within the binaries of American politics. Rather, in order to build a people, he requires government resources that are both coercive and social. He wants his people to develop the habits of unity, not autonomy. He also wants them to see themselves as a united moral presence in a world corrupted by materialism.

Some of his proponents on the left argue that Francis is an embodiment of liberation theology, a theology that is noted for its Marxian analysis of structural sin. However, according to the Argentine Jesuit Juan Carlos Scannone, Francis espouses a particular variation of liberation theology, one that focuses on a "preferential love for the poor, and the theology of the people."¹⁰ Theology of the people, explains Scannone, is established through four principles: "(1) the priority of time over space; (2) the priority of unity over conflict; (3) the priority of reality over the idea; and (4) the superiority of the whole over the parts."¹¹ Each of these priorities provides the basis for a new social order that emphasizes strong social bonds over material desires. They also prioritize the good of the whole over individual liberties. This emphasis on the social over the personal, the spiritual over the material, puts theology of the people in close proximity to liberation theology.

But close proximity does not make these two theologies identical. Giving preference to the poor within the context of a Marxian liberation theology means standing with the people against an unjust political regime. Giving preference to the poor within a theology of the people means envisioning the people's capacity to be "both [the] recipients and agents of evangelization."¹² Scanonne explains that theology of the people distances itself from liberalism and Marxism by using "distinctive categories such as 'peoples' in contrast to 'empires,' 'popular culture' and 'popular religiosity.'"¹³ The focus is on the actual community, living in a particular time and place, with real spiritual battles to fight. Unlike liberation theology, which tends to lean heavily on the side of structural analysis, theology of the people focuses on the sacramental capacities of a God-loving people. In order to succeed, the people need tough laws *and* meaningful work in religious communities.

The term political scientists use to describe this combination of generous social programs and strict commands is corporatism: an authoritarian form of government in which the constituent units work together for the good of the whole.¹⁴ The authoritarian nature of corporatism tends to raise hackles for progressives, who see too much power being handed over to the central ruler. Indeed, the history of corporatism in Latin America is heavily tied to dictators, particularly in Argentina where Jorge Mario Bergoglio moved up through the ranks of Jesuits, becoming a cardinal in 2001. Scanonne does not minimize the authoritarian connection to the theology of the people. Indeed, he establishes its roots in a letter from the Argentine dictator Juan Manuel de Rosas to his henchman Facundo Quiroga. (Quiroga gained notoriety in North America when a dramatic biography by the exiled Domingo F. Sarmiento was translated into English by the wife of the radical educator Horace Mann. *Facundo or, Civilization and Barbarism*, published in Spanish in 1845 and in English in 1868 made the names Rosas and Quiroga synonymous with tyranny.) For Scanonne, these brutal state actors do not diminish the legitimacy of the four priorities. On the contrary, Rosas and Quiroga are included in order to establish its credibility. Many Argentinians, it would seem, accept that strong men may be necessary to achieve the salvation of the people.

Americans, by contrast, are generally suspicious of theocratic regimes. In a 2013 interview with *New Yorker* staff reporter Jon Lee Anderson, Gabriel Pasquini questioned Bergoglio's involvement with the military during Argentina's "Dirty War," a time when dissidents, including left-leaning priests, were being regularly disappeared.¹⁵ Those initial concerns,

however, faded as English-speaking progressives proclaimed the Pope as their new standard bearer.

While it is beyond the scope of this chapter to investigate Bergoglio's role in the Dirty War, it is clear that Pope Francis's populist theology follows a populist corporatist framework. Not a liberal project, as that would focus on the capacities of autonomous individuals. Not a Marxist project, as that would build a revolutionary class. Rather, his effort is to build a people who come to see themselves as one body, constituted by the recipients and the agents of God's presence on earth.

Corporatism finds its primary political metaphor in the New Testament. Saint Paul described the Christian community as a body whose various parts perform different functions.¹⁶ The foot needs to behave as a foot and an eye as an eye. When it doesn't, the whole body falls apart. These functional differences give rise to a natural hierarchy: the eyes, for instance, must keep watch over the feet. The populist version of corporatism emphasizes the innate wisdom of the feet. After all, the feet are closer to God's earth, much closer than the eyes. But that proximity to the earth doesn't mean the feet necessarily have the capacity to make good decisions, particularly if they have been corrupted by evil forces. Still, it is not just the lower parts that are subject to scrutiny. Jesus famously said that if your eye looks longingly at your neighbor's wife, it must be cut out; if your right hand doth offend thee, cut it off.¹⁷ Violent means are necessary when evil is afoot.

While this scriptural passage would seem to legitimize the War on Drugs, not all Catholic theologians agree. An editorial in the British *Catholic Herald*, announced, "I disagree with Pope Francis: The War on Drugs Should Be Ended." "The single most astonishing thing about the War on Drugs," wrote Catholic priest and Doctor of Moral Theology Alexander Lucie-Smith, "is its abysmal failure to stop anyone who wants drugs from accessing them."¹⁸ Using the Pope's preference-for-the-poor rhetoric, Lucie-Smith called for programs that accompanied "those in difficulty" and gave "hope for the future." But while Lucie-Smith and the Pope agreed that the poor needed assistance and hope, they disagreed on the role of the criminal justice system. Instead of "fighting drugs with guns," Lucie-Smith called for treatment and an end to the War on Drugs. Instead of funding police departments, Lucie-Smith called for funding programs that work through "education and persuasion."

The public disagreement between Pope Francis and Father Lucie-Smith reveals a fault line between the theology of the people and liberation theology. Where liberationists focus on changing structural forces, such as

criminal statutes and mandatory minimums, corporatists see the need for a strong authoritarian regime. This is not to say that liberation theology shares no common ground with theology of the people. As Scannone points out, the preference for the poor is a clear priority for both of these theologies. For a corporatist, preference for the poor necessitates a program that builds up the capacities of the poor and keeps them from harm. For a Marxist-leaning liberation theologian, preference for the poor entails standing up against systemic and systematic forms of oppression. These two theologies may share similar goals, but their approaches to social change are worlds apart.

Not surprisingly, American progressives do not recognize the distinctions between these two Latin American theologies. Before the 2015 papal visit to a Philadelphia correctional facility, reformers hoped that Pope Francis's position on legalization of marijuana would "evolve." Announcing that the Pope would spend time with a man imprisoned for using marijuana, a reporter with *Marijuana Politics* hoped that the Pope would change his position "after meeting with some nonviolent drug offenders in an American prison."¹⁹ The Pope, however, had a very different agenda. Instead of questioning the legitimacy of the sentence, the Pope focused on rehabilitation. "This time in your life can only have one purpose," the Pope told the inmates at the Curran-Fromhold Correctional Facility, "to give you a hand in getting back on the right road, to give you a hand to rejoin society."²⁰ The rehabilitation that the Pope envisioned was not just personal but social. To return to society as a rehabilitated person was to "elevate the entire community." To his progressive supporters, the fact that Francis visited a prison was sufficient to indicate his displeasure with mass incarceration, *even though he has never said anything to that effect*. Instead, the Pope emphasized the importance of rehabilitation as a means of building a more moral people. Healthier habits, not critiques of government policy, would build a stronger people.

But as governments use the War on Drugs to terrorize their populations, Francis's position becomes harder to sustain. At the time of this writing, thousands of alleged drug users have been killed in the Philippines, either by the police or by masked vigilantes who claim they are operating under Duterte's directions.²¹ The Philippine church has been confused as to how to respond. "Philippines Church divided, subdued over drug killings," declared a headline in the Catholic journal *Cruce*, published in October of 2016. "In interviews with Reuters, more than a dozen clergymen in Asia's biggest Catholic nation said they were uncertain how to

take a stand against the thousands of killings in a war that had such overwhelming popular support.”²² However, as the killings continue, and the pictures of dead bodies and families weeping at gravesides dominate the websites and front pages of the international press, that popular support is quickly eroding.

So far, the Pope has not denounced Duterte’s brutal application of a zero-tolerance policy. Rather, in January 2017, Pope Francis publicly blessed Duterte and the people of the Philippines.²³ From a progressive perspective, the Pope’s blessing makes no sense. Shouldn’t this defender of the poor be speaking out against Duterte’s abuse of power? Francis, however, is not following a progressive agenda. Instead of focusing on the brutality of Duterte, he is more concerned with building the capacities of the Philippine people. The priorities established by Rosas and promulgated by Pope Francis provide leaders with enormous powers to cleanse the flock of social evils, often at the expense of civil liberties. Does this blessing of a recognized tyrant support the accusations from Argentina that this Pope tacitly endorsed the brutal tactics of the infamous “Dirty War”?

Each of the four priorities can be interpreted to legitimize a brutal authoritarian regime. The priority of time over space allows for extraordinary powers to achieve a new society. In *Evangelii Gaudium*, Pope Francis calls for “actions which generate new processes in society and engage other persons and groups who can develop them to the point where they bear fruit in significant historical events.”²⁴ In the context of environmental protection, that language seems necessary. In the context of ending drug addiction, it seems nefarious. Duterte’s harsh campaign against poor neighborhoods reveals how the priority of time over space might legitimize police brutality. The other priorities can also be interpreted to support dictatorships: the priority of unity over conflict discourages dissent; the priority of reality over ideas delegitimizes human rights; and the superiority of the whole over the part supports the unleashing of nationalism.

On the other hand, these same priorities can be interpreted in favor of the spiritual powers of a people. While the Pope’s blessing in January might be read as complicity in Duterte’s carnage, it might also be read as encouraging the people to hold strong, to keep saying no to drugs and yes to life. The results may not be immediate but in the long haul, the population will be healed. Scannone finds in the priority of time over space connections to Ignatian spirituality, in which the ripeness of time must be discerned. Jesuits are trained to discern the “spiritual sense of the proper time for the right decision, whether it be existential, interpersonal, pastoral,

social, or political.”²⁵ Given the emphasis on discernment, the Pope no doubt believed that his blessing, given at that specific time, would change the course of events. Indeed, two weeks later, on Sunday, February 5, 2017, Catholic clergy read from an episcopal letter, decrying the “reign of terror” and calling for a halt to extrajudicial killings. “Every person has a right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty,” argued the Philippine Bishops. The law, not Duterte, should be followed.²⁶

While the Bishops may have discovered their spiritual strengths through the Pope’s blessing, it is noteworthy that their argument did not use any of the four priorities. Rather, the emphasis was on a higher legal authority, human rights, that should constrain Duterte’s government. Indeed, Catholic natural law objections to state policy have a long tradition, going back to the Early Church fathers. Aquinas famously cites Augustine, “A law that is unjust is considered to be no law at all.”²⁷ This higher law tradition allowed Catholic political thinkers to critique powerful state actors, such as when Bartolomé de las Casas argued against the treatment of indigenous people in the New World.²⁸ More recently, natural law reasoning has been used to critique the War on Drugs.

In November of 1996, Valparaiso University convened a Symposium on Teenage Violence and Drug Use. The War on Drugs, argued the Dean of the Law School Edward McGlynn Gaffney, is a “category mistake.”²⁹ A government should never declare “war” on its people, since that rhetoric supports the lifting of basic constitutional protections. “For people committed to pacifism, a war on drugs suffers from the same infirmity of all wars: they are senseless, not to be participated in, or even supported.”³⁰ A pacifist response would focus on care and compassion, a public health response. However, if it is a war, argued Gaffney, then it must conform to the principles of a just war.

Gaffney’s reasoning was grounded in Aquinas’s theory of just war. According to Aquinas, a war is only legitimate if it meets the following four conditions: that the ruler has authority, that all peaceful solutions have been exhausted, that the response is proportionate to the harm, and that the intention is good.³¹ While Nixon originally authorized the War on Drugs as a necessary response to a social evil, subsequent reporting reveals a very different strategy. In 1994, Nixon aide John Ehrlichman confessed to a reporter that the War on Drugs had been engineered to discredit Nixon’s political enemies, specifically “the antiwar left and black people.” Nixon and Ehrlichman “knew we couldn’t make it illegal to be either against the war or blacks, but by getting the public to associate the hippies

with marijuana and blacks with heroin, and then criminalizing both heavily, we could disrupt those communities.” Did the Nixon administration know it was lying about the drugs? “Of course we did.”³² Since the intentions behind the War on Drugs were improper, on that principle alone the War on Drugs should be declared unjust.

The War on Drugs could also be challenged under the principle that peaceful solutions must be exhausted. In fact, peaceful solutions to the problem of substance use, such as funds for rehabilitation and community support, were initially allocated under the Nixon administration. However, when Reagan moved into the Oval Office he reduced funding for treatment programs and increased prison sentences. By contrast, a peaceful solution would treat drug use as a public health issue and not as a crime, a position that the Surgeon General under President Barack Obama championed. Vivek Murthy made headlines when he released a report on Alcohol, Addiction and Health in early 2016. “Substance misuse,” begins the report, “is a major public health challenge.”³³ Peaceful solutions were explored by states, such as Ohio and Kentucky, that expanded Medicaid coverage under the Affordable Care Act. (As of this writing, however, the Trump administration has fired the Surgeon General and is promising to increase penalties for drug users.)

Finally, the War on Drugs violates the principle of proportionality. Dr. Wesley Clark, another participant at the Valparaiso conference, described the disproportionate effects on young men of color and their communities. The War on Drugs, he explained, targeted a certain kind of drug user, one who was young, black, and poor. That observation is only truer today. According to Michelle Alexander, the War on Drugs operates with the same effect on poor communities of color as the Jim Crow laws: “Studies show that people of all colors *use and sell* illegal drugs at remarkably similar rates.”³⁴ And yet, when you look at who is serving time for drug charges, it would seem that only black and brown men use and sell drugs. Given the disproportionate effect on black and brown communities, the War on Drugs violates the principle of proportionality.

Even were we not to judge it according to the principles of just war, the War on Drugs violates the basic natural law principle of common sense. Since human law, explained Aquinas, “is framed for the mass of men, the majority of whom are not perfectly virtuous,” human law must accept human imperfections.³⁵ Yes, the law should animate the parts toward virtue, but that path must be accessible to the majority of mankind: “The purpose of human law is to lead men to virtue, not suddenly,

but gradually.” A just law “does not lay upon the multitude of imperfect men the burdens of those who are already virtuous.”³⁶ Aquinas cautions lawmakers to go easy when they are trying to correct vice, lest they do more harm than good. Citing Proverbs 30: 33—“He that violently bloweth his nose, bringeth out blood”—Aquinas concludes that coercive laws are only “necessary for crimes like homicide, theft and the like.”³⁷ The vices of the flesh need a much gentler approach. It is more important to create the conditions for human society to survive than to try aggressively to stop a specific behavior, such as drug use.

Pope Francis is not a natural law thinker. His arguments are more theological than juridical. His focus is on building the capacities of a people, not on constraining state actors. While this approach leaves him open to accusations that he is complicit in state atrocities, such as the Dirty War in Argentina and the War on Drugs in the Philippines, those legitimate concerns should not eclipse the political and spiritual powers of a theology of the people. Neither progressive nor conservative, Pope Francis’s theology of the people offers a third way to approach this “epidemic of despair,” one that calls on the spiritual powers of a community to rehabilitate itself.³⁸

Theology of the people challenges the assumption that the individual is the constituent unit of a polity. Rather, the individual’s health and well-being is “inseparable from that of the community.”³⁹ The importance of each part connecting in a meaningful way to other parts explains why Francis does not focus on individual recovery (as in “just say no”) but in revitalizing society itself (saying yes to life and others). Focusing on jobs and economic reintegration is vital to becoming a people, since a person in great need cannot find the wherewithal to participate in a spiritual community. But those necessities are not in themselves enough for a people’s salvation; having a nation of laborers is not the same as being the recipients and agents of God’s presence on earth. The first serves material ends; the latter is transformative.

Against progressives, who ask very little of the individual, a populist theologian would call for more confessions, more honest accounting of the harm done to the self and others because of drug use. Against conservative demands for self-reliance, populist theologians would call for more economic support for families and communities. Like prison reformers who focus on the collateral consequences of mass incarceration, a policy that harms the children and families of drug users, populist theologians focus on the social fabric, not just the individual user.

In its focus on the transformative capabilities of the social fabric, theology of the people has much in common with the recovery movement, a twenty-first-century grassroots organization that claims the membership of 23 million Americans. Faces and Voices of Recovery (FAVOR) promotes terms like “a person in recovery” rather than “addict,” signaling a priority of time, of becoming, over space, the events of the past.⁴⁰ The priority of the unity over conflict is signaled by the emphasis on connection. Johann Hari, who is somewhat of a guru within the recovery movement, proclaimed in a widely disseminated *Huffington Post* article, “The opposite of addiction is not sobriety, but connection.”⁴¹ As in the 12-Step programs, the community remakes itself through confession of past harms and by helping others to live more connected lives.

For instance, at the Queensboro Correctional Facility in New York City, a reentry program trains prisoners how to administer naloxone, a drug that reverses overdoses, upon their release. As one inmate explained, “I want to be part of what’s happening to save lives.” Having served time for second-degree murder, he wanted to show the world that “I’m not the same person I was before.”⁴² This inmate’s self-esteem would not be tethered primarily to getting a job, a goal difficult for most ex-offenders, but by knowing how to help others. Superintendent of Queensboro Dennis Breslin explained that the naloxone training had become a crucial part of preparing inmates to reenter their community. A clinician on staff agreed, “Do we want these guys going back with the skills of a criminal or as someone who can give back to the community?”⁴³ Breslin and his staff want to build spiritual and political and economic capacities in their inmates. Job skills are definitely part of that effort, but an even greater priority is building social bonds. These inmates understand that their individual rehabilitation has social consequences. By taking care of their community, they are taking care of themselves.

Looked at from the viewpoint of the recovery movement, the priorities of a theology of the people take on a very different quality than when seen from the vantage point of a dictator. In the context of the recovery movement, the priority of the whole over the part valorizes social relationships over individual success. The priority of time over space valorizes the process of becoming over past mistakes. The priority of unity over conflict valorizes atonement for past sins over defensiveness. The priority of real over idea valorizes the experience of real connections, which often include tough conversations, over such abstractions as oppressor and oppressed.

What all this suggests is that Pope Francis's theology of the people does provide a radically different moral register than neoliberalism, but that difference should not be read as progressive. Nor should his endorsement of the War on Drugs be read as conservative. Rather, his four priorities challenge the simplistic binary of American politics. Neither left nor right, Pope Francis follows in the tradition of all modern popes who have promoted a corporatist framework since *Rerum Novarum* in 1891. This Catholic political theory has always challenged the individualism of liberals and the economic analysis of Marxism. As such, it provides a vision of humanity that focuses more on connection and less on materialism. By the same token, corporatism has always been susceptible to authoritarian abuses. In the last century, dictators in Southern Europe and Latin America espoused corporatist principles to tyrannize their population. Corporatism was tarnished by its association with the likes of Franco, Salazar, and Pinochet. Critiques of these regimes were never corporatist; rather, they were framed in terms of natural law and human rights.

Given the authoritarian roots of the theology of the people, it is unlikely that Pope Francis will denounce the War on Drugs. Suspicious of structural analysis, he will be more likely to focus on the spiritual health of the nation rather than the brutality of its leaders. Cautious of natural law arguments, he will be more likely to speak in terms of popular religiosity and transformation than higher principles of justice. Instead of using a natural law argument, the Pope will engage in sacramental gestures that focus on the spiritual capacity to rehabilitate. The question remains, will those subtler gestures be legible to his admirers on the American Left? Or will his tacit support for tough statutes and merciless death squads render his unique political vision suspect?

As long as the Pope continues to support the War on Drugs, he will be judged by its atrocities. That would be an unfortunate outcome. There is an important alternative contained in this theology of the people that Americans would do well to consider. Neither progressive nor conservative, this political vision of a community able to regenerate itself stands in stark contrast to the individualistic logic of neoliberalism and the personal freedoms associated with progressivism. With its emphasis on the generative powers of a spiritual community, Francis's theology of the people has the means within it to address the underlying problem of despair. Any spiritual benefits of this approach, however, will be discredited by the likes of Duterte. Should this occur, Catholic political thought will once again be tarnished by the excesses of brutal regimes.

NOTES

1. Francis, "Transcript: Pope Francis's speech to Congress," *Washington Post*, September 24, 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/social-issues/transcript-pope-franciss-speech-to-congress/2015/09/24/6d7d7ac8-62bf-11e5-8e9edce8a2a2a679_story.html?utm_term=.219039ce7b30
2. Sean Illing, "The Pope is Neoliberalism's Enemy No. 1: How Francis Challenges America's Reigning (and Bipartisan) Orthodoxy," *Salon*, September 24, 2015, http://www.salon.com/2015/09/24/the_pope_is_neoliberalisms_enemy_no_1_how_francis_challenges_americas_reigning_and_bipartisan_orthodoxy/
3. Francis, "Transcript: Pope Francis's speech to Congress."
4. The most widely read critique of the War on Drugs is Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness* (New York: The New Press, 2010), but Alexander is not the only critic. For a look at law enforcement's criticisms of the War on Drugs, see the website for Law Enforcement Action Partnership (LEAP), available at <https://lawenforcementactionpartnership.org/>
5. This photograph appears with the Lucie-Smith editorial cited in note 18.
6. Haroon Sidique, "Pope Francis Says Don't Legalise Drugs," *The Guardian*, June 20, 2014, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/20/pope-francis-dont-legalise-drugs>
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*
9. This individualistic conservative argument was laid out most explicitly by Milton Friedman and Rose D. Friedman, *Free to Choose* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1980).
10. Juan Carlos Scannone, S.J., "Pope Francis and the Theology of the People," *Theological Studies* 77, no. 1 (2016): 118–35; 119.
11. *Ibid.*, 128.
12. *Ibid.*, 120.
13. *Ibid.*, 120.
14. Howard J. Wiarda and Margaret MacLeish Mott, *Catholic Roots and Democratic Flowers: Political Systems in Spain and Portugal* (Westport, CT: Praeger Press, 2001), 94–95.
15. Jon Lee Anderson, "Pope Francis and the Dirty War," *The New Yorker*, March 14, 2013, <http://www.newyorker.com/news/daily-comment/pope-francis-and-the-dirty-war>
16. First Corinthians 12: 14–19.
17. Matthew 5: 30.
18. Alexander Lucie-Smith, "I Disagree with Pope Francis: The War on Drugs Should Be Ended," *Catholic Herald*, July 26, 2013, <http://www.catholi->

- [berkleyherald.co.uk/commentandblogs/2013/07/26/i-disagree-with-pope-francis-the-war-on-drugs-should-be-ended/](http://www.berkleyherald.co.uk/commentandblogs/2013/07/26/i-disagree-with-pope-francis-the-war-on-drugs-should-be-ended/)
19. *Marijuana Politics*, “Pope Francis to Meet Man Jailed for Marijuana During U.S. Prison Visit,” September 25, 2015, <http://marijuanapolitics.com/pope-francis-visit-to-meet-man-jailed-for-marijuana-during-u-s-prison-visit/>
 20. Francis, “Speech to Curran-Fromhold Correctional Facility Inmates,” September 27, 2015, <http://www.popefrancisvisit.com/schedule/visit-to-curran-fromhold-correctional-facility/>
 21. Al Jazeera and News Agencies, “Thousands demand end to Duterte’s drug war,” *Aljazeera*, August 21, 2017, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/08/thousands-demand-killings-duterte-drug-war-170821124440845.html>
 22. Religion News Service, “Philippine Church divided, subdued over drug killings,” *Cruz*, October 12, 2016, <https://cruxnow.com/rns/2016/10/12/philippines-church-divided-subdued-drug-killings/>
 23. Reuters, “Pope Francis to Bless Philippines and President Rodrigo Duterte,” *Newsweek*, January 19, 2017, <http://www.newsweek.com/philippines-rodrigo-duterte-pope-francis-war-drugs-544408>
 24. Francis, “Time is Greater than Space,” *Evangelii Gaudium*, 223, http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/apost_exhortations/documents/papa-francesco_esortazione-ap_20131124_evangelii-gaudium.html#Time_is_greater_than_space
 25. *Ibid.*, 128.
 26. Katie Forster, “Catholic Church in Philippines Decries ‘Reign of Terror’ Caused by President Duterte’s War on Drugs,” *Independent*, February 4, 2017, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/rodrigo-duterte-catholic-church-philippines-war-on-drugs-assail-bishops-denounce-reign-of-terror-a7562621.html>
 27. Saint Augustine, *On Free Choice*, I, 5, cited in *Saint Thomas Aquinas on Politics and Ethics*, translated and edited by Paul E. Sigmund (New York: W. W. Norton, 1988), 53.
 28. Lewis Hanke, *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of the America* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1965).
 29. Edward McGlynn Gaffney Jr., “On Ending the War on Drugs,” *Valparaiso Law Review* 31, no. 2 (Spring 1997), i–xliv, iii, <http://scholar.valpo.edu/vulr/vol31/iss2/27>
 30. Gaffney, “On Ending the War on Drugs,” xvii.
 31. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* II–II, Qu. 40, in *Saint Thomas Aquinas on Politics and Ethics*, (New York: W.W. Norton, 1988), 64.
 32. Dan Baum, “Legalize It All: How to Stop the War on Drugs,” *Harper’s*, April 2016, <https://harpers.org/archive/2016/04/legalize-it-all/>

33. Vivek Murthy, *Facing Addiction in America: The Surgeon General's Report on Alcohol, Drugs and Health* (Washington, DC: Department of Health and Human Services, 2016), <https://addiction.surgeongeneral.gov/surgeon-generals-report.pdf>
34. Alexander, *The New Jim Crow*, 7.
35. Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* I-II, Qu. 96 in *Saint Thomas Aquinas on Politics and Ethics*, 54–55.
36. Thomas Aquinas, *Treatise on Law* (Washington, DC: Regnery Publishing, 1996), 92.
37. Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* I-II, Qu. 96 in *Saint Thomas Aquinas on Politics and Ethics*, 54.
38. This much-cited article by Anne Case and Angus Deaton, “Rising Morbidity and Mortality in Midlife among White Non-Hispanic Americans in the 21st century,” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States* 112, no. 49 (2015), <http://www.pnas.org/content/112/49/15078.full>, reveals that “non-Hispanic whites in midlife” report increased pain, declines in health and mental health, and “greater difficulties in daily living.”
39. Thanks to Christine Gustafson for this clarification. Personal communication April 22, 2017.
40. See *Faces and Recovery* website at <https://www.facingaddiction.org/partner/faces-voices-of-recovery>
41. Johann Hari, “The Opposite of Addiction Is Not Sobriety. The Opposite of Addiction is Connection,” *The Huffington Post*, July 9, 2015, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2015/07/09/drug-addiction_n_7765472.html
42. Fred Mogul, “State Prisons Training Inmates to Administer Overdose ‘Cure,’” *WNYC News*, March 24, 2016, <http://www.wnyc.org/story/state-prisons-training-inmates-administer-overdose-cure/>
43. Dennis Breslin and Donna Santiago, Personal interview, Queensboro Correctional Facility, Queens, New York, March 1, 2017.

“To Show Concern”: Early Coverage of John Paul II, Benedict XVI, and Francis in the American National News Media

MaryAnne Borrelli

In the days that followed the election of Pope Francis, the American news media introduced their readers and viewers to a man who was gregarious, modest, and resilient. On the day after his election, *The Los Angeles Times* declared, “From his willingness to cook his own meals and get around by bus, to his choice of St. Francis as inspiration for his name, the new pope has stressed humility and a simple life that could signal a change in tone at the center of the Roman Catholic Church.”¹ That same day, *The New York Times* proclaimed, “Like most of those in Argentina, he is a soccer fan, his favorite team being the underdog San Lorenzo squad. Known for his outreach to the country’s poor, he gave up a palace for a small apartment, rode public transportation instead of a chauffeur-driven car and cooked his own meals.”² In the weeks and months that followed, media coverage continued to profile Francis as joyful, welcoming, and selfless. The December 23 and 30, 2013, cover of *The New Yorker* exemplified this frame: Drawn in a simple and appealing style, Pope Francis was shown making a snow angel, smiling as he swung his arms and legs, his worn black shoes sticking out from under his white robes.

M. Borrelli (✉)
Connecticut College, New London, CT, USA

This affirming depiction seemed to echo the new Pope's own message, which repeatedly stressed the human capacity to effect change—and the deep need for this change, given the prevalence of poverty, inequality, and violence. As Pope Francis declared in his apostolic exhortation, *Evangelii Gaudium*,

An authentic faith—which is never comfortable or completely personal—always involves a deep desire to change the world, to transmit values, to leave this earth somehow better than we found it. We love this magnificent planet on which God has put us, and we love the human family which dwells here, with all its tragedies and struggles, its hopes and aspirations, its strengths and weaknesses. The earth is our common home and all of us are brothers and sisters. If indeed “the just ordering of society and of the state is a central responsibility of politics,” the Church “cannot and must not remain on the sidelines in the fight for justice.” All Christians, their pastors included, are called to *show concern* for the building of a better world. This is essential, for the Church's social thought is primarily positive: it offers proposals, it works for change and in this sense it constantly points to the hope born of the loving heart of Jesus Christ.³

But has the national media in the USA similarly amplified the early messages of other popes? Or has the press been more critical in its first assessments? How has the national media relayed the calling “to show concern”? With millions of Roman Catholics in the USA—and additional millions interested in the Catholic Church's priorities, doctrines, and policy stances—the American media can be confident that there will be an audience for their reporting on the pope. And because the pope remains a somewhat distant authority figure, his biography and theology unfamiliar to many, that coverage is correspondingly likely to influence public perceptions and judgments. These connections between audience interest and media influence, with their consequences for church priorities and papal authority, compel study of media portrayals of the pope in the USA.

This chapter initiates that analysis, offering a quantitative study of the articles about and photographs of John Paul II, Benedict XVI, and Francis that have appeared on the first page of *The New York Times* and *The Los Angeles Times* through the first four years of each pontificate. This interval ensures that the media coverage studied will extend *from* the popes' earliest days in office, when there was the potential for a “honeymoon” with church members and the wider public, *to* a time when the popes' priorities

were established and tested, and their strengths and weaknesses as leaders were widely acknowledged. What coverage did these popes receive in *The New York Times* and *The Los Angeles Times*? What did the coverage suggest about the papacy generally, and these three popes specifically?

PAPAL AUTHORITY AND MEDIA COVERAGE

Before studying the media coverage accorded John Paul II, Benedict XVI, and Francis, we need to consider why, or even whether, it has consequences for the pope as a leader. An argument could be made that as the duly elected leader of the Roman Catholic Church, the pope does not require the approval of secular organizations or actors. With many of the church faithful perceiving the pope as, at least in some measure, divinely ordained, media endorsements may be perceived as inappropriate. And freed from the need to win reelection to office, the pope appears to be a leader whose power is immutable. Yet popes throughout history have found their influence profoundly affected by secular society, by sovereign states, and by global relations. It is for this reason that the media, as a means of mass communication, has been of great importance to the papacy: It relays, mediates, and interprets the messages that popes have sent to those who are and are not members of the church, who are at the center and the periphery, who grant or withhold moral authority. Quite literally, the news media has provided the pope with the technology and the opportunity “to show concern.”

For Popes John Paul II, Benedict XIV, and Francis, the significance of media relations and media coverage was magnified by the crises confronting the church as they began their pontificates. Authors in subsequent chapters detail the international crises. The tensions were equally great within the church. Implementing the reforms called for by the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) generated great support and great resistance, with church members sometimes mobilizing in opposition to one another. The forced disclosure that thousands of children had been sexually abused by priests, and that clerical superiors had protected these men from legal prosecution, alienated the faithful and, for many, compromised the moral authority of the church leadership. The Vatican Bank was found to have engaged in money laundering. When Francis entered office, there were demands for sweeping reforms.⁴ There was also the hope that if the moral authority of the church could be reinvigorated, the pope would again become an influential transnational actor.

Political scientists have described the papacy in the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries as immersed in three “levels” of international relations. *First*, the pope is the leader of a church, responsible for a hierarchical organization of 1.2 billion members. The pope is expected to be teacher and guide, his own relationship with God providing the faithful with the precepts and principles that will strengthen their own relationships with the divine. The pope is of the world and is also expected to transcend the world through appeals to conscience. Like other executives, the pope is also expected to enforce rules, precepts, and laws. If the pope fails to punish wrongdoing, his moral credibility is weakened, since the principles he previously identified as foundational are now becoming optional. When the wrongs are criminal and pervasive, and the behavior is excused and hidden, as was the sexual abuse of children by priests throughout the church, the authority of the pope is likely to be questioned and even denied. The media has been integral to these confrontations. As organizations dedicated to mass communication, media outlets have investigated and made public what was obscured, documenting church failures and corruption. Also reported have been debates relating to issues as diverse as abortion, birth control, euthanasia, sexuality, nuclear disarmament, just war, social welfare, economic inequality, and human rights. The number of Roman Catholic voters in the USA and the institutional resources of the church mean that “internal” discussions have wide implications. The pope’s “internal” leadership, then, has “external” consequences, which the media identifies and relays.⁵

Second, the pope leads a sovereign nation, the Holy See. Though the Vatican City is perhaps the smallest territory among all the nations, its status as a nation is firmly established. In the role of chief of state, again, the pope is expected to be of the world and to transcend the world, recognizing and overcoming the constraints of national sovereignty.⁶ This challenge has become increasingly significant, as the effects of globalization have become more pronounced. The Holy See has Permanent Observer status at the United Nations and has, as of 2015, established relationships with all but 15 of the 193 United Nation members. Establishing relations with these remaining nations will not be easy. A precondition for diplomatic relations with the Holy See has been religious freedom, which is not practiced by several of the nations (among them, China and North Korea). Other nations (such as Vietnam and Burma) have small Roman Catholic populations, requiring the pope to engage in more extensive interreligious dialogues. Still other nations (including Saudi Arabia and Somalia) are majority Muslim nations; recent Roman

Catholic–Islamic relations have sometimes been tense, edging toward conflictual.⁷ (However, a memorandum of understanding between the Holy See and the United Arab Emirates, pertaining to visas for diplomatic and special passports, was signed in 2016.⁸) Media coverage of these diplomatic relationships has been ongoing.

Third, the pope has exercised a “diplomatic sovereignty” in international relations, as the leader of a transnational entity with members—and therefore interests—throughout the globe.⁹ John Paul II contributed to the ending of the Cold War through his engagement in East European politics, especially in his native Poland.¹⁰ Benedict XVI, with mixed results, conducted interreligious dialogues with Jews and Muslims; he also visited Israel and Turkey.¹¹ Francis facilitated a renewal of diplomatic relations between Cuba and the USA. The media reported each of these developments, among many others.¹²

In covering the pope, then, the media serves a well-established set of functions. At its best, the media presents and evaluates information about persons and events; it delivers and assesses messages among those at the center and the margins; and it contextualizes and weighs the consequences of words and actions for the present and the future. This communication has the potential to ascribe or relax identity roles; socialize and mobilize diverse publics; build or break consensus; set public and private agendas; provide or restrict access to resources; lessen or exacerbate inequalities; and weaken or strengthen the power of leaders. Each of these responsibilities and each of these consequences is critically important to a leader, such as the pope, who exercises power primarily through moral suasion.

As respected moral authorities, with extensive grassroots and elite networks in many nations, popes have had the resources to persuade national leaders to consider their priorities, policies, or actions. The three most recent popes have also chosen not to draw attention to the changes that they facilitated; they have allowed other leaders to claim credit for international developments. This papal strategy has allowed leaders to save face, safeguard national sovereignty, and increase their political capital ... until it is time to write their memoirs, as when Margaret Thatcher credited John Paul II with playing an essential part in ending the Cold War.¹³ For a media committed to informing the public, however, this papal strategy is a challenge that must be surmounted. Who is exercising power, to what effect? What is the significance of these actions and outcomes for the reporter’s readership or viewership? And, then, how will those judgments by the media, and by the media’s audiences, affect the papal reputation and moral authority?

These are difficult and controversial questions. Before beginning to answer them, each should be assessed. Consider first the contention that the pope leads primarily through moral suasion. The teaching authority of the pope and the doctrine of papal infallibility clearly invest the pope with the power to command. Yet popes have only spoken *ex cathedra* twice, once to declare Mary's immaculate conception (in 1854) and once to declare her bodily assumption into heaven (in 1950). Both statements reinforced beliefs and practices which had been in existence for generations. More commonly, popes state principles and guidelines that have the effect of including or excluding individuals from the faith community. A person's marital status (particularly divorced persons), their sacramental life (particularly confession and absolution), and their commission of sins (whether personally or through participation in unjust institutions) all fall into this category. And whether these papal statements affect behavior is a matter that church members decide. The 2012 Gallup Values and Beliefs Survey, for example, found that 82 percent of Catholics (compared to 90 percent of non-Catholics) considered birth control "morally acceptable."¹⁴ Internally and externally, popes exercise power through moral suasion.

A second challenge to these questions relates to the difficulty of assessing reputation and its effects. Setting aside debates about the value of qualitative and quantitative research, what can be readily acknowledged is that relationships are critical to the exercise of power. How the individuals in those relationships evaluate one another, and how they evaluate the choices that they offer to one another, can be discerned and then confirmed by consulting multiple (and competing) sources. There is an old adage that journalists write the "first rough draft of history." Still, the "first" and the "rough" character of their work necessitates comparative and longitudinal appraisals. Coverage that is "news analysis," with its framing of persons and events, merits even closer study. The media reports and reveals, facilitating communication among and between the leaders and the led. And for that very reason, its coverage must be subjected to close and careful examination.

Finally, there is the assertion that any connection between press coverage and the decision maker's reputation is tenuous. Any one reader will have many sources of information that will inform her or his judgments, diffusing the influence of any one media outlet. More, it is the conclusions of multiple readers that are of interest in a democratic republic that relies on majority rule, which further reduces the impact of any one source. Yet there are widely shared judgments about the credibility of specific media

outlets, and public consumption of information is sufficiently patterned that it can be captured and channeled through social media algorithms. In his message for the 48th World Communications Day, Pope Francis maintains that the communication of information should be at the service of “an authentic culture of encounter,” which could be achieved if people were receptive, critical, and reflective consumers. Acknowledging the workings of echo chambers and bubbles, the pope identifies these as problems to be resolved: “[C]ommunication is ultimately a human rather than technological achievement ... Personal engagement is the basis of the trustworthiness of a communicator.”¹⁵ This chapter acts upon this recommendation, delineating the coverage given John Paul II, Benedict XVI, and Francis in the first four years of their papacies.

THE FIRST FOUR YEARS: POPES JOHN PAUL II, BENEDICT
XVI, AND FRANCIS ON THE FIRST PAGE OF *THE LOS*
ANGELES TIMES AND *THE NEW YORK TIMES*

This chapter is an exploratory study, delineating the predominant frames ascribed by the US news media to Popes John Paul II, Benedict XVI, and Francis throughout their first four years as the leader of the Roman Catholic Church. More specifically, it is an analysis of the front-page coverage of these three popes, as provided by *The Los Angeles Times* and *The New York Times*, two newspapers recognized as opinion leaders within their industry and across the country.

Research Design

News coverage is now provided in print, broadcast, and electronic formats; the competition for readers and viewers has been relentless, with innumerable outlets either closed or consolidated. The newspapers that are enduring are experimenting with diverse formats and platforms, remaining viable because they have adapted to technological change. *The Los Angeles Times* and *The New York Times* convey their news through print and through electronics, and their reporters and editors make regular broadcast appearances—and those appearances are also available electronically. This diversification makes these two media outlets appealing for this study. The “front page” of *The Los Angeles Times* or *The New York Times* is delivered to wide audiences in multiple formats, with accessibility contributing to the influence of these outlets.

Additionally, the caliber of information and commentary provided by these papers is recognized as exceptional. *The New York Times* is the national newspaper of record for the USA. Though not without biases and flaws in its coverage, the paper's reporters and editors have received innumerable honors. *The Los Angeles Times* is highly respected and also has its complement of awards, including multiple Pulitzer Prizes for National Public Service and for Public Service. Like *The New York Times*, *The Los Angeles Times* coverage is international, national, and regional; their articles are often picked up and carried by other outlets. In brief, both newspapers are opinion leaders within the communications industry and throughout the nation.

In addition to the quality and the reach of their news coverage, these two papers are of interest because they are located in two of the most Roman Catholic metropolitan areas in the country. Thirty-three percent of the New York City metropolitan area and 32 percent of the Los Angeles–San Diego metropolitan area self-identify as Roman Catholic.¹⁶ Media scholars have consistently found that there is a connection between outlets and their audiences, with outlets focusing on issues of presumptive interest to their audiences, and audiences signaling outlets what they want to learn. This feedback loop has only tightened as the competition for readers/viewers and for advertising dollars has risen. Given these circumstances, the papal coverage by *The Los Angeles Times* and *The New York Times* deserves analysis for what it reveals about the reporters' and editors' perceptions of Roman Catholic Church leaders and members.

Finally, the media sample was extended across the first four years of three papacies. This sampling maximized opportunities for analyzing media coverage of Francis, while offering comparisons with his two immediate successors. Each of these men exercised a distinctive style of leadership, setting agendas that were related but contrasting in their priorities. In the period studied in this chapter, October 16, 1978, to October 16, 1982, John Paul II established himself as an opponent of Communism and as an international actor. Benedict XVI, whose media coverage was analyzed from April 19, 2005, to April 19, 2009, spoke forcefully on behalf of church values, sometimes to the point that he was perceived as resistant to interreligious dialogues. Francis, whose media coverage was assessed from March 13, 2013, to March 13, 2017, emphasized the need for pastoral reform of the church, reaching out to those at the periphery. Yet this pope also upheld long-standing church doctrines, including those relating to women and sexual minorities, complicating his critiques of

social, political, and economic stratification. The media identified and commented on all these papal agendas, with text and images that characterized the leadership and the power of each pope.

This analysis of coverage focuses on the first page of *The Los Angeles Times* and *The New York Times*. Here are the headlines and photographs that catch the eye at the newsstand or on the computer screen and that leave a lasting impression. Favorable coverage on the first page is sought after by every decision maker, especially by those whose power hinges on public approval. This is certainly the case for the pope, whose influence within the church and throughout the international realm is contingent, at least in significant part, on the acceptance of his moral authority by masses and by elites.

The tables that follow indicate how many issues of each newspaper presented at least one front-page article or photograph of the pope during the first four years of the pontificates of John Paul II, Benedict XVI, and Francis. The length of the articles varies, as does the extent to which they discuss the pope. For example, *The Los Angeles Times* includes a number of brief wire reports on its first page, especially in the late 1970s and early 1980s, a practice not seen in *The New York Times*. As another example, articles focusing on the Solidarity strikes in Poland, which occurred during the papacy of John Paul II, identified the pope as one among many leaders responding to this conflict. These nuances notwithstanding, every article included in the data set made a substantive reference to the pope. And to control for differences in journalistic practices, the coverage was assessed longitudinally for each newspaper.

A QUANTITATIVE DECLINE AND QUALITATIVE SHIFTS IN PAPAL COVERAGE

Table 6.1 provides an overview of the coverage accorded the three popes on the first pages of *The Los Angeles Times* and *The New York Times* during the first four years of their papacies. The decrease in coverage from John Paul II to Benedict XVI can only be described as precipitous. In the first four years of John Paul II’s papacy, 134 issues of *The Los Angeles Times* and 109 issues of *The New York Times* had a first-page article focused on or pertaining to the pope. Benedict XVI, in the same length of time, had coverage in just 31 and 44 issues. Francis received this coverage in 43 and 63 issues, a greater number than Benedict XVI but still far behind John Paul II. By this measure, Benedict XVI and Francis were less newsworthy than John Paul II.

Table 6.1 The first four years: newspaper issues with first-page (FP) articles and photographs relating to John Paul II, Benedict XVI, and Francis

	<i>The Los Angeles Times, issues with . . .</i>			<i>The New York Times, issues with . . .</i>		
	<i>John Paul II</i>	<i>Benedict XVI</i>	<i>Francis</i>	<i>John Paul II</i>	<i>Benedict XVI</i>	<i>Francis</i>
FP articles relating to the pope	134	31	43	109	44	63
FP photographs of the pope	20	NA	22	61	9	21

Note: Because *The New York Times* was on strike at the time, there was no coverage of the election or inauguration of John Paul II in this newspaper. “NA” signifies Not Available

This conclusion is further supported by the data pertaining to papal photographs on the front page. The first-page photographic record is similar for John Paul II and Francis in *The Los Angeles Times*: John Paul II appeared on the first page of 22 issues and Francis appeared on the first page of 20 issues. However, the decline in photographic coverage in *The New York Times* is significant: 61 issues presented front-page photographs of John Paul II, but just nine issues had these visuals of Benedict XVI and 21 issues had first-page photographs of Francis. This is particularly striking given prevailing perceptions of Francis as having a strong media presence.

Table 6.2 presents the annual distributions of front-page coverage, revealing no strong chronological patterns across the three papacies. John Paul II received the most coverage in 1979, when 43 issues of *The Los Angeles Times* and 40 issues of *The New York Times* had a front-page article pertaining to his papacy; and 12 and 22 issues of these newspapers, respectively, had a front-page photograph of the pope. Coverage declined thereafter, albeit with an upward bump in 1981. Benedict XVI was most extensively covered in the year he was elected to office. The decline in his coverage was qualified by a slight upward bump in 2008, when, somewhat unexpectedly, five issues of *The New York Times* featured a first-page photograph of this pope—more than the three that appeared in his election year. Media coverage of Francis was even more variable.

Table 6.2 Coverage by year: newspaper issues with first-page (FP) articles and illustrations relating to John Paul II, Benedict XVI, and Francis

	<i>The Los Angeles Times, issues with. . .</i>		<i>The New York Times, issues with. . .</i>	
	<i>FP articles</i>	<i>FP photographs</i>	<i>FP articles</i>	<i>FP photographs</i>
<i>John Paul II</i>				
1978	8	3	0	1
1979	43	12	40	22
1980	25	1	20	11
1981	31	6	28	14
1982	27	5	21	13
<i>Benedict XVI</i>				
2005	12	NA	18	3
2006	8	NA	8	1
2007	3	NA	4	0
2008	6	0	10	5
2009	2	0	4	0
<i>Francis</i>				
2013	12	7	10	5
2014	3	1	12	2
2015	13	8	29	13
2016	13	6	10	1
2017	2	0	2	0

Note: Because *The New York Times* was on strike at the time, there was no coverage of the election or inauguration of John Paul II in this newspaper. “NA” signifies Not Available

Examining the events that occurred in these years reveals strong patterns in the media coverage. Unexpected and extraordinary occurrences, changes that had the potential to affect the balance of international power, and national events and occasions have always received attention from the media. The front-page coverage accorded John Paul II, Benedict XVI, and Francis conformed to this rule. John Paul II’s 1979 visits to his native Poland and to the USA, and his near assassination in 1981, accounted for the peaks in his media coverage. His engagement in international peacemaking and conflict management also received significant coverage. Benedict XVI’s discussions of his doctrinal priorities in the first year of his papacy, and his statements about abortion, euthanasia, and sexuality, received extensive coverage; his visit to the USA in 2008, which included a number of statements about the sexual abuse of children by

priests, led to an upswing in his coverage. Francis, likewise, saw his first-page coverage increase when he visited the USA, and when he discussed priorities that touched on issues already being debated in the USA. Table 6.3 details these substantive patterns in the front-page coverage of the popes.

The topics that received the most extensive and most consistent coverage on the front pages of *The Los Angeles Times* and *The New York Times* were papal travel and papal priorities. The two were closely related, as these popes seized every possible opportunity to articulate their teachings while on apostolic journeys. These were occasions in which the popes “showed concern” nationally and internationally. Whether delivering homilies or congressional addresses, visiting places of worship or museums, meeting with young lay church members or chiefs of state, the apostolic journeys of John Paul II, Benedict XVI, and Francis drew public and media attention to the issues these popes deemed salient. In other words, by traveling, popes gained media coverage that amplified their efforts at

Table 6.3 The first four years: topics addressed in first-page (FP) articles relating to John Paul II, Benedict XVI, and Francis

	<i>The Los Angeles Times, issues with. . .</i>			<i>The New York Times, issues with. . .</i>		
	<i>John Paul II</i>	<i>Benedict XVI</i>	<i>Francis</i>	<i>John Paul II</i>	<i>Benedict XVI</i>	<i>Francis</i>
<i>FP article about</i>						
Church personnel	4	2	0	4	6	0
International relations	15	4	6	23	2	5
Papal election	3	6	7	0	5	7
Papal priorities	27	5	10	9	17	27
Papal travel	53	11	15	38	12	21
Religion	6	1	3	3	0	2
Sex abuse	0	1	0	0	2	1
Miscellaneous	1	1	2	3	0	0
<i>John Paul II, only</i>						
Poland	13	0	0	17	0	0
Assassination attempt	12	0	0	12	0	0

Note: Because *The New York Times* was on strike at the time, there was no coverage of the election or inauguration of John Paul II in this newspaper

education and mobilization, which in turn potentially advanced their agendas for the church, the Holy See, and the international system. John Paul II’s back-to-back visits to the UK and Argentina, in the midst of the Falklands War, delivered a strong message of opposition to that war. Benedict XVI’s visit to Turkey showcased the pope’s respect for Islam and his willingness to engage in respectful dialogue, shifting perceptions of this pope as hostile to Muslims. Pope Francis’s visit to Mexico focused upon the plight of refugees, and the need for compassionate transnational legal systems to protect the powerless.

In Table 6.4, the focus shifts from articles to photographs, specifically first-page above-the-fold photographs. Individuals or events that receive this coverage are immediately identifiable to the reader/viewer as important. If the visual is favorable, it can amount to an endorsement from the newspaper. A photograph of the pope being welcomed by a vast crowd, for example, sends a message that this leader is popular and influential. These photographs are also interesting for their portrayal of the pope as a religious or secular leader. Depicting the pope celebrating the mass emphasizes his role in the church, while a photograph of the pope reviewing the troops of another nation defines him as a chief of state. Though papal decision making is seldom distinctly either secular or religious, examining the front-page photographs is another route to discerning the frames that *The Los Angeles Times* and *The New York Times*, two national secular newspapers, impose on the pope’s leadership.

Table 6.4 The first four years: “above-the-fold” (ATF) first-page photographs of John Paul II, Benedict XVI, and Francis

	<i>The Los Angeles Times,</i> <i>issues with. . .</i>		<i>The New York Times,</i> <i>issues with. . .</i>	
	<i>John Paul II</i>	<i>Francis</i>	<i>John Paul II</i>	<i>Francis</i>
ATF photographs of the pope	26	6	43	9
ATF photographs of the pope with religious content	13	4	20	9
ATF papal portraits	7	0	9	1
ATF photographs of the pope with people	19	6	34	8

Note: Because *The New York Times* was on strike at the time, there was no coverage of the election or inauguration of John Paul II in this newspaper

Finally, the first-page above-the-fold visuals are coded by the number of people photographed with the pope. “Portraits” present the pope alone, implicitly depicting him as set apart, even as distanced. In contrast, “people pictures” present the pope in relationship. These depictions focus on the pope’s interactions and the responses that he elicits from those around him. These are photographs that record the pope’s performance of leadership; the emotional content may be warm or cool, welcoming or haughty. The choice of portraits or “people pictures” is studied as an indication of the connection, or lack of connection, that the newspaper perceives between the pope and people.

Readers saw first-page, above-the-fold photographs of John Paul II in 26 issues of *The Los Angeles Times* and 43 issues of *The New York Times*. But readers only saw these photographs of Francis in six issues of *The Los Angeles Times* and 12 issues of *The New York Times*. Quantitatively, the pope’s presence on the front page of these newspapers has diminished dramatically.

Qualitatively, these visuals have become proportionately more religious: A lower percentage of the first-page above-the-fold photographs of John Paul II than of Francis have religious content (50 percent to 66.7 percent in *The Los Angeles Times*, 46.5 percent to 100 percent in *The New York Times*). This pattern in the photographic record is particularly interesting, since the first-page articles seldom present the pope as an explicitly religious leader—as shown in Table 6.3, there were comparatively few “religion” articles, articles that commented upon holy days or church rituals. Meanwhile, the photographic depiction of the pope as interacting with people has increased from 73.1 percent for John Paul II to 100 percent for Francis in *The Los Angeles Times*, and from 79.1 percent to 88.9 percent, respectively, in *The New York Times*. All these photographs were emotionally and substantively affirming of John Paul II or Francis, who were depicted in the midst of people who were happy to be in the pope’s presence. Notwithstanding the distance and the mystique of the pope as the leader of Roman Catholic faithful, *The Los Angeles Times* and *The New York Times* presented John Paul II and Francis as religious and as accessible. Not incidentally, this was a message that both popes stressed throughout their papacy, especially during their pastoral visits.

To more fully appreciate the impact of the first-page above-the-fold photographs in portraying how the Pope “showed concern,” consider two widely circulated photographs of Francis. The first example was an Associated Press photograph taken during the pope’s 2014 visit to Israel. Making an unscheduled stop on the drive from Jerusalem to Bethlehem,

the pope walked to the wall that cut along the West Bank and separated the two cities. He laid his right hand on the wall, bowed so that his forehead touched the wall, and stood for a moment in prayer. The photograph showed the pope in profile from the waist up, his smooth white cassock a shocking contrast to the rough concrete of the wall, which was covered in red and black graffiti. Compositionally, the photographer positioned the pope in the right third of the image, foregrounding the wall and its power.¹⁷ Media outlets around the world featured this image; in *The New York Times*, it stretched across four columns, immediately below the newspaper title.

Many Israelis objected to the pope’s action and to the photograph. Yet the article immediately to the right of the photograph deflected this criticism, its title declaring, “Pope, in Mideast, Invites Leaders to Meet on Peace.” And that invitation was accepted. Israeli President Shimon Peres and Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas came to Rome, together, for a “prayer summit meeting” with the pope. With political negotiations halted and broken, observers found it very significant that these three leaders would come together as devout religious practitioners.¹⁸ Significantly, it was a front-page above-the-fold photograph that inaugurated the message that religion could facilitate outreach rather than obstruction, could focus efforts on shared devotion rather than war.

The second photograph depicts a scene at the Vatican.¹⁹ The pope, smiling broadly, is shown at the center, flanked by his personal security detail, and surrounded by young people who are eagerly reaching out to touch him or shake his hand. The Swiss Guard buffers the pontiff from his followers, but there is no suggestion of threat or danger. The picture radiates warmth and welcome, energy and enthusiasm. It is secular in content, lacking any explicit religious content. Yet it is also suggestive of religious art that depicts holy persons as sources of light. The backdrop is a ceiling with banded lights, which seem to extend from the pope. His robes and the fan of light, all white, draw the viewer’s attention to his person. The pope’s centrality within the picture testifies to his power and authority, though his expression is joyful rather than commanding. In sum, the photograph is extremely positive. The title of the accompanying article is equally so, declaring, “A Humble Pope, Challenging the World: First Latin American Pontiff Attracts Fans and Stirs Anxiety in Push for Change.” As was seen with the first example, any suggestion of a negative response to the pope (“Stirs Anxiety”) is softened, with the paper delivering a message of papal affirmation and optimism.

These and other above-the-fold photographs on the first pages of *The Los Angeles Times* and *The New York Times* affirm the pope’s person and

power. Though these newspapers are providing less coverage of Francis than of John Paul II, the depictions remain so positive as to constitute endorsements.²⁰ Here is the “Francis effect” at work, with the then-new pope winning the support of influential national news media outlets. Whether Francis’s success leads to new possibilities for his exercise of moral authority across the church and throughout the international system, however, awaits future determination.

HOW NEWSWORTHY IS THE POPE?

This chapter has provided an exploratory study of the media coverage accorded the pope by the national news media in the USA. Focusing on articles and photographs appearing on the front page of *The Los Angeles Times* and *The New York Times*, this analysis has identified marked changes in the quantity of coverage granted John Paul II, Benedict XVI, and Francis in the first four years of their papacies. Three findings are especially significant for the pope as a leader of the Roman Catholic Church, a chief of state, and a leader in international diplomacy.

First, the front-page coverage, both text and visual, that the pope receives in *The Los Angeles Times* and *The New York Times* has sharply declined from John Paul II to Benedict XVI. It has only slightly rebounded during the tenure of Francis. As the pope’s message is removed from the front page, his communications reach correspondingly fewer individuals. In other words, his opportunities to “show concern”—to exercise moral suasion—decrease and his influence lessens. This connection between media coverage and the pope’s moral authority requires further study. Are other media outlets similarly cutting back on their coverage of the pope? More specifically, what similarities and contrasts are evident, longitudinally and comparatively, between secular and Roman Catholic media outlets? This examination of media outlets must then be complemented with a close study of papal communication strategies. Leadership is premised upon communication and the current technological innovations provide extraordinary opportunities for outreach. How have the popes responded to these developments? What relationships have they fostered or rejected with media outlets? Studying the media and the popes in relationship will begin to uncover which issues, institutions, and peoples receive coverage—which is to say, which issues, institutions, and peoples are recognized and empowered. And this, in turn, will help us to understand how relationships between the media and the pope affect his leadership of a transnational church in a volatile and often violent world.

Second, the pope has gained coverage by leaving the Vatican, so long as he has also taken care that his words and actions are accessible to reporters and photographers. John Paul II, Benedict XVI, and Francis relied on apostolic journeys to strengthen their communication with diverse publics, taking care that their efforts were also relayed by the media. Papal travel in the USA was consistently featured on the first page of *The Los Angeles Times* and *The New York Times*, and the popes used this coverage to amplify their stances on such critical issues as the sexual abuse of children by priests, government policy making in issues ranging from abortion to nuclear disarmament, and the calibration of church–state relations. By traveling, the pope has secured greater coverage of his leadership of the Roman Catholic Church, of the Holy See, and throughout the international sphere. What, then, is the mix of the strategic and the theological in apostolic journeys? Has travel consistently provided the pope with more extensive and more positive media coverage? Has this media coverage provided the pope with more opportunities to advance his priorities, to mobilize his followers, and to effect change? Has travel, through media outreach, augmented his moral authority?

Third, the frames that *The Los Angeles Times* and *The New York Times* imposed on John Paul II, Benedict XVI, and Francis in their first-page coverage were generally congruent with the popes’ own messaging.²¹ Though coverage of the pope and the church was not invariably positive, it was generally affirming. This was especially evident in first-page above-the-fold papal photographs, which characterized John Paul II and Francis as engaged, compassionate, and loving, *and* as discerning, authoritative, and resolute. Here again, there was a strategic element: The popes had to provide photo opportunities for photographers to visually record the papal narratives. But what constraints have the popes imposed on press photographers? What spoken or unspoken agreements shape the composition of the photographs that are taken by photographers working for secular and for religious outlets?²² The access that popes have granted photographers and reporters is revealing of the value that popes have placed on mass communication.

Each of these findings and each of these recommendations for future research considers mass communication to be an essential element of papal leadership within the church, of the Holy See, and throughout the international order. But that prioritizing is, in itself, controversial. Some would argue that communication with elites, theologically and politically, can better secure the pope’s power and the authority.²³ Others contend that mass communication is too inherently democratic and too

empowering of the people, especially given that the Roman Catholic Church is a hierarchical church, centralized and rarely transparent in its decision making. Rejecting these arguments, Pope Francis has stated, “I prefer a Church which is bruised, hurting and dirty because it has been out on the streets, rather than a Church which is unhealthy from being confined and from clinging to its own security. I do not want a Church concerned with being at the center and which then ends by being caught up in a web of obsessions and procedures.” This commitment to reflection and communication is one that also needs to be expressed through scholarly research agendas, if power is to be precisely questioned, thoughtfully assessed, and creatively reformed.

NOTES

1. Tracy Wilkinson, “The Election of Pope Francis; Humility, Simple Life Led Jesuit to Papacy,” *The Los Angeles Times*, March 14, 2013, print edition, A1.
2. Emily Schmall and Larry Rohter, “A Conservative with a Common Touch,” *The New York Times*, March 14, 2013, print edition, A1.
3. Francis, “*Evangelii Gaudium*, Apostolic Exhortation of the Holy Father Francis to the Bishops, Clergy, Consecrated Persons, and the Lay Faithful on the Proclamation of the Gospel in Today’s World,” The Vatican Website, November 24, 2013, http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/apost_exhortations/documents/papa-francesco_esortazione-ap_20131124_evangelii-gaudium.html, 184. Emphasis added.
4. E. J. Dionne Jr., “Resurrection, Pope Francis Brings the Freshness of the Gospel to the Catholic Church,” *Foreign Policy* (December 2013): 88–89; Roland Flamini, “Pope Francis, Resurrecting Catholicism’s Image?” *World Affairs* (September/October 2013): 25–33; Jo Renee Formicola, “The Vatican, the American Bishops, and the Church–State Ramifications of Clerical Sexual Abuse,” *Journal of Church and State* 46, no. 3 (2004): 479–502; Richard R. Gaillardetz, “The ‘Francis Moment,’ A New Kairos for Catholic Ecclesiology; Presidential Address,” *Catholic Theological Society of America Proceedings* 69 (2014): 63–80; Maurice Glassman, “Beloved of the People: The Popularity and Political Mastery of Pope Francis,” *Juncture* 21, no. 4 (2015): 319–23; Margaret B. Melady, *The Rhetoric of Pope John Paul II, The Pastoral Visit as a New Vocabulary of the Sacred* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1999); Shawn Tully, “This Pope Means Business,” *Fortune*, August 14, 2014, <http://fortune.com/2014/08/14/this-pope-means-business/>

5. Mariano Barbato, “A State, a Diplomat, and a Transnational Church: The Multi-layered Actorness of the Holy See,” *Perspectives* 21, no. 2 (2013): 27–48; Ted G. Jelen, “Catholic Politics in the United States: Challenges in the Past, Present, and Future,” *The Forum* 11, no. 4 (2014): 589–602.
6. Barbato, “A State, a Diplomat, and a Transnational Church: The Multi-layered Actorness of the Holy See”; Alan Chong and Jodok Troy, “A Universal Sacred Mission and the Universal Secular Organization: The Holy See and the United Nations,” *Politics, Religion & Ideology* 12, no. 3 (2011): 335–54. See also Marie Gayte, “‘I Told the White House, If They Give One to the Pope, I May Ask for One’: The American Reception to the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations Between the United States and the Vatican in 1984,” *Journal of Church and State* 54, no. 1 (2011): 33–56.
7. Boris Vukicevic, “Pope Francis and the Challenges of Inter-Civilization Diplomacy,” *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional* 58, no. 2 (2015): 65–79.
8. Holy See Press Office, Press Release, “Note on the Diplomatic Relations of the Holy See,” January 9, 2017, The Vatican Website, <https://press.vatican.va/content/salastampa/en/bollettino/pubblico/2017/01/09/170109b.html>
9. Barbato, “A State, a Diplomat, and a Transnational Church: The Multi-layered Actorness of the Holy See”; Chong and Troy, “A Universal Sacred Mission and the Universal Secular Organization: The Holy See and the United Nations.”
10. Roland Flamini, “Peter and Caesar: Is Francis Shifting the Vatican’s Worldview?” *World Affairs* (July/August 2014): 25–33.
11. “Pope Francis Prays in Istanbul’s Iconic Blue Mosque, Visits Hagia Sophia,” *Journal of Turkish Weekly*, December 1, 2014.
12. See, for example, Emma Dwight, “Dissecting a Miracle, Pope Francis the Peacemaker,” *Harvard International Review* (Spring 2015): 7–9.
13. Vukicevic, “Pope Francis and the Challenges of Inter-Civilization Diplomacy.”
14. Frank Newport, “Americans, Including Catholics, Say Birth Control is Morally OK,” *Gallup Politics*, May 22, 2012, <http://www.gallup.com/poll/154799/americans-including-catholics-say-birth-control-morally.aspx>
15. “Message of Pope Francis for the 48th World Communications Day, Communications at the Service of an Authentic Culture of Encounter,” June 1, 2014, https://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/messages/communications/documents/papa-francesco_20140124_messaggio-comunicazioni-sociali.html

16. New York City is surpassed only by the Chicago metropolitan area, which has a population that is 34 percent self-identified as Catholic. Kelly Heyboer, “‘Rock Star’ Pope Francis Finds U.S. Catholic Church at a Crossroads,” *NJ.com* [New Jersey.com], September 23, 2015, http://www.nj.com/news/index.ssf/2015/09/rock_star_pope_francis_finds_us_catholic_church_at.html
17. This photograph was coded as a papal portrait, because only the Pope was in the photograph, and as religious, because it depicted the Pope in prayer. See *The New York Times*, May 26, 2014, print edition, 1.
18. Flamini, “Peter and Caesar: Is Francis Shifting the Vatican’s Worldview?”
19. For this photograph, see *The New York Times*, September 19, 2015, print edition, 1.
20. James Crossley and Jackie Harrison, “The Mediation of the Distinction of ‘Religion’ and ‘Politics’ by the UK Press on the Occasion of Pope Benedict XVI’s State Visit to the UK,” *Political Theology* 16, no. 4 (2015): 329–45.
21. Robert Booth Fowler, “The Roman Catholic Church in ‘Protestant’ American Today,” *The Forum* 11, no. 4 (2014): 721–42; Richard R. Gaillardetz, “The ‘Francis Moment,’ A New Kairos for Catholic Ecclesiology; Presidential Address,” *Catholic Theological Society of America Proceedings* 69 (2014): 63–80.
22. Tom Gallagher, “The Story Behind National Geographic’s Pope Francis Story,” *The National Catholic Reporter*, September 23, 2015, <https://www.ncronline.org/blogs/francis-chronicles/story-behind-national-geographic-s-pope-francis-story>
23. Maurizio Mori, “An Address to Doctors by Pope Francis (15 November 2014): A Doctrinal Mistake and a Lot of Common Sense Presented with Savoir-Faire,” *The Journal of Christian Bioethics* 21, no. 1 (2015): 109–29.

PART II

The Global Politics of Pope Francis

Pope Francis as a Global Policy Entrepreneur: Moral Authority and Climate Change

Alynnna J. Lyon

*For we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth
in pain together until now.
Romans 8: 22*

Within months of taking office, Pope Francis began a surprising and unwavering public campaign about humanity, morality, and the environment. The highlight of this effort was the June 2015 release of *Laudato Si': On Care for Our Common Home*, the first papal encyclical focusing on environmental issues. In this unprecedented document, Pope Francis articulated that climate change was an imminent issue and that humans had a moral obligation to protect the planet. Then, in a speech during the United Nations' (UN's) Seventieth Anniversary Celebration in September 2015, the pope warned against "a selfish and boundless thirst for power and material prosperity." He went on to proclaim that "any harm done to the environment, therefore, is harm done to humanity."¹ The timing was important as both events preceded the September 2015 adoption of the UN's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the December 2015

A. J. Lyon (✉)
University of New Hampshire, Durham, NH, USA

© The Author(s) 2018
A. J. Lyon et al. (eds.), *Pope Francis as a Global Actor*,
Palgrave Studies in Religion, Politics, and Policy,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-71377-9_7

UN Climate Change Conference of Parties 21 (COP21) in Paris. During the conference, the pope and his representatives encouraged world leaders to work together and sign a universal climate change agreement. The result was heralded as historic; countries pledged to prevent planetary warming from going above 2°C with voluntary reductions in greenhouse gas emissions and the creation of a \$100 billion climate fund. Many credit Pope Francis as instrumental in bringing 175 countries to an agreement, something they failed to do in previous UN conferences in Copenhagen (2009), Durban (2011), and Warsaw (2013).²

While most pontiffs define a moral agenda and promote Christian ethics, on the issue of climate change, Pope Francis went beyond the church walls and engaged the political process. Through his writings, speaking engagements, and advocacy, he has become what political scientists identify as a policy entrepreneur—someone who defines an issue, offers solutions, and lobbies for political change. While this political engagement is unique and important to document, Pope Francis’s work in the issue of climate policy also provides an unusual case of moral authority at the global level. As the planet lacks a global government, spokespersons representing global interests (vs. country interests) are scarce. Moreover, Francis offers a rare moral framework in a heavily secularized era. Indeed, through his thoughts, words, and deeds, he adopts and exemplifies ethical leadership on many global social, economic, and political issues.

This chapter explores the confluence of Pope Francis’s moral authority and political activism. Building on previous chapters, the analysis explores the ethical framework Pope Francis presents on global issues, which combines a personal moral code with a holistic economic, political, and social moral framework. With this understanding, the discussion asks: what is the source of influence of Pope Francis in global politics—specifically at the UN and its global agenda? How did the pope engage the political processes at the global level? Did Pope Francis offer political solutions? Did he directly engage global policy-makers on this issue? Finally, can we discern whether Pope Francis’s activism was impactful? Through a survey of Pope Francis’s discourse and global political activism, we can conclude that he elevated the discussion of climate policy, overtly engaged both the UN and many world leaders on this issue, and framed the global climate change debate in new way—creating a moral narrative surrounding environmental neglect and the need for human stewardship.³ To provide a causal story as to how Pope Francis influenced the Paris Agreement, the chapter uses a conceptual framework that explores Francis as a policy

entrepreneur—someone who has information, influence, and tenacity to heighten public attention to a problem and encourage policy-makers to adopt a solution to that problem.

The position of Pope Francis serves as an excellent case study for exploring the rare confluence of ethics and global leadership. Pope Francis's engagement with dialogue on global climate change is presented as a case study with elite interviews and public opinion data providing empirical context. To address the questions above, the chapter begins by exploring the sources of political influence available to a pope. Then the chapter turns to exploring Francis's perspective on the environment and humanity and how he articulated these views in public and political venues. The discussion also surveys and critically evaluates several studies that claim to have documented a "Francis Factor" and evidence of Pope Francis's impact in the political realm. Here the chapter reviews Francis's participation in global discussions of environmental stewardship, poverty, capitalism, and his statements concerning problems with the dominant political ideologies that shape most political systems. Finally, the chapter closes with a discussion of the implications of Pope Francis's political engagement as he takes the Catholic Church and his moral framework into the public square.

"HOW MANY DIVISIONS HAS THE POPE?"

At the global policy level, the Holy See holds permanent observer status at the UN in New York and Geneva and has contributed to UN discussions and recommendations for over 70 years. In many cases, the UN embraces this role as there are rarely authoritative moral voices engaged at the global level. Moreover, the Catholic Church's agenda often dovetails with the UN's agenda seeking peaceful conflict resolution, social development, disarmament, and human rights.⁴ John Paul II advocated for global disarmament and in an address to the UN in 1979 directed his remarks to "all men and women living on this planet." The Pope now possesses a global platform and his influence comes from the ability to contribute to an international dialogue that is realized through public addresses, press conferences, papal encyclicals, letters, and other publications.

Given the global platform, a charismatic pope with a global mission has the potential to wield considerable influence. There are very few voices at the global level that speak to morality and outline principles of good and bad behavior or codes of conduct that transcend specific cultural and

political boundaries. Popes can provide a road map or baseline that rises above national interest. In this regard, a pope can influence the global public agenda, the framing of issues, and the discussions regarding political issues. As one observer describes, the pope “wields a subtle sword.”⁵

At the same time, these *de facto* powers situate the papacy in a precarious position and may lead down a hazardous path of political advocacy. Usually, at the UN, and other venues, popes limit their engagement to general statements of principles and avoid concrete proposals. This is where Pope Francis is unique. He clearly embraces this global platform and, through his advocacy of the climate change agreement, goes beyond supporting general standards.⁶ The next section examines how this moral authority translates into politics and Pope Francis’s capacity to influence the global debate.

The Pope as a Policy Entrepreneur and the Global Climate Policy Stalemate

It is rare for a pope to be overtly part of the policy process at the global level. What are we to make of this activism? The field of public policy lends insights into the role that nonpolitical figures may have in the political realm and highlights how individuals not associated with political office can bring awareness to an issue, define an issue, and help articulate and assist with policy creation. One way of understanding this activism is the idea of a policy entrepreneur: someone who is “willing to invest their resources—time, energy, reputation, money—to promote a position in return for anticipated future gain in the form of material, purposive, or solidary benefits.”⁷ These advocates can do this engagement through a variety of means. The first is agenda setting, as they can offer new perspectives and elevate awareness to ongoing public concerns. Policy entrepreneurs change the way we think about things; they redefine both problems and solutions. In this regard, talking about an issue is important, as it provides a frame or new understanding of an issue. Jacoby explains that “framing effects are extremely powerful . . . Differing frames produce widespread *changes* in the ways that people respond to a single issue.”⁸ Second, entrepreneurs serve as advocates for certain actions. Here they articulate what can be done to address the problem—as they have defined it—and may lobby and venue shop for arenas that are ripe to adopt a policy prescription. Finally, policy entrepreneurs may bring relevant stakeholders to the negotiating table, nudge political leaders, and even contribute

resources (time, money, and legitimacy) to move a discussion or policy forward. Pope Francis's role in teasing out moral arguments regarding climate change essentially concerns clarification of ideas. In basic terms, he explains why the environment is an issue all people should care about and offers guidance as to what should be done to protect it. The following section explores how *Laudato Si'* and Pope Francis offer a transformative understanding of environmental stewardship.

REFRAMING THE DEBATE: CLIMATE CHANGE AS A MORAL ISSUE

Laudato Si': On Care for Our Common Home

Pope Francis began his campaign to bring attention to the environment almost immediately upon ascending to the papacy. In 2013, he proclaimed, "Creation is not a property, which we can rule over at will; or, even less, is the property of only a few: Creation is a gift, it is a wonderful gift that God has given us, so that we care for it and we use it for the benefit of all, always with great respect and gratitude."⁹ Again, in a March 2013 homily, he stated, "The vocation of being a 'protector,' however, is not just something involving us Christians alone. It means protecting all creation, the beauty of the created world, as the Book of Genesis tells us and as Saint Francis of Assisi showed us [. . .]"¹⁰ In early 2014, in the pope's message for the Celebration of The World Day of Peace, he articulated a connection between morality, stewardship, and nature:

Nature, in a word, is at our disposition and we are called to exercise a responsible stewardship over it. Yet so often we are driven by greed and by the arrogance of dominion, possession, manipulation and exploitation; we do not preserve nature; nor do we respect it or consider it a gracious gift which we must care for and set at the service of our brothers and sisters, including future generations.¹¹

A few months later, in June 2015, amid much anticipation Pope Francis published *Laudato Si': On Care for Our Common Home*. Prior to its release, one observer wrote, "A papal encyclical is rare. It is among the highest levels of a pope's authority. It will be 50 to 60 pages long; it's a big deal. But there is a contingent of Catholics here who say he should not be getting involved in political issues, that he is outside his expertise."¹²

The “letter” surprised many with its 184 pages and bold calls that proclaimed the science of climate change credible and requiring both personal and political action. Through these writings, Pope Francis (who has a background in chemistry) highlights the deep consensus within the scientific community and yet acknowledges that science can be “tiresome” and “abstract,” seeking to move the discussion away from pure scientism to a personal and moral dialogue. This view reflects the four priorities that Paul Manuel’s chapter (Chap. 2) introduces from Pope Francis’s “Theology of the People”: time is greater than space, unity takes priority over conflict, reality is more important than ideas, and the whole is superior to the parts.¹³ Building on these pillars, Pope Francis’s narrative insists that humans must protect the planet as custodians of the God-given Earth.

The logic of the argument in *Laudato Si’* is based on previous writings and statements by Pope Francis’s predecessors, as he finds a long legacy of religious teachings that place humans as caretakers of the planet (i.e., the books of Genesis and Romans, the work of St. Francis, and the writings of Bartholomew, John Paul II, and Benedict XVI). These works, as well as his own deliberations, call for humans to serve as stewards for future generations and to direct their inner spiritual focus to compassion not consumerism. Pope Francis quotes the concerns that Pope Paul VI expressed in a 1971 speech to the UN’s Food and Agriculture Organization, declaring, “Due to an ill-considered exploitation of nature, humanity runs the risk of destroying it and becoming in turn a victim of this degradation.”¹⁴ The document also invokes Pope John Paul II and his concern that humans tend “to see no other meaning in their natural environment than what serves for immediate use and consumption.”¹⁵ He also builds on the writings of Pope Benedict XVI and his call for “eliminating the structural causes of the dysfunctions of the world economy and correcting models of growth which have proved incapable of ensuring respect for the environment.”¹⁶ Pope Francis writes, “The emptier a person’s heart is, the more he or she needs things to buy, own and consume” and invokes Pope Benedict’s words, “Purchasing is always a moral—and not simply economic—act.”¹⁷

Several strands of thought are woven throughout the encyclical, yet a consistent theme appears—the care of the planet is a personal endeavor and a public endeavor. The earth is a gift, and humanity is damaging this gift. Francis writes, “The destruction of the human environment is extremely serious, not only because God has entrusted the world to us men and women, but because human life is itself a gift which must be

defended from various forms of debasement.”¹⁸ Moreover, climate change is adversely affecting the poorest populations on the planet and harming generations to come. In his speech to the UN General Assembly in 2015, he connects the caretaking of the planet with social justice:

The misuse and destruction of the environment are also accompanied by a relentless process of exclusion . . . The poorest are those who suffer the most from such offenses, for three serious reasons: they are cast off by society, forced to live off what is discarded and suffer unjustly from the abuse of the environment. They are part of today’s widespread and quietly growing “culture of waste.”¹⁹

Climate change is economic, political, and moral. For Pope Francis, consumerism, pollution, poverty, and environmental neglect are the result of sin. Furthermore, he calls for the rejecting of the use of products and practices that hurt both the natural system and the human community. These exploitative practices remove people from their communities and their homes (both physically and spiritually). Countries are also marginalized as many in the global South have little access to economic and political development in large part due to an exclusive, consumer-based, and profit-oriented global system. In this regard, Pope Francis writes, we “must integrate questions of justice in debates on the environment, so as to hear *both the cry of the earth and the cry of the poor*.”²⁰

Pope Francis’s writings explicitly try to reorient the public discussions about the environment and reframe why it is important. The policy debate over environmental issues is often presented as the environmentalists versus industry, or at the personal level, one’s job versus animals and trees, and freedom versus government regulation. *Laudato Si’* confronts these well-established divisions and expresses concern that the problem of environmental stewardship is often viewed as technocratic. Although Pope Francis accepts the science on a changing climate, for him the debate is not about the validity of the research, but instead about human empowerment. He writes that we must “transcend the language of mathematics and biology, and take us to the heart of what it is to be human.”²¹ Francis establishes a path to understanding the relationship between humanity and the planet while escaping the traditional progressive (pro-environment) and conservative (pro-business) dichotomy. His approach is a holistic one that connects the environment with personal ethics and social well-being. He portrays the planet as a “common home” and notes that neglecting

the natural environment is a source of suffering for both societies and individuals. He suggests that the guiding ethics of the Catholic Church's teachings call for human care of the natural world, the protection of the most vulnerable populations from the scourges of poverty, and a personal spiritual journey that transcends consumerism and neglect. Pope Francis's engagement tries to move the discussion away from an "enlightened elitist" view and requests that his audience care more about humans than shoreline erosion and bird migration patterns (although all deserve respect as God's creations).

The following section outlines how the policy entrepreneur framework allows us to understand Pope Francis's political activism as he goes beyond reframing the issue to actively lobbying for the Paris climate agreement. Here the discussion explores the confluence between Pope Francis's writings, public agenda, and the adoption of the UN's SDGs and the global climate change debate. In addition, the discussion highlights the unprecedented role of the pope in terms of moral authority and global policy advocacy.

MORAL AUTHORITY AND GLOBAL POLICY ADVOCACY

To understand how Pope Francis engages in policy advocacy, it is helpful to review the context of the debate on climate change. The creation of policy is a complex process, and often advocacy for the solution to a particular problem can be problematic, as new policy measures may threaten elites and the status quo, creating a stalemate. With climate policy, there are multiple layers of opposition to global initiatives: at the personal level, at the national level within the United States, as well as the global level. Both within and outside the United States, there are perpetual divides in dealing with climate change. Portions of the global South frequently argue that limiting development (e.g., harvesting timber and reducing carbon emissions) places an unfair burden on industry that developed states did not have to contend with. In addition, there are repeated calls for the primary carbon emitting countries to assist with and even pay for mitigating the often-devastating effects of climate change (e.g., salinization and the Marshall Islands). The Chinese government and many other developed countries persistently shy away from mandatory carbon emissions limits. The United States, in particular, has revolted against the idea of a binding agreement, in part as it would require a highly unlikely Senate confirmation of a multilateral treaty.

Discussions about climate change are abstract, complex, and perceived as distant. This obliqueness is enhanced by uncertainty about when and where climate change will have an impact. Culpability for climate change is often deflected, in part as it is viewed as unintentional harm and victimless. Americans, in particular, receive diverse messages about the United States having the most impact on climate change, and many reject the science, the idea of blame, and often the messengers. Within the United States, the credibility of the science surrounding climate change has been effectively questioned, and from 2008 on, reports indicate that less than 50 percent of self-identified Republicans within the United States find that the evidence of human created climate change is credible.²² Beyond believing the science, one author claims that most people, particularly within the United States, tend to “lack strong moral intuitions about the issue.”²³ Here the pope counters this logic and highlights that even if we are not certain about the science and potential impacts, the risk of great danger requires activism. There are also those who have an optimistic view of science and its ability to manage the impacts of climate change.²⁴ For both the public and the policy elite, decisions that reject efforts to mitigate climate change are often justified on the expenses associated with increased regulation and transitioning to nonfossil fuel sources. The encyclical includes criticism of “obstructionist attitudes,” and at one point in the document, Pope Francis specifically calls out the United States and argues, “We must continue to be aware that, regarding climate change, there are *differentiated responsibilities*.”²⁵ Finally, he creates a view of morality through time, arguing there is an intergenerational obligation to act.

For a pontiff, environmentalism lies outside what one might identify as the “traditional” social justice agenda associated with religious institutions and their leaders, and arguably the publication of a book-length encyclical itself was political advocacy. After the release of *Laudato Si'*, Pope Francis conducted an international campaign with a highly publicized speaking tour and a flurry of meetings (both within the United States and around the world) to elevate the climate change issue. This engagement provided momentum leading up to the UN’s adoption of the SDGs in 2015 and the UN conference in Paris that same year. Furthermore, he highlights the need for immediacy and responsibility to “do something.” We now turn to explore what can only be interpreted as collaboration with the UN, as the pope’s writings directly invoke the 2015 UN SDGs. We also trace Pope Francis’s global venue shopping to nudge world leaders toward consensus.

THE POPE AND THE SDGs

The language throughout *Laudato Si'* dovetails with the language crafted by the UN in the same year, 2015, regarding the interdependence of climate and other issues areas. Pope Francis's statement, "Climate change is a global problem with grave implications: environmental, social, economic, political and for the distribution of goods," echoes the UN's 17 SDGs and their attempt to highlight the connections between economic, natural, and political systems. Pope Francis's words and priorities are very similar those of the UN and call for "the whole human family together to seek a sustainable and integral development." Moreover, the encyclical lists many of the same individual goals as the SDGs. For instance, the encyclical directly addresses the related issues of access to water (SDG number 6) and biodiversity (SDG numbers 14 and 15). He also calls on society to reduce its production of waste and criticizes a disposal-oriented culture that marginalizes many within the human community (found in SDG number 12). Table 7.1 illustrates the parallels/overlap between the first half of *Laudato Si'* and the UN's goals. The SDGs set out 17 specific targets that build on the Millennium Development Goals, which expired in 2015. *Laudato Si'* clearly identifies 12 of the 17 goals in its call to end poverty and protect the planet. The resemblance cannot be a coincidence and, although it is speculative, it indicates a deliberate collaboration

Table 7.1 Parallels between *Laudato Si'* and the UN Sustainable Development Goals

<i>Laudato Si'</i> ; Pope Francis's encyclical	UN Sustainable Development Goals
Access to water (para. 27)	SDG 8 clean water and sanitation
Pollution, waste, and the throwaway culture (para. 20–22)	SDG 12 responsible consumption and production
Loss of biodiversity (para. 32–42)	SDG 14 life below water SDG 15 life on land
Decline in the quality of human life and the breakdown of society (para. 43–47)	SDG 3 good health and well-being SDG 11 sustainable cities and communities
Global inequality (para. 48–52)	SDG 1 no poverty SDG 2 zero hunger SDG 5 gender equality SDG 10 reduce inequalities
Weak government responses (para. 53–59)	SDG 16 peace, justice, and strong institutions SDG 17 partnerships for the goals

between the UN's development agenda (prior to its public release) and the pope's agenda. In fact, Pope Francis spoke at the UN General Assembly directly prior to that body's adoption of the 17 goals. This hints that the UN was responsive to the pope (a bit unlikely as the goals were previewed in April 2015) or there was coordination between the Holy See and the UN. One observer writes, "*Laudato Si'* is unique in its intention to influence international politics and the multilateral agreements they produce."²⁶ The document clearly marks Pope Francis's efforts at entrepreneurship. In the last few chapters, Pope Francis carefully outlines the need for dialogue at the global level, at the national level, between peoples of different cultures and faiths, and even within local communities.

Pope Francis's political activism did not stop with the publication of the document; he then conducted extensive public speaking engagements advocating for environmental stewardship. In September 2015, three months after the release of *Laudato Si'*, Pope Francis proclaimed in a speech at the White House, "Climate change is a problem which can no longer be left to a future generation. When it comes to the care of our 'common home,' we are living at a critical moment of history."²⁷ Then Francis became the first pope to address the US Congress, and the second to appear at a formal session of the UN General Assembly in New York. Indeed, after his appearance, the 70th meeting of the General Assembly adopted the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (including the SDGs). The pope also presented the same message at the Catholic Climate Covenant and the US Conference of Catholic Bishops, which was followed by press conferences by Catholic leaders at the National Press Club and five additional press events, all reinforcing his message of environmental stewardship. Together these events resulted in over 3000 news stories.²⁸ One source close to Francis, Bishop Marcelo Sorondo, chancellor of the Vatican's Pontifical Academy of Sciences, claimed, "The reason for such frenetic activity . . . is the pope's [*sic*] wish to directly influence next year's crucial UN climate meeting in Paris, when countries will try to conclude 20 years of fraught negotiations with a universal commitment to reduce emissions."²⁹ Pope Francis's activities are clearly those of a policy entrepreneur venue shopping, addressing several audiences—both policy-makers and the general public. Indeed, he wanted to raise awareness about vulnerable populations and highlight the implications of doing nothing.

Pope Francis consistently used his public platform to achieve three climate change goals. First, and perhaps most profound, his work intended to change the narrative about climate change. It provides a logic with great depth and detail about why protecting the environment is imperative.

Francis tried to move the debate from a scientific one to a tangible moral argument that is accessible to both believers and nonbelievers. The perspective is a global one—the whole over the parts. Second, just the mention of the topic highlights the issue and brings awareness. Pope Francis was aware of the timing of his work, the release of the SDGs, and the Paris Climate Change Conference. One member of the UN Foundation explains Pope Francis’s unique engagement on this issue, claiming he has “never seen a pope do anything like this . . . No single individual has as much global sway as he does . . . What he is doing will resonate in the government of any country that has a leading Catholic constituency.”³⁰ Third, Francis expands his audience; through the encyclical and significant activism both at the UN and within the United States, he conducts a public and focused campaign and deliberately pursues non-Catholic audiences and world leaders. In this regard, he was nudging both individuals and policy-makers at a key moment in policy formation. Did Pope Francis move the needle? Was his activism impactful? The next section explores the complex consequences of the pope’s attempt to reframe the climate change debate and push world leaders to an agreement on reduction of greenhouse gasses at the Paris conference in December 2015.

THE PUBLIC AND THE POPE: THE FRANCIS EFFECT

Several studies find that Pope Francis was impactful in increasing public awareness and support for climate change mitigation. Yet, some contest this conclusion, as the evidence of a “Francis Effect” points in different directions. The American public warmed up to this pope as his favorability ratings rose from 58 percent in April 2013 to 70 percent in October 2015 after his visit to the United States.³¹ Catholics clearly held the Pope in high esteem as Francis recorded a 90 percent favorability rating.³² This rating would seem to bode well for changing opinions. Within the public opinion data, however, the evidence about any impact from the pope’s activism (particularly through the encyclical and other engagements) is mixed. First, there are surveys that find a notable change over time of the perceived cause of climate change. Since 2001, Gallup has asked a sample of Americans whether the increase in the Earth’s temperature over the last century is the result of human causes or natural causes. Those who attributed human causes were at or above 60 percent for the first few years of the new millennium. However, those numbers declined to about 50 percent over the next nine years. As illustrated in Fig. 7.1, from 2015 to 2016, at the height of Pope Francis’s

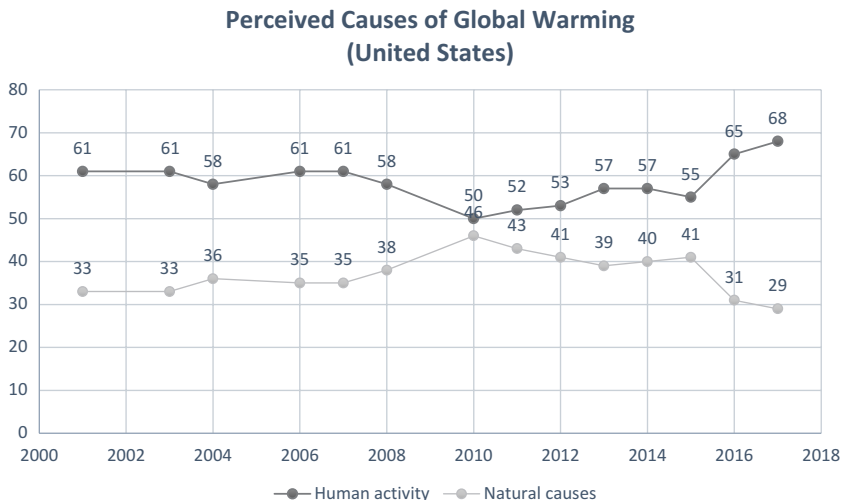


Fig. 7.1 Gallup Survey 2000–2017—US Views on Cause of Global Warming. Source: Lydia Saad, “Global Warming Concern at Three-Decade High in US” *Gallup*. March 14, 2017, <http://www.gallup.com/poll/190010/concern-global-warming-eight-year-high.aspx>

activism on this subject, those numbers rose ten points from 55 percent in 2015 to 65 percent in March 2016. At the same time, crediting Pope Francis with this spike is dubious.

In fact, it is fascinating to examine the diversity of studies assessing the public reaction to Pope Francis’s climate change campaign. The conclusions are contradictory. Several indicate a robust and direct impact, whereas others find no impact or even a hardening of the rejection of climate change science. One study, beginning with a credibility question, asked, “How much do you trust or distrust the Pope as a source of information about global warming?” Given that the pope is not connected with either the scientific community or the policy community, the study found that almost 72 percent of Catholics found him a credible source and 62 percent of Americans overall viewed him as credible on this issue. Another survey found that the proportion of respondents’ view that global warming is a moral issue increased by 7 percent from spring 2015 to fall 2015. The proportion of respondents who wanted US action on climate change also increased by seven points from spring 2015 to fall 2015. The report claims there was a clear connection between the pope’s activism and

increased concern and engagement within the United States and labeled this dynamic “The Francis Effect.”³³ Similarly, the poll conducted by the Center for Climate Change Communication found that Pope Francis’s discussion of climate change moved the level of concern (including “very” and “somewhat worried”) about global warming from 51 percent in spring 2015 to 59 percent in fall 2015. They claim the increase was most pronounced among Catholics whose concern rose from 43 percent to 64 percent, whereas Protestants indicated a change in views from 47 percent to 57 percent. They also concluded that the pope’s message had very little effect on Evangelicals who stayed at four points.³⁴ The report indicates that “many Americans (17%) and Catholics (35%) say the Pope’s position on global warming has influenced their views about the issue.”³⁵ The authors also found most Americans who were surveyed believe that climate change will adversely harm the poor.

At the same time, another group of scholars rejects this position and claim that political identity impacted how the pope’s message was received. Liberals who accepted the climate science increased the salience of their views, while conservatives increased their skepticism.³⁶ This study contradicts the “Francis Effect” study and finds that within Catholic audiences, liberal versus conservative Catholics had different reactions. The study reveals that those surveyed who had knowledge of the pope’s message and *Laudato Si’* reacted differently based on political orientation. Liberal Catholics did register more connections between climate change, risk, and negative outcomes for the poor than those liberal Catholics that were not aware of the encyclical. Yet, conservative Catholics, particularly those who were aware of the encyclical, were more likely to reject the pope as credible on climate change and less likely to see any potential impacts on the poor. This study claims that with the latter group, “the pope’s justification for action holds limited moral authority for conservatives.”³⁷ The authors of the study attribute this to political polarization in the United States and a “politicized media diet,” yet did indicate that Catholics overall were less likely to reject the pope’s message than non-Catholics.

Still another report finds that the pope’s message seemed to move some traditional sectors of the society that were suspect of information on climate change. In November 2015, a survey by the National Surveys on Energy and Environment reported that 56 percent of Republicans believed that the evidence about climate change was credible—the first time this number had risen above 47 percent since 2008. With other self-identified groups, the numbers of those convinced that there is significant evidence of

climate change seems robust: for Democrats, the number registered at 79 percent and Independents recorded 69 percent.³⁸

It does appear that within the United States, the pope's messaging did have some impact on public opinion. However, that impact was limited to those who were predisposed due to media consumption and ideological identification. Regardless of public opinion, it is important to note two things. First, most of Pope Francis's media outreach was in nontraditional outlets; he deliberately targeted non-Catholic audiences.³⁹ Second, the audience of the message includes political elites as they moved toward the Paris Climate Change conference in December 2015.

THE PATH TO PARIS: NUDGING AND CAJOLING

Changing public opinion, even a few percentage points, is a notable feat. But the real target of a policy advocate is to change policy. In fall 2015, Pope Francis persistently reinforced his message of environmental stewardship by directly targeting participants in the upcoming Paris conference and urging negotiators to seek "complete decarbonisation" by 2050.⁴⁰ In a November visit to Africa, he restated his message, pressing the international community to listen to the "cry rising up from humanity and the earth itself."⁴¹

In December of 2015, the leaders of almost 200 nations joined over 40,000 delegates in Paris, France, and agreed to a binding framework that would compel states to cut their carbon emissions and reduce climate change. The UN Climate Change Conference (COP21) sponsored the conference with the specific goal of preventing planetary warming from going above 2°C. Those tasked with global environmental governance were called upon to not only "ratchet up" their policies to cut carbon emissions but also mitigate the threats to human security resulting from climate change.⁴² Several island nations, like the Marshall Islands, Tuvalu, and Kiribati, where the land may be only six feet above sea level, had already experienced loss of coastline, salinization of soil with repeated flooding (which destroys crops), and exposure to raw sewage (which increases disease). In opening remarks to the conference, French president Francois Hollande noted, "Never have the stakes been so high because this is about the future of the planet, the future of life."⁴³

In the weeks leading up to the Paris conference, the pope met with other religious and political leaders in Kenya, Uganda, and the Central African Republic. Within these African states he made a direct appeal to

the leaders and created a sense of urgency. He cautioned about current “consequences of changes” as a result of greenhouse gas emissions. He warned of the negative results of this dynamic, saying: “The time to find global solutions is running out. We will only be able to find adequate solutions if we act together and in agreement. Hence, there is a clear, definitive and ineluctable ethical imperative to act.”⁴⁴ According to a member of the Holy See’s UN delegation, Paris was on the horizon, and Pope Francis wanted to use his tour and *Laudato Si’* as motivation for world leaders in the weeks preceding COP21. He asserts that Pope Francis—through his activism in the United States, at the UN, and in multiple venues throughout the globe—helped push the Paris Agreement forward. He explains, “Francis used his direct spending of moral authority to motivate the delegates and other participants.”⁴⁵ Moreover, the pope was active in Paris itself. In a symbolic gesture, he sent his own shoes to be displayed in Paris during a silent rally, and reports claim he made personal phone calls to delegates during the conference.⁴⁶

In securing a deal, the Paris conference faced multiple challenges. The first was creating consensus about goals and achieving near universal agreement about the binding nature of such agreements. This process was highly political as developing nations like Brazil were called upon to cease the lucrative harvesting of timber in the Amazon rainforest to preserve an essential global carbon sink. Despite the challenges, the meeting created a landmark deal to reduce greenhouse gas emissions with a commitment by countries to further reductions every five years. The approach allowed countries to submit their own initiated Intended Nationally Determined Contributions (INDCs). China agreed to cut emissions and pledged to implement a cap-and-trade system, the United States agreed to cut 26 percent to 28 percent of its emissions by 2025, and the European Union committed to a 40 percent reduction by 2030. The conference also produced a \$100 billion climate mitigation fund. The Paris Agreement was called “a rare victory for global multilateral deal making.”⁴⁷

There is evidence political leaders were aware of and listening to Pope Francis’s campaign. President Obama tweeted about the encyclical, and Vice President Biden is reported to have read it in its entirety. The UN Secretary-General at the time, Ban Ki-moon expressed his support for the pope’s activism as did the heads of both the UN Environment Programme and the UN Development Programme.⁴⁸ There are also those that claim Pope Francis “clearly helped” and that his activism “was a decisive factor” in coaxing in the direction of an agreement in Paris.⁴⁹ Although most of the

evidence is anecdotal, many argue that his advocacy played an important role in the adoption of the agreement. Alison Doig of Christian Aid characterizes the mood brought to the conference by Pope Francis as “transformative” and “wonderful,” particularly since the publication of *Laudato Si'*, and she notes the robust support from the broader faith community.⁵⁰

While monumental, the agreements made in Paris would face additional hurdles at the domestic level in many parliaments, national legislatures, and regulatory agencies. For example, in June 2017, despite visiting with Pope Francis a week earlier and receiving a copy of *Laudato Si'* as a gift from the Pope, President Trump announced that the United States would withdraw from the agreement. Yet, even after this announcement, Pope Francis continued his campaign, and in a June 2017 meeting with Pope Francis, German Chancellor Angela Merkel reported that Francis encouraged her diligence in preserving the historic Paris Agreement.⁵¹

CONCLUSION

Pope Francis's advocacy with regard to the environment is unique. He appealed to multiple communities, with specific focus on the US domestic audience, the UN delegates in September of 2015, and the developing states (with the African speaking tour in November 2015). He framed the debate to move it beyond the simple oppositions of liberals versus conservatives, developed states versus developing states. Pope Francis sculpts climate change as an issue not just facing environmentalists, scientists, and energy companies, but all of humankind—time is greater than space. While he engages with the political realm, his approach attempts to transcend the typical trappings and categories of political ideology. Although some observers claim he sits on either the right or left of the political spectrum, as discussed above and in the chapters by Paul Manuel (Chap. 2), Christine Gustafson (Chap. 10), and Elizabeth Carter (Chap. 9), Francis is critical of political ideologies; he argues that they do not capture the realities of life in the twenty-first century and are not effectively serving humanity.⁵²

As a political entrepreneur, Pope Francis invited people to focus on the interests of the whole, not the individual parts (be they governments, ideologies, or interest groups). The entrepreneur does not fiddle at the margins of policy creation, but attempts transformation. In this regard, this framework allows us to understand Pope Francis's moral authority as it transcends normal advocacy; he strives to redefine the issue, engages in

coalition building, nudges public opinion, prods global leaders, and engages international political institutions. In addition, he calls on publics and policy-makers to move away from strategic self-interest. The issue is not about reduction of harm to commerce, shipping channels, and animal habitats, but instead about the reduction of great human suffering. He provides a moral global perspective that transcends political and ideological boundaries. Pope Francis directly calls on world leaders to address the immediacy of the threat of climate change and highlights their moral responsibility to protect the planet and future generations.

Yet, Pope Francis's activism was not without backlash. Particularly in the United States, political figures like Jeb Bush and Rick Santorum (both Catholic) criticized both the message and the activism. The pope was accused by several critics of being a "Socialist" and a "Communist."⁵³ There were voices that rejected his understanding of science and many that criticized his political engagement as inappropriate and out of bounds. There were also voices that pushed back on the need to consider the poor, arguing that climate mitigation policies could hurt the destitute by eliminating jobs, particularly in the coal industry.⁵⁴ The "church in the town square" and its affiliation with the "town" governance structures can become problematic. The more concrete the pope gets, the more problematic it is. As he calls out to world leaders specifically and issues direct calls to action (verses the more general "let us pray for world peace" statements), he enters the political realm and will get push back. Despite his intent in creating consistent moral guidelines and rising above the political fray, the issues are political, and Pope Francis and his messages have been politicized. Beyond traditional opposition to climate change, the fact that researchers (as discussed above) present conflicting impacts of Pope Francis's activism points to the many sectors that are leveraging the pope's messaging for their own benefit. The church can safely preach to the politicians; however, it walks a dangerous line when, acting as a faith-based community, it associates too closely with the political: some will reject both the message and the messenger. Within the United States, there are those who find Pope Francis's advocacy a violation of the principle of separation of church and state.⁵⁵ In addition, as his views transcend ideological categories (i.e., what one might describe a "liberal" position on poverty and "conservative" stance on abortion), Pope Francis's political advocacy is vulnerable to accusations of hypocrisy and duplicity for those that only superficially glance at his logic.

Returning to the themes of this volume, Pope Francis's impact in this area accomplished several things simultaneously, with moral lessons resonating throughout his thoughts, words, and deeds. First, he provided a rationale that builds on previous orientations of his predecessors with a consistent logic into why humans—both as individuals and as members of a community—should care about the environment and act as stewards. He makes a deliberate attempt to engage the science and bring clarity of purpose. Although his impact on public views is contentious, it is clear that Pope Francis has had a recalibrating effect on the narratives surrounding morality and climate policy and has used his global platform to advocate moral choices in global governance. The pope's call to action deliberately coincided with the adoption of the UN's SDGs and the Paris Climate Change Conference. The UN, with declining standing, has embraced both the message and the idea of a moral authority at the global level.⁵⁶ Although the global agenda was already set to address these challenges, *Laudato Si'* created renewed interest, lent gravitas, and added an urgent moral imperative to the discussion. In addition, the pope's pleas for a focus on poverty and international policy to advance global equality dovetailed with the UN's sustainability goals. In engaging the UN and the climate change debate, Pope Francis has filled a void in global authority, calling on both policy-makers and global residents to prioritize humanity in a world increasingly dominated by technology and materialism.

NOTES

1. Pope Francis, "Meeting with the Members of the General Assembly of the United Nations: Address of the Holy Father," September 25, 2015, http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2015/september/documents/papa-francesco_20150925_onu-visita.html
2. Bruce Jones and Adele Morris, "Understanding COP21 and Beyond the Paris Agreement," *Brookings Report* 21(2015), <http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/planetpolicy/posts/2015/12/14-cop21-beyond-the-paris-agreement-jones-morris>; Roger Harrabin, "COP21: Did the Pope Save the Climate Deal?," *BBC News*, December 13, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/science-environment-35087220>
3. For the purposes of this work, an ethical framework is defined as matters relating to good and evil or right and wrong or a system of ideas about correct behaviors, whereas public ethics refer to standards of conduct and decision-making rules for the greater good.

4. It is important to point out that there is not complete alignment on global policy positions between the Holy See and the UN. The issue of family planning is one of several areas that the two global actors find significant disagreement. There are issue areas where the Holy See is viewed as a conservative actor within the UN system.
5. Michael Moran, "The Pope's Divisions," *Council on Foreign Relations*, February 3, 2006, <http://www.cfr.org/religion/popes-divisions/p9765>
6. This was also evident in his remarks concerning then presidential candidate Donald Trump and immigration in 2016.
7. John W. Kingdon, *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policy* (New York: Harper Collins, 1984), 188.
8. William Jacoby, "Issue Framing and Public Opinion on Government Spending," *American Journal of Political Science* 44, no. 4 (2000): 763.
9. Stoyan Zaimov, "Pope Francis Warns: If We Destroy Creation, It Will Destroy Us," *Christian Post Reporter*, May 21, 2014, <http://www.christianpost.com/news/pope-francis-warns-if-we-destroy-creation-it-will-destroy-us-120159/>
10. "Pope Francis' Homily for His Inaugural Mass," March 19, 2013, <http://www.catholicworldreport.com/2013/03/19/full-text-pope-francis-homily-for-his-inaugural-mass/>
11. Francis, "Message of His Holiness Francis for the Celebration of the World Day of Peace," 2014, http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/messages/peace/documents/papa-francesco_20131208_messaggio-xlvii-giornata-mondiale-pace-2014.html
12. John Vidal, "Pope Francis's Edict on Climate Change Will Anger Deniers and US Churches," *The Guardian* December 27, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/dec/27/pope-francis-edict-climate-change-us-rightwing>
13. Juan Carlos Scannone, S.J., "Pope Francis and the Theology of the People," *Theological Studies* 77, no. 1 (2016).
14. "Apostolic Letter Octogesima Adveniens," May 14, 1971, 416–17.
15. "Encyclical Letter Redemptor Hominis," March 4, 1979, 287.
16. Benedict XVI, "Address to the Diplomatic Corps Accredited to the Holy See," January 8, 2007.
17. Benedict XVI, "Encyclical Letter Caritas in Veritate," (2009).
18. Francis, *Laudato Si': On Care for Our Common Home* (Rome: The Holy See, 2015).
19. "Meeting with the Members of the General Assembly of the United Nations: Address of the Holy Father," http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2015/september/documents/papa-francesco_20150925_onu-visita.html
20. Francis, *Laudato Si', on Care for Our Common Home*, para. 52.

21. Ibid.
22. Christopher Borick, Barry G. Rabe, and Sarah B. Mills, "Acceptance of Global Warming among Americans Reaches Highest Level since 2008," *Issues in Energy and Environmental Policy* 25 (October 2015), <http://closup.umich.edu/issues-in-energy-and-environmental-policy/25/acceptance-of-global-warming-among-americans-reaches-highest-level-since-2008/>
23. Ezra Markowitz, "Why Few Americans View Climate Change as a Moral Problem," *Big Think*, 2015, <http://bigthink.com/age-of-engagement/why-few-americans-view-climate-change-as-a-moral-problem>
24. Ibid.
25. Pope Francis, *Laudato Si', on Care for Our Common Home*, para. 49.
26. Neva Frecheville, "The Sustainable Development Goals and Laudato Si'." *Serpents and Doves*, September 17, 2015, <https://cafodpolicy.wordpress.com/2015/09/17/the-sustainable-development-goals-and-laudato-si/>
27. "Speech at the White House," *The Washington Post*, September 23, 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/social-issues/text-of-pope-franciss-speech-at-the-white-house/2015/09/23/27c70d74-61fb-11e5-9757-e49273f05f65_story.html?utm_term=.809623f3debc
28. Edward Maibach, Anthony Leiserowitz, Connie Roser-Renouf, Teresa Myers, Seth Rosenthal, and Geoff Feinburg, "The Francis Effect: How Pope Francis Changed the Conversation About Global Warming" (George Mason University and Yale University: Center for Climate Change Communication, 2015).
29. Vidal, "Pope Francis's Edict on Climate Change Will Anger Deniers and US Churches."
30. Alice Philipson, "Pope Appeals to Non-Catholics to Heed His Climate Change Warning," *The Telegraph*, June 14, 2015, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/the-pope/11674199/Pope-appeals-to-non-Catholics-to-heed-his-climate-change-warning.html>
31. Borick, Rabe, and Mills, "Acceptance of Global Warming among Americans Reaches Highest Level since 2008."
32. "In U.S., Pope's Popularity Continues to Grow," *Pew Research Center*, March 16, 2015, <http://www.pewforum.org/2015/03/05/in-u-s-popes-popularity-continues-to-grow/>
33. Maibach et al., "The Francis Effect: Hope Pope Francis Changed the Conversation About Global Warming," 5.
34. Dan Schaefer, "The Francis Effect = +10–20% on Climate Change," *Dan Schaefer's Blog*, November 14, 2015, <http://www.danshaferblog.com/the-francis-effect-10-20-on-climate-change/>
35. Maibach et al., "The Francis Effect: Hope Pope Francis Changed the Conversation About Global Warming," 5.

36. Nan Li, Joseph Hilgard, Dietram A. Scheufele, Kenneth M. Winneg, and Kathleen Hall Jamieson, "Cross-Pressuring Conservative Catholics? Effects of Pope Francis' Encyclical on the U.S. Public Opinion on Climate Change," *Climatic Change* 139, no. 3 (2016), <http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10584-016-1821-z>
37. *Ibid.*, 377.
38. Borick, Rabe, and Mills, "Acceptance of Global Warming among Americans Reaches Highest Level since 2008."
39. Father Roger Landry, Holy See representative at the United Nations, personal interview with the author, April 10, 2017.
40. Stephanie Kirchgaessner, "Catholic Church Calls on UN Climate Change Conference to Set Goals," *The Guardian*, October 26, 2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/oct/26/catholic-church-un-agree-climate-change-goals>
41. "Pope Francis Says Failure of Climate Summit Would Be Catastrophic," *The Guardian*, November 26, 2015,, <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2015/nov/26/pope-francis-says-failure-of-climate-summit-would-be-catastrophic>
42. Coral Davenport, "The Marshall Islands Are Disappearing," *New York Times*, December 1, 2015, http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2015/12/02/world/The-Marshall-Islands-Are-Disappearing.html?_r=0
43. Ben Brumfield and Michael Pearson, "COPp21 Climate Change Summit: 'Never Have the Stakes Been So High,'" *CNN*, November 30, 2015, <http://www.cnn.com/2015/11/30/europe/france-paris-cop21-climate-change-conference/>
44. Shawn Donnan and James Politi, "Pope Francis Calls for End to 'Boundless Thirst for Power,'" *Financial Times*, 2015, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/cc6fb9bc-638f-11e5-9846-de406ccb37f2.html>
45. Father Roger Landry, representative of Holy See's delegation at the United Nations, personal interview with the author, April 10, 2017.
46. Harrabin, "COP21: Did the Pope Save the Climate Deal?"
47. Jones and Morris, "Understanding COP21 and Beyond the Paris Agreement."
48. "Pope Francis Releases Encyclical on Climate and Environment: UN Leaders React," 2015, <http://newsroom.unfccc.int/unfccc-newsroom/pope-francis-releases-encyclical-on-climate-and-environment/>
49. *Vatican Radio*, "Role of Pope Francis 'Transformative' at Paris COP21 Climate Summit," November 12, 2015, http://en.radiovaticana.va/news/2015/12/11/pope_francis_transformative_at_paris_climate_summit/1193598
50. *Ibid.*

51. Nicole Winfield, "Paris Accords: Angela Merkel Says Pope Francis Encouraged Her to Preserve Climate Change Agreement," *The Independent*, June 18, 2017, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/angela-merkel-pope-francis-encourage-paris-accords-germany-g20-donald-trump-a7795466.html>
52. Scannone, "Pope Francis and the Theology of the People," 119.
53. Ed Stourton, "Is the Pope a Communist?," *BBC News*, June 7, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-33024951>
54. Rebecca Leber, "Climate Deniers Say Nope to 'Red Pope,'" *New Republic*, June 17, 2015, <https://newrepublic.com/article/122052/climate-deniers-say-nope-red-pope>
55. Victor Davis Hanson, "Papal Burnout," *Washington Times*, September 30, 2015, <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2015/sep/30/victor-davis-hanson-pope-francis-too-political/>
56. Alynna J. Lyon, *US Politics and the United Nations: A Tale of Dysfunctional Dynamics* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner 2016).

The Pope and the United States: Faith as Dialogue

Anne Marie Cammisa

INTRODUCTION

The title of this volume is *Where Politics and Theology Meet*. Nowhere was that meeting more visible than when Pope Francis gave an address to a joint session of the US Congress. His white robes and skullcap contrasted starkly with the backdrop of the American flag framing the dark business suits of the speaker of the House and the vice president of the United States. Before them was the leader of the largest denomination (Roman Catholic) of the world's largest religion (Christianity) speaking in the physical policy-making arena of the United States. The pope's frequent use of the word "dialogue" in his speech showed his intention: politics and theology can meet in a conversation, a discussion, an exchange of ideas. As such, he both rendered unto Caesar what is Caesar's by staying out of the details of public policy, and yet still staked a claim in the political arena by asserting a voice to be heard and setting an agenda that he hoped would be addressed. Indeed, his speech before Congress could be considered an example of what Scannone refers to as the "Bergoglian principle" of prioritizing unity over conflict.¹

A. M. Cammisa (✉)
Georgetown University, Washington, DC, USA

© The Author(s) 2018
A. J. Lyon et al. (eds.), *Pope Francis as a Global Actor*,
Palgrave Studies in Religion, Politics, and Policy,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-71377-9_8

In his hour speech, the pope spoke to the American people's representatives, calling on them to pursue the common good. He proposed to enter into a dialogue, or conversation, with the American people by discussing four Americans: Abraham Lincoln, Martin Luther King Jr., Dorothy Day, and Thomas Merton. He spoke of hope, justice, and peace; called for religious cooperation; and proclaimed the importance of religious voices in the political arena. He reminded Americans of their history of immigration and called on them to welcome refugees, and he appealed for an end to the death penalty and the arms trade. He also conveyed the importance of the environment and the "richness and beauty" of family life. He did all of this in the context of "dialogue," a word he used over and over again during his address. This conversation with the American public placed Pope Francis squarely at the intersection of politics and religion, and, most importantly, it demonstrated his commitment to keeping the Catholic Church in the public square. Moreover, this dialogue symbolizes the idea of unity, of finding common ground in a diverse political culture.

Let us begin by addressing that dialogue, that exchange of ideas that the pope proposes.

BACKGROUND: "A FAITH WHICH BECOMES DIALOGUE"

A nation can be considered great when it defends liberty as Lincoln did, when it fosters a culture which enables people to "dream" of full rights for all their brothers and sisters, as Martin Luther King sought to do; when it strives for justice and the cause of the oppressed, as Dorothy Day did by her tireless work, the fruit of *faith which becomes dialogue* and sows peace in the contemplative style of Thomas Merton. (Pope Francis before the US Congress, September 24, 2015)

Pope Francis's arrival in the United States in September 2015 was greeted with much fanfare. Anticipation had been building since his trip was announced; many Americans were particularly interested in his address before Congress, which was heavily covered in the media. This was not the first time a foreigner had spoken before Congress (Winston Churchill addressed three different joint sessions, and Margaret Thatcher delivered a speech to Congress during the Reagan years; they are among other foreign leaders and dignitaries, beginning with the Marquise de Lafayette in 1824).² And it was not the first time a religious leader had addressed the legislative body of the United States—Queen Elizabeth II, monarch and

head of the Church of England, addressed a joint session of Congress in 1991. But this was the pontiff of the Roman Catholic Church, a church rejected by the Enlightenment philosophers whose ideas shaped the American Revolution and viewed with suspicion by American Protestants since their arrival on American shores to claim religious freedom. It is remarkable that 45 years after Senator John F. Kennedy had found it necessary to tell the public that no, he would not be taking orders from the pope in Rome, a new pope flew from Rome to speak to America in its most democratic national forum: the House of Representatives. Clearly, this was no ordinary speech.

This was no ordinary pope, either. A member of the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits), Cardinal Jorge Mario Bergoglio is the first pope from the Americas. (As his name suggests, his heritage is Italian; his grandparents were immigrants to Argentina, a point he made during his address to Congress.) The Jesuits have a reputation of being an order of progressive, open-minded priests, and they are certainly known for their intellectual curiosity, appeals to reason, and openness to new ideas. His very background was seen as a stark contrast to the preceding pope, Benedict XVI, whose former job had been director of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, which defends and promulgates traditional church teachings. Without knowing much about him, the public sensed that Cardinal Bergoglio would bring a new and different energy to the church. His initial move did not disappoint. He chose as his pontifical name, Francis, not after Francis Xavier (a cofounder of the Jesuit order), but after Francis of Assisi, a saint beloved among Catholics for his commitment to the poor and helpless, his gentleness, and his love of nature and animals. A much-loved story in his hagiography is when, fighting with his father over whether he should become a priest, a young Francis took off all his clothes and handed them to his father, saying that he owed him nothing, and symbolizing his rejection of his previous worldly life and new commitment to a life of poverty.³ (Not coincidentally, Francis of Assisi, unlike Francis Xavier, is Italian.)

Pope Francis quickly began to bring a new attitude to the Catholic Church. He spoke off the cuff and did not seem to edit himself, making statements that raised eyebrows in some quarters and cheers in others. His first major encyclical was on climate change, and he encouraged the faithful to treat the earth with the respect it deserves as God's creation. He spoke of loving all people, not just the poor and marginalized, but also those alienated from the church, including homosexuals, divorced couples, and women who have had abortions. His 2016 Apostolic Exhortation,

The Joy of Love, opened the door for divorced and remarried Catholics to receive communion in the church, a position that upset more orthodox Catholics.⁴ He declared a year of mercy and admonished his flock to focus on forgiveness rather than judgment. For many, he was a new face of a more open and liberal church. Others were afraid he was too open and liberal, and still others (opponents and proponents) noted that he was not actually making any declarations that were contrary to established church teaching on issues such as homosexual marriage, birth control, abortion, and even climate change.

This, then, was the Holy Father of the Roman Catholic Church who came before the American Congress, and the American public, ready to turn his faith into dialogue. With whom exactly was he dialoguing, and what difference did his speech make in American politics?

The pope's address before Congress raises several important questions: Why was he there? What role was he playing? What did his speech say? What impact did he intend to have, and what impact might the speech actually have? The questions and answers are complicated, because the pope represents different things to different people. To make sense of the speech's significance, this chapter will address it in a political science context, specifically by looking at the policy implications of the speech.

This chapter will put the pope's visit and remarks in the context of American Catholic Church in the American political system. It will begin by defining *policy entrepreneur* and evaluating whether and in what ways Pope Francis can be described as such. The chapter posits that the pope as policy entrepreneur was more interested in setting the agenda or beginning a conversation than in actually promoting specific policy goals. The chapter then turns specifically to the American context by asking what role religious figures play within a system of separation of church and state. Next, the chapter examines the pope in the context of religious groups as interest groups, a role within which the Catholic bishops are deeply ensconced. Finally, the chapter looks at what the pope actually said in his speech, and circles back to whether his speech established him as a policy entrepreneur, a religious lobbyist within the American context, or something else entirely.

THE POPE AS POLICY "ENTREPRENEUR"

In public policy literature, *policy entrepreneur* has a specific meaning. A person, perhaps a member of Congress, who has a strong interest in a particular policy, and who advocates for that policy as it is being considered in

Congress, is known as a policy entrepreneur. The concept was introduced by John Kingdon in his pivotal work, *Issues, Agendas and Public Policies*. Policy entrepreneurs “lie in wait in and around government with their solutions at hand, waiting for problems to float by to which they can attach their solutions, waiting for a development in the political stream they can use to their advantage.”⁵ Policy entrepreneurs “are people with the knowledge, power, tenacity and luck to be able to exploit windows of opportunity and heightened levels of attention to policy problems to promote their ‘pet solutions’ to policymakers.”⁶ While Pope Francis may not be involved in the trenches of the American political process, he is a policy entrepreneur in a larger sense. The pope certainly is someone “waiting for a development in the political stream [he] can use to his advantage.” He has a spiritual worldview that can inform policy solutions, and he is happy to seize appropriate political moments to present that spiritual worldview, as in his speech to Congress: “I wish to dialogue with all of you, and I would like to do so through the historical memory of your people.” He is an entrepreneur who wants to talk, to share, to connect, to promote unity over conflict. As he says, “a good political leader is one who, with the interests of all in mind, seizes the moment in a spirit of openness and pragmatism. A good political leader always opts to initiate processes rather than possessing spaces.”⁷ A good political leader prioritizes time over space, another Bergoglian principle.

The concept of a policy entrepreneur is borrowed from the business world. An entrepreneur in the more traditional sense is someone who starts a business or entertainment venture, putting himself at risk in so doing. *Entrepreneur* derives from the French word, *entreprendre*, meaning to undertake. If someone is entrepreneurial, he or she is daring and a risk-taker—someone who puts himself on the line for something that is new, creative, and daring. This is the sense in which Pope Francis best exemplifies a “policy entrepreneur.” He inserts himself into policy in ways that are unique and risky for a pope.

According to Kathleen Parker, “What’s radical about this pope is that he, like both [Bernie] Sanders and Jesus, says fresh, untraditional things that sound an awful lot like liberal ideas.”⁸ He doesn’t hesitate to speak his mind on a topic, even when it can (and often does) get him into trouble, and he accepted an invitation to speak before Congress, an invitation that has been extended to other popes going back 20 years but was always politely declined.⁹ Indeed, accepting the invitation was a risky move on Pope Francis’s part.

The invitation to Pope Francis came from Speaker of the House John Boehner, a devout Catholic who also had asked Pope John Paul II and Pope Benedict to address a joint session of Congress. One wonders what the reception in Congress would have been like if either of them had responded in the affirmative. It was also a pivotal moment personally for John Boehner, who announced his resignation from the position of Speaker the next day. He apparently felt the pope's visit to be a fitting end to his career. His emotions were obvious (though that is not unusual for Boehner) during the pope's visit. He repeated to reporters a story that just before his address, the pope "asked *me* [Boehner] to pray for *him*."¹⁰ An entrepreneur, a shepherd of his flock, and one of the faithful himself: the pope's role is unique.

This pope is also unique in that he is perceived by the general public as being more "liberal" and progressive than previous popes. Therefore, individuals who might not generally be open to what they view as the stodgy, conservative Catholic Church find the pope to be a refreshing change and are enthusiastic about his potential to bring progressive change to the church and beyond. In addition, conservative Catholics, who are inclined to distrust this pope for the very same reasons, are bound by their orthodox religious beliefs to submit to the pope as head and "Holy Father" of the Catholic Church.

The hierarchical nature of the Catholic Church also puts the pope in a unique position as a spokesman for both the worldwide church and its American flock. When Queen Elizabeth spoke before Congress in 1991, she spoke both as Britain's head of state and as its head of church. Similarly, Pope Francis spoke as both head of state of Vatican City and head of the Roman Catholic Church. A major difference between the two, however, is that Queen Elizabeth is Supreme Governor and Defender of the Faith of the *Church of England*,¹¹ while the pope is the leader of the worldwide Catholic Church. The Episcopal Church in the United States is part of the Anglican Communion led by the Archbishop of Canterbury, not Queen Elizabeth. The relationship between the pope and the Catholic Church in the United States is different. The Pope *is* the leader of the Catholic Church in the United States, as head of the overall church bureaucracy. The bishops in the United States are the leaders of the Catholic Church in the United States, yes, but they are also part of the hierarchy of the church, and as such are subject to the pope, the Bishop of Rome. Bishops are generally selected locally, but they must ultimately be approved by the pope.¹²

What this means is that although the pope was invited to speak as head of state, and not as a member of an interest group, he is, directly or indirectly, the head of an interest group in Washington, the US Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB). He is a policy entrepreneur in the sense that he wishes to inject religious concerns into the policy debate, but also in the sense that he is related to—oversees, in fact—an important religious actor in the American system. The next section briefly examines the role of religious lobbying in the United States and attempts to place the pope's visit in that context.

WHAT ROLE DO RELIGIOUS GROUPS PLAY IN A SYSTEM CHARACTERIZED BY SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE?

The first amendment to the US Constitution prohibits the government from establishing a religion (i.e., creating a national church, such as the Church of England today, or the Catholic Church in European history, or Islam in Afghanistan, Egypt, and Iran) and also guarantees the free practice of religion. The concept of “separation of Church and State” is not explicitly mentioned in the Constitution. The First Amendment allows citizens to practice their religion and prohibits the government from establishing a state religion.¹³ The document is not specific as to any other role that a church may play in public life, for example, by lobbying for policies or supporting specific candidates. Historically, a strain of American political thought believes that churches should play little to no role in government. Their role is in the private or individual sphere, which should operate completely separately from the public or governmental sphere. This line of thought was articulated early on by Thomas Jefferson, whose call for a “separation between church and state” in an 1801 letter has become almost the equivalent of a word change to the constitutional amendment.

Believing with you that religion is a matter which lies solely between Man & his God, that he owes account to none other for his faith or his worship, that the legitimate powers of government reach actions only, & not opinions, I contemplate with sovereign reverence that act of the whole American people which declared that their legislature should “make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof,” *thus building a wall of separation between Church & State.*¹⁴

On the one hand, having the pope involved in American politics represents a breach of this separation. If religion “lies solely between Man and his God,” what role could or should a religious leader play in the American political system? Historically, Americans have been particularly suspicious of the Catholic Church, whose intricate and intimate relationship with European governments was one of the problems that Enlightenment philosophers—on whose thoughts American political theory is based—were trying to eliminate. One can imagine that Thomas Jefferson would have been less than happy to see Pope Francis addressing the American Congress. On the other hand, the American Constitution, here and on other issues, is not only vague but also contradictory. The Constitution also allows any of its citizens to group together and to lobby their government in favor of or opposed to policies being considered. The same first amendment that addresses religious freedoms also enshrines “the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.” What this means in practice is that religious groups—including churches and religious-based charitable or other groups—have the right to both practice their religion and to petition the government. The pope uses his address to Congress to defend and promote that right: “It is important that today, as in the past, the voice of faith continue to be heard, for it is a voice of fraternity and love, which tries to bring out the best in each person and in each society.” Religious groups in America, as the pope acknowledges, have a long history of lobbying the government and otherwise acting as interest groups. The pope’s address before Congress may have been a first, but he followed a long line of religious groups—Catholic, Protestant, and beyond—who have asserted their First Amendment rights of free exercise and petition in ways that have significantly weakened Jefferson’s wall of separation. And the pope uses the opportunity to speak before the American public to reiterate those rights. Perhaps the most significant aspect of the pope’s speech is its defiance of a wall separating church and state.

Of course, the pope is not the first representative of a religious group to attempt to influence political actions. Religious interest groups have been involved in American public policy debates from the very beginning. As Pope Francis says, “In this land, the various religious denominations have greatly contributed to building and strengthening society.” The abolitionist movement, for example, was rooted in American Protestant views of sin and humanity:

At the core of their demand for immediate emancipation and citizenship for the freed slave lay a special religious vision, one built upon radical readings of Christianity but rendered in the mainstream vocabulary of American Protestantism and civil religion. Abolitionists deemed slavery a sin at odds with the Christian mission of saving souls and the progress of humanity promised by the Protestant Reformation and the American Revolution.¹⁵

The Progressive Era responded to the Industrial Revolution with a Christian idea, not inconsistent with Enlightenment thought, that all humans should be treated with respect and dignity, and encouraged the government to pass laws restricting child labor and creating fairer and more humane conditions for factory workers. Pope Francis could be speaking for the Progressives when he quotes from the Declaration of Independence to explain the purpose of politics:

“We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.” If politics must truly be at the service of the human person, it follows that it cannot be a slave to the economy and finance. Politics is, instead, an expression of our compelling need to live as one, in order to build as one, the greatest common good: that of a community which sacrifices particular interests in order to share, in justice and peace, its goods, its interests, its social life.¹⁶

Religious groups have been central to the pursuit of that common good, that unity (living and building “as one”) in American politics. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) was instrumental to the Civil Rights movement in the United States, and religious groups have been involved in a myriad of other issues including prohibition,¹⁷ abortion, school choice, nuclear disarmament, environmental protection, and gay marriage, to name a few.¹⁸ It is no surprise that the pope chose Martin Luther King Jr. and Abraham Lincoln as two of his American examples. Each participated in a movement that specifically used religion to justify changes in unjust laws. Abolitionists portrayed slavery as un-Christian, and Martin Luther King Jr. was a Baptist minister who used the words of Jesus to encourage government action to expand civil rights to blacks in America. Abraham Lincoln said of African-American slaves that “nothing stamped with the Divine image and likeness was sent into the world to be trodden on, and degraded, and imbruted by its fellows.” Pope Francis, likewise, tells Congress that its job is to protect the “image and likeness of God

stamped on every face.” He is bringing religion into the public square in much the same way as the Americans he upholds: Americans whose actions ended slavery and brought civil rights to former slaves.

The pope’s involvement in American politics is not at odds with the history of religious groups in American policy. Although the Protestant tilt of the United States long maintained suspicion of Catholics in and out of politics due to the perceived influence of the pope and bifurcated loyalties, the election of John F. Kennedy to the White House and the concerted efforts of Catholic groups to make themselves mainstream have left Catholic interest groups on a par with other religious interest groups,¹⁹ and Catholics have shown themselves to be masterful at forming groups and lobbying for policy changes.

In 2011, the Pew Foundation released a study on religious interest groups in the United States, noting the rise in their numbers since the late 1960s:

The number of organizations engaged in religious lobbying or religion-related advocacy in Washington, DC, has increased roughly fivefold in the past four decades, from fewer than 40 in 1970 to more than 200 today. These groups collectively employ at least 1000 people in the greater Washington area and spend at least \$350 million a year on efforts to influence national public policy. As a whole, religious advocacy organizations work on about 300 policy issues.²⁰

Pew also categorized the religious groups by affiliation. Catholic groups make up the largest percentage, at about 19 percent; Evangelical Protestant are just slightly behind, at about 18 percent; while 12 percent are Jewish, 8 percent Muslim, and 7 percent mainline Protestant. About 26 percent are interreligious groups, representing more than one denomination. The pope’s entry into the political fray in Washington is part of a much larger picture of religious involvement in the United States.

In this context, then, the pope’s speech before Congress is one example of a complicated web of interconnections between church and state. Church and state in the United States are in many ways blended together, rather than absolutely separated by a wall, as Jefferson wished. The pope’s speech was unique in that he was speaking in public, not navigating in the background, as most religious lobbyists generally are. He also continually used the word “dialogue” to demonstrate that he is engaging Americans to think about what he says and respond to it. He is not lobbying per se,

but instead making a strong case that the wall of separation should be torn down. Lincoln and King used religion in the public square to move toward a better America, he seems to be saying, and religion has not lost its ability to do the same thing in contemporary society. As a policy entrepreneur who wants to use conversation to set the agenda, the pope demonstrates his own commitment to allowing the church to have a say in political discourse, and stressing the commonality of ideas within the church and political society.

THE POPE AS A CATHOLIC LOBBYIST IN THE UNITED STATES

The Pope certainly did not see himself as a lobbyist, or even a policy entrepreneur, when he came to Washington, DC, and stood before Congress. This is where politics and theology meet: Pope Francis saw himself as both the shepherd of his flock and the spokesman for both God's word and church teaching, but more importantly, as an instrument of encounter and engagement. However, he is not the first or only Catholic to work with Congress. He stepped into a milieu (the Congressional policy-making arena) already rife with Catholic actors, including Catholic lobbyists who also see themselves—at least partially—as shepherding a flock and speaking for God's word and church teachings. In a sense, Pope Francis, like any other pope, is head of the largest Catholic lobbying organization in the United States: the USCCB, usually referred to simply as “the bishops.” The USCCB acts as both a professional association and a public policy lobbying organization. Its policy committees are composed of bishops that draft statements and letters reflecting the Catholic viewpoint. As part of a hierarchical organization, the Catholic bishops both shepherd their flocks (Catholics in various dioceses throughout the country) and ultimately report to the church in Rome, headed by the Pope. The Catholic bishops in the United States have been known to push the envelope from time to time, often giving the Vatican headaches; however, in the end, the Pope is in charge. Although the speech was not billed as such, nor even seen in this way by the Pope or bishops, one could argue that the pope was acting as the ultimate head of the USCCB. Of course, the pope was not invited in this capacity, but rather as a head of state (of the Vatican), who is also, not incidentally, the head of the Roman Catholic Church.

Abolition of the death penalty was the only policy on which the pope took a strong and unambiguous *policy* stand in his speech. And the death penalty is the only policy for which he used the word *advocate*, moving

beyond merely dialoguing. In this case, he also specifically referred to the US bishops (his “brothers”), who have long lobbied to end the death penalty:

Recently my brother bishops here in the United States renewed their call for the abolition of the death penalty. Not only do I support them, but I also offer encouragement to all those who are convinced that a just and necessary punishment must never exclude the dimension of hope and the goal of rehabilitation.²¹

Although the pope mentioned several other policy issues such as the refugee crisis and the environment (see Table 8.1), he did not promote specific policies, other than following the Golden Rule. The one part of the speech in which he could be considered to be lobbying is also the only place in the speech where he specifically mentions the Catholic bishops, a strong and important lobbying organization in the United States. Though he refers to them as his “brothers,” the pope is unmistakably acting as the head of this lobbying group.

As head of the Catholic Church, however, the pope is different from other interest group leaders in that he speaks *to*, not *for* his constituents. “Today,” the pope said to Congress, “I would like not only to address you, but through you, the entire people of the United States.”²² He does not represent the views of the members of the church in a bottom-up fashion; rather he articulates the church’s views to the faithful, a point that will be expanded upon later. The bishops and the pope do not see themselves as leaders of an organized interest group of Catholics, but rather as leaders of a religious flock. This is quite different from, for example, evangelical Protestants who can and will present their views to policy-makers in the context of their large number of congregants, whose votes they can deliver on a variety of issues. As a lobbyist for the bishops put it:

The bishops speak to the people of the church, not for the people of the church. The bishops really view themselves as teachers. They are not delivering a voting bloc: they are articulating moral meaning. There are implications to that.²³

Hence the pope’s emphasis on dialogue rather than specific policy changes, with the exception of the death penalty.

As a result of Vatican II, American Catholics chose to participate in society and engage in debates about the proper role of government and society. Two documents from Vatican II, “The Church in the Modern

World” and “The Declaration of Religious Freedom,” make clear that the church is expected to engage with society on moral questions and also to provide public explanations for its social teachings. In order to have their voices heard, however, Catholics needed to present a universal message, based on broader ideals rather than papal authority. Instead, they appealed to a more universalistic heritage of human rights, the dignity of the person. As Pope Francis says, “All political activity must serve and promote the good of the human person and be based on respect for his or her dignity.” The very anti-Catholic biases, so strong in America in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, forced the Catholic Church to make its appeals to public policy in a public, rather than in a sectarian language. Otherwise, it would not gain a hearing.²⁴ This is why John F. Kennedy had to make it clear that his faith would be separate from his politics. What Pope Francis is doing is similar to what Catholic lobbyists have been doing for decades: presenting his message in a universalistic way, emphasizing areas of agreement rather than conflicting views.

However, the pope’s emphasis on conversation and the exchange of ideas throughout his speech is part and parcel of the universal approach that the bishops have taken. He says that “legislative activity is always based on care for the people”²⁵; he quotes the Declaration of Independence; he sketches portraits of four Americans. That does not mean that the pope or the bishops shy away from religious language or imagery. While two of the Americans Pope Francis mentions are universally well known (Abraham Lincoln and Martin Luther King Jr.), two others are American Catholic saints: Thomas Merton and Dorothy Day. The pope also compares Congress to Moses, “who provides us with a good synthesis of your work: you are asked to protect, by means of the law, the image and likeness fashioned by God on every human face.”²⁶ When was the last time Congress was compared to Moses? And when have we thought of the role of Congress as protecting the image and likeness of God? The pope is entering boldly into territory that American Catholics have avoided for decades.

Pope Francis, though he spoke in universalistic tones throughout his speech, did not shy away from providing a moral context:

A nation can be considered great when it defends liberty as Lincoln did, when it fosters a culture which enables people to “dream” of full rights for all their brothers and sisters, as Martin Luther King sought to do; when it strives for justice and the cause of the oppressed as Dorothy Day did by her tireless work, *the fruit of a faith which becomes dialogue and sows peace* in the contemplative style of Thomas Merton.²⁷ [emphasis added]

According to John Ricard, auxiliary bishop of Baltimore, “We are teachers. Our message is not partisan, it’s moral . . . people of good will can come to different conclusions [although the bishops should help inform their consciences].”²⁸ The bishops are more interested in guiding and educating their flock, useful tools in their trade, but tools which do not always translate well into political currency. The pope’s address is an example of that moral message. Although he touches on policy, he is not attempting to guide a particular policy outcome, nor is he claiming to speak for a large number of constituents, a usual interest group ploy. Instead, the pope, like the bishops on other less heady occasions, is using the bully pulpit to provide moral guidance and encouragement.

Your own responsibility as members of Congress is to enable this country, by your legislative activity, to grow as a nation. You are the face of its people, their representatives. You are called to defend and preserve the dignity of your fellow citizens in the tireless and demanding pursuit of the common good, for this is the chief aim of all politics.²⁹

The Catholic bishops use—or attempt to use—their moral *leadership* when they develop policy statements and draw attention to particular issues. The bishops’ and the pope’s strongest asset is their ability to provide moral authority on issues of conscience, to Catholics and non-Catholics alike, and this is what Pope Francis did when addressing Congress. The pope, in the context of his discussion on the refugee crisis, exhorts us to treat refugees as humans. “[W]e need to avoid a common temptation nowadays: to discard whatever proves troublesome. Let us remember the Golden Rule: ‘Do unto others as you would have them do unto you’ (*Mt 7:12*).”³⁰ Good advice, yes, but not particularly practical as a policy prescription. It also echoes Martin Luther King Jr.’s admonishment that “life’s most persistent and urgent question is, ‘What are you doing for others?’”

Access to Decision-Makers

One powerful tool that interest groups use is access, that is, their ability to make connections to and meet with powerful policy-makers. In earlier US history, such access was routinely denied to Catholics. As more and more Catholics engaged in politics, Catholic interest groups have had increasing paths to access to decision-makers, and lobbyists for the bishops have sat in on important decision-making meetings for major legislation such as

welfare reform and health care. Nonetheless, the access that Pope Francis had to Congress is unprecedented. Not only did he have a one-on-one with the sitting speaker of the House, but he is one of very few outsiders who have spoken to a joint session of Congress. Why and how did he get that unprecedented access?

Of course, one can start with John Boehner, then speaker of the House, who as a practicing Catholic had long cherished the idea of hosting a pope on Capitol Hill. And, as Speaker, it was his prerogative to invite Pope Francis. This speaks to one aspect of access that is familiar to Catholic bishops: they generally have inroads to Congress through its Catholic members, who comprise 30 percent of the total (while only making up 22 percent of the total US population). Catholic bishops will use this access to talk to members directly about policies that may affect Catholic charities, or to use moral suasion to change minds on policies affecting Catholic doctrine. This is a common type of insider tactic used by lobbying groups: to identify and relate to individuals who may be swayed by your arguments or pressure. Of course, Pope Francis's unprecedented access was not to individual members (though he certainly could have met individually with a large number if he had wanted). His access was broader. He was able to speak to both houses of Congress, in a nationally televised, live address. No other interest group can claim that kind of access.

Although a Republican speaker invited the pope, there were no guarantees that the rest of Congress would be happy with that invitation. Evangelical Protestants are often suspicious of the Catholic Church hierarchy and are not usually impressed with "papish" displays. Liberals, both secular and religious, tend to find fault with a religious leader who represents a church with traditional (outdated, to their minds) views on controversial issues. And conservative Catholics object to the pope's emphasis on liberal policies, especially his recently issued encyclical on climate change.³¹ In fact, the people who were most likely to sit out the pope's address were conservative Catholics, and Justices Scalia, Roberts, and Thomas did just that.³² So, why did most of Congress open its arms to Pope Francis? It is because of his ability to appeal to a variety of constituencies: his openness to gays, his concern for the environment, his unostentatious embrace of the poor, his washing the feet of Muslims on Holy Thursday: all these draw Catholic and non-Catholics, religious and non-religious to him. And though more orthodox Catholics may feel that the pope is moving away from tradition, their very orthodoxy requires them to respect his position.

It was a unique moment for a unique Pope.

Let us now turn to the content of the speech to see what precisely the pope accomplished or hoped to accomplish as a “policy entrepreneur.”

THE POPE’S ADDRESS BEFORE CONGRESS

A quick glance at the USCCB website around the time of the speech revealed some of the public policy issues in which the bishops were currently involved: stopping Israel from confiscating Christian lands in Cremisan Valley, First Amendment Defense Act (protects defenders of traditional marriage), the Child Welfare Provider Inclusion Act (protects the religious liberties of child welfare service providers, including adoption and foster care agencies), reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), Parental Choice (school choice), School Lunch Program (in Catholic schools), and the E-Rate Program (affordable internet access for schools). The pope did not address any of these issues directly. (Interestingly, the USCCB website also contains the full text of Pope Francis’s address to Congress.) In the context of his conversation with the American people, the issues that the pope did address involved broad, rather than specific policy goals. The one exception was on the issue of the death penalty, which he said should be abolished. This is, of course, consistent with the general theme running throughout his speech that “all political activity must serve and promote the good of the human person and be based on respect for his or her dignity.”

To evaluate Pope Francis as a “policy entrepreneur,” let us examine the policies he mentioned in his speech. For each policy mentioned, it is important to note whether or not he is advocating a specific, feasible policy solution. For example, world peace is a vague and general policy goal. Limiting nations’ nuclear capacity is a more specific policy solution. Where Pope Francis mentions a general policy goal without offering specific proposals, one could say that he is setting the policy agenda rather than moving to the next stage of formulating policy.

Table 8.1 (above) lists the policy issues in Pope Francis’s speech, along with his policy preference, a relevant quote about each and an assessment as to whether the speech promotes a feasible, specific goal. He mentions poverty, families, the death penalty, the environment, armed conflicts, and the refugee crisis, and offers little in the way of specific policy solutions. He encourages a conversation in most of those areas. As to family, he

Table 8.1 Policies mentioned by Pope Francis in his speech before Congress, September 24, 2015

<i>Policy</i>	<i>Stance</i>	<i>Quote</i>	<i>Feasible, specific, policy goal?</i>
<i>Refugee crisis</i>	View them as persons Respond humanely Follow the golden rule	“When the stranger in our midst appeals to us, we must not repeat the sins and errors of the past”	<i>No</i>
<i>Death penalty</i>	Abolish	The Golden Rule has let him “to advocate at different levels for the global abolition of the death penalty. I am convinced that this way is the best, since every life is sacred, every human person is endowed with an inalienable dignity, and society can only benefit from the rehabilitation of those convicted of crimes”	<i>Yes</i>
<i>Poverty</i>	Give the poor hope Create and distribute wealth Focus on the common good Follow the inspiration of Dorothy Day	“The fight against poverty and hunger must be fought constantly and on many fronts, especially in its causes”	<i>No</i>
<i>The environment</i>	Culture of care Limit and direct technology	The “common good also includes the earth, a central theme of the encyclical which I recently wrote in order to ‘enter into dialogue with all people about our common home’”	<i>No</i>
<i>Armed conflicts</i>	End them Stop the arms trade	“When countries which have been at odds resume the path of dialogue—a dialogue which may have been interrupted for the most legitimate of reasons—new opportunities open up for all”	<i>No</i>
<i>The family</i>	Support it?	“At the risk of oversimplifying, we might say that we live in a culture which pressures young people not to start a family, because they lack possibilities for the future. Yet this same culture presents others with so many options that they too are dissuaded from starting a family”	<i>No</i>

simply states that it is under attack, without offering even the vaguest of policy solutions, other than reiterating the beauty and importance of the family. For other policies, he focuses on the dignity of the human person, in poverty and in the refugee crisis, for example. He does not offer specifics as to how the United States should address poverty and what it should do about refugees. He says that we should stop armed conflict and end the arms trade, and while these are noble goals, they are too general and vague to address the specific policy problems that are causing armed conflicts. He says we should abolish the death penalty, the only policy issue on which I can rate him as taking an actual stance, since abolishing the death penalty (though politically difficult) is at least specific and feasible. And this is the only policy for which he used the word “advocate.” He also mentions the American Catholic Bishops, the Catholic lobbying organization, in the context of the death penalty. This then is the only sense in which the pope could be considered to be lobbying Congress.

What *does* the speech do? The pope discusses “personal and social responsibility”; he reflects on Moses; he addresses members of Congress in their vocation “to satisfy common needs”³³; he expresses his desire to “dialogue with” the entire people of the United States, particularly the elderly; and he calls to mind four Americans: Abraham Lincoln, Martin Luther King Jr., Dorothy Day, and Thomas Merton. Through the example of Abraham Lincoln, Pope Francis calls for hope and healing in a culture of polarization, “the simplistic reductionism which sees only good or evil; or, if you will, the righteous and sinners,” emphasizing the “Bergoglian principle” of reality over ideas. He also calls to mind the role of religion in American history, touching on religious groups as interest groups which have “greatly contributed to building and strengthening society.” Perhaps most importantly, he calls for religious participation (presumably, not just Catholic) in the public square, saying that “the voice of faith [should] continue to be heard, for it is a voice of fraternity and love, which tries to bring out the best in each person and in each society.” In this context, Pope Francis says that politics is the pursuit of the common good, involving sacrifices that are difficult. He paints with broad brush strokes, exhorting us to do good, but without specifics as to how we as a society may achieve these broad goals. He begins with a discussion of the “men and women who strive each day . . . to build a better life for their families,” and ends by expressing his

concern for the family, which is threatened, perhaps as never before, from within and without. Fundamental relationships are being called into question, as is the very basis of marriage and the family. I can only reiterate the importance, and above all, the richness and the beauty of family life.³⁴

The pope uses Martin Luther King Jr. and his “dream” for America as a segue into a discussion of immigrants, noting that he (Pope Francis), like many Americans, is “the son of immigrants.” Here, he asks us to apply the Golden Rule in dealing with the refugee crisis and in abolishing the death penalty. He cites Dorothy Day for “her social activism, her passion for justice and for the cause of the oppressed.” He asks that we (Congress, the American people?) “keep in mind all those people around us who are trapped in a cycle of poverty.” Here he also references “the creation and distribution of wealth,” and calls for a “culture of care” toward the environment as well as the poor. Finally, Pope Francis calls to mind Merton, “a man of prayer,” as well as “a man of dialogue, a promoter of peace between peoples and religions.”³⁵

Pope Francis’s address, then, attempted to appeal to the better nature of the American people, to call to their consciences to rise above petty politics, to care for people and the planet, to rise above political polarization, and to emphasize commonalities rather than differences. The speech lays out the policy issues the pope deems important. Its theme was conversation rather than specific policy proposals. As a “policy entrepreneur,” the pope’s address is more concerned with agenda-setting than policy formulation. Pope Francis sidestepped the most controversial issues. Though he touched on the family, he did not specifically mention same-sex marriage, and his discussion of the environment put it in the context of God’s creation. He offended neither liberals nor conservatives (though one could see in the chamber that certain lines garnered more applause from one side of the chamber than the other). Contrast his speech to another one given by a foreign leader 30 years earlier: Margaret Thatcher also invoked Abraham Lincoln, quoting from his second inaugural address (“with malice towards none, with charity for all”), but her speech including more specific policy recommendations: don’t create trade barriers to a free market, the Provisional IRA are terrorists, continue to defend Europe against the spread of Soviet communism, don’t back down in the arms race.³⁶ Her applause came from one side of the chamber only.

Even Queen Elizabeth II's speech to Congress on May 17, 1991, was more overtly political than Pope Francis's address. She thanked the United States for its involvement in the Persian Gulf War (and previous wars), but most of the politics was outside the chamber, as Irish American (Catholic) Members of Congress, including Joseph P. Kennedy II, sat out the speech in protest of British occupation of Northern Ireland. African-American members of Congress also boycotted the speech due to Britain's lifting of sanctions against South Africa and "growing racial tensions" in the country.³⁷

CONCLUSION

The pope can appeal to a large constituency, in part because he can be all things to all people. He is not in the trenches with members of Congress, engaged in the sausage-making that is legislative politics. He does not have to articulate a particular policy position that may anger some group of constituents. He does not have to make an unpalatable compromise that will make neither side happy in the hopes of getting some legislation passed. He does not enter into the fray in the same way that the bishops do, because he is remote from American policy-making. In short, he is not involved in the formulation of policy. His statements on various issues have (sometimes, but not always) been vague enough to satisfy groups with opposing views—something that could not happen if he were actually involved and engaged in affecting public policies. The pope talks about "hope and healing" and "peace and justice." He asks for "a renewal of that spirit of cooperation." With the exception of his call for "the global abolition of the death penalty," the pope's policy remarks are vague, superficial, or middle-of-the-road. We should remember the Golden Rule when responding to the refugee crisis, we should "keep in mind all those people around us who are trapped in a cycle of poverty," we should strive for an economy that is "modern, inclusive and sustainable," we should "avert the most serious effects of the environmental deterioration caused by human activity," and remember "the richness and the beauty of family life."³⁸

These may be middle-of-the-road statements, but they are not compromises. The pope's speech does not make policy prescriptions, but rather sets an agenda by promoting moral guidelines, which may be somewhat hazy. Compromises come about when liberals and conservatives attempt to solve difficult, entrenched problems, and each side needs to give in on

policy ideals that are near to their hearts. The pope is not getting involved in policy-making, or politics, for that matter. In fact, when he does get involved in politics, it arouses the ire of the opposition, such as when, in a “not-so-veiled” reference to Donald Trump’s immigration position, Pope Francis said, “A person who thinks only about building walls, wherever they may be, and not building bridges, is not Christian.”³⁹

This is the sense, then, in which the pope can be an entrepreneur: he is an outsider, he makes provocative comments, and he provides a moral compass through which we can view ourselves. His undertaking is to start the business of turning individuals inward to be guided by a moral compass that he hopes to help them find. He sets an agenda not only for Congress, but also for individual Americans. His speech, then, is not a typical example of lobbying. And yet, it is not completely removed from the world of lobbying, from the atmosphere in which the bishops—his flock and our interest groups—operate. In fact, the only place where he specifically advocates for a policy, he mentions it in the context of the US Catholic Bishops, the primary Catholic lobby in the United States.

What was the importance of the pope’s speech? Aside from the historical nature of the occasion, the speech was important because a worldwide religious leader spoke about moral issues to Congress. The speech was not without controversy, of course, but the symbolism of the pope is what was important. That symbol could mean different things to different people—a faithful Catholic and a secular young person might both celebrate the pope, though they would see his remarks in a different context. The pope’s address also speaks to the changing role of the Catholic Church in American politics, which once was (and in some quarters still is) viewed with some suspicion. The church’s role in the United States has evolved over time, as Catholic organizations have sought to demonstrate their patriotism and lobby for programs that are both consistent with church teaching and acceptable within secular society, using universalistic arguments to make their case.⁴⁰ The pope is viewed as a moral spokesman, and, apparently, many parts of our society are hungry for that. He is also a symbolic spokesman for the Catholic Church in the world and for its lobbying arm in the United States (the USCCB). As such, he lays out the overarching moral principles. He does not (and did not) enter into the realm of specific policy prescriptions. On the other hand, Pope Francis does make clear that religion does have a place in political and policy discussions.

That view of church-state relations is not without opponents. A year before the pope's speech, the Freedom From Religion Foundation (FFRF) called on John Boehner and Nancy Pelosi (the Republican Speaker and Democratic Minority Leader) to disinvite Pope Francis from speaking to Congress. Quoting John F. Kennedy as a presidential candidate, FFRF stated that the line between church and state should be absolute. The organization pointed out that having the Catholic pontiff speak gives "the appearance of preference for Roman Catholicism over other religions, and religion over non-religion."⁴¹ While the Foundation addresses valid concerns in an increasingly pluralistic and secular society, it is remarkable that there was not more of a reaction against the pope's speech. Press coverage was overall positive, and he was treated like "the rockstar pontiff."⁴² Opposition to the pope's speech came mainly from two sides: those protesting the church's complicity in the priest sexual abuse scandal (mentioned by the FFRF in its opposition), and conservative Catholics such as Representative Paul Gosar (R-AZ), who chose to boycott the speech because it would focus on climate change rather than moral issues such as persecution of Christians and abortion. "If the Pope stuck to standard Christian theology, I would be the first in line. . . . But when the Pope chooses to act and talk like a leftist politician, then he can expect to be treated like one."⁴³ The absence of Catholic Supreme Court Justices Antonin Scalia, Clarence Thomas, and Samuel Alito from the speech was assumed to be for the same reason. Obviously, conflict was not completely overcome by unity.

This rock-star pontiff largely escaped criticism and backlash, in part because those one would expect to oppose him—the Left—were delighted to have a representative of the Catholic Church espousing progressive policy changes. Democrats celebrated this pope for the same reason that Republicans boycotted him. As a "policy entrepreneur," Pope Francis steps in where previous popes have feared to tread. He is a darling of the left, for his progressive stances in an orthodox church. Liberal politicians like what he says and like to use his liberal ideology to say that the Catholic Church is changing its positions—hopeful, perhaps, of garnering more of that 22 percent of the population into the Democratic fold. What was really remarkable about Pope Francis's speech, however, is the fact that there was so little concern over the issue of separating church and state.

While some may argue that he overstepped his bounds, it is obvious that Pope Francis considers himself to be, like Thomas Merton, "a man of dialogue, a promoter of peace between peoples and religions,"⁴⁴ a man who places priority on unity rather than conflict.

NOTES

1. Juan Carlos Scannone, S.J., "Pope Francis and the Theology of the People," *Theological Studies* 77 (2016): 118–35. Scannone references four priorities exemplified in the thought of Cardinal Bergoglio (now Pope Francis): The priority of time over space, the priority of unity over conflict, the priority of reality over the idea and the superiority of the whole over the parts.
2. "Foreign Leaders and Dignitaries Who Have Addressed the U.S. Congress," *History, Art and Archives of the United States House of Representatives*, <http://history.house.gov/Institution/Foreign-Leaders/Foreign-Leaders/>
3. See G.K. Chesterton's biography, *Saint Francis of Assisi* (Chicago: Veritatis Splendor Publications, 2011) for his vivid depictions of the life of Saint Francis.
4. "Amoris Laetitia of the Holy Father Francis to Bishops, Priests and Deacons, Consecrated Persons, Christian Married Couples and All the Lay Faithful, On Love in the Family," March 19, 2016, http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/apost_exhortations/documents/papa-francesco_esortazione-ap_20160319_amoris-laetitia.html. See also Michael Brandon Dougherty, "The Cowardice and Hubris of Pope Francis," *The Week*, April 11, 2016, <http://theweek.com/articles/617324/cowardice-hubris-pope-francis>
5. John Kingdon, *Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies, Update Edition, with an Epilogue on Health Care* (Upper Saddle River New Jersey: Pearson, 2013).
6. Paul Cairney, *Understanding Public Policy: Theories and Issues* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).
7. Pope Francis, *Speech Before US Congress* (Rome: Holy See Press Office, September 24, 2015), 1 and 4. <http://www.usccb.org/about/leadership/holy-see/francis/papal-visit-2015/media-resources/upload/11-EN-congressional-address.pdf>
8. Kathleen Parker, "Pope Sees Kindred Spirit in Sanders," *Chicago Tribune*, April 11, 2016, <http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/opinion/commentary/ct-parker-pope-sanders-perspec-0331-md-20160411-story.html>
9. Pope Francis is the fourth pope to visit the United States. The first was Pope Pius in 1965; Pope John Paul II visited seven times and Pope Benedict, once. See USCCB, "Papal Visits to the United States," <http://www.usccb.org/about/leadership/holy-see/francis/papal-visit-2015/history-papal-visits-to-united-states.cfm>
10. Robert Costa, "What John Boehner Told Me the Night Before He Said Was Quitting," *The Washington Post*, September 25, 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/john-boehner-in-twilight/2015/09/25/124fc54a-6399-11e5-8e9e-dce8a2a2a679_story.html

11. See Al Webb, “Queen Elizabeth II Should Remain Head of Church of England, According to Poll,” May 19, 2012, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/05/19/queen-elizabeth-church-of-england_n_1528727.html
12. Richard McBrien, “Bishops and the Pope,” *National Catholic Reporter*, June 6, 2011, <http://www.ncronline.org/blogs/essays-theology/bishops-and-pope>
13. The text of the First Amendment is as follows: “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.”
14. Thomas Jefferson, *Letter to the Danbury Baptists*, January 1, 1801. Emphasis added.
15. Robert Abzug, “Abolition and Religion,” *History Now*, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History website, <https://www.gilderlehrman.org/history-by-era/slavery-and-anti-slavery/essays/abolition-and-religion>
16. Pope Francis, *Speech Before US Congress*, 2.
17. Prohibition in itself is an interesting case study. It was proposed and defended by fundamentalist Christians on a biblical basis, but Catholic immigrants saw it as an undermining of their own culture. See Maurice Timothy Reedy, “How Dry We Were: Ken Burns and Lynn Novick Revisit Prohibition” (Television Review), *America*, October 10, 2011, <https://www.americamagazine.org/issue/789/television/how-dry-we-were>
18. See, for example, Allen D. Hertzke, *Representing God in Washington: The Role of Religious Lobbies in the American Polity* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1988), 4; Aaron L. Haberman, “Mrs. Ruhlin Goes to Washington: Louise Ruhlin, School Prayer, and the Possibilities and Limitations of Religious Political Lobbying in Modern America,” *Journal of Church & State* 51 (2009): 289–311, <http://oxfordindex.oup.com/view/10.1093/jcs/csp039>; Benedict E. DeDominicis, “US Catholic Clergy and the War in Iraq,” Paper presented at 65th Annual National Conference, Midwest Political Science Association, Palmer House, Chicago, IL, USA, April 12, 2007.
19. For a discussion, see Thomas Massaro, S.J. “Fighting Poverty and Providing Safety Nets: An Agenda for US Catholic Advocacy in Social Policy,” in *The Almighty and the Dollar: Reflections on Economic Justice for All*, ed. Mark J. Allman, 172–87 (Winona, MN: Anselm Academic, 2012).
20. Pew Research Center, “Lobbying for the Faithful,” May 15, 2012, <http://www.pewforum.org/2011/11/21/lobbying-for-the-faithful-exec/>
21. Pope Francis, *Speech Before US Congress*, 3.

22. *Ibid.*, 1.
23. Author interview with Cynthia Phillips, USCC Lobbyist, July 28, 2000.
24. John Coleman, "American Catholicism, Catholic Charities USA, and Welfare Reform," *Journal of Policy History* 13 (2001): 90–91.
25. Pope Francis, *Speech Before US Congress*, 1.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*, 5.
28. Tom Roberts. "Bishops, Old Allies Split on Aid to the Poor," *National Catholic Reporter*, December 1, 1995, 3–4.
29. Pope Francis, *Speech Before US Congress*, 1.
30. *Ibid.*, 3.
31. Pope Francis, "Laudato Si': Praise Be to You: On Care for Our Common Home," *CruX*, June 18, 2015, <http://www.cruXnow.com/church/2015/06/18/read-the-encyclical-for-yourself-laudato-si/>. See also Congressman Paul Gozar, "Why I am Boycotting Pope Francis's Address to Congress," *Townhall*, September 17, 2015, <http://beta.townhall.com/columnists/congressmanpaulgosar/2015/09/17/why-i-am-boycotting-pope-francis-address-to-congress-n2053596>
32. Ismat Sarah Mangla, "Pope's Congress Speech Sparks Partisan Reactions, Underscoring Liberal-Conservative Divide," *The International Business Times (IBT)*, September 24, 2015, <http://www.ibtimes.com/pope-congress-speech-sparks-partisan-reactions-underscoring-liberal-conservative-2112780>
33. Pope Francis, *Speech Before US Congress*, 1.
34. *Ibid.*, 4.
35. *Ibid.*
36. Margaret Thatcher, *Speech to Joint Houses of Congress*, February 20, 1985, <http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/105968>
37. Karen De Witt, "Queen's Address to Congress Celebrates Mutual Respect," *New York Times*, May 17, 1991, <http://www.nytimes.com/1991/05/17/us/queen-s-address-to-congress-celebrates-mutual-respect.html>
38. Pope Francis, *Speech Before US Congress*, 2, 3, 4.
39. Larry McShane, "Bernie Sanders Insists He Didn't Lobby for Invite to Vatican Conference with Pope Francis," *New York Daily News*, April 8, 2016, <http://www.nydailynews.com/news/politics/bernie-sanders-accepts-invitation-meet-pope-francis-article-1.2593187>
40. Dorothy Brown and Elizabeth McKeowan, *The Poor Belong to Us: Catholic Charities and American Welfare* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997).
41. "Washington: FFRF calls on Congress to disinvite Pope Francis." *US Official News*, September 30, 2014, <https://www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/Inacademic>

42. Molly Jackson, “Did Supreme Court Justices Boycott Francis’s Speech?” *Christian Science Monitor*, September 28, 2015, <https://www.csmonitor.com/USA/Justice/2015/0928/Did-Supreme-Court-Justices-boycott-Pope-Francis>
43. Paul Gosar, “Why I am Boycotting Pope Francis’s Address to Congress” *Townhall*, September 17, 2015, <https://townhall.com/columnists/congressmanpaulgosar/2015/09/17/why-i-am-boycotting-pope-francis-address-to-congress-n2053596>
44. Pope Francis, *Speech Before US Congress*, 4.



CHAPTER 9

Sign o' the Times: Does Francis' Papacy Represent a New Era for Western Europe?

Elizabeth Carter

INTRODUCTION

Historically, the pope exercises a substantial political impact on Catholics worldwide, as baptized Catholics represent one-sixth of the world's population. In 1910, 65 percent of the world's Catholics called Europe home. Today, more Catholics are found in Latin America (39 percent) than in any other world region (2010 data). And when Argentinian Cardinal Jorge Bergoglio (Pope Francis) was selected as pope in 2013, many wondered about the political implications of this choice for Western Europe. Bergoglio is the first pope appointed from outside of Western Europe since Gregory III (741 A.D.) and the first pope ever from the global South. Within his first few months in office, Pope Francis's actions distinguished him from prior popes. One of his first acts as pope was to select the name Francis, in honor of St. Francis's commitment to ministry of the poor. His first excursion as pontiff was to the Italian island of Lampedusa; thousands of migrants perish annually in the Mediterranean waters attempting to reach its shores. Upon arriving in the Vatican, many noted

The original version of this chapter was revised. The chapter title was corrected. An erratum to this chapter can be found at DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-71377-9_14

E. Carter (✉)
University of New Hampshire, Durham, NH, USA

© The Author(s) 2018
A. J. Lyon et al. (eds.), *Pope Francis as a Global Actor*,
Palgrave Studies in Religion, Politics, and Policy,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-71377-9_9

other things he did differently—he chose not to order his own set of pontiff tableware; he passed on wearing the papal red velvet shoes and instead opted for regular white ones; he asked to move into the simple Vatican guesthouse instead of the papal apartments in the Apostolic Palace; he opted to eat in the cafeteria line instead of employing private chefs; he rode around in a Fiat 500 instead of the typical bulletproof “popemobile.” Of his first cardinal elector appointments, 24 of 39 were non-European, including many from small, poor countries that had never had cardinal appointments. His appointments represented the first time that more cardinals were selected from outside of Europe than from within it. For the traditional Holy Thursday washing of the feet, Pope Francis opts to go to a Roman prison to wash the feet of inmates, including Muslims and women, rather than following the tradition of washing the feet of clergy and laymen in the Archbasilica of Saint John Lateran or Saint Peter’s. Meanwhile, Pope Francis’s encyclicals, speeches, and actions are full of harsh critiques of free-market capitalism, causing right-wing radio personality Rush Limbaugh to label the pope a “Marxist.” While Pope Francis’s message remains consistent with the core Catholic social teachings established with Leo XIII’s *Rerum novarum* in 1891, his words and actions turn more explicitly to marginalized populations and the institutions, behaviors, and attitudes which maintain economic and social exclusion.

These actions cause some to ask: Does Francis’s papacy represent a new era for Western Europe? This chapter argues that while Pope Francis maintains consistency with core Catholic social teachings, his principal ideas for Western Europe represent a change from previous popes. The words, actions, and priorities of John Paul II, Benedict XVI, and Francis reflect the Europe they find themselves in as well as their direct experiences with political oppression, economic exclusion, and the human consequences of sociopolitical economic ideologies. The Cold War is over, and the initial optimism from global economic and political integration has dissipated. Today we find a Europe struggling to cope with unprecedented migration flows and a populist far-right backlash. Pope Francis’s direct economic and political experiences of poverty under a liberal capitalist order in Argentina contrast with the Central and Eastern European experience of poverty in Marxist socialism—an ideological experiment witnessed firsthand by Karol Wojtyła (later known as Pope John Paul II). Pope Francis’s explicit emphasis on the poor, the excluded, and the marginalized indicates a change in tenor from past popes and results both from Europe’s current crises and from Pope Francis’s direct experience living and working with the poor and marginalized in Buenos Aires.

Today's Europe faces new and evolving political challenges, including receiving historically unprecedented numbers of immigrants and refugees—more than a million migrants per year since 2015. Far-right populists seized upon the fear incited by these demographic shifts, and we see a strengthening of nationalistic, xenophobic far-right parties, including the National Front (France), the Sweden Democrats, the Freedom Party (Austria), and Jobbik (Hungary), to name a few. The economic crisis of 2008 highlighted significant structural weaknesses within the euro framework, especially in regard to Greece and, to a lesser extent, to Spain and Italy. The political fallout from the euro problems has led to growing tensions between Northern European and Southern European countries. Throughout Europe, groups on the far right and the far left are increasingly turning away from intergovernmental European cooperation and looking inwards, exemplified by the 2016 Brexit vote (pulling the United Kingdom out of the European Union (EU)), and the increasing strength of the “exit” voice growing in other countries, including founding EU members France and Italy.

In the pages that follow, I demonstrate the differences and similarities between the popes with a principal focus on the last three popes: John Paul II, Benedict XVI, and Francis. To understand papal politics in a Western European context, we need to focus on attitudes toward Marxism/socialism and the free market. Both during the Cold War and now with Francis, different political-economic perspectives provide the foundation for how the popes perceive the problem of and the solution to core social and political problems. I begin by reviewing some key events and ideas in the modern Catholic Church. I then discuss the three popes in chronological order, focusing principally on their differing views of the economy and, to a lesser extent, of immigration. With each discussion of the pope I contextualize their perspectives within both their particular European political and economic context and the specific sociopolitical experience of each pope. Finally, I reflect on why Pope Francis represents a shift for papal politics broadly and Western Europe specifically.

IDEOLOGICAL INTERSECTIONS AND DIVERGENCES: CATHOLIC SOCIAL TEACHING, VATICAN II, AND LIBERATION THEOLOGY

While the Cold War divided the world via a bifurcated lens, the Catholic Church's views on politics and economics do not map onto this “black or white” worldview. Since Pope Leo XIII's *Rerum novarum* (1891), popes

have consistently avoided putting themselves squarely into a “socialist” or “free market” box. In *Rerum novarum*, the pope explicitly aligned the Vatican with the labor movement, while at the same time valuing private property and the general capitalist framework. Broad political, social, and economic principles are developed through papal encyclicals, and these principles are known as Catholic social teaching (CST). While these evolve over time, the core tenants of CST remain generally constant due to the concept of papal infallibility, or the notion that the pope is incapable of being incorrect on matters of church doctrine. Thus, a pope should not directly critique the doctrinal interpretation of prior popes and, instead, should build upon prior papal teachings. On the topic of economics and politics, CST emphasizes human outcomes, such as dignity and respect for all, while criticizing avarice, waste, and turning a blind eye to suffering. The teachings explicitly reject the extremes of both Marxism and unregulated free-market capitalism, while recognizing a role for the state in market regulation. However, within this general body of thought, it is not unusual to observe some outliers: for example, Pope Pius XI advocated for corporatist economic organization (*Quadragesimo anno*, 1931), whereas Paul VI saw limits on the rights of private property (*Populorum progressio*, 1967).

While all popes adhere to general CST, an important divide exists in modern church politics, and the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) brought this to light. During these sessions, we see the emergence of a progressive majority block, the *aggiornamento*, which included participants John XXIII, Cardinal Giovanni Battista Montini (later Paul VI), and Bishop Albino Luciani (later John Paul I). *Aggiornamento* emphasizes adapting the Catholic Church to contemporary challenges, or a living and evolving gospel. This was countered by a significant but minority conservative block, the *ressourcement*, which included participants Bishop Karol Wojtyła (later John Paul II) and theological consultant Joseph Ratzinger (later Benedict XVI). *Ressourcement* prioritizes engagement with inspiration from the past, or a Gospel engaged with the written word.

Issues that were not resolved at Vatican II were subject to subsidiarity or devolved to the regional bodies. Bishops in Latin America grappled with interpreting Vatican II in a highly unequal, exclusionary political and economic context. At the 1968 conclave in the Colombian city of Medellín, the bishops’ council agreed to adopt a preferential option for the poor and to use Christian theological praxis, or to live the gospel through living and embodying liberation. Bishops were in part inspired by

the door to radicalism opened by Paul VI's obtuse aforementioned *Populorum progressio*.¹ This meeting is considered to have been heavily influenced by liberation theology—an ideology that, according to some adherents, perceives Jesus as a social and political revolutionary in service of the poor and views Marxist socialism as the Christian economic alternative.² Liberation theology emphasizes a preferential option of the poor, actively practicing the gospel through service and actions, and, when necessary and justified, political action in the service of social justice. Liberation theology is a specific, politicized Marxist interpretation of the progressive *aggiornamento* “living Gospel” perspective.

Meanwhile, the Vatican consistently distanced itself from liberation theology. Both John Paul II and Benedict XVI actively criticized liberation theology, shamed priests involved in the movement (including John Paul publicly admonishing Sandinista priest Ernesto Cardenal), and participated in the Vatican's foot-dragging over the beatification of Salvadorian martyr Father Oscar Romero, who is associated with liberation theology and praised by many of its adherents. Pope Francis, on the other hand, recognized the importance of martyred priests who subscribed to liberation theology, while embracing the apolitical version of liberation theology, “theology of the poor.” Still, his alignment with the poor, his commitment to theology through praxis, his decision to advance Oscar Romero toward sainthood, his 2015 Vatican meeting with Gustavo Gutiérrez (one of the founders of the movement), and his Latin American roots make many conservative Catholics in the northern hemisphere uncomfortable, especially when these actions are combined with Pope Francis's strong critiques of the liberal market economy. Thus, we see among the popes a broadly coherent general Catholic social policy, yet a division between conservative and progressive popes on views of economic policy and political activism, and, perhaps, a change in tenor toward a formerly marginalized Marxist Catholic political movement.

In the pages that follow, I investigate the similarities and differences on these issues in relation to the John Paul II, Benedict XIV, and Francis. I categorize each of the three popes by a political concept that reflects both their particular European era and their core political economic concern. For Pope John Paul II, this is “The Wall,” representing the Berlin Wall and the broader Iron Curtain, as well as the political, economic, and religious repression that he perceived as a core threat to the Catholic Church. For Pope Benedict, this concept is “Globalization,” indicating his chief economic, political, and cultural concerns in an era

of increased movement across borders. Finally, Pope Francis's concept is "Core-Periphery," a nod to Latin American dependency theory, to his commitment to the excluded and marginalized, and to the human consequences of a liberal economic order marked by unequal distributions of wealth and power.

Pope John Paul II: "The Wall"

Pope John Paul II (papacy 1978–2005), along with his successor Benedict XVI (papacy 2005–2013), represent two of the more economically and socially conservative popes in the post-Leo XIII era. John Paul II rose through the Catholic Church's ranks in Poland during their Communist regime, and he later served as pope in a bipolar Cold War context, working on efforts to support Poland's Solidarity movement and actively speaking out against Marxism, Communism, and other ideologies with a socialist flavor. While his immediate predecessors John XXIII and Paul VI were willing to work with the Soviets in order to increase the church's influence behind the Iron Curtain,³ Pope John Paul reestablished a diplomatic relationship with the United States under Reagan and turned away from the Soviets. For Pope John Paul, Marxism posed the principal threat to the Catholic Church, Europe, and the world.

One can find seemingly contradictory ideas on political economy during Pope John Paul II's long tenure. Toward the beginning of his papacy, he was labeled as "The First Socialist Pope"⁴ due to his explicit support of workers' rights. As Woodward describes in the Newsweek profile: "there are democratic forms of socialism, he (John Paul II) believes, that can liberate workers yet incarnate the values of Christ."⁵ While Pope John Paul II remained committed to labor, he saw the free market in a more positive light than had his predecessors, associating market freedom with personal freedom and wealth creation. Indeed, some of Pope John Paul II's comments on the free market sound closer to American economic liberalism than do the social-democratic economic variants often found in Western European democracies. We see this most clearly in his *Centesimus annus* (1991), where he writes that the welfare state "leads to a loss of human energies and an inordinate increase of public agencies, which are dominated more by bureaucratic ways of thinking than by concerns for serving their clients." He further notes in this document that the "inefficiency of the economic system" is a consequence of "the violation of the human

rights to private initiative, to ownership of property and to freedom in the economic sector.” Finally, he advocates for a system that enables the invisible hand of self-interest to play a role in the market: “Where self-interest is violently suppressed, it is replaced by a burdensome system of bureaucratic control which dries up the wellsprings of initiative and creativity” (1991). These statements reflect a socioeconomic vision that supports the free market and self-interest while looking to minimize state intervention and the social welfare state.

Pope John Paul II’s view on immigration similarly reflected a liberal economic perspective. He called for an end to illegal immigration and perceived the problem with migration to lie in the economic and political stability of migrant’s initial home countries. He suggested migration should be “best addressed by global cooperation” to “foster political stability and eliminate underdevelopment” (1996 World Migration Day).⁶

Pope John Paul II repeatedly criticized socialism, which he saw as divisive and incompatible with religious freedom. He consistently worried about the possibilities of Marxists infiltrating the Catholic Church in Poland. For this reason, he was critical of Latin American liberation theology. Pope John Paul II openly and repeatedly distanced himself from liberation theology. He famously admonished the Nicaraguan Sandinista priest and government minister Ernesto Cardenal for combining political activism with religion. However, Pope John Paul II did adopt one of the core liberation theology tenants, the preferential option for the poor, demonstrating that while he rejected the political activism and Marxist analysis inherent in liberation theology, he upheld its commitment to the poor and disenfranchised.

In sum, in Pope John Paul II we see a conservative pope in the context of a Cold War and, later, a post-Cold War Europe. His experience in Poland led him both to align with the worker movement and, at the same time, to advocate free markets, displaying what Curran calls “economic contradictions.”⁷ Others indicate that John Paul II was not contradictory, but rather his teachings and the teachings of other modern popes illustrate the inherent “limits of applying secular political categories to something like the Catholic Church.”⁸ Pope John Paul II’s rhetorical points sometimes mirror those of his compatriots Reagan and Thatcher, and his experience of Communism in Poland deeply shaped his politics. He was politically vocal in calling for the church to remain outside of Marxist movements, and he valued certain components of the liberal market economy.

Pope Benedict XVI: “Globalization”

There are significant points of overlap between Benedict XVI and John Paul II, largely due to Benedict’s position as prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith under John Paul II. Despite their many points of intersection—including a conservative (*ressourcement*) outlook, a seemingly ambiguous or contradictory view of political economy, the idea of addressing immigration by looking at the sending countries, and a critical view of liberation theology—there are a few changes with Pope Benedict’s papacy. Notably, Benedict criticized globalization and the impact of Muslim immigration in the European context.

Like John Paul II, Benedict’s early life experience attuned him to the consequences of powerful ideologies. Benedict first saw this as a young man in Nazi Germany, where he was forced to join Nazi Youth.⁹ He witnessed the power of ideologies again as a professor of theology at Tübingen University in 1968, where he observed Marxist-influenced student uprisings. As a result of these two events, Benedict perceived a deep risk in ideology used to stir people to inappropriate action, be this a dangerous variant of ethnic nationalism or the risk of a Marxist-revolution.

While serving under John Paul II, Benedict criticized socialism and Marxism, while acknowledging the ambiguities in church teachings that allowed these ideologies to flourish. In his *The Ratzinger Report* (1985), the Cardinal Prefect states that “liberation theology constitutes a fundamental threat to the faith of the Church.”¹⁰ He goes on to explicitly reject Marxist analysis,¹¹ and to argue that the “Marxist myth” is a type of “cultural imperialism,” “export(ed) to the Third World of myths and utopias which have been worked out in the developed West.”¹² Ratzinger (Benedict) makes his association of ideological fanaticism and Marxism explicit when discussing liberation theology: “By sacralizing the revolution—mixing up God, Christ and ideologies—they only succeed in producing a dreamy fanaticism that can lead to even worse injustices and oppression, ruining in the praxis what the theory has proposed.”¹³ He added that is it “socially dangerous” to mix “the Bible, Christology, politics, sociology and economics,” noting “Holy Scripture and theology cannot be misused to absolutize and sacralize a theory concerning the socio-political order.”¹⁴ Ratzinger blamed *Gaudium et spes* (from Vatican II) as ambiguous at times, which allowed for Marxist ideologies such as liberation theology to arise.¹⁵

This political and economic rhetoric cooled by the time Ratzinger assumed the papacy in the post–Cold War context, though his critique of ideology remained. For example, he writes in 2009: “Paul VI reflected on the meaning of politics, and the danger constituted by utopian and ideological visions that place its ethical and human dimensions in jeopardy. These are matters closely connected with development.”¹⁶ And he reiterates some of his principal ideas from the 1985 *Ratzinger Report* when he comments 24 years later, “All of humanity is alienated when too much trust is placed in merely human projects, ideologies and false utopias.” But these critiques of ideology were subservient to what he perceived as the principal menace to human communities: the mixed blessings wrought by globalization. Ratzinger perceived globalization as a core political and economic problem, which he stated can be threatening to culture and to a nation’s sovereignty.¹⁷ At the same time, his *Caritas in veritate* (2009) (Charity in Truth) was said to be “contradictory” on issues relating to political economy, as it evoked the spirit both of Paul VI’s progressive *Populorum progressio* (1967) as well as John Paul II’s conservative *Centesimus annus* (1991), indicating a level of ambiguity in direction regarding the proper role of the state in market regulation. For example, he states that the market should be without constraints, but later says the state should intervene in the market.¹⁸ *Caritas in veritate* was criticized for having “tensions of its own” and “lacking the coherence of *Centesimus annus*.”¹⁹

Similarly, Pope Benedict’s stance on immigration has both parallels with and divergences from that of Pope John Paul II. Like John Paul II, Benedict advocated for addressing the migration crisis by solving the political and economic problems in the home country. When aboard his US-bound plane and speaking to reporters about immigration from Latin America to the United States, Benedict stated: “The fundamental solution is that there should no longer be a need to emigrate, that there are enough jobs in the homeland, a sufficient social fabric.” When that failed, he strongly advocated receiving countries to prioritize keeping families together “as much as it can be done it should be done” as familial separation “is truly dangerous for the social, moral and human fabric” of Latin and Central American families. The comments drew some rebuke from American conservatives, who accused the pope of engaging in American politics in order to increase his appeal with his growing base in Latin America.²⁰

On the other hand, Benedict's words on Muslim immigration to Europe were less supportive than his words on Latin American immigration to the United States. To commemorate the fifth anniversary of the September 11, 2001, attacks, Pope Benedict gave a lecture at Regensburg University in Germany. He provoked considerable ire within the Muslim world when he quoted a Byzantine emperor, who had written "Show me just what Mohammed brought that was new and there you will find things only evil and inhuman, such as his command to spread by the sword the faith he preached."²¹ The Vatican later said that Ratzinger was utilizing this quote in a particular context and not advocating or endorsing the position, but it was too late; violent global protests broke out in response to the speech. Then in 2011, a new autobiography of media mogul Lord Conrad Black recounts story of a then Cardinal Ratzinger at a dinner party at the home of Toronto Cardinal Archbishop Gerald Emmett Carter, in which Benedict "lamented 'the slow suicide of Europe': its population was aging and shrinking, and the unborn were being partly replaced by unassimilable immigrants. He thought that Europe would awake from its torpor, by that there were difficult days ahead."²² With the recent rise of the extreme right, these comments have been revived by far-right outlets such as Breitbart news, which proclaimed Benedict's comments as "prophetic."²³

In sum, Benedict's views on political economy are ambiguous—at least in regards to the role of the free market versus the state-regulated market, though he is consistent with his disapproval of Marxism. He agrees with Pope John Paul's idea that immigration can be best addressed by looking at the pressures that give rise to immigration. Yet he conceptualizes Europe in part by its shared historical religious identity—what he called "the inalienable Christian roots of its culture and civilization"—and it appears he perceives Muslim immigration as posing a potential threat to this cultural identity.

Pope Francis: "Core-Periphery"

Pope Francis's harsh critique of the liberal economic order represents a stark shift from both John Paul II and Benedict XVI, and his experience of capitalism and economic inequality sharply diverges from the twentieth-century European experience. Specifically, he observed the consequences of rampant market capitalism while working with the poor in Latin America, a region with long-standing problems of inequality,

poverty, and socioeconomic and political exclusion. In Pope Francis's home country of Argentina, after the power and popularity of the Left surged in the late 1960s and early 1970s, right-wing military regimes arose to protect the wealth of the elite. During Argentina's subsequent Dirty War (1976–1983), some priests took action to defend the political and economic rights of the poor and marginalized, sometimes aligning themselves with liberation theology. Specifically, two Argentinian Jesuits whom Francis knew well were kidnapped and tortured, while his friend and mentor, activist Esther de Careaga, was murdered by the regime. All three were proponents of liberation theology. Despite the vast humanitarian aggressions, Bergoglio remained apolitical, serving the poor in the streets of Buenos Aires. As author James Carroll writes, Bergoglio described his experience during the Dirty War as “searing.”²⁴ Francis states that his years in Córdoba, Argentina, during the Dirty War were a time of “great interior crisis,”²⁵ later adding “I had to learn from my errors along the way because, to tell you the truth, I made hundreds of errors. Errors and sins. . . . I am a sinner. This is the most accurate definition. It is not a figure of speech.”²⁶

After his lessons in Argentina, Bergoglio became increasingly politicized. As a result, the Pope perceives it as risky to not stand up to power, especially power that breeds an inoculation to human suffering. He is sensitive to the plight of the poor and the structural issues that lead to their exclusion. Thus, Pope Francis's gaze both within and beyond Europe is upon the marginalized and the excluded, and the economic systems that create their circumstances. We see this clearly in his *Evangelii gaudium* (2013), where Francis directly criticizes the values put forward by modern economic thinking, and its role in creating excluded populations:

Just as the commandment “Thou shalt not kill” sets a clear limit in order to safeguard the value of human life, today we also have to say “thou shalt not” to an economy of exclusion and inequality. Such an economy kills. How can it be that it is not a news item when an elderly homeless person dies of exposure, but it is news when the stock market loses two points? This is a case of exclusion. Can we continue to stand by when food is thrown away while people are starving? This is a case of inequality. Today everything comes under the laws of competition and the survival of the fittest, where the powerful feed upon the powerless. As a consequence, masses of people find themselves excluded and marginalized: without work, without possibilities, without any means of escape.²⁷

The rest of *Evangelii gaudium* continues to develop upon these themes—notably the mistreatment of the excluded and marginalized as created by the economic system. He is particularly critical of societies that follow liberal economic models blindly, with great impact to the poor. He notes that the positive social outcomes attributed to “trickle-down” economic theories have “never been confirmed by the facts,” and it “expresses a crude and naïve trust in the goodness of those wielding economic power and in the sacralized workings of the prevailing economic system,” then calls this a “selfish ideal” which contributed to the development of the “globalization of indifference.”²⁸ He adds “the socioeconomic system is unjust at its root,” and declares “we can no longer trust in the unseen forces and the invisible hand of the market.”²⁹

To Francis, the principal problem with the liberal economic system is thus its creation of poor, marginalized, and excluded groups. Pope Francis argues that society shifted from having a class of “exploited” to groups of “leftovers.” The first group was a part of society’s fringe, but today exclusion means the leftovers are unconnected to the social body. He considers this to be an extension of the consumerist society or “throw away culture,” where “human beings are themselves considered consumer goods to be used and then discarded.”³⁰ This economic inequality directly results from blind adherence to liberal economic ideologies: “Inequality is the root of social ills”³¹ and “this imbalance is the result of ideologies which defend the absolute autonomy of the marketplace and financial speculation.”³² Pope Francis unequivocally sees current social, political, humanistic, and economic problems as tied to the embrace of free (unregulated) markets: “As long as the problems of the poor are not radically resolved by rejecting the absolute autonomy of markets and financial speculation and by attacking the structural causes of inequality, no solution will be found for the world’s problems or, for that matter, to any problems.”³³

Pope Francis’s rhetoric evokes strains of dependency theory or its less radical sibling, world systems theory. Dependency theory uses the idea of “core-periphery” to describe the economic relationship between countries of unequal wealth and power. Here, core countries exploit periphery countries for labor and raw materials, while periphery countries are dependent on core countries for capital. In this model of dependent development, poor and marginalized periphery countries are unable to accumulate the wealth they need to finance their own development. This model became popular in Latin America beginning in the 1960s, and it is referred to in

writings on liberation theology. Pope Francis's view on liberal economics reflects dependency theory in some aspects; however, in his speeches and encyclicals, individuals or groups (instead of countries) are marginalized by an economic order characterized by an asymmetric distribution of wealth and power.

Pope Francis rejects the liberal economic order and does not endorse a specific alternative model, but he leaves open the possibility for a more just, equitable, and humane economy. He refers to the need for an economic system that “ensures the economic well-being of all countries, not just of a few.”³⁴ While his economic vision criticizes “trickle-down” economics and the unregulated free-market economy, it is in some ways amenable to Swedish social democracy or German industrial corporatism (the latter of which closely resembles the economic model advocated by Pope Pius XI in his aforementioned 1931 speech). Social democracy—as seen in Sweden and other Nordic countries—is a market economy cushioned by socialized education, health care, childcare, elder care, generous worker training, historically strong unions, high levels of social cohesion, low levels of poverty, and low levels of economic inequality. In Pope Pius's model of corporatism, associations foster cooperation between labor, management, and the state (tripartism) offering less conflict, greater economic stability, lower levels of economic inequality, and a deeper commitment to the long-run health and viability of the whole *corps*. Examples of this type of capitalist economic coordination include the nineteenth-century guild system, postwar German industrial organization, or French quality wine institutions, rather than the labor-repressive “corporatist” regimes which claimed inspiration from Pius (including Mussolini, Franco, and Salazar). Francis does not reject all market economies; rather, he rejects systems that try to approach the theoretical ideal of the free unregulated market. The idea of social democracy or corporatism could provide possible solutions to the core-periphery dynamic, or what he calls “the economy of exclusion,”³⁵ within a country. The weakness with these models is they do little to address the economy of exclusion between countries. Thus, instead of advocating a specific economic model, he advocates for a moral and compassionate economy.

Pope Francis consistently and explicitly calls attention to economic and political migrants as the discarded and marginalized, particularly in the European context, a point made clear in Chap. 13 of this volume. As Glatzer and Carr-Lemke describe, Pope Francis visited the Moria refugee camp on the Greek island of Lesbos in April 2016, where he

emphasized the suffering endured by migrants to Europe: “We must never forget, however, that migrants, rather than simply being a statistic, are first of all persons who have faces, names and individual stories. Europe is the homeland of human rights, and whomever sets foot on European soil ought to sense this, and thus become more aware of the duty to respect and defend those rights.”³⁶ Pope Francis then left Greece with 12 Syrian Muslim refugees, entrusted to the Vatican’s care, and the Vatican issued a statement noting “the pope has decided to make a gesture of welcome regarding refugees.”³⁷ Pope Francis has made other symbolic gestures to highlight immigration as described in Glatzer and Carr-Lemke, including sharing his 80th birthday with eight homeless people, including four non-Italians (from Moldova, Peru, and Romania). In 2016, he had a video message for the Jesuit refugee agency *Centro Astalli*, where he said, “Each one of you, refugees who knock on our doors, has the face of God, and is the flesh of Christ . . . Treated like a burden, a problem, a cost, you are instead a gift . . . you make possible the encounter between different cultures and religions, a way to rediscover out common humanity.”³⁸ To Francis, migrants are the poor, the excluded, and the marginalized outcasts created by the liberal economic order. The contrast between Pope Francis’s views on immigration stands in stark contrast to those of his predecessors, especially Pope Benedict.

Pope Francis’s speeches to the European Parliament in 2014 and to European heads of state in 2017 further develop this theme of “the economy of exclusion” within the European context. Here again Francis focuses upon migrants, as well as the populist backlash. Francis notes Europe’s economic prosperity has made people less empathetic to the plight of the poor, allowing far-right ideas to gain traction: “Today’s prosperity seems to have clipped the continent’s wings and lowered its gaze,” losing its ideals, which could provide an “antidote against the vacuum of values of our time, which provides a fertile terrain for every form of extremism.”³⁹ To Pope Francis, a main critique of policy-makers is their indifference to human suffering caused by their emphasis on technical economic debates: “To our dismay we see technical and economic questions dominating political debate, to the detriment of genuine concern for human beings. Men and women risk being reduced to mere cogs in a machine that treats them as items of consumption to be exploited, with the result that—as is so tragically apparent whenever a human life no longer proves useful for that machine, it is discarded with few qualms.”⁴⁰ Pope Francis sees Europe unmoored from her “patrimony of ideals and

spiritual values” and wedded instead to what he calls a “functionalistic and privatized mindset,” looking the other way while the Mediterranean threatens to become a “vast cemetery.”⁴¹

Finally, Francis links multinational corporations to economic imperialism when he said to the EU Parliament “democracies must not be allowed to collapse under the pressure of multinational interests which are not universal, which weaken them and turn them into uniform systems of economic power at the service of unseen empires.”⁴² His unrestrained depiction of the capitalist system as a power system untethered to human values is a much stronger critique than the more ambiguous framing of his predecessors, and his emphasis on a systems-based exploitation evokes aspects of dependency theory. It is clear from his rhetoric on the free market that some of his views are direct critiques of contemporary capitalism, but he falls short of calling for anything that looks Marxist, or calling for anything beyond a stronger society, and a more “ethical” economy. It appears a market with low levels of economic inequality and high levels of social cohesion—in other words, variants of either social democracy or corporatism (coordinated capitalism) as practiced in much of Continental Europe—are consistent with the values and principles described by Francis, at least in the domestic context. Still, media outlets in the United States have claimed that Francis was “reviving” a “discredited” ideology (*New York Times*)⁴³ or claimed he didn’t understand the economy (opinion in *The Washington Post*)⁴⁴. Pope Francis does not directly address liberation theology in his speeches, but his decision to beatify Oscar Romero indicates a softening relationship with the ideology.

CONCLUSIONS

Pope Francis is different from his recent predecessors, and he represents a return to the progressive Vatican of John XXIII or Paul VI—a return to *aggiornamento* and to a living, adapting interpretation of the gospel. Pope Francis brings to Rome a first-hand understanding of the poverty and exclusion caused by adherence to economic ideologies and political regimes, which serve the few and marginalize the many. Each pope has had unique and searing individual experiences with twentieth-century sociopolitical experiments: Pope Francis’s experience with Argentina’s poor taught him about the risks of an unmitigated belief in the social virtues of the free market; Pope John Paul’s experience in Poland taught him of the perils of a Marxist-socialist state; and Pope Benedict’s experiences

in Nazi Germany and later as a professor taught him of the dangers of powerful mobilizing ideologies. Each pope brought these experiences with him to Vatican City, shaping what they perceived as threatening to human dignity and, relatedly, what they perceived as threatening to Europe. John Paul II wanted a Europe without communism, with a regulated market serving humanity. Benedict wanted a Europe with less pressure from globalization and from immigration, under a moral and just economic order. Francis wants a Europe where migrants and other marginalized groups are treated with dignity, and the economy follows humanitarian values rather than calculable economic ones.

As previously noted, the political economy of the Catholic Church does not fall into traditional secular political-economic categories. The notion of a humanitarian economy taking precedent over measurable economic outcomes is consistent with core Catholic social teachings. All twentieth- and twenty-first-century popes have called for what sociologists call a “moral economy”⁴⁵—a compassionate economy with a human face, made up of, and embedded in, human relationships.⁴⁶ But where each pope falls upon the spectrum between the free market and socialist market varies greatly, with both John Paul and Benedict offering ambiguous assessments of liberal economics. As papal writer James Carroll has said, “With Francis, there is no ambiguity.”⁴⁷ Pope Francis’s view of a moral economy in some ways fits the Nordic model of social democracy or the corporatist ideas of associations and social integration advanced by Pope Pius XI (1931).⁴⁸

Pope Francis represents a change for Europe, but Europe has also changed. He emphasizes the poor and marginalized because he came to Rome already attuned to these issues and their causes. His focus within Europe is upon those groups who are excluded from the European social, political, and economic body. If the question is whether Pope Francis represents a shift of the Catholic Church’s gaze from within Europe to beyond it, the answer is yes. For even within Europe, Francis is focusing upon those “outside” of it; away from the core and toward those on the periphery. Pope Francis represents a shift from a Eurocentric church to a broader universal church, with a focus upon those who have been excluded from the table.

NOTES

1. Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger and Vittorio Messori, *The Ratzinger Report* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1985).
2. Santelli, Anthony J. Santelli, Jr., Jeffrey Sikkenga, Robert A. Sirico, Stephen Yates, and Gloria Zúñiga. *The Free Person and the Free Economy: A Personalist View of Market Economics* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2002), 20.
3. Ronald Flamini, "Peter and Caesar: is Pope Francis shifting the Vatican's worldview?" *World Affairs* 177, no. 2 (2014): 25–33; Chester Gillis, *Political Papacy: John Paul II, Benedict XVI, and Their Influence* (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2006).
4. Kenneth Woodward, "The Vision of a Socialist Pope," *Newsweek*, June 20, 1983, 48–49.
5. *Ibid.*, 47.
6. John Paul II, *Undocumented Migrants: Message of Pope John Paul II for World Migration Day, 1996*, Vatican Website, July 25, 1995, http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/messages/migration/documents/hf_jp-ii_mes_25071995_undocumented_migrants.html
7. Charles Curran, *Catholic Social Teaching, 1891–Present: A Historical, Theological, and Ethical Analysis* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2002), 208.
8. Samuel Gregg as cited in Maciej Zięba, *Papal Economics: The Catholic Church on Democratic Capitalism, from Rerum Nevarum to Caritas in Veritate* (New York City: Open Road Media, 2014), 5.
9. John L. Allen. *Pope Benedict XVI: A Biography of Joseph Ratzinger* (London: A&C Black, 2001).
10. Ratzinger, *The Ratzinger Report*, 175.
11. *Ibid.*, 180.
12. *Ibid.*, 187.
13. *Ibid.*, 190.
14. *Ibid.*
15. Thomas R. Rourke, *The Social and Political Thought of Benedict XVI* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2010), 81, 87.
16. *Ibid.*, 14.
17. Benedict XVI, *Caritas in veritate* (Encyclical on Integral Human Development in Charity and Truth), Vatican Website, June 26, 2009, http://w2.vatican.va/content/benedictxvi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_ben-xvi_enc_20090629_caritas-in-veritate.html
18. *Ibid.*, 51.
19. Zięba, *Papal Economics*.

20. Daniel J. Wakin and Julia Preston, "Pope Speaks Up for Immigrants, Touching a Nerve," *New York Times*, April 20, 2008, <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/04/20/us/20catholics.html>
21. Benedict XVI, *Faith, Reason and the University: Memories and Reflections*, Vatican Website, September 12, 2006, https://w2.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/speeches/2006/september/documents/hf_ben-xvi_spe_20060912_university-regensburg.html
22. Conrad Black, *A Matter of Principle* (London: Biteback Publishing, 2012), 48.
23. *Breitbart News*, "Pope Benedict Was Right in Warning about Radical Islam," November 12, 2015.
24. James Carroll, "Who Am I to Judge? A Radical Pope's First Year," *The New Yorker*, December 23, 2013, <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2013/12/23/who-am-i-to-judge>
25. Spadaro interview as cited in Carroll, 2013. Spadaro, "Interview with Pope Francis," Vatican Website, September 21, 2013, https://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2013/september/documents/papa-francesco_20130921_intervista-spadaro.html; Carroll, "Who Am I to Judge?"
26. *Ibid.*
27. Francis, *Evangelii gaudium* (Encyclical on the Proclamation of the Gospel in Today's World), Vatican Website, November 24, 2013. http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/apost_exhortations/documents/papa-francesco_esortazione-ap_20131124_evangelii-gaudium.html
28. *Ibid.*, 54.
29. *Ibid.*, 204.
30. *Ibid.*, 53.
31. *Ibid.*, 73.
32. *Ibid.*, 56.
33. *Ibid.*, 202.
34. *Ibid.*, 206.
35. *Ibid.*, 53.
36. Miguel Glatzer and Tara Carr-Lemke, "You Are Instead a Gift," *When Theology and Politics Meet: Pope Francis as a Global Actor*, Alynna Lyon, Christine A. Gustafson, and Paul Manuel, eds. (New York: Palgrave Series on Religion, Politics and Policy, 2018), X.
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Vatican Radio*, 2016, as cited in Glatzer and Carr-Lemke, X.
39. Francis, *Address of his Holiness Pope Francis to the Heads of State and Government of the European Union in Italy for the Celebration of the 60th Anniversary of the Treaty of Rome*, Vatican Website, March 24, 2017, http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2017/march/documents/papa-francesco_20170324_capi-unione-europea.html

40. Francis, *Address of Pope Francis to the European Parliament*, Vatican Website, November 25, 2014, https://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2014/november/documents/papa-francesco_20141125_strasburgo-parlamento-europeo.html
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
43. Jim Yardly and Simon Romero, "Pope's Focus on Poor Revives Scorned Theology," *New York Times*, May 23, 2015, <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/05/24/world/europe/popes-focus-on-poor-revives-scorned-theology.html>. Rush Limbaugh called him a Marxist. See transcript, "The Pope's Leaked Marxist Climate Rant," *The Rush Limbaugh Show*, June 16, 2015, https://www.rushlimbaugh.com/daily/2015/06/16/the_pope_s_leaked_marxist_climate_rant/
44. George F. Will, "Pope Francis's Fact-Free Flamboyance," *The Washington Post*, September 18, 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/pope-franciss-fact-free-flamboyance/2015/09/18/7d711750-5d6a-11e5-8e9e-dce8a2a2a679_story.html
45. William James Booth, "On the Idea of the Moral Economy," *American Political Science Review* 88, no. 3 (1994): 653–67.
46. Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957).
47. Interview with James Carroll, May 2017.
48. Pius XI, *Quadragesimo anno* (Encyclical on Reconstruction of the Social Order), Vatican Website, May 15, 1931, para. 90–97, http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_19310515_quadragesimo-anno.html

The Pope and Latin America: Mission from the Periphery

Christine A. Gustafson

What difference does it make that Pope Francis is from Latin America—that he spent almost his entire life in Buenos Aires, Argentina? On his first evening as pope, in his first address on the balcony of St. Peter’s, Francis remarked that the cardinals had gone “to the ends of the earth” to find a bishop of Rome. He was mindful that his selection signified not just a desire for a fresh perspective, or an outsider to address pressing church problems, but also, whether intentional or not, a summoning of the periphery to the center. Pope Francis, through his life experiences, training, and pastoral endeavors would be able to “see” the Catholic Church and her mission in a way that a European or North American could not. But even within the context of Latin America, his approach is distinctive. He maps a path that is neither left nor right, neither Marxist nor neoliberal, neither liberationist nor conservative.

Pope Francis’s first visit to Latin America after becoming pope was to the World Youth Day celebration in Rio de Janeiro in July 2013. His reception was overwhelmingly positive, with record crowds turning out for a reenactment of the Stations of the Cross and a mass on Copacabana beach. His Latin American travels continued thereafter with visits to Ecuador, Bolivia, and Paraguay in July 2015; to Cuba in September 2015;

C. A. Gustafson (✉)
Saint Anselm College, Manchester, NH, USA

and to Mexico in February 2016. He visited Colombia in September 2017 and is expected to visit several other Latin American countries in 2018 and beyond. In all cases, his home region has greeted him with large crowds and apparent enthusiasm for his message. The popularity of this first Latin American pope raises questions about his potential impact on the region's politics and religious demography. In many Latin American countries, Catholicism has been losing adherents at a high rate for the last 30 years, mostly to Pentecostal churches. And Pope Francis is addressing many of the reasons cited for this shift. At the same time, his renewed focus on solidarity with the poor, social justice, and environmental sustainability implies a not-so-subtle critique of Latin America's ruling elite, including in some cases the clergy.

This chapter examines Pope Francis's potential impact on Latin America's politics and theology, while also exploring the Latin American and Argentine context that formed him. It begins with a brief and very general history of the Catholic Church's political and social role in the region. It then describes key Latin American and Argentine events that helped shape Francis's distinctive approach to church and politics. Finally, the chapter examines the reception of this distinctive approach in Latin America and its possible impact for Catholicism's continued strength in the region. The chapter reveals a pope whose outlook is profoundly influenced by his Latin American experiences—as citizen, pastor, and churchman. His fresh, welcoming, and compassionate message is likely to resonate with many Latin Americans. Nevertheless, the competitive and structural challenges that the Catholic Church faces in Latin America remain daunting, even for a popular pope.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND LATIN AMERICA

The Catholic Church has been present in Latin America since the first moments of European contact.¹ From the late fifteenth to early nineteenth centuries, as Spain and Portugal founded and administered colonies in the New World, the church was an essential part of the project, so much so that secular and sacred authority were essentially fused.² During the nineteenth century, independence movements swept the region, followed by growing conflict between the new states and the Catholic Church. Catholicism remained the official religion in most Latin American countries during this period, and the church played an important societal role in areas such as education, the registration of births and deaths, and health care. It also

retained extensive land holdings and other resources. However, by the end of the century, there were efforts at disestablishment in many countries, but not all were successful. In Pope Francis's native Argentina, for example, there were tensions in the 1880s over civil marriage, the appointment of bishops, and a policy to require secular education, but Catholicism remained the official state religion. This nineteenth-century turbulence was then followed by a period of mostly peaceful consolidation, which lasted to the mid-twentieth century. During these years, the Catholic Church strengthened itself institutionally, established closer ties with Rome, and tried to regain privileges lost in the previous phase. This was true of the church in Argentina, which enjoyed good relations with conservative Argentine governments and maintained its privileged status in Argentina's constitutional order.³

Since the mid-twentieth century, the Catholic Church's relations with state authorities have undergone two additional stages, and these are the most significant for understanding Pope Francis's formation. First, the church experienced a "liberationist" or "progressive" period, which most scholars date from the 1960s. It witnessed a fundamental shift in Catholicism's sociopolitical commitments, both worldwide and within Latin America. Inspired by the rise of liberation theology in the 1950s and the reforms of the second Vatican Council (1962–1965), the Catholic Church—which had traditionally been an ally of the socioeconomic elite and of the status quo in Latin America—turned its attention to the poor and disadvantaged.⁴ It also became an advocate for religious freedom, democracy, and human rights.⁵ The Latin American Bishops' Conference officially advanced this new "preferential option for the poor" at its 1968 meeting in Medellín, Colombia. In many Latin American countries, including Argentina, the Catholic Church sponsored literacy campaigns, Ecclesial Base Communities (or CEBs, in the Portuguese and Spanish acronym),⁶ and issue-specific pastoral organizations (e.g., for the landless and indigenous peoples).

During this liberationist period, the Church became an outspoken critic of authoritarianism in the region. Many Latin American countries were under some form of military or authoritarian rule during the 1960s and 1970s. In Brazil, which had a military dictatorship from 1964 to 1985, the National Conference of Brazilian Bishops was the regime's most powerful critic. It monitored and publicized human rights violations both domestically and abroad, and provided cover for other opposition groups.⁷ It also helped mobilize civil society for the transition to democracy and

forged close ties with labor unions, human rights groups, women's groups, and political parties such as the Worker's Party. Another example is found in Chile, where the Episcopal Conference of Chile, led by Cardinal Raúl Silva Henríquez, played an equally heroic role in opposing the Pinochet regime (1971–1989). Most notably, it formed the Vicariate of Solidarity (*Vicaría de la Solidaridad*), a pastoral organization that kept track of human rights violations, protected its victims and their families, and served as an umbrella for democracy advocates.⁸

In Argentina, by contrast, the Episcopate was largely silent during the atrocities of the “Dirty War” (1974–1983). It was split internally among those who supported Marxist guerrillas, those who favored the military government (which took power in a 1976 coup), and those in a nonideological middle space. Jorge Mario Bergoglio, later Pope Francis, who held Jesuit leadership positions during this period, was of the middle persuasion. As Jesuit provincial from 1973 to 1979, and rector of the Colegio Máximo (the Jesuit training center) from 1979 to 1985, he tried to preserve unity among the Jesuits while serving the surrounding community and working quietly to save those he could from the violence.⁹

As most Latin American countries returned to democratic rule in the 1980s—the final stage in this overview—the Catholic Church retreated from politics in the region and focused more on traditional spiritual concerns. It emphasized its work with the CEBs and pastorals less, and paid more attention to issues of faith, the family, morality, and the dignity of human life. Pope John Paul II (1978–2005) was instrumental to this shift. He took steps that appeared to be a strong rejection of liberation theology, censoring some liberation theologians, appointing conservative clergymen to leadership positions, and marginalizing more activist ones.¹⁰ Pope Benedict XVI (2005–2013), who was prefect for the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (CDF) under John Paul II, largely continued the focus on traditional Catholic doctrine and values, citing a global culture that was increasingly secular and relativistic. Thus, by the 2000s, it seemed that liberation theology and the “progressive” church in Latin America were mainly items for the past.¹¹

However, liberation theology's apparent rise and retreat in Latin America from the late 1960s actually masks a more complex history—one that Pope Francis's orientation toward the “theology of the people” (TP) is recovering for both a popular and scholarly audience.¹² Its story is revealed in the meetings of the Latin American Bishops' Conference (CELAM, in the Spanish acronym) from Medellín (1968) to Aparecida

(2007). As mentioned above, the Medellín conference, the second region-wide meeting of bishops, was the first to articulate the preferential option for the poor; it launched a number of pastoral and theological initiatives in countries throughout the region. When the bishops met again at Puebla in 1979, this option for the poor was reconfirmed. Jorge Bergoglio actually took part in the preparations for the Puebla meeting. Puebla's concluding document, however, pointedly rejected the Marxist version of liberation theology, and thus Puebla came to be interpreted as evidence that conservatives, encouraged by Rome, were squashing liberation theology. As Austen Ivereigh notes, this account failed to notice that other versions of liberation theology were also being endorsed at Puebla. In particular, the Argentine version of liberation theology, which interprets the option for the poor to mean "an option for their distinctive culture and religiosity," was actually validated by Puebla.¹³ Reflecting back on that period, Juan Carlos Scannone, S.J., writes that he identified four strains of liberation theology, one of which was this Argentine TP.¹⁴

During the 1980s and 1990s, while the Vatican was curtailing what it viewed as overly political versions of liberation theology, Cardinal Ratzinger was hosting meetings of Latin American theologians because he saw good elements in liberation theology. The two *Instructions* issued by his CDF in 1984 and 1986 did condemn the use of Marxist theory in some versions of liberation theology. They also criticized those who would limit the notion of liberation found in the scriptures to a simple political category. At the same time, however, they acknowledged that other versions of liberation theology existed. And the second *Instruction* lauded liberation theology for "its affirmation of popular piety and the option for the poor."¹⁵ Another factor that masked Rome's genuine interest in liberation theology's contributions was John Paul II's centralizing tendencies. Paul VI had encouraged some collegiality—the sharing of local bishops in the governance of the Church—by creating the synod of bishops and promoting national and regional bishops' conferences. CELAM was perhaps the strongest of these conferences, and it had a distinct identity—intimately tied to liberation theology—that was honed by both Medellín and Puebla. John Paul II, though, viewed CELAM as a potential threat to church unity and Vatican teaching authority, so he set about controlling it and subordinating Latin American bishops to the curia. The most relevant example of this policy was the way the Vatican "steamrolled" CELAM's fourth general assembly in Santo Domingo in 1992, rejecting the conference's working document and micromanaging the meeting itself via

conservative local bishops.¹⁶ This tightening of control looked a lot like a repudiation of liberation theology. All the while, however, the Argentine version of liberation theology was increasingly being emphasized locally in Latin America and attracting attention theologically in Europe and the Vatican.

It should not have been such a surprise, then, that in 2007 Joseph Ratzinger, now Pope Benedict XVI, allowed the fifth CELAM general assembly at Aparecida, Brazil to happen with his blessing and without much interference from Rome. Benedict opened the meeting by affirming the Latin American church's option for the poor. He said, "The preferential option for the poor is implicit in the Christological faith in the God who became poor for us, to enrich us with his poverty (cf. 2 Cor: 8, 9)."¹⁷ In fact, some argue that Aparecida and later Bergoglio's election as pope were evidence that Latin America was becoming a source church. The Uruguayan philosopher Alberto Methol Ferré thought the Catholic Church in Latin America would be "key to the emergence of a new continental consciousness, *la patria grande*, which would take its place in the modern world and become an important influence on it."¹⁸ Aparecida was in many ways the fulfillment of what Medellín started, and Jorge Bergoglio, by then the cardinal of Buenos Aires, played a major role in it. He helped redact the final document, which reflected a consensus that he had quietly built at the gathering. It emphasized the option for the poor, the centrality of Christ, and the need for the church to go out to the peripheries—to be in a state of permanent mission and evangelization.¹⁹ Ivereigh says that the Aparecida final document:

[W]as the fruit of the Argentine Church carrying the flame of Latin-American theology over twenty years, safeguarding the insights of liberation theology from the pitfalls of liberal and Marxist thinking. It had done so by sticking close to the poor and their culture—the *pueblo fiel* hermeneutic—which Bergoglio's Argentine team ensured took pride of place in the document. As a result, Aparecida could safely unleash, to a greater extent even than Medellín in 1968, the riches of the Latin-American Church, and give flesh to its great insight, the option for the poor, which appears dozens of times.²⁰

When Cardinal Bergoglio was elected pope in 2013, he brought the Argentine TP and Aparecida with him, and began sharing it with the world. The periphery was now at the center.

LATIN AMERICAN POLITICAL ECONOMY AND ARGENTINA

Although it is very important to understand Pope Francis's grounding in the TP, as well as to place that perspective within the wider history of Catholicism in Latin America, it is also helpful to locate Francis's ideas and approach in Latin American and Argentine political economy. Several scholars²¹ have described how the Dirty War (1974–1983), the rise of neoliberalism (1980s and 1990s), and the collapse of the Argentine economy in 2001 shaped Jorge Bergoglio's outlook on politics and economics. Since World War II, Latin America's political cycles of authoritarianism, democracy, and populism, as well as its economic shifts from Keynesianism (or developmentalism) to neoliberalism, were particularly cruel to Argentina. A country whose per capita income in the early twentieth century was comparable to that of many rich European countries declined steadily thereafter. Its income per capita today is about 43 percent that of the 16 richest countries.²² Argentina was also plagued with political instability during the twentieth century. There were six military coups, and very few elected leaders finished their terms.

Jorge Bergoglio's youth and young adulthood coincided with some of his country's most difficult episodes. As a lower middle-class son of Italian immigrants, living in Buenos Aires, Bergoglio was a witness to the rise and fall of Juan Perón. Most Argentines of his class sympathized with Peronism, which advocated for workers and the national interest against the interests of wealthy agricultural producers and an elite oriented toward the world economy. The Catholic Church was an important player in Argentine politics, given that Catholicism was (and is) officially supported by the state in Argentina's constitution.²³ The Argentine Catholic Church initially supported Perón, but the two eventually clashed. This confrontation was a factor in the coup that removed Perón from power in 1955. Thereafter, until the early 1970s, Perón and Peronism were illegal, even though most ordinary Argentines continued to support the movement. Much of the instability that plagued the country until the coup of 1976 derived from the conservatives (who called themselves liberals) and the military trying to keep the Peronists out of power. By the early 1970s, when the Argentine government allowed Peronists to compete in elections again, and Perón returned to Argentina from exile, the country's politics had become so polarized that even the Peronists were split internally. Inspired and supported by Cuba, one group, the *montoneros*, had taken up arms. Another,

also Peronists, would help form the Argentine Anticommunist Alliance (triple A) to counter the guerrilla's activities. The violence was widespread, and the bombings, kidnappings, and assassinations terrified the many ordinary people caught in the middle. The coup, when it came in 1976, was initially welcomed.²⁴

The Argentine Catholic Church was torn apart by these political dynamics too. As mentioned above, there were those in the church, including Jesuit priests in Bergoglio's province, who supported the *montoneros*. Others supported the military junta. Still others tried to keep the faithful together and stake out some third way. There is a significant literature that treats the Dirty War; adding to this, Francis's election to the papacy has increased interest in that period, particularly with regard to the role played by the Catholic Church.²⁵ It seems clear that many Argentines were slow to realize the scale and brutality of the junta's killing and "disappearing" of its enemies. Bergoglio was apparently no exception. While there is some debate as to his actions during this dangerous time, there is evidence that he made considerable efforts to help people escape.²⁶

Equally important, though, are the conclusions that Bergoglio seems to have drawn from living through this period of political instability and violence. He saw his province, his church, and his country torn apart by what were essentially ideas. And these ideas had little to do with the Argentine reality he would have witnessed. Also, even though the groups (both Marxists and liberals) who held these ideas said they were acting on behalf of "the people," Bergoglio probably saw little evidence of it. Instead, he would have seen suffering. His attraction to a form of liberation theology that avoided such ideologies makes sense in light of this experience. Also, his preference for actions rather than ideas, and his belief that no one should pretend to speak for the people—to know their desires and lives better than they know their own—may have their roots partly in what he experienced during this time.

If Argentina's political struggles influenced Jorge Bergoglio, so too did its economic troubles. Living through several economic crises, and trying to minister to his flock during these episodes, gave him an understanding of poverty and economic development that only a Latin American and longtime resident of the "periphery" could possess. Although much could be said about Pope Francis's Latin American influences in this regard, three aspects are especially relevant.

First, and most fundamentally, there does exist a distinctly Latin American perspective on economic development, one that is evident in Pope Francis's views on poverty and inequality. Perhaps the two most

important influences on this Latin American perspective were structuralism and dependency theory. Both emerged after World War II as part of a broader concern internationally with promoting poor countries' economic advancement. Structuralism, which grew from the work of Raul Prebisch and his colleagues at the UN Economic Commission for Latin America in the 1950s and 1960s, emphasized the disadvantages to Latin American countries in trade relations with more "advanced" industrial countries.²⁷ Then, in the 1960s and 1970s, dependency theorists like Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto added historical and sociological depth to this insight about unequal exchange. They explained Latin America's "underdevelopment" as the result of multifaceted and historically rooted relations of dependence between poor (peripheral) Latin American countries and rich (core) countries globally.²⁸ Dependency theory in particular enabled an in-depth analysis of poverty, and was very influential for liberation theology. After all, to have a preferential option for the poor required an understanding of poverty's causes and solutions. Dependency theory located these in Latin American countries' unjust socioeconomic structures, which derived from their dependent position in the international capitalist system. Overcoming poverty (and promoting fair economic development) therefore required Latin American countries to break free of these dependent relationships.²⁹ This analysis, according to Gustavo Gutierrez, a founding father of liberation theology, made dependency theory "a crucial tool for understanding the socioeconomic reality of Latin America. It made possible a structural analysis of the evils present in this reality, and suggested courses for remedying them."³⁰

Although Pope Francis is neither an economist nor a theologian, he did participate substantively in both the Puebla (1979) and Aparecida (2007) meetings of CELAM, where this understanding of poverty was embedded in the bishops' articulation of the preferential option for the poor. Indeed, the Aparecida meeting's final document, which then Cardinal Bergoglio edited, identified economic globalization—the most recent expression of an unequal world economic system—as a key engine of poverty.³¹ The Aparecida document also noted that Latin American governments face significant challenges in promoting development policies beneficial to their people, because of their dependence on international finance and investment.³² Pope Francis made similar points in *Evangelii gaudium* when he talked about the "economy of exclusion" that global market forces create. Instead of bringing prosperity and human flourishing for all people, he said, the unchecked market economy creates a situation in which "the powerful feed on the powerless" and consequently "masses of

people find themselves excluded and marginalized: without work, without possibilities, without any means of escape.”³³ These perspectives on poverty and its causes draw on Catholic Social Teaching’s principle of the universal destination of goods,³⁴ but woven into their DNA is the Latin American development perspective’s central insight that global market relations create winners and losers, and that the well-being of poor people is highly conditioned by their country’s participation in these relations.

Second, this Latin American development perspective, which influenced state policies in the region during the 1960s and 1970s, was eclipsed by a resurgence of liberal thought in the 1980s. The structuralist/dependency idea that states should intervene in markets in order to promote and protect their countries’ economic development gave way to the conviction that states should instead remove any barriers to foreign trade and investment. “Neoliberalism” became the dominant ideology, both internationally and in Latin America. This dramatic shift and its consequences are important for understanding Pope Francis’s perspective on political economy.³⁵ Many countries in the region, including Argentina, adopted neoliberal policies at the behest of their creditors and the International Monetary Fund. And while these policies had definite positive effects, such as taming inflation and restoring growth, they also had costs, which affected ordinary Latin Americans disproportionately. Government spending cuts and privatizations meant job losses, as well as reduced spending on health and education, resulting in an upsurge in poverty. The poor in Latin America increased from 40.5 percent of the population in 1980 to 48.3 percent in 1990,³⁶ with the total number of poor people reaching over 265 million in 1992.³⁷ Neoliberalism also increased Latin American economies’ vulnerability to shifting global market conditions,³⁸ and its benefits were not shared evenly. After a decade of steady economic growth and poverty reduction in the 2000s, a World Bank study found that one in four Latin Americans in 2012 was poor. Worse, one in five was chronically poor, meaning they had not shared at all in the decade’s economic improvements.³⁹

Pope Francis’s views on neoliberalism and globalization take on concrete significance when viewed in light of this Latin American experience, which he witnessed firsthand. Although the pope favors private property and capitalism and condemns excessive political and economic centralization (as in the former communist systems), he has repeatedly pointed out the costs of globalization and unfettered markets: they can harm human relationships, human communities and cultures, and the natural world.

In a much-quoted passage from *Evangelii gaudium*, he says, “Such an economy kills. How can it be that it is not a news item when an elderly homeless person dies of exposure, but it is news when the stock market loses two points?”⁴⁰ Trickle-down market economics, Francis asserts, has created “a globalization of indifference”⁴¹ that makes us blind to the needs of the poor and vulnerable. Meanwhile, inequality increases and the human person disappears from the economic equation. This state of affairs, Francis argues,

. . . is the result of ideologies which defend the absolute autonomy of the marketplace and financial speculation. Consequently, they reject the right of states, charged with vigilance for the common good, to exercise any form of control. A new tyranny is thus born, invisible and often virtual, which unilaterally and relentlessly imposes its own laws and rules. Debt and the accumulation of interest make it difficult for countries to realize the potential of their own economies and keep citizens from enjoying their real purchasing power . . . The thirst for power and possessions knows no limits. In this system, which tends to devour everything which stands in the way of increased profits, whatever is fragile, like the environment, is defenseless before the interests of a deified market, which become the only rule.⁴²

This critique of neoliberalism is deeply informed by Catholic social teaching (CST), of course. Solidarity with the poor, as well as the principles of subsidiarity and the universal destination of goods, are evident in the pope’s evaluation.⁴³ But Latin America’s particular experience with neoliberal policies and the Latin American development perspective are also reflected in these words.

Finally, and most importantly, we must take account of Argentina’s distinctive experience with neoliberal reforms in order to understand Pope Francis. These reforms were implemented by President Carlos Saúl Menem (1989–1999) and his finance minister, Domingo Cavallo, in the 1990s. Their centerpiece was a convertibility law that pegged the Argentine peso 1:1 with the US dollar. Although the Cavallo Plan was initially very successful and popular—and Argentina was for a time the darling of the international financial community—the policies culminated in corruption, recession, and social unrest. Argentina ended up defaulting on a \$95 billion debt, and Menem’s successor, Fernando de la Rúa (1999–2001), was forced to resign in December 2001, but not before instituting the *corralito*, which froze bank accounts and limited Argentines’ access to their own savings. De la Rúa had to leave the Casa Rosada (the president’s

residence) by helicopter in order to avoid angry demonstrators outside in the Plaza de Mayo.⁴⁴ Meanwhile, Cardinal Bergoglio had a direct window—literally—on these events, because his office and living quarters were in an archdiocese office building across the Plaza.⁴⁵

Argentina's neoliberal experiment, which took place while Jorge Bergoglio was bishop (1992–1997), archbishop (1997–2001), and cardinal (2001–2013) in Buenos Aires, influenced him profoundly. After the default and De la Rúa's resignation, there were several weeks of political turmoil, followed by an almost total collapse of the Argentine economy that lasted years. Businesses closed, the currency was worthless, and unemployment reached close to 50 percent of the working population. Middle-class people lost their homes. At the crisis's worst stage, about half of Argentina's population fell below the official poverty line, and a quarter was indigent. Nine million people were living on less than \$1 per day.⁴⁶ To make matters worse, the bankrupt state was unable to provide social assistance of any kind. The Catholic Church became a lifeline during this crisis, and Bergoglio was directly involved in organizing relief efforts in Buenos Aires. He "mobilized the city's 186 parishes, eight hundred priests, and fifteen hundred members of religious orders, and close to a million practicing Catholics, urging them to go out into the streets to find people in need."⁴⁷ Parish churches became food pantries and temporary places for the homeless to sleep. Caritas, the Church's charity agency, helped set up medical posts, and raised money for homeless shelters and job training programs. Cardinal Bergoglio also worked with President Eduardo Duhalde, who had agreed to finish out De la Rúa's term, as well as Archbishop Karlic and the United Nations, to form the Argentine Dialogue. The Dialogue promoted a forum for civic engagement, in which various groups in Argentine society "banded together to organize transport, food, child care, health care, and other basics, and exchanged goods and services by bartering."⁴⁸ Duhalde later acknowledged the key role that Bergoglio played behind the scenes at that time, crediting him with helping to "save Argentina from disaster by shoring up civil society."⁴⁹

Undoubtedly, such a crisis would have affected any church leader who experienced it, but Bergoglio had always endeavored to find solidarity with ordinary Argentines. He maintained a simple lifestyle, refusing the trappings of high church office, such as living in a palace or having a chauffeur. Equally important, he was, first and foremost, a pastor. To the extent his managerial duties allowed, he spent time administering the sacraments and attending to ordinary people's needs, especially in the poor

neighborhoods of the city, the *villas miseria*. He recruited a team of “slum priests” to minister to the *villas*’ inhabitants, but he was also often there himself, because that’s where he found the heart of the church, in the *pueblo fiel*, God’s holy faithful people. He attended their religious festivals, confirmed their young people, and baptized their babies. During Holy Week, he visited hospitals, prisons, and homes for the elderly to wash their feet.⁵⁰ As Ivereigh writes, Bishop, and later Cardinal, Bergoglio was such a frequent visitor to one poor neighborhood, the Villa 21, “that at least half of the *villeros*, about twenty-five thousand people, [had] met him and had their picture taken with him in this one villa alone.”⁵¹

Bergoglio’s constant presence with poor people, then, meant he saw neoliberal policies and their consequences, not as theoretical notions, but as events that had real and devastating consequences for ordinary people’s lives. He told Duhalde in a report that he and his bishops were “sick of systems that produce poor people for the Church to look after,” and he lamented the way “the deification of the state by left-wing ideologies had been followed by the evisceration of the state by neoliberalism.”⁵² Yet even before the crisis hit, Bergoglio had been critical of government economic policies. In August 1997, for example, amid mounting unemployment, he led a procession of 600,000 people to the shrine of Saint Cayetano, patron saint of work and bread.⁵³ He also used his homilies at the annual *Te Deum* masses to speak directly to Argentina’s political class.⁵⁴ At the May 1999 *Te Deum*, for instance, both Menem and De la Rúa were in attendance, and Bergoglio warned of a coming social crisis. He advocated for greater economic and political inclusion, while reminding the congregation of Argentina’s valuable history and cultural strengths. He asked them to forget “those who claim to distill reality into ideas, the talentless intellectuals, the unkind ethicists” and to embrace the insights that come from the people’s everyday experience.⁵⁵ Years later, Pope Francis, in recalling those years, noted the following about Argentina’s “unprecedented” crisis: “The magical concept of the State, the squandering of the people’s money, extreme liberalism through the tyranny of the market, fiscal irresponsibility, lack of respect for the law . . . [and] the loss of the sense of work. In a word, general corruption that undermine[d] the nation’s cohesiveness and diminshe[d] its prestige in the world.”⁵⁶ After the crisis, and well into the 2000s, Cardinal Bergoglio continued to act as a voice for those ignored or harmed by national economic policies—a gadfly role that made him fairly unpopular with both Presidents Néstor Kirchner (2003–2007) and Cristina Fernández de Kirchner (2007–2015).⁵⁷

That Pope Francis is playing a similar gadfly role on the world stage now is directly in keeping with his Latin American and Argentine experience. Pope Francis, it seems, is very aware of the unhappy choices that his region has continually been offered over the past several decades—between Marxism and democracy, the state and the market. He lived through decades of conflict between left–right ideologies. He saw the carriers of these ideologies—political parties, guerrillas, military officers, politicians, and international financial institutions—use ordinary people as instruments in their striving to win the day. He witnessed this ideological competition do serious damage to communities, families, and churches. Given his personal history and ministry, then, Pope Francis’s four principles for guiding and leading people are not surprising: time is greater than space; unity takes priority over conflict; the reality is always more important than the idea; and the whole is superior to the parts.⁵⁸ What *is* surprising is the pope’s optimism with regard to these principles. He actually believes that politics and civic leadership are among “the highest charities.”⁵⁹ And, in line with Aristotle, he is confident that politics (and economics) can and should promote the common good.

HOW IS FRANCIS RECEIVED IN LATIN AMERICA? WHAT MIGHT BE THE “FRANCIS EFFECT” IN THE REGION?

If Pope Francis reflects his experiences as a Latin American and is sharing a worldview shaped by the periphery with the whole world, what does his home region think of him and his vision? What is Francis’s popularity like throughout the region? What is the first Latin American pope’s effect likely to be on Catholicism in the region? These are important questions, and we turn now to some preliminary answers.

To understand how Pope Francis is received in Latin America, it is important first to gauge Catholicism’s current strength in the region. In the first part of this chapter, we saw that the Catholic Church has played an important historical role in the region, politically, socially, and religiously. It continues to do so. At the same time, however, the Catholic Church has been losing adherents in the region over the past 30 or 40 years. The Pew Research Center reports that as late as the 1960s, at least 90 percent of Latin Americans were Catholics. When they surveyed adults in late 2013 and early 2014, only 69 percent identified as Catholics. Much of the decline can be attributed to people either converting to evangelical Protestantism or becoming unaffiliated.⁶⁰

Of course, the percentage of Catholics, Protestants, and the unaffiliated varies across countries. With the exception of Uruguay, South America tends to be more Catholic than does Central America, where Protestants made early and very successful missionary inroads. Mexico also has a high percentage of Catholics. In terms of the unaffiliated, Uruguay, the Dominican Republic, Chile, and a few other countries have high relative percentages. These differences are important, because countries' reception of Pope Francis's message may well be affected by their religious composition. Protestants, for example, tend to be more socially conservative than Catholics, who in turn are more conservative than the unaffiliated (Table 10.1).⁶¹

Table 10.1 Religious affiliations of Latin Americans

	<i>Catholic (%)</i>	<i>Protestant (%)</i>	<i>Unaffiliated (%)</i>	<i>Other (%)</i>
Predominantly Catholic				
Paraguay	89	7	1	2
Mexico	81	9	7	4
Colombia	79	13	6	2
Ecuador	79	13	5	3
Bolivia	77	16	4	3
Peru	76	17	4	3
Venezuela	73	17	7	4
Argentina	71	15	11	3
Panama	70	19	7	4
Majority Catholic				
Chile	64	17	16	3
Costa Rica	62	25	9	4
Brazil	61	26	8	5
Dominican Rep.	57	23	18	2
Puerto Rico	56	33	8	2
U.S. Hispanics	55	22	18	5
Half Catholic				
El Salvador	50	36	12	3
Guatemala	50	41	6	3
Nicaragua	50	40	7	4
Less than Half Catholic				
Honduras	46	41	10	2
Uruguay	42	15	37	6
Regional Total^a	69	19	8	4

Source: Pew Research Center, "Religion in Latin America: Widespread Change in a Historically Catholic Region," November 13, 2014, p. 14, available for download at <http://www.pewforum.org/2014/11/13/religion-in-latin-america/>

^aAdjusting for each country's population

Pope Francis's popularity also varies across countries. Table 10.2 shows the results of two surveys. The Pew survey was conducted between October 2013 and February 2014, and the WIN/Gallup survey occurred between September and December of 2015. Their results are similar. A majority of respondents in all of the countries surveyed hold a favorable view of Francis, and the percentages of those who do not know or cannot rate him tend to be higher than the percentages of unfavorable opinions, which are generally low. This latter pattern makes sense, given that Francis's papacy was still relatively new when the surveys took place.⁶² In addition, Pew found, not surprisingly, that current Catholics tend to be more enthusiastic about Pope Francis and to view his election as a sign of major change than do former Catholics. This finding may partially explain Pope Francis's lower favorability percentages in countries with lower percentages of Catholics, though the pattern does not hold in all cases. It is also notable, finally, that the Pope's highest favorability percentages are in Argentina, his native country. There, a clear majority of even former Catholics views him favorably (73 percent) and believes he will be a force for major change (53 percent).⁶³

Finally, it is interesting to look at the reasons that Protestants report for leaving the Catholic Church. Pew found a similar pattern across Latin American countries, at least in terms of the ranking of the reasons. Of those offered,⁶⁴ wanting a personal connection with God and enjoying the worship style at their Protestant Church tend to have the highest percentages of those saying they are important (see Table 10.3). Latin America as a region tends to be very spiritual, with 81–99 percent of respondents saying they believe in God. But higher percentages of Protestants than Catholics report that religion is very important in their lives.⁶⁵ These patterns suggest that it is worship style and presence, rather than the content of doctrine or social policy positions that make the difference.

These findings are suggestive if we are trying to predict what long-term effect Pope Francis's message and style may have on religious trends in the region. Even before he became pope, the Latin American church noticed that it was losing members to Pentecostal churches. It was a worrying trend, and one that church leaders, including Jorge Bergoglio, discussed frequently. They had a few responses. First, they tried to adapt to some of the worship style and faith concerns that Pentecostalism addresses. For example, a strong Catholic Charismatic movement emerged that appeals to the same spiritual yearnings that Pentecostalism satisfies. It has active lay participation and leadership, and the church hierarchy supported it.⁶⁶

Table 10.2 Latin American opinions of Pope Francis (% who describe their opinion as . . .)

	<i>Favorable</i>		<i>Unfavorable</i>		<i>Don't know/can't rate</i>	
	<i>Pew</i>	<i>WIN/Gallup</i>	<i>Pew</i>	<i>WIN/Gallup</i>	<i>Pew</i>	<i>WIN/Gallup</i>
Argentina	91	89	3	3	7	8
Colombia	83	84	5	8	12	9
Paraguay	82	*	2	*	15	*
Panama	77	73	11	11	13	16
Ecuador	76	78	7	9	17	12
Costa Rica	75	*	9	*	16	*
Brazil	74	73	12	13	14	14
Mexico	74	67	9	20	17	13
Peru	72	79	7	8	21	13
Dominican Republic	68	*	13	*	19	*
Uruguay	67	*	5	*	27	*
Venezuela	66	*	8	*	26	*
Bolivia	66	*	8	*	25	*
Honduras	64	*	16	*	19	*
Chile	64	*	6	*	30	*
El Salvador	63	*	15	*	22	*
Nicaragua	60	*	15	*	25	*
Guatemala	54	*	17	*	29	*

Source: Pew Research Center, "Religion in Latin America: Widespread Change in a Historically Catholic Region," November 13, 2014, p. 103, available for download at <http://www.pewforum.org/2014/11/13/religion-in-latin-america/>; WIN/Gallup International, 2016. "A WIN/Gallup International poll shows that most people across the globe have a positive image of Pope Francis," March 24, 2016. http://www.wingia.com/en/news/most_people_across_the_globe_have_a_positive_image_of_pope_francis/356/

The church leadership in many Latin American countries also gave renewed encouragement to traditional Catholic groups that venerate Jesus, the Holy Spirit, the Virgin Mary, and the Saints. Finally, Church leaders made special efforts to appeal to young people. They increased sponsorship of retreats, special youth masses, and other gatherings that are designed to be uplifting and joyful.⁶⁷ As pope, Francis is continuing these efforts. In fact, it is very appropriate that his first papal visit to Latin America was to the World Youth Day celebration in Rio de Janeiro, where he was greeted very enthusiastically. If style of worship is indeed important to Latin Americans, then these efforts may call some Catholics back to the Church.

Table 10.3 Why Protestant converts stopped being Catholic (% of Catholic-to-Protestant converts who say each item was an important reason they are no longer Catholic)

	<i>Wanted personal connection with God</i>	<i>Enjoyed worship style at new church</i>	<i>Wanted greater emphasis on morality</i>	<i>Found church that helps members more</i>	<i>Outreach by new church</i>	<i>Personal problems</i>	<i>Wanted better financial future</i>	<i>Married a non-Catholic</i>
El Salvador	93	78	68	62	66	14	23	11
Guatemala	91	80	81	66	72	24	23	16
Nicaragua	90	78	70	67	71	21	14	13
Colombia	87	75	62	58	56	18	14	9
Costa Rica	85	72	50	62	58	8	9	10
Dom. Rep.	81	69	62	57	55	7	14	8
Ecuador	81	61	59	58	58	26	10	4
Honduras	81	77	64	68	59	9	20	13
Brazil	77	68	61	62	58	21	21	9
Peru	76	66	58	55	65	29	9	7
Bolivia	75	62	47	55	55	39	16	5
Venezuela	73	55	55	56	43	12	8	6
Argentina	67	56	49	59	55	45	20	2

Source: Pew Research Center, "Religion in Latin America: Widespread Change in a Historically Catholic Region," November 13, 2014, p. 38, available for download at <http://www.pewforum.org/2014/11/13/religion-in-latin-america/>

It is also possible that more Latin Americans will become aware of Francis's TP now that he is pope. This message and his actions should resonate with many of them. As part of his 2013 visit, Francis made a highly publicized stop in a Rio de Janeiro favela called Varginho. There he made a speech that identified with Brazil's poor and called for efforts to improve social services, reduce violence, and promote justice. He said, "I would like to make an appeal to those in possession of greater resources, to public authorities and to all people of good will who are working for social justice: never tire of working for a more just world, marked by greater solidarity."⁶⁸ Of course, Francis established very early in his papacy that he wanted to promote "a poor church for the poor,"⁶⁹ and we know from the last section that solidarity with the poor is a long-term hallmark of Francis's ministry. These themes were repeated when he visited Bolivia, Ecuador, Paraguay, and Mexico. Luciani and Palazzi note that Pope Francis's strong pastoral focus and avoidance of abstract doctrines and ideologies may also be key. His insistence that the Gospel can be found principally in the distinctive historical and cultural experiences of the poor is a powerful message for a region where many struggle with poverty and social exclusion.⁷⁰ Perhaps most important, however, is the joy that so obviously animates Pope Francis's preaching of this vision for the Catholic Church. For Latin Americans who recall the days of activist liberationist ideals and church-led communal action, his message is probably inspiring. And for young people and others who are demoralized and outraged by their governments' corruption, mismanagement, and inattention to the needs of ordinary citizens, Pope Francis's message offers a concrete, faith inspired, and nonviolent basis for change.

Nevertheless, the Catholic Church continues to face several challenges in Latin America that will be very difficult for Francis, or any other pope, to overcome. First, even though Pope Francis's message is fresh, and he avoids any unreflective parroting of doctrine, he has not shown many signs of changing key Catholic teachings and practices. Women will not be allowed to become priests, priests will probably not be allowed to marry, and positions on abortion and marriage are unlikely to change in their essentials. To the extent that Latin Americans are leaving the church for doctrinal reasons, they are likely to be disappointed with Francis. That said, it is difficult to gauge just how significant church practices and social policies are to former Catholics and non-Catholics.

Second, and perhaps more importantly, the Latin American church continues to face a critical shortage of personnel. Based on the reasons

reported to the Pew Research Center for leaving the Catholic Church, it would seem very important that more churches, priests, lay leaders, and Catholic services be present where the majority of Latin Americans actually live. Catholicism can and has addressed the desire for a more personal and spirit-centered approach to religious worship, but if the church is not physically accessible to most Latin Americans, they will continue to turn to the Pentecostal churches and others that are.⁷¹ Pope Francis's theology and support for increased pastoral outreach may cause the number of vocations to rise. It may also inspire more lay participation in pastoral activities that meet the needs of ordinary Latin Americans. But whether or not these increases in personnel and pastoral activity will happen quickly enough to stem the tide of defections to Protestantism and secularism remains to be seen.

In conclusion, it is ironic that one of the most influential paradigms for studying religious competition sees it as a market, where religious "products" are offered to potential "customers." In assessing the Latin American market, this approach would see the Catholic Church as unable to "compete" with other faith-based organizations, such as Pentecostal churches. The "products" it is offering are not "selling" very well.⁷² Such an approach might ask: Will Pope Francis be able to change this market? After immersing oneself in Francis's theology and politics, however, it is clear that this question misses the point almost completely. Not only would Francis reject this instrumental view of the spiritual life, but also, he seems to step outside of such oppositional and simplifying categories altogether. By placing himself concretely in the reality of God's faithful people, and calling on the church to evangelize them in their cultures, the ideological and political categories we like to use are rendered unnecessary if not obstructive. By disorienting us, he forces us to "see" anew. Perhaps this is the real "Francis factor."

NOTES

1. Parts of this chapter draw from the author's previous work: Christine A. Kearney, "The Brazilian Church: Reintegrating Ontology and Epistemology" in *The Catholic Church and the Nation-State: Comparative Perspectives*, eds. Paul Christopher Manuel, Lawrence C. Reardon, and Clyde Wilcox, 151–72 (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2006); and Christine A. Gustafson, 2012. "Faith-State Relations in Brazil: What does Religious Competition Mean for Democracy?" in *Religion and*

- Politics in a Global Society: Comparative Perspectives from the Portuguese Speaking World*, eds. Paul Christopher Manuel, Alynna Lyon, and Clyde Wilcox, 113–38 (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2012).
2. Historians have called this a “Christendom” stage of church-state relations in Latin America. See, for example, Anthony Gill, *Rendering Unto Caesar: the Catholic Church and the State in Latin America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 19.
 3. Gill, *Rendering Unto Caesar*, 19; Ari Pedro Oro and Marcela Ureta, “Religião e Política na América Latina: Uma Análise da Legislação dos Países,” *Horizontes Antropológicos* 13, no. 2 (2007): 288.
 4. Liberation Theology has been much studied, but there is not space for a detailed treatment here. For an overview, see Gustavo Gutierrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics and Solution*, trans. Sister Caridad Inda and John Eagleson (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1973); Leonardo Boff and Clodovis Boff, *Introducing Liberation Theology*, trans. Paul Burns (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1987); and Phillip Berryman, *Liberation Theology* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987).
 5. John XXIII’s encyclical *Pacem in terris* (1963) endorsed human rights doctrine, and Vatican Council II’s *Dignitatis Humanae* (1965), issued by Paul VI, declared support for the principle of religious liberty.
 6. CEBs are small study groups that encourage spiritual growth and community solidarity. Brazil, for example, had an estimated 100,000 CEBs by the late 1980s. Scott Mainwaring, “Grass-Roots Catholic Groups and Politics in Brazil,” in *The Progressive Church in Latin America*, ed. Scott Mainwaring and Alexander Wilde, 151–92 (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1989), 151.
 7. Thomas E. Skidmore, *The Politics of Military Rule in Brazil, 1964–1985* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 184–87.
 8. Lois Hecht Oppenheim, *Politics in Chile: Socialism, Authoritarianism, and Market Democracy*, 3rd ed. (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2007), 107–9; 155.
 9. Austen Ivereigh, *The Great Reformer: Francis and the Making of a Radical Pope* (New York: Picador, 2014), 137–38.
 10. Thomas C. Bruneau and W. E. Hewitt, “Catholicism and Political Action in Brazil: Limitations and Prospects,” in *Conflict and Competition: the Latin American Church in a Changing Environment*, ed. Edward L. Cleary and Hannah Stewart-Gambino, 53–54 (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1992).
 11. See, for example, the works collected in Scott Mainwaring and Alexander Wilde, eds., *The Progressive Church in Latin America* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1989); Edward L. Cleary and Hannah Stewart-Gambino, eds., *Conflict and Competition: the Latin American Church in a Changing Environment* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner), 1992;

- John Burdick and W. E. Hewitt, eds., *The Church at the Grassroots in Latin America: Perspectives on Thirty Years of Activism* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2000).
12. Close observers and those within Latin America will not be surprised by this adjustment to the narrative.
 13. Ivereigh, *The Great Reformer*, 184.
 14. Juan Carlos Scannone, S.J., "Pope Francis and the Theology of the People," *Theological Studies* 77, no. 1 (2016): 124.
 15. Ivereigh, *The Great Reformer*, 186.
 16. *Ibid.*, 257.
 17. Ernesto Cavassa, S.J., "On the Trail of Aparecida: Jorge Bergoglio and the Latin American Ecclesial Tradition," *America*, October 30, 2013, <https://www.americamagazine.org/trail-aparecida>.
 18. Ivereigh, *The Great Reformer*, 106.
 19. Cavassa, "On the Trail of Aparecida."
 20. Ivereigh, *The Great Reformer*, 300.
 21. See, for example, Daniel H. Levine, "What Pope Francis Brings to Latin America," Working Paper no. 11 (Washington, DC: American University Center for Latin American and Latino Studies), 2016; Philip Berryman, "The Argentine and Latin American Background of Pope Francis," *American Catholic Studies* 127, no. 2 (2016): 55–70; and Samuel Gregg, "Understanding Pope Francis: Argentina, Economic Failure, and the Teología del Pueblo," *The Independent Review* 21, no. 3 (2017): 361–74.
 22. Tom Bailey, "A History of Economic Trouble in Argentina," *World Finance*, March 10, 2016, <https://www.worldfinance.com/special-reports/a-history-of-economic-trouble-in-argentina>.
 23. Ari Pedro Oro and Marcela Ureta, "Religião e Política na América Latina," 288.
 24. Donald C. Hodges, *Argentina, 1943–1987: The National Revolution and Resistance* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), 197. See also, Federico Finchelstein, *The Ideological Origins of the Dirty War: Fascism, Populism, and Dictatorship in Twentieth Century Argentina* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), chapters 4–6.
 25. See, for example, Gustavo Morello, *The Catholic Church and Argentina's Dirty War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).
 26. Austen Ivereigh, *The Great Reformer*, 131–64, gives a balanced discussion of Bergoglio's actions during the Dirty War.
 27. Gilbert Rist, *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith*, 3rd ed. (London: Zed Books, 2008), 113–15.
 28. Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, *Dependency and Development in Latin America*, trans. Marjory Mattingly Urquidí (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 21–28.

29. Cardoso and Faletto, *Dependency and Development*, xx–xxv.
30. Gustavo Gutierrez, “The Task and Content of Liberation Theology,” trans. Judith Condor, in *The Cambridge Companion to Liberation Theology*, 2nd ed., ed. Christopher Rowland, 22 (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
31. Conference of the Bishops of Latin America and the Caribbean (CELAM), *Concluding Document of the 5th General Conference*, 13–31 May 2007, Aparecida, Brazil, 60–62. Hereafter, cited as *Aparecida*.
32. *Aparecida*, 66.
33. Francis, *Evangelii gaudium*, The Holy See, The Vatican Website, November 24, 2013, http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/apost_exhortations/documents/papa-francesco_esortazione-ap_20131124_evangelii-gaudium.html, 53.
34. The principle of the universal destination of goods refers to the idea that the fruits of God’s creation are destined for all people, and that private property is conditioned by this social responsibility. Thomas R. Rourke, *The Roots of Pope Francis’s Social and Political Thought: From Argentina to the Vatican* (Lanham, MD: Rowan and Littlefield, 2016), 174–83.
35. The shift had many causes, including the 1980s debt crisis and the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the former USSR in the 1990s. See, for example, Joan M. Nelson, ed. *Economic Crisis and Policy Choice: The Politics of Adjustment in the Third World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990); and Luiz Carlos Bresser Pereira, José María Maravall, and Adam Przeworski, eds., *Economic Reforms in New Democracies, A Social-Democratic Approach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). For the content of neoliberal policies, see John Williamson, “What Washington Means by Policy Reform,” in *Latin American Adjustment: How Much Has Happened?*, ed. John Williamson, 7–38 (Washington, DC: The Institute for International Economics, 1990).
36. Pedro Sáinz, “Equity in Latin America since the 1990s,” UN/DESA Working Paper No. 22 (New York: United Nations, June 2006), 13.
37. Quentin T. Wodon, “Poverty and Policy in Latin America and the Caribbean,” World Bank Technical Paper No. 467 (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2000), 2.
38. Financial crises’ contagion was part of this vulnerability. The Mexican (1994), Asian (1997), and Russian (1998) crises were destabilizing for countries in the region and showed the fragility of many of neoliberalism’s gains.
39. Renos Vakis, Jamele Rigolini, and Leonardo Lucchetti, *Left Behind: Chronic Poverty in Latin America and the Caribbean* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2016), 1–2; Steven Levitsky and María Victoria Murillo, “Argentina: From Kirchner to Kirchner,” *Journal of Democracy* 19, no. 2 (2008): 28.

40. *Evangelii gaudium*, 53.
41. *Ibid.*, 54.
42. *Ibid.*, 56.
43. The principle of solidarity recognizes that all humans are one family and that we have obligations of love, peace, and justice toward one another. Subsidiarity is the notion that issues should be managed by the smallest group or at the least centralized level possible. Rourke, *The Roots*, 114–15 and 169–70.
44. For details on the causes and consequences of Argentina’s 2001–2002 economic crisis, see Hector E. Schamis, “Argentina: Crisis and Democratic Consolidation,” *Journal of Democracy* 13, no. 2 (2002): 81–94; “Argentina’s Troubled Transition,” *Current History* 107 (February 2008): 71–76; Ricardo Lopez Murphy, Daniel Artana, and Fernando Navajas, “The Argentine Economic Crisis,” *Cato Journal* 23, no. 1 (2003): 23–28; Levitsky and Murillo, “Argentina: From Kirchner to Kirchner.”
45. Ivereigh, *The Great Reformer*, 239.
46. *Ibid.*, 267; Paul Cooney, “Argentina’s Quarter Century Experiment with Neoliberalism: From Dictatorship to Depression,” *Revista de Economía Contemporánea* 11, no. 1 (2007): 9.
47. Ivereigh, *The Great Reformer*, 267.
48. *Ibid.*, 269.
49. *Ibid.*, 269.
50. Andrea Tornielli, *Jorge Mario Bergoglio, Francis: Pope of a New World*, trans. William J. Melcher (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2013), 130–34.
51. Ivereigh, *The Great Reformer*, 233.
52. *Ibid.*, 269.
53. *Ibid.*, 233.
54. The Te Deum is a mass of Thanksgiving, traditionally offered in Argentina on May 25 by the archbishop of Buenos Aires, to celebrate national independence. Conferencia Episcopal Argentina, “¿Qué es el Te Deum?” <http://www.episcopado.org/portal/component/k2/item/655-qu%C3%A9-es-el-te-deum.html>.
55. Jorge Bergoglio, quoted by Ivereigh, *The Great Reformer*, 250.
56. Quoted in Tornielli, *Jorge Mario Bergoglio*, 125.
57. Cardinal Bergoglio clashed with the Kirchners over several issues, including abortion, gay marriage, and poverty reduction efforts. They often boycotted his Te Deum masses. Jonathan Gilbert, “Making Nice? Argentina’s Kirchner and Pope Francis meet in Rome,” *The Christian Science Monitor*, March 18, 2013, <https://www.csmonitor.com/World/Americas/2013/0318/Making-nice-Argentina-s-Kirchner-and-Pope-Francis-meet-in-Rome>; *The Economist*, “The Awkward Couple: Argentina and the Pope,” March 23, 2013, 38–39.

58. Scannone, "Pope Francis and the Theology of the People," 128.
59. Tornielli, *Jorge Mario Bergoglio*, 129.
60. Pew Research Center, "Religion in Latin America: Widespread Change in a Historically Catholic Region," November 13, 2014, available for download at <http://www.pewforum.org/2014/11/13/religion-in-latin-america/>, 4.
61. Pew Research Center, "Religion in Latin America," 14.
62. The differences between the two polls are mostly within the error margins for both surveys (± 3.5 percent). In two cases, Mexico and Peru, they are greater, but the surveys did not use identical methodologies, so we should be careful in drawing conclusions from the differences. The WIN/Gallup poll did occur later than the Pew Survey and after the Pope had made some well-publicized visits to Latin American countries. WIN/Gallup International, 2016. "A WIN/Gallup International poll shows that most people across the globe have a positive image of Pope Francis," March 24, 2016, http://www.wingia.com/en/news/most_people_across_the_globe_have_a_positive_image_of_pope_francis/356/.
63. Pew Research Center, "Religion in Latin America," 104–5.
64. Note that respondents were offered a set list of reasons and were asked to say how important they were. They did not answer an open-ended question.
65. Pew Research Center, "Religion in Latin America," 41 and 51.
66. For more on this movement, see Edward L. Cleary, *The Rise of Charismatic Catholicism in Latin America* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2011).
67. See, for example, Peter B. Clarke, "'Pop-Star' Priests and the Catholic Response to the 'Explosion' of Evangelical Protestantism in Brazil: The Beginning of the End of the 'Walkout'?" *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 14, no. 2 (1999): 203–16.
68. John L. Allen, "In Brazilian Favela, Pope Francis Becomes Apostle of the Slums," *National Catholic Reporter*, July 25, 2013, <https://www.ncronline.org/news/global/brazilian-favela-pope-francis-becomes-apostle-slums>.
69. Allen, "In Brazilian Favela."
70. Rafael Luciani and Felix Palazzi, "A Rooted Vision: The Latin American Origins of Pope Francis' Theology," *America*, February 1, 2016, 20.
71. See, for example, David Martin, *Tongues of Fire: The Explosion of Pentecostalism in Latin America* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990); and Patrícia Birman and Márcia Pereira Leite, "Whatever Happened to What Used to Be the Largest Catholic Country in the World?" *Daedalus* 129, no. 2 (2000): 271–90.
72. Andrew Chestnut, "A Preferential Option for the Spirit: The Catholic Charismatic Renewal in Latin America's New Religious Economy," *Latin American Politics and Society* 45, no. 1 (2003): 56.

The Pope and Asia: Building Bridges—Reconciliation with the People’s Republic of China

Lawrence C. Reardon

While the Holy See diplomatically recognizes almost every United Nations member state, its relations with Asian communist states remain problematic. Catholic Relief Services has provided North Korea with emergency food aid and training programs since the 1990s.¹ Yet, the Holy See lacks diplomatic and ecclesiastical contacts with the hermit kingdom, which remains a totalitarian state mired in its Stalinist revolutionary paradigm controlled by the Kim dynasty. The Vatican has had more success with the Southeast Asian nation of Laos with 45,000 Catholics in a population of 6.4 million. While the Pathet Lao expelled foreign missionaries in the 1970s, the Laotian Apostolic Vicar Cardinal Ling Mangkhanekhoun, who was selected in 2017 by Pope Francis to be the first Laotian cardinal, reports that the Laotian Catholic Church maintains a good working relationship with the Lao People’s Revolutionary Party, although its relations with local party-state organizations remain problematic.²

The Vatican’s greatest success has been implementing its “Vietnam experiment.” After 1975, Vietnamese communists seized various Church

L. C. Reardon (✉)

University of New Hampshire, Durham, NH, USA

properties; banned Catholic educational institutions; shut down Caritas Vietnam, hospitals, and other social welfare programs; as well as imprisoned the Archbishop Nguyễn Văn Thuận for 13 years. After adopting a policy of renewal (*Đổi Mới*) in the mid-1980s, the Vietnamese Communist Party permitted a rebirth of Vietnamese religious life,³ especially for the six million Catholics who constitute 7 percent of the Vietnamese population. Starting with Cardinal Etchegaray's visit in 1989, the Vatican's "Vietnam experiment" culminated with the January 2007 meeting between Vietnam's prime minister and Pope Benedict XVI, who established a joint working group to deal with issues involving the Catholic Church and the Vietnamese party-state.⁴ While they have yet to establish direct diplomatic relations, the Holy See appointed Archbishop Leopoldo Girelli as its nonresidential papal representative in Hanoi in 2011.⁵ Although problematic at times, the Vatican and the Vietnamese Catholic Church have developed a working relationship with the party-state, which has returned some Catholic properties, reopened schools and social services, as well as adopted an acceptable method for choosing bishops, who participate in the Catholic Bishops' Conference of Vietnam and the Federation of Asian Bishops' Conferences.⁶ In 2015, Pope Francis appointed Hanoi's Archbishop Nguyễn Văn Nhơn as Vietnam's newest cardinal, who joined Cardinal and Archbishop Emeritus of Ho Chi Minh City Phạm Minh Mẫn, and who had participated in the conclave that elected Pope Francis in 2013.

The Vatican's experiment with Vietnam has offered possible solutions to one of its most tenacious problem, the reconciliation of the Greater Chinese Catholic Church, whose Catholic communities in the People's Republic of China (PRC) are disconnected from the Holy See and the Catholic communities in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao. In 1942, the Republic of China (ROC) established diplomatic relations with the Holy See. When the ROC government escaped to Taiwan in 1949, the Vatican moved its apostolic nunciature to Taiwan, which was established as China's twenty-first ecclesiastical province.⁷ For over 30 years, 300,000 Taiwanese Catholics remained separated from the Mainland Chinese Church until Pope John Paul II took the first steps toward reconciliation in the early 1980s. John Paul II and his successors have sought to reassure Taiwanese Catholics as well as members of the Roman Curia that the Holy See will protect the integrity of the Taiwanese Catholic Church, which the Vatican wants to use as a bridge between the Universal Church and the Mainland Chinese Church.⁸ Thus, Fu Jen University's Faculty of

Theology of Saint Robert Bellarmine has trained over 100 Mainland priests, nuns, seminarians, and laity in the world's only Mandarin-speaking pontifical faculty.⁹

The Diocese of Hong Kong, located in the ecclesiastical province of Guangzhou, has played a more prominent role bridging the Mainland Church and the Vatican. In 1980, John Paul II asked the Hong Kong Catholic Diocese and specifically the Director of the Holy Spirit Study Centre Father John Tong Hon to promote a greater understanding of the Mainland Church. The Bishop of Hong Kong Cardinal Wu Cheng-Chung made the first official visit to China in 1985, where he discussed Hong Kong's role in facilitating reconciliation as well as inquired about imprisoned Chinese Catholics, such as Bishop Gong Pinmei of Shanghai.¹⁰ His successor, Cardinal Joseph Zen Ze-Kiun (2002–2009), became an outspoken advocate for religious freedom and democracy and a strong supporter of the Mainland's unofficial Catholic community.¹¹ During this period, the CCP chose to work more closely with the Diocese of Macao and its 20,000 Catholics.¹² After accepting his retirement, Pope Benedict XVI elevated John Tong Hon as bishop of Hong Kong in 2009 and as cardinal in 2012. Cardinal Tong not only was responsible for protecting the religious freedom of Hong Kong's 450,000 Catholics (6.86 percent of the total population), but in stark contrast to his predecessor, he played a very important role facilitating reconciliation with the Mainland Church.¹³ Every other month in 2017, the Holy Spirit Centre hosted 20 to 30 priests and religious women “for weeklong seminars on topics such as running a parish, starting youth activities, and helping couples with marriage preparation.”¹⁴

Despite 35 years of building bridges, the Greater Chinese Catholic Church remains divided. The Federation of Asian Bishops' Conferences directly connects the Chinese Regional Bishops' Conference based in Taiwan, and the bishops of Hong Kong and Macao. They lack formal connections with the Mainland Chinese Church, its CCP-controlled Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association (CCPA) and the Bishops' Conference of the Catholic Church in China (BCCC). Even though John Paul II and his successors have engaged in a series of high-level secret negotiations with Beijing and offered to transfer the nunciature from Taipei,¹⁵ the Chinese party-state has maintained an inflexible religious policy. According to the Secretariat of State's China section chief, “the Chinese remain gripped with fear that Catholic Church membership would threaten Chinese civil power.”¹⁶ In contrast to the healthy growth

of the other officially recognized Daoist, Buddhist, Protestant, and Islamic religious communities, the 12 million Mainland Chinese Catholics remain divided among themselves and with the Holy See.

To resolve this dilemma, three popes have spent four decades adapting papal strategies to achieve their long-term goal of establishing a strong and unified Greater Chinese Catholic Church. From the Vatican viewpoint, the CCP is the core problem as it has assumed hegemonic control over society and severed links with the Universal Church. Father Jeroom Heyndrickx describes this division as between two Mainland Catholic communities and not between two separate Mainland Catholic Churches.¹⁷ The CCP controls the official Catholic community, whose leadership over the past seven decades has acted independently of Rome in ecclesial and administrative issues. Those Catholics who disagree with the CCP's hegemonic control have established the unofficial Catholic community that only recognizes the pope's spiritual and temporal authority. Their divisive debate has inhibited growth during a period when the Chinese people have increasingly searched for spiritual guidance.¹⁸ Hong Kong's Cardinal Tong succinctly summarized the situation in July 2016: "The Catholic Church in China lost its communion with the universal Church in an external sense, but in an essential sense, is not a schismatic Church. On the contrary, it is a Church that actively seeks to resume its communion with the universal Church."¹⁹

RECONCILIATION OR ANOTHER FALSE START?

While John Paul II initiated the reconciliation process with China in the early 1980s, Pope Francis started its newest phase in March 2013 following his election as the first Jesuit and first Latin American pontiff. Having experienced the terror of the Argentine military rule and the divisions and recriminations of post-junta Argentina, Pope Francis fully understood the long-term nature and importance of the reconciliation process.

Three days after his election, the pope sent a congratulatory letter to CCP General Secretary Xi Jinping on his appointment as the new Chinese president and de facto paramount leader. Xi Jinping responded to the pope's letter, prompting Pope Francis to state: "The relationships are there. They are a great people whom I love."²⁰ To guide him through the Chinese reconciliation maze, the pope appointed Pietro Parolin as his secretary of state, who had substantial diplomatic experience dealing with Asian communist parties and developing countries in Africa and

Latin America. They relied on experts with substantial experience dealing with China including Archbishop Claudio Celli and Hong Kong's Cardinal Tong Hon, as well as newer Vatican specialists such as the Undersecretary for Relations with States Monsignor Antoine Camilleri.

In August 2014, China allowed the pope for the first time to transit Chinese airspace, which had been denied to John Paul II in 1984 and 1989. According to papal custom, Francis extended his best wishes to the party general secretary and “invoke[d] divine blessings of peace and well-being upon” China.²¹ In an interview during the Chinese New Year of February 2016, Pope Francis described his feelings when he first flew in Chinese airspace as “very emotional, something that does not usually happen to me. I was moved to be flying over this great richness of culture and wisdom.”²² Just as Pope Benedict invited the Vietnamese prime minister to visit Rome in 2007, Pope Francis invited Xi Jinping to Rome to discuss world peace.²³ Xi Jinping declined Pope Francis's invitation, and again declined another opportunity to talk to Pope Francis at the September 2015 New York General Assembly meeting. Sending a New Year's greeting to the Chinese president and the people of China, Pope Francis emphasized that China had “much to offer to the world,” which was part of a global community and needed “to help and cooperate with everyone in caring for our common home and our common people.”²⁴

These positive signals initiated the next phase of formal negotiations, whose goal was to establish a basic working relationship, after which they would engage in negotiations to establish diplomatic relations.²⁵ This working relationship required an agreement on the appointment of bishops, on methods to reconcile the official and unofficial Catholic communities, and on clarification of the relationship between the Vatican, the party-state, and the bishops.²⁶ Their most contentious issue has been the appointment of bishops, which also was a problem facing the Vatican and the Eastern Europe under communist party rule.²⁷ Since the 1980s, the CCP usually appointed the Chinese bishops, who privately requested the Vatican's approval. According to Archbishop Celli, who was the Vatican's most senior negotiator with China, this procedure was unacceptable and would need to conform to acceptable Vatican practices.²⁸

Establishing a working group in April 2016, negotiators focused on resolving technical issues “to making relations in ecclesial life normal and serene.”²⁹ The Vatican was most concerned about the seven “self-nominated and self-ordained” bishops under excommunication, including one bishop who was married with children. Beijing was concerned about

40 unofficial bishops, some of who strongly opposed CCP control of the Chinese Catholic Church.³⁰ By July 2016, Cardinal Tong reported that Beijing and the Vatican had agreed that “the goal is not to harm the unity of the Catholic Church and the essential right of the Roman Pontiff to appoint bishops, and on the other, not to let the pope’s right to appoint bishops be considered an interference in the internal affairs of China.” As for the appointment of bishops, Cardinal Tong stated that the Catholic Church had been adjusting its approach just as they had adjusted the solution in Vietnam, which “the Apostolic See (had) tailored to suit the situation of the Catholic Church in Vietnam.” Tong also stressed that the BCCC must “include all the legitimate bishops of the open Church as well as the clandestine bishops, to form an integral bishops’ conference in China.” He reassured critics, such as Cardinal Zen and others in the Roman Curia, that Pope Francis “would only sign an agreement that would promote the unity and communion of the Church in China with the universal Church.” Extensively quoting Pope Benedict’s 2007 letter to Chinese Catholics, Tong rebutted these critics by arguing that the Church would “resolve problems through communication with the legitimate political power and not through continuous confrontation.”³¹

By February 2017, Cardinal Tong announced that both sides had reached a “preliminary consensus,” which would end “the crisis of a division between the open and underground communities in the Church in China[, which] will gradually move towards reconciliation and communion on the aspects of law, pastoral care and relationships.” To end the current practice of “self-nomination and self-ordination,” they would maintain the current system of the local churches electing their bishop. However, the BCCC would present their recommendations to the pope, who could accept or reject the candidate as “the last and highest authority in appointing a bishop.” As for the seven bishops of the official Church facing excommunication, Cardinal Tong reported the “rumor” that each bishop had sent letters to the pope demonstrating his repentance and willingness to submit completely to the pope’s authority. The Vatican is considering each case separately, including those with “moral conduct problems” and those whose diocese were administered by a Holy See-appointed bishop. Tong stated that the most difficult negotiating issue was the disposition of nearly 40 Holy See-appointed bishops not recognized by the CCP. After the 70 official bishops pledge their loyalty to the pope and the 40 unofficial bishops pledge their loyalty to the Chinese party-state, the Holy See would recognize the legitimacy of Mainland bishops’ conference composed of official and unofficial Chinese bishops.³²

Compelling unofficial bishops to swear allegiance to the party-state and registering with the CCPA no doubt will test their loyalty to the pope, as well as the loyalty of the Catholic laity belonging to the unofficial Catholic community. Tong argues, “Chinese Catholics faithful are generally patriotic, good citizens, who are not willing to engage in political activity. They are people who will not threaten political and social stability”; Tong suggests that analysts must separate religious freedom for the Chinese Catholic Church and religious freedom in areas such as Tibet and Xinjiang that also involve ethnic separatism and independence issues.

As a religious institution, the Catholic Church in China is not political and has no political aspirations. She has no intention of taking part in any political institutions to participate in or advance the political progress of the Chinese society. She seeks to live and witness to her belief on the land of China. Therefore, the concern of the Holy See and the Catholic Church in China is whether there is room for freedom of religion for her to practice her belief.³³

As the Holy See gains greater control over the Chinese Church in China, Cardinal Tong hoped that the CCPA would evolve into a “voluntary, non-profit, patriotic and Church-loving organization composed of clergy and faithful from all around the country.” Tong concluded that the preliminary agreement will create an “imperfect, but true Church” and “the moral principle of the Church teaches us to choose the lesser of two evils.”

During the spring and summer of 2017, the secret bilateral negotiations continued while the Vatican expressed its displeasure at the detention of another Chinese bishop. Reacting to the optimism of Cardinal Tong’s February 2017 letter, critics denounced the compromise on the bishop selection process and the lack of support for the underground Catholic community.³⁴ Pope Francis and Cardinal Parolin do not wish to rush the reconciliation process, and have adopted a broader approach that envisions the future of the Universal Church.³⁵ Thus, the pope understands the necessity of a strong basic working relationship, which is only the first major concrete step in the reconciliation process.

THE PROBLEM OF RECONCILING RELIGIOUS HEGEMONS

From the Vatican viewpoint, the CCP’s religious hegemony is the key obstacle to realizing reconciliation of the Greater Chinese Church. In 1949, the CCP established a totalitarian, one-party-state, which assumed comprehensive control over China’s government, economy, and society.

Chinese Communist elites established a top-down leadership according to a Stalinist interpretation of Marxist-Leninism that mobilized society to achieve the Party's long-term goals of building a strong national defense, developing a self-reliant economy, and asserting hegemonic control over all aspects of the state.³⁶ Under the Stalinist social paradigm, the CCP inserted party cells at all levels of political, economic, and social organizations, including religious organizations.

Starting in the early 1950s, the CCP implemented a xenophobic religious policy, which mandated the expulsion of all foreign missionaries, including the papal nuncio. To assert complete control, the CCP established the Religious Affairs Bureau (RAB) in 1957, which is the forerunner of today's State Administration for Religious Affairs (SARA). Working together with the CCP United Front Department, the RAB/SARA established offices at the national and provincial levels to administer the five religious associations, including the CCPA. The CCPA oversees Church personnel, approves religious and administrative policies, and regulates Church and affiliated religious organizations and their social welfare functions. Meeting every five years, bishops, priests, and laity of the official Catholic community participate in the Assembly of Chinese Catholic Representatives, which elect leaders of the BCCC and the CCPA. While the BCCC is responsible for managing the official Catholic community, the pope has yet to recognize the BCCC as a legitimate episcopal conference, as it is composed of several bishops who are considered illegitimate and does not include bishops from the unofficial Catholic community.³⁷ These party-state organizations implement various religious regulations, the newest of which in 2016 strengthened regulations over financing, restricted religious schools, contained foreign influence, while also allowing religious organizations to expand their social welfare activities.

During the Cultural Revolution, radical Stalinists closed religious institutions and persecuted all religious believers. After 1979, Deng Xiaoping and the bureaucratic Stalinists allowed the rebirth of Chinese religious life by reopening the temples, churches, and mosques under the watchful eye of the Party's United Front Department and SARA. Deng Xiaoping's experimentation with mixed-market economic reforms spilled over to China's religious policies, which over the past four decades have gradually allowed officially approved religious organizations to expand their operations and assume a greater role in providing social welfare services.³⁸ While adapting their bureaucratic Stalinist religious policies, the CCP continued to fear the power of religion and its threat to the party. Mid-nineteenth-century

religious movements killed over 20 million Chinese during the Taiping Rebellion, while 10,000 *Falungong* adherents demonstrated against the CCP in 1999. Tibetan monks and believers continue to protest CCP rule through self-immolation, while Islamic radicals use terrorism to establish an independent Islamic state.³⁹ In 2007, Shanghai's Bishop Jin Luxian argued that mid-level party and government bureaucrats did not wish to change the status quo, as they remained highly concerned that groups could threaten the party's hegemony.⁴⁰ General Secretary Xi Jinping thus advocated the "Sinicization" of all religions, so that they comply with the political agenda of the party-state.⁴¹

To counter the CCP's hegemonic policy of "independently managing the Church" [独立自主自办教会], popes have relied on a series of strategies to control the Chinese Catholic Church. Popes develop their ideas based on their own *Weltanschauung*, which is derived over time "by inductive processes, as they look to the past for information, understanding, and inspiration."⁴² The pope chooses his closest advisors, such as the secretary of state, who reflect his views and can formulate and implement strategies based on the pope's *Weltanschauung*. Ideational learning occurs as the pope and his advisors gather as much information as possible, estimate potential cost and benefits of each policy option, and adopt the best idea that has the lowest possible cost to achieve relatively unchanging long-term goals of the Church.⁴³ Over time, they adapt their ideas based on perceived success and failure, and even implement experiments to test new approaches to achieve long-term goals. The popes' primary long-term goal is to promote a unified Catholic faith worldwide as outlined in Matthew 28: 19a, in which Jesus states: "Go, therefore, make disciples of all nations; baptize them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teach them to observe all the commands I gave you." To this end, the pope has established hegemonic control of global Catholic institutions that "make disciples of all nations." While enjoying a relatively high degree of autonomy to formulate policy and capacity to implement policy, popes are not omnipotent. Popes must deal with a sometimes-recalcitrant curia as well as the individual national churches, whose history and dynamics are distinct, as well as have their share of disobedient bishops, priests, and laity.⁴⁴

In the case of the Mainland Chinese Church, the popes' long-term goal is to achieve reconciliation of the Greater Chinese Church that is in full communion with the Universal Church. This chapter argues that Pope Francis has learned from centuries of Vatican interactions with the Imperial,

Republican, and Communist leaders of Beijing. Francis has spoken several times about the experience of the Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci and his focus on inculturation. From the problems encountered by John Paul II and Benedict XVI and the relative success of the “Vietnam experiment,” Pope Francis has learned the limitations of Church autonomy and the need to establish a comprehensive approach to unify the Greater Chinese Church. From his experiences in Argentina and the first couple of years of his papacy, Francis has also learned the importance of strengthening his capacity to implement papal policy. These ideas guide Francis’s reconciliation strategy, and provide an insight to his stewardship of the Universal Church.

FIRST IDEA: FRANCIS AND THE IMPORTANCE OF INCULTURATION

In his January 2016 interview with Francesco Sisci, the pope revealed,

For me, China has always been a reference point of greatness. A great country. But more than a country, a great culture, with an inexhaustible wisdom. For me, as a boy, whenever I read anything about China, it had the capacity to inspire my admiration. I have admiration for China. Later I looked into Matteo Ricci’s life and I saw how this man felt the same thing in the exact way I did, admiration, and how he was able to enter into dialogue with this great culture, with this age-old wisdom. He was able to “encounter” it.

When I was young, and China was spoken of, we thought of the Great Wall. The rest was not known in my homeland. But as I looked more and more into the matter, I had an experience of encounter which was very different, in time and manner, to that experienced by Ricci. Yet I came across something I had not expected. Ricci’s experience teaches us that it is necessary to enter into dialogue with China, because it is an accumulation of wisdom and history. It is a land blessed with many things. And the Catholic Church, one of whose duties is to respect all civilizations, before *this* civilization, I would say, has the duty to respect it with a capital “R.” The Church has great potential to receive culture.⁴⁵

Pope Francis emphasized the importance of Ricci’s respect for Chinese culture, and the necessity to “enter into a dialogue, because it is an accumulation of wisdom and history.” Father Ricci (Li Madou, 利玛窦) established a working relationship with the Wanli Emperor of the Ming Dynasty, who highly valued Ricci’s expertise in Western scientific knowledge, especially astronomy, cartography, and mathematics. The Wanli Emperor

allowed Ricci to live in Beijing's outer city, where Ricci's small church eventually became the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception, or *Nantang*. When Ricci died in Beijing in 1610, the Wanli Emperor transformed a Buddhist temple site to become Ricci's tomb, which today can be found in Beijing's Zhalan Cemetery.⁴⁶

The sixteenth-century Jesuits sought to convince Chinese elites that Catholicism was not an evil cult (*xiejiao*), but a nonthreatening foreign religion (*yangjiao*) that could accommodate and support Confucian values. The Jesuits undoubtedly learned a lesson from the wide-scale persecution of Buddhists several centuries beforehand, which compelled Chinese Buddhists to harmonize their foreign religion with Chinese culture and thus assuage the fears of Confucian elites.⁴⁷ Ricci's understanding of Chinese language and culture allowed him to harmonize Catholic concepts with Confucian ideas, which greatly appealed to Chinese Confucian bureaucrats.⁴⁸ Ricci's Chinese-language religious writings were even published in Vietnam, where "they would provide Catholic doctrine with a material presence, which matched the Confucian and Buddhist ideas that the missionaries hoped to replace."⁴⁹

Unfortunately, the Jesuit strategy to integrate Catholic teachings with Confucian rituals and ancestral worship appalled the Augustinians, Dominican, and Franciscan missionaries. Following Pope Clement XI's decrees of 1704 and 1715 condemning the Jesuit accommodation to local Chinese rites and rituals, the new Qing Dynasty emperors regarded Catholicism as a dangerous religious sect, and prohibited the proselytization of all Christian religions in 1721.⁵⁰ Western powers forcibly opened China after the 1840s Opium Wars and tossed aside restrictions on Christian proselytization. Still inhibited by the papal edicts against inculturation, Catholic missionaries returned to China promoting a foreign religion with foreign missionaries to establish foreign Churches, hospital, orphanages, and educational institutions to promote a foreign Catholic faith. France assumed responsibility for protecting all Catholic missions in China, which they used to expand French influence throughout China and to block several Vatican attempts to establish diplomatic relations starting in the 1880s.⁵¹

To reinvigorate the Chinese Church, Pope Pius XII revoked the ban on Chinese rites and allowed the veneration of Confucius and ancestors. Pius XII had learned that the process of inculturation that transformed a foreign religion into a religion reflecting authentic cultural values would facilitate the mission of the Roman Catholic Church in China.⁵² By adapting

local customs, the Church enabled “the faith to sink roots into the life of the local Catholics, reaching finally to ‘a communion of faith and culture.’”⁵³ Pius XII pushed forward the establishment of diplomatic relations with the ROC in 1942, and elevated Thomas Tien Ken-hsin as China’s first cardinal and as archbishop of Beijing in 1946. Pius XII normalized the administrative structure by establishing 20 Chinese ecclesiastical regions, each of which was led by an archbishop, who in turn supervised bishops leading 79 dioceses and 38 apostolic prefectures, 80 percent of which were led by foreigners.⁵⁴ While Pius XII appointed 18 Chinese bishops between 1949 and 1955,⁵⁵ the CCP remained highly concerned that anti-communist foreigners dominated the Catholic Church hierarchy. By expelling all foreigners and subjecting the Chinese religious to various forms of intimidation, the CCP accelerated the transformation of the Roman Catholic Church in China into the Chinese Catholic Church administered by the Chinese and reflecting Chinese values, or, in this case, CCP values.

Pope Pius XII’s attempts at inculturation came too late for the Chinese Catholic Church.⁵⁶ Pope John XXIII and the Second Vatican Council, however, expanded the understanding of inculturation to enhance the integration of Catholic Church teachings with the traditional and modern cultural values of postindustrial Europe and many non-Western societies to “make Christianity a religion that is acceptable to all.”⁵⁷ Within the Indian Church, “inculturation represents an accommodation to an incipient ideology of Indian nationhood—and one that is not generally amenable to Catholicism itself.”⁵⁸ John Paul II praised Matteo Ricci’s methods of inculturation “in the constant search for a common ground of understanding with intellectuals of that great land.”⁵⁹ Pope Francis and Cardinal Parolin have learned a similar lesson about the effectiveness of inculturation. In 2017, Father Joseph You Guo Jiang published an authoritative article in *La Civiltà Cattolica*, which is a Jesuit journal whose drafts are reviewed and approved by the Vatican’s Secretariat of State.⁶⁰ According to Father Jiang,

Because China is so different from the rest of the world, the Chinese Catholic Church needs to learn how to deal with the local culture and political authority. In other words, while keeping its Catholic identity, the Church has to establish a “Chinese Catholic Church with Chinese Characteristics,” if it is to enculturate Church teachings and gospel values that are relevant to the Chinese people and serve both their and Catholics’ spiritual needs.

The Chinese Catholic Church and its leadership team have to adopt new strategies and approaches to reach a larger Chinese audience for dialogue and communication in a more secularized society where values and meanings are often misinterpreted. The Chinese Catholic Church must undergo a transformation to change its traditional ways of service and preaching in order to remain relevant to the needs of the new generation.⁶¹

According to Jiang, traditional Confucianism shares similar Catholic concepts, including “teachings on love, harmony, peace, justice, filial piety, marriage values, social stability and family values etc., [which] are features that Chinese Catholic Church can preserve and with them attempt to revitalize Chinese culture and tradition.”⁶² Perhaps it is no coincidence that the Congregation for the Causes of Saints is now reviewing Matteo Ricci’s beatification.⁶³

SECOND IDEA: FRANCIS AND THE LIMITS OF CHURCH AUTONOMY

While Francis and the Catholic Church can effectively adjust Catholic doctrine and practice to reflect Chinese culture, Francis is still confronted with the CCP’s religious hegemony. As the Jesuit provincial superior in Argentina and as the rector at the Philosophical and Theological Faculty of San Miguel, Father Jorge Bergoglio learned how to deal effectively with the Argentine military dictatorship between 1976 and 1983. Father Bergoglio chose a less confrontational approach that quietly sought to intervene in human rights cases and protect innocent Argentinians. “If I said nothing at the time, it was so as not to dance to anyone’s tune, not because I had anything to hide.”⁶⁴ He adopted a similar nonconfrontational approach when dealing with Xi Jinping and his proposed the “Sinicization of religion” (中国化方向), which Xi presented during his address to the May 2015 Central Conference on United Front Work and again in his address to the National Conference on Religions and Religious Work in April 2015. Xi Jinping did not argue that foreign religions should promote inculturation, but instead argued for the party to strengthen control over religion, which Xi Jinping continues to view as a dangerous political threat to party legitimacy. If religion can be “Sinicized” to serve only the needs of the CCP, then religion can contribute to the Xi’s vision of the future, the “China dream.”⁶⁵

In confronting CCP’s religious hegemony and “Sinicization,” Francis is learning to adapt Church autonomy, just as he had to adapt to the military junta’s rule in Argentina. Since Pius XII, the popes have embraced

three distinct ideas to unify the Greater Chinese Catholic Church: a containment strategy; establishing an independent but underground Mainland Chinese Church; and cooperating with the party-state. If finding the right “cultural language” is important to “make disciples of all nations,” Pope Francis is searching for the right political strategy to “Render therefore to Caesar the things that are Caesar’s and to God the things that are God’s” (Matthew 22: 21).

Strategy I: Containing Communism Through Excommunication

The communist takeover of Eastern Europe deeply troubled Pope Pius XII, who was especially disturbed by the December 1948 arrest and trial of Hungarian Cardinal Mindszenty. His persecution was shared by many of those Eastern European Catholics loyal to the Vatican and posed a direct threat to the universal Church. Pius XII thus sought to contain communism by approving the excommunication of any Catholic who truly supported the atheistic tenets of communism and challenged the integrity of the Universal Church.⁶⁶

Despite Pius XII’s plea for the global Catholic community to hold a special mass “to boycott communism,”⁶⁷ the communists established the PRC in October 1949, while the defeated Guomindang Party established the ROC in Taiwan. The process of inculturation proceeded in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao, where Vatican Council II reforms guided Vatican-approved bishops to permit the inclusion of various Chinese rites, including honoring one’s ancestors.⁶⁸ Divorced from the Greater Chinese Church and the universal Church, the Mainland Chinese Church fell under the influence of the CCP’s Stalinist ideology. With the outbreak of the Korean Conflict, the CCP imprisoned and/or expelled over 5500 Catholic missionaries and the papal nuncio.⁶⁹

In his last encyclical on Chinese communism entitled *Ad Apostolorum Principis* issued on June 29, 1958, Pius XII first reviewed his previous China encyclicals, including *Cupimus imprimis* (January 18, 1952) and the *Ad Sinarum gentem* (October 7, 1954). He lamented the suffering of thousands of Catholics imprisoned and/or expelled by the CCP. Pope Pius XII was especially concerned with the CCPA’s establishment in 1957, which he believed “aims primarily at making Catholics gradually embrace the tenets of atheistic materialism” and “spreads false rumors and accusations by which many of the clergy, including venerable bishops and even the Holy See itself, are claimed to admit to and promote schemes for earthly domination.”⁷⁰

To compensate for the expulsion of foreign religious administrators, Pope Pius XII allowed priests “special powers” to lead local dioceses.⁷¹ According to Pius XII, “the nomination of bishops is the right of the Roman Pontiff.” Bishops can only be self-nominated if “the Apostolic See has allowed it in express terms.” Reacting to bishops appointed by the RAB, Pius XII argued they “have been elected and consecrated in defiance of its express orders, enjoy no powers of teaching or of jurisdiction” and “acts requiring the power of Holy Orders ... are gravely illicit, that is criminal and sacrilegious.”⁷² As he considered any such appointment as an attack upon the integrity of the Church, “an excommunication reserved *specialissimo modo* to the Apostolic See has been established which is automatically incurred by the consecrator and by anyone who has received consecration irresponsibly conferred.”⁷³ Following the establishment of the RAB, the party-state appointed 54 bishops without papal approval from December 1957 to April 1963. As Vatican-approved bishops had consecrated the bishops and ordained several priests to the official Church, the Vatican considered such appointments as “illicit but valid.”⁷⁴ Pius XII, John XXIII, and Paul VI hoped to keep alive their communion with the Chinese Catholic Church.

With the conclusion of the Second Vatican Council, Pope Paul VI promulgated *Gaudium et spes* that omitted any direct condemnation of communism and Marxism.⁷⁵ Paul VI agreed with Vatican Council members that the Church needed to engage the communist governments and not just threaten excommunication. During the proceedings, Dutch Cardinal Bernard Alfrink argued, “Our pastoral duty is to look for good seeds even in the Communist world ... and not to close the door to sincere and fruitful dialogue.”⁷⁶ For a second time, a change in the papal strategy came too late for the Mainland Chinese Church. After 1965, the revolutionary Stalinists took command during the Cultural Revolution, closed all churches, and ordered an end to all religious practices.

Strategy II: Containing Communism by Promoting Social Transformation

After the late 1970s, China’s bureaucratic Stalinists formally approved the right of citizens to engage in religious practices, and reestablished the CCPA and the BCCC.⁷⁷ However, the pope was treated like the Dalai Lama during the early 1980s: a Chinese Catholic priest could not mention Pope John Paul II’s name in his sermons, while his picture could not be published.⁷⁸

Ordained in 1946, Pope John Paul II fully understood the power of communism and the power of the papacy to bring about social transformation and the downfall of communism.⁷⁹ Early in his pontificate, John Paul II expressed a keen interest in Chinese affairs. “We know virtually nothing” about China, and “prayed every day for the Church in China.” While visiting Manila in 1981, he stated, “It is my sincere and profound hope that one day in the near future, we will be able to meet and pray to the Lord.” Several months later, John Paul II admitted that the Chinese Catholic Church “has become the particular and constant anxiety of my pontificate.” In a November 1983 personal letter to China’s paramount leader Deng Xiaoping, John Paul II argued that a direct connection between the Holy See and Beijing would be in “the common good of humanity” and offered to find a “positive solution” to the situation with Taiwan. Deng Xiaoping did not reply.⁸⁰

Pope John Paul II thus adopted a two-pronged strategy toward the Mainland Chinese Church. First, he built a bridge with the official Catholic community. Invoking the memory of Matteo Ricci, John Paul stated in 1982: “We hope to overcome all the obstacles and find an appropriate way and adequate structures to resume dialogue and keep it constantly open.”⁸¹ Cardinal Jaime Sin, who was Overseas Chinese from the Philippines, initiated discussions with the CCPA and met with Premier Zhao Ziyang in 1987. At the same time, John Paul II built an even stronger bridge with the unofficial Catholic community by continuing Pius XII’s “state of necessity” in China. He appointed his close Eastern European advisor, Cardinal Jozef Tomko, to oversee the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples’ efforts to support the unofficial Catholic community. During the 1980s, the unofficial community thrived, as priests were ordained as bishops, who in turn ordained priests without having successfully completed their seminary training.⁸² The CCP responded by promulgating Central Committee/State Council document 1989.2 issued on February 17, 1989, that authorized the suppression of the unofficial Catholic community by closing unofficial churches and arresting unofficial bishops, clergy, and laity.⁸³

After listening to Cardinal Etchegarary’s 1993 China trip report, Pope John Paul II and his close advisors grew confident of the two-pronged strategy’s success. Supported by Cardinal Tomko and others, Cardinal Etchegarary argued that at least 80 percent or more of the official Catholic community, including members of the CCPA, the BCCC, and the laity, supported the pope.⁸⁴ Jiang Zemin’s November 1993 directive allowing

far greater latitude toward religious activities if they were “law abiding” reinforced Vatican optimism. Archbishop Claudio Celli’s 1996 visit to Beijing reopened Sino-Vatican discussions that nearly achieved one of John Paul II’s highest priorities, a historic papal visit that would have been a fitting climax to the Great Jubilee Year of 2000.⁸⁵

Unfortunately, Pope John Paul II and his advisors underestimated the CCP’s deep-seated fear of religion and its continuing hegemonic control over the Chinese Catholic community. With the hardening of Jiang Zemin’s attitudes following the April 1999 *Falungong* demonstrations,⁸⁶ the BCCC ordained five bishops during the January 6, 2000, celebration of Epiphany without receiving papal approval. Beijing also rejected John Paul II’s request to visit Hong Kong.⁸⁷ The Vatican subsequently held a major celebration on October 1, 2000, in St. Peter’s Square celebrating the canonization of 120 Chinese Catholics and Western missionaries who had been martyred between 1648 and 1930.⁸⁸ The Chinese leadership interpreted the canonization as a direct insult to the Chinese party-state. Not only did the Vatican hold the celebration on the PRC’s National Day, but it also appeared to use a foreign religious holy day to diminish China’s annual nationalist celebration. The party-state also felt insulted as the new Chinese saints did not include those who had cooperated with the government such as Matteo Ricci, but only those executed by the Imperial government or killed during the 1900 Boxer Uprising, which the CCP regards as a patriotic movement against foreign oppression.⁸⁹ For more than a decade, both sides engaged in a “tit-for-tat” strategy, oftentimes involving the appointment of bishops.⁹⁰

Strategy III: Accommodating the CCP to Establish a Unified Chinese Catholic Community

After 2000, John Paul II realized that the Vatican had underestimated the power of the CCP, whose control was stronger than that of the Eastern European communist states. Instead of strengthening the Chinese Church, the pope’s two-pronged strategy exacerbated the division in the Chinese Catholic community.⁹¹ According to the Vatican country director on China, the CCP had taken advantage of this situation and used a *divide et impera* strategy to keep the Chinese Catholic community weak.⁹² After nearly 20 years, John Paul II learned the importance of dealing directly with the party-state, which was described as “omnipresent” and tightly controlling the Catholic Church.⁹³

One year following the canonization of the 120 Chinese martyrs, the Chinese held a Beijing conference in October 2001 honoring the 400th anniversary of the Wanli Emperor's appointment of Matteo Ricci as an imperial advisor. Pope John Paul II attended a similar ceremony in Rome, where he initiated a new phase of the reconciliation process by apologizing to the Chinese people: "I feel deep sadness for the errors and limits of the past, and I regret that these failings may have given the impression of a lack of respect and esteem for the Chinese people, making them feel that the Church was motivated by feelings of hostility towards China."⁹⁴ While John Paul made several apologies during his papacy, his October 2001 apology to China signaled an important paradigm change in the Vatican's strategy from confrontation to accommodation, which continued to evolve during the Benedict and Francis pontificates.

Key personnel changes enhanced this paradigm change. Cardinal Crescenzo Sepe from Italy replaced Slovakian Cardinal Tomko in April 2001, who had served 16 years as prefect of the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples. One year later, Secretariat of State Sodano appointed Pietro Parolin as the new Undersecretary of State for Relations with States, who would gain a sophisticated knowledge of Asia as he developed relations with Vietnam and China.⁹⁵ Following the passing of Pope John Paul II in April 2005, Pope Benedict XVI clearly voiced his strong desire to improve relations with Vietnam and China during his first audience with the chief of missions accredited to the Vatican on May 12, 2005.⁹⁶ Benedict hoped that the experience gained in negotiating with Vietnam would foster new methods to deal with the Mainland Chinese Catholic communities, including the appointment of bishops.

In 2005, Secretary of State Sodano's office approved the publication of Father Hans Waldenfel's article in *La Civiltà Cattolica* that argued that to establish a stronger unified Chinese Catholic community, the pope should end Pope Pius XII's "state of necessity" and support the reconciliation of the official and unofficial Catholic communities.⁹⁷ At the time, Parolin optimistically hoped that Beijing would allow some type of official Vatican representative to be based in Beijing,⁹⁸ and that the Vietnam experiment would be a model for China. Parolin stated that the China problem was "not a major problem," as the Vatican had reached a *modus vivendi* with Vietnam, in which the Vatican presented its episcopal candidates to the Vietnamese government, which could support or veto the candidate.⁹⁹ This successful cooperation between the Vatican and the Vietnamese communist party improved bilateral relations as indicated by the Vietnamese prime minister's audience with Pope Benedict in 2007.¹⁰⁰

However, the Vietnam experiment had only limited applicability to China. Vietnam had a larger Catholic population (7 percent of the population), and the Vietnamese communist party never established a party-controlled official Vietnamese Catholic Church such as the SARA-controlled CCPA. Shanghai's Bishop Jin Luxian argued that the CCP would reject the Vietnam model, as "this could be seen as a precedent that Tibetan Buddhists might want to use for the selection of the next Dalia Lama."¹⁰¹ The Vatican eventually accepted Bishop Jin's third option, which reversed the Vietnam solution by allowing the Vatican to have final veto over the episcopal appointment.

Some of these ideas were included in Pope Benedict's path-breaking May 27, 2007, letter to Chinese Catholics, which for the first time accepted the PRC as China's legitimate government and ended Pius XII's state of necessity.¹⁰² "It is therefore indispensable, for the unity of the Church in individual nations, that every Bishop should be in communion with the other Bishops, and that all should be in visible and concrete communion with the Pope."¹⁰³ In one of the first symbolic celebrations of Benedict's call for reconciliation, Chinese Catholics from both the official and unofficial communities celebrated mass for the first time with Catholics from the Greater China Church in Rome during the World Day of Prayer for the Church in China in May 2008. As the new prefect of the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples, Cardinal Ivan Dias of India called upon all Chinese Catholics to forgive past transgressions.¹⁰⁴ Having spent five years as apostolic nuncio to Albania as it was emerging from decades of communist rule, Cardinal Dias understood the problems of reconciling the official and unofficial Chinese Catholic communities. In a letter to the Chinese bishops and priests in 2010, Cardinal Dias encouraged the continued reconciliation of the Catholic community and warned that a "sign of the devil at work" was the internal division.¹⁰⁵

Pope Benedict established the Commission for the Catholic Church in China, which met every spring between 2008 and 2012 to promote the Vatican's reconciliation with the CCPA. Composed of top representatives from the Greater Chinese Church and the Roman Curia, the commission held discussions that often became a forum for Cardinal Zen and others to criticize efforts to reunite the official and unofficial Chinese Catholic communities.¹⁰⁶ The proponents of accommodation, such as Father Heyndrickx, argued that "the out-dated communism of the '50s still exist here and there in China," but "there is a lot more freedom of religion in China today, as compared to 25 years ago."¹⁰⁷ Such outdated views of Chinese communism held by both sides fueled the "tit-for-tat" dynamics

after 2000 between Beijing and the Vatican, who failed to cooperate consistently on episcopal appointments.

Following his election in March 2013, Pope Francis elevated Pietro Parolin as the secretary of state and as a cardinal. Pope Francis put complete trust in Cardinal Parolin,¹⁰⁸ and stated, “Yes, I would like to go to China. Tomorrow! I am a general doctor but, on themes that relate to Asia, Monsignor Parolin is the surgeon!”¹⁰⁹ To rebuild the momentum lost over the previous five years, Cardinal Parolin terminated the contentious Commission for the Catholic Church in China. To discover how to establish a strong working relationship with the Chinese government, Parolin analyzed the strategies of the first Apostolic Delegate to China, Cardinal Celso Constantini of the early twentieth century. According to Parolin, Constantini’s approach was based on “knowledge, respect, encounter and dialogue between worlds that at least in appearance, were far from each other.”¹¹⁰

Fully supported by Pope Francis, Cardinal Parolin accepted and expanded Pope Benedict’s 2007 approach of cooperating with the CCP and the CCPA. As Jiang argued in his May 2017 *La Civiltà Cattolica* article,

As long as the Chinese Communist Party is the only leading party in the government, Marxism will continue to be the ideological guideline for society. Thus, the Chinese Catholic Church will have to redefine its role and relationship with the Party and its ideological theories. This does not necessarily mean that the Church has to agree completely with Party politics and values, but it must find flexible and effective way to continue its mission and ministry in China.¹¹¹

The Vatican thus will work with the CCPA to strengthen vocations, to expand social welfare services, and to eliminate barriers between the official and unofficial Mainland Catholic communities. Linking the ideas of inculturation and the limits of autonomy, Jiang argued “while keeping its Catholic identity, the Church has to establish a ‘Chinese Catholic Church with Chinese Characteristics,’ if it is to enculturate Church teachings and gospel values that are relevant to the Chinese people and serve both their and Catholics’ spiritual needs.”¹¹²

Beginning with John Paul II, popes have replaced the fearful Cold War Manichean strategy that created deep enmity within the greater Chinese Catholic communities. While accommodating the Chinese party-state, and “render therefore to Caesar the things that are Caesar’s,” Pope

Francis seeks to unify the greater Chinese Catholic Church and build strong links to the universal Church, so that the Chinese Church can render “to God the things that are God’s.” The question remains whether Pope Francis can bring about a reconciliation of the two contentious Catholic Chinese communities, as well as with foreign critics who continue their fight against the evils of the Chinese Communists, including their violation of human rights and their need for religious hegemony.

THIRD IDEA: POPE FRANCIS AND STRENGTHENING CAPACITY

As the Jesuit provincial superior in Argentina, Pope Francis discovered he had the ability to dialogue with authoritarian leaders. As the Buenos Aires archbishop, Francis subsequently learned to hold “real consultations” with auxiliary bishops and priests. Since assuming the papacy in 2013, Francis has combined these leadership skills to consult with cardinals and bishops before convening synods,¹¹³ as well as authoritatively issuing commands and demotions to strengthen policy implementation. Thus, Pope Francis asked the leader of the Knights of Malta to resign, demoted Cardinal Raymond Burke over his opposition to various reforms, and ordered all the priests in a Nigerian diocese to submit a letter of obedience and accept the pope’s choice for bishop. He even revived an older tradition requiring all cardinals to report all movements, so that the Holy See could more closely control the cardinals.¹¹⁴

Conservative Chinese communists are not the only players opposed to reconciliation. Cardinal Parolin has dealt with factions within the Roman Curia who have strongly opposed reconciliation with the Chinese Communists over the years.¹¹⁵ According to Cardinal Tong, these critics have directly attacked Pope Francis, accusing him of violating “the principles of the Church” in negotiating with the Chinese party-state.¹¹⁶ Cardinal Zen has been particularly open with his criticism, describing the pope as “naïve” and his advisors having “wrong ideas.” Yet once the pope has finalized a reconciliation agreement, Zen has stated that he “would never publicly criticize the Holy Father.”¹¹⁷ Within the Mainland Chinese Catholic Church, Pope Francis and Cardinal Parolin also must deal with opposition from the unofficial Catholic community, who have objected to the forced reconciliation with the official Catholic community who they consider as cowards and traitors.¹¹⁸ Having gained experience during the Argentine reconciliation process, Pope Francis will rely on both consultation and his papal authority to implement any reconciliation agreement.

CONCLUSION

Pope Francis's belief in inculturation and accommodation, and his willingness to exert papal authority, will continue to guide his actions. The Vatican's relationship with Vietnam has proven that a unified Catholic Church can work with the party-state as a partner, and not as its servant. From his time in Argentina, Francis has an in-depth understanding of the reconciliation process and the importance of healing internal dissension. Francis realizes that the reconciliation process will take a long time, as the Chinese party-state must adapt its Stalinist social paradigm and its religious hegemony to accept a reduced role in controlling the Mainland Chinese Catholic Church. The unofficial Catholic community and the Roman Curia will need time to accept the accommodations reached with the Chinese party-state and to forgive past transgressions. Rome was not built in a day, but they were laying bricks every hour.

NOTES

1. James Nicholson, "North Korea: Catholic Relief Agency builds bridges," US Department of State Cable, July 26, 2004, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/04VATICAN2890_a.html; "Vatican-North Korea contacts on hold pending outcome of six-party talks," US Department of State Cable, November 20, 2003, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/03VATICAN5264_a.html
2. Peter Tran, "Laotian bishop surprised to be named cardinal," *National Catholic Reporter*, June 24, 2017, <https://www.ncronline.org/news/people/laotian-bishop-surprised-be-named-cardinal>
3. Claire Trần Thị Liên, "Communist State and Religious Policy in Vietnam: A Historical Perspective," *Hague Journal on the Rule of Law* 5, no. 2 (2013): 229–52.
4. Pietro Parolin, "One saw in their eyes the joy of the faith," in Sandro Magister, "Easter in Vietnam: An Extraordinary Account," April 5, 2007, *Chiesa.espressonline.it*, http://chiesa.espresso.repubblica.it/chi_siamobdc4.html?eng=y; Gerard O'Connell, "Are Vietnam and the Vatican close to establishing diplomatic relations?" *America*, November 9, 2016, <https://www.americamagazine.org/faith/2016/11/09/are-vietnam-and-vatican-close-establishing-diplomatic-relations>
5. "Il Papa nomina un suo "rappresentante" per il Vietnam" [The Pope nominates his 'representative' to Vietnam], *AsiaNews.it*, January 13, 2011, <http://www.asianews.it/index.php?idn=1&art=20496>

6. Lee Nguyen, "Vietnam today, 40 years after the fall of Saigon," *AsiaNews.it*, May 1, 2015, <http://www.asianews.it/news-en/Vietnam-today%2C-40-years-after-the-fall-of-Saigon-34133.html>
7. Anthony S. K. Lam, "Seeking Chinese Archbishops for the Catholic Hierarchy in China," *Tripod*, 36, no.183 (Winter 2016), http://www.hsstudyc.org/hk/en/tripod_en/en_tripod_183_04.html
8. Beatrice Leung, *Sino-Vatican Relations: Problems in conflicting authority, 1976–1986* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
9. Joseph You Guo Jiang, "Catholicism in 21st Century China," *La Civiltà Cattolica*, May 2017, <https://laciviltacattolica.com/may-2017/catholicism-in-21st-century-china/>
10. Leung, *Sino-Vatican Relations: Problems in Conflicting Authority*.
11. Christopher Sandrolini, "Holy See's China negotiator 'Hopeful but without illusions,'" US Department of State Cable, March 31, 2006, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/06VATICAN57_a.html
12. Ibid.; Joseph Y. S. Cheng, *Whither China's Democracy: Democratization in China since the Tiananmen Incident* (Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press, 2011); Beatrice Leung, "Sino-Vatican Relations and the Intermediary Roles of Hong Kong and Macau," *Europe and China: Strategic Partners or Rivals?* 1 (2012): 201–18.
13. John Cardinal Tong, "The Communion of the Church in China with the Universal Church," Holy Spirit Study Centre, July 31, 2016, http://www.hsstudyc.org/hk/20160804_en.pdf
14. Gail DeGeorge, "Cardinal Tong strikes optimistic note on Vatican–China relations," *National Catholic Reporter*, March 7, 2017, <https://www.ncronline.org/news/world/cardinal-tong-strikes-optimistic-note-vatican-china-relations>
15. D. Brent Hardt, "Vatican–China: Holy See Welcomes US Push on Dialogue, But Expects Little Movement Prior to Party Congress," US Department of State Cable, August 13, 2002; Richard Owen, "Vatican Ready to End Its 50-year Feud with China," *The Times (London)*, October 29, 2005; Beatrice Leung and Marcus J. J. Wang, "Sino-Vatican Negotiations: problems in sovereign right and national security," *Journal of Contemporary China* 25, no. 99 (2016): 467–82.
16. D. Brent Hardt, "Holy See Would Welcome Continued Presidential Push for Greater Religious Freedom in China," US Department of State Cable, October 23, 2002, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/02VATICAN5194_a.html
17. Jeroom Heyndrickx, "Towards a Chinese Church in Dialogue: Exploring Ways of Cooperation with the Church in China," *Tripod*, 26, no. 143 (Winter 2006), http://www.hsstudyc.org/hk/en/tripod_en/en_tripod_143_05.html; Victor Gaetan, "Vatican–China Accord: Snapshots from Behind the Scenes," *National Catholic Register*, January 4, 2017,

- <http://www.ncregister.com/daily-news/vatican-china-accord-snapshots-from-behind-the-scenes>
18. Yang Fenggang, *Religion in China: Survival and revival under communist rule* (Oxford University Press, 2011).
 19. Tong, “The Communion of the Church in China with the Universal Church.”
 20. De Bortoli, Ferruccio de Bortoli, “Benedetto XVI non è una statua partecipa alla vita della chiesa” [Benedict is not a statue, and participates in the life of the Church], *Corriere della Sera*, March 5, 2014, http://www.corriere.it/cronache/14_marzo_04/vi-racconto-mio-primo-anno-papa-90f8a1c4-a3eb-11e3-b352-9ec6f8a34ecc.shtml
 21. *Vatican Radio*, “Pope Francis Sends Telegram from Plane to China And Other Countries,” August 14, 2014, http://en.radiovaticana.va/news/2014/08/14/pope_francis_sends_telegram_from_plane_to_china_/1104531
 22. Francesco Sisci, “Pope Francis Urges World Not to Fear China’s Rise: AT exclusive,” *Asia Times*, February 2, 2016, <http://www.atimes.com/at-exclusive-pope-francis-urges-world-not-to-fear-chinas-rise/>
 23. Gerard O’Connell, “Are Vietnam and the Vatican Close to Establishing Diplomatic Relations?” *America*, November 9, 2016, <https://www.americamagazine.org/faith/2016/11/09/are-vietnam-and-vatican-close-establishing-diplomatic-relations>
 24. Sisci, “Pope Francis Urges World Not to Fear China’s Rise: AT Exclusive.”
 25. Gail DeGeorge, “Cardinal Tong Strikes Optimistic Note on Vatican–China Relations,” *National Catholic Reporter*, March 7, 2017, <https://www.ncronline.org/news/world/cardinal-tong-strikes-optimistic-note-vatican-china-relations>
 26. Leung and Wang, “Sino-Vatican Negotiations: Problems in Sovereign Right and National Security”; Richard Madsen, “Richard Madsen: In China–Holy See dialogue, Beijing Wants to Destroy, or at Least Weaken the Church,” *AsiaNews.it*, February 13, 2017, <http://www.asianews.it/news-en/Richard-Madsen:-In-China-Holy-See-dialogue,-Beijing-wants-to-destroy,-or-at-least-weaken-the-Church-39926.html>
 27. Jonathan and Jolanta Babiuch, *The Vatican and the Red Flag: The Struggle for the Soul of Eastern Europe* (New York: Geoffrey Chapman, 1999).
 28. Beatrice Leung and William Liu, *Chinese Catholic Church in Conflict: 1949–2001* (Boca Raton, FL: Universal Publishers, 2004).
 29. Lisa Jucca, Benjamin Kang Lim, and Greg Torode, “After Decades of Mistrust, Pope Pushes for Diplomatic Breakthrough With China,” *Reuters*, July 14, 2016, <http://www.reuters.com/investigates/special-report/china-vatican/>
 30. Victor Gaetan, “Vatican–China Accord: Snapshots from Behind the Scenes,” *National Catholic Register*, January 4, 2017, <http://www.>

- ncregister.com/daily-news/vatican-china-accord-snapshots-from-behind-the-scenes; John Cardinal Tong, “The Future of the Sino-Vatican Dialogue from an Ecclesiological Point of View,” *Sunday Examiner*, July 1, 2017, <http://sundayex.catholic.org.hk/node/4047>
31. Tong, “The Communion of the Church in China with the Universal Church.”
 32. Tong, “The Future of the Sino-Vatican Dialogue from an Ecclesiological Point of View”; DeGeorge, “Cardinal Tong Strikes Optimistic Note.”
 33. Tong, “The Future of the Sino-Vatican Dialogue from an Ecclesiological Point of View.”
 34. UCANEWS, “China–Vatican Talks to Resume with New Negotiators,” *Ucanews*, June 15, 2017, <http://www.ucanews.com/news/china-vatican-talks-to-resume-with-new-negotiators/79511>; “Vatican Says Talks with China Have Stalled,” *Ucanews*, January 28, 2017, <http://www.ucanews.com/news/vatican-says-talks-with-china-have-stalled/75083>
 35. Francesco Sisci, “China and the Vatican—The Times They Are a Changin’,” *La Rivista Italiana de Geopolitica*, June 7, 2017, <http://www.limesonline.com/en/china-and-the-vatican-the-times-they-are-a-changin>
 36. Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).
 37. Benedict XVI, “Letter of the Holy Father Pope Benedict XVI to the Bishops, Priests, Consecrated Persons and Lay Faithful of the Catholic Church in the People’s Republic of China,” The Vatican Website, May 27, 2007, https://w2.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/letters/2007/documents/hf_ben-xvi_let_20070527_china.pdf
 38. Lawrence C. Reardon, “Ideational Learning and the Paradox of Chinese Catholic Reconciliation,” *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* (Hamburg), 40, no. 2 (2011): 43–70.
 39. Reardon, “The Party Giveth, and the Party Taketh Away: Chinese Elite Attitudes Towards Religion,” in *Religious Transformation in Modern Asia: A Transnational Movement*, ed. David W. Kim, 26–50 (Leiden, NE: Brill, 2015).
 40. Kenneth Jarrett, “Shanghai Bishop Jin on Papal Letter,” US Department of State Cable, July 5, 2007, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/07SHANGHAI412_a.html; Peter R. Moody, “The Catholic Church in China Today: The Limitations of Autonomy and Enculturation,” *Journal of Church and State* 55, no. 3 (2012): 403–31.
 41. Sergio Ticozzi, “The Catholic Church and Sinicization,” *Tripod* 27, no. 184 (Spring 2017), http://www.hsstudyc.org.hk/en/tripod_en/en_tripod_184.html
 42. Emanuel Adler, “The Emergence of Cooperation: National Epistemic Communities and the International Evolution of the Idea of Nuclear Arms Control,” *International Organization* 46, no. 1 (Winter, 1992): 101–45.

43. Duncan Snidal, "Rational Choice and International Relations," in *Handbook of International Relations*, ed. Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse-Kappen, and Beth A. Simmons, 73–94 (London: Sage, 2001).
44. Paul Christopher Manuel, Lawrence C. Reardon, and Clyde Wilcox, eds., *The Catholic Church and the Nation-state: Comparative Perspectives* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2006).
45. Sisci, "Pope Francis Urges World Not to Fear China's Rise: AT Exclusive."
46. Anthony E. Clark, "'Weaving a Profound Dialogue between West and East': On Matteo Ricci, SJ," *Ignatius Insight*, May 27, 2009, http://www.ignatiusinsight.com/features2009/tclark_mricci_may2009.asp
47. Reardon, "The Party Giveth, and the Party Taketh Away."
48. Jean-Paul Wiest, "Matteo Ricci: Pioneer of Chinese-Western Dialogue and Cultural Exchanges," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 36, no. 1 (2012): 17–21.
49. Tara Alberts, "Catholic written and oral cultures in seventeenth-century Vietnam," *Journal of Early Modern History* 16, no. 4–5 (2012): 383–402; 391.
50. S. J. Minamiki, *The Chinese Rites Controversy, from Its Beginning to Modern Times* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1985).
51. Sergio Ticozzi, "The Official End of the Chinese Rites Controversy," *Tripod* 29, no. 155 (Winter 2009), http://www.hsstudyc.org/hk/en/tripod_en/en_tripod_155_02.html; Valentine U. Iheanacho, "Benedict XV and the Rethinking of Catholic Missionary Strategy" *Tripod*, 36, no. 183 (Winter 2016), http://www.hsstudyc.org/hk/en/tripod_en/en_tripod_183_04.html
52. Aylward Shorter, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2006).
53. Thomas Law, "The 70th Anniversary of Lifting the Ban on the 'Chinese Rites,'" *Tripod* 29, no. 155 (Winter 2009), http://www.hsstudyc.org/hk/en/tripod_en/en_tripod_155_03.html
54. Sergio Ticozzi, "The Establishment of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy: Its Meaning and Effects," *Tripod* 36, no. 183 (Winter 2016), http://www.hsstudyc.org/hk/en/tripod_en/en_tripod_183_02.html
55. Anthony S. K. Lam, "Seeking Chinese Archbishops for the Catholic Hierarchy in China," *Tripod* 36, no. 183 (Winter 2016), http://www.hsstudyc.org/hk/en/tripod_en/en_tripod_183_04.html
56. Richard Madsen, *China's Catholics: Tragedy and Hope in an Emerging Civil Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).
57. Moody, "The Catholic Church in China Today"; Laurenti Magesa, *Anatomy of Inculturation: Transforming the Church in Africa* (Orbis Books, 2014).
58. Mathew N. Schmaltz, "The Indian Church: Catholicism and Indian Nationhood," in *The Catholic Church and the Nation-State*, ed. Manuel, Reardon, and Wilcox, 209–25.

59. Gianni Criveller, "Pope John Paul II and China," *Tripod* 25, no. 137 (Summer 2005), http://www.hsstudyc.org.hk/en/tripod_en/en_tripod_137_02.html
60. Sandro Magister, "Vatican Diary/New Driver at *La Civiltà Cattolica*," After a Spinout," *Chiesa.espressonline.it*, September 15, 2011, <http://chiesa.espresso.repubblica.it/articolo/1349438bdc4.html?eng=y>
61. Jiang, "Catholicism in 21st Century China."
62. Ibid.
63. Vatican Insider News, "Matteo Ricci One Step Closer to Sainthood," *Vatican Insider*, November 1, 2014. <http://www.lastampa.it/2014/01/11/vaticaninsider/eng/news/matteo-ricci-one-step-closer-to-sainthood-JIU7vfsi7jGRIBPRqzGqnM/pagina.html>
64. Francesca Ambrogetti and Sergio Rubin, *Pope Francis: Conversations with Jorge Bergoglio* (New York: Penguin, 2014).
65. Ticozzi, "The Catholic Church and Sinicization."
66. Peter C. Kent, *Lonely Cold War of Pope Pius XII: The Roman Catholic Church and the Division of Europe, 1943–1950* (Montreal, CA: McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP, 2002).
67. Peng Xiaoyu, "Right Turn, Left Turn: Rethinking Chinese Christianity from 1945 to 1949 in the Spirit of the Second Vatican Council," *Chinese Studies in History* 46, no. 2 (2012): 88–104.
68. Law, "The 70th Anniversary of Lifting the Ban on the 'Chinese Rites'"; Shorter, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*.
69. Angelo S. Lazzarotto, "The Chinese Church at the Second Vatican Council," trans. by Betty Ann Maheu, M.M. *Tripod* 17, no. 100 (July–August 1999): 49.
70. Pius XII, "Ad Anpostolorum Principis: Encyclical of Pope Pius XII on Communism and the Church in China," The Vatican Website, June 29, 1958, http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xii_enc_29061958_ad-apostolorum-principis.html
71. Anthony S.K. Lam, *The Catholic Church in Present-Day China*, trans. Peter Barry, M.M. and Norman Walling, S.J. (Hong Kong, SAR: Ferdinand Verbiest Foundation/The Holy Spirit Study Centre, 1994).
72. Pius XII, "Ad Anpostolorum Principis."
73. Ibid.
74. Lam, *The Catholic Church in Present-Day China*; Paul, "An Appeal from China's Underground Church," trans. by Norman Walling, S.J., *Tripod* 19, no. 112 (July–August, 1999): 27; Moody, "The Catholic Church in China Today."
75. Paul VI, "Gaudium et Spes, Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World," The Vatican Website, December 7, 1965, http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19651207_gaudium-et-spes_en.html

76. Norman P. Tanner, *The Church and the World: Gaudium et Spes, Inter Mirifica*, vol. 2. (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2005).
77. Reardon, 2006.
78. Christopher Sandrolini, "Holy See's China Negotiator 'Hopeful but without Illusions,'" US Department of State Cable, March 31, 2006, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/06VATICAN57_a.html
79. Timothy A. Byrnes, "The Polish Church: Catholic Hierarchy and Polish Politics," in *The Catholic Church and the Nation State*, ed. Manuel, Reardon, and Wilcox, 103–16.
80. Jeroom Heyndrickx, "John Paul II, the Pope of Dialogue and of the 'Unfinished Encounter' with the PRC," *Tripod* 25, no. 137 (Summer 2005), http://www.hsstudyc.org.hk/en/tripod_en/en_tripod_137_04.html; Gianni Criveller, "Pope John Paul II and China," *Tripod* 25, no. 137 (Summer 2005), http://www.hsstudyc.org.hk/en/tripod_en/en_tripod_137_02.html
81. Heyndrickx, "John Paul II, the Pope of Dialogue."
82. Madsen, Richard. *China's Catholics*; Lam, *The Catholic Church in Present-Day China*.
83. Lam, *The Catholic Church in Present-Day China*.
84. James Nicholson, "Fides Media Director Cervellera Views on Vatican/PRC Developments Confidential," US Department of State Cable, November 9, 2001, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/01VATICAN5814_a.html; George Weigel, *Witness to Hope: The Biography of Pope John Paul II* (New York City, NY: HarperCollins, 2001).
85. Jiang Zemin, "President Jiang Addresses Religious Representatives," *Tripod* 19, no. 110 (March–April 1999): 26; Criveller, "Pope John Paul II and China"; Lawrence C. Reardon, "The Chinese Catholic Church: Obstacles to Reconciliation," *The Catholic Church and the Nation-State: Comparative Perspectives* (2006): 227–44.
86. Joseph Y. S. Cheng, *Whither China's Democracy: Democratization in China since the Tiananmen Incident* (Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press, 2011).
87. Criveller, "Pope John Paul II and China."
88. Vatican Information Service, "Agostino Zhao Rong (+1815) and 119 Companions, Martyrs in China (+1648 –1930)," *Vatican News Services*, October 1, 2000, http://www.vatican.va/news_services/liturgy/saints/ns_lit_doc_20001001_zhao-rong-compagni_en.html
89. Francesco Sisci, Interview, Washington, DC, June 7, 2017.
90. Reardon, 2011.
91. Madsen, *China's Catholics*.

92. Fleur Cowan, "Vatican Looks Towards China—Without Compromise," US Department of State Cable, December 1, 2005, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/05VATICAN543_a.html
93. Sandrolini, "Holy See's China Negotiator 'Hopeful but Without Illusions.'"
94. Melinda Henneberger, "The Pope Apologizes for the Catholic Church's 'Errors' in China," *The New York Times*, October 25, 2017, <http://www.nytimes.com/2001/10/25/world/the-pope-apologizes-for-the-catholic-church-s-errors-in-china.html?mcubz=3>
95. Cheng, *Whither China's Democracy*.
96. D. Brent Hardt, "Pope Reaches Out to China," US Department of State Cable, May 18, 2005, https://search.wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/05VATICAN477_a.html
97. Cowan, "Vatican Looks Towards China."
98. Peter Martin, "Optimism on China from Deputy FM Parolin," US Department of State Cable, August 16, 2005, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/05VATICAN512_a.html
99. Hardt, "Pope Reaches Out to China."
100. Pietro Parolin, "One Saw in Their Eyes the Joy of the Faith," quoted in Sandro Magister, "Easter in Vietnam: An Extraordinary Account," *Chiesa.espressonline.it*, April 5, 2007, http://chiesa.espresso.repubblica.it/chi_siamobdc4.html?eng=y
101. Kenneth Jarrett, "Shanghai Bishop Jin on Papal Letter," July 5, 2007.
102. Peter Moody, "The Catholic Church in China Today: The Limitations of Autonomy and Enculturation," *Journal of Church and State* 55, no. 3 (2012): 403–31; Francesco Sisci, "Letture/Bravi cattolici o bravi cinesi? Ecco perché il muro può cadere" [Readings/Good Catholics or Good Chinese? That is why the wall can collapse], *Il Sussidiario*, June 3, 2017, <http://www.ilsussidiario.net/News/Cultura/2017/6/3/LETTURE-Bravi-cattolici-o-bravi-cinesi-Ecco-perche-il-muro-puo-cadere/767284/>
103. Benedict XVI, "Letter of the Holy Father Pope Benedict XVI to the Bishops, Priests, Consecrated Persons and Lay Faithful of the Catholic Church in the People's Republic of China," The Vatican Website, May 27, 2007, https://w2.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/letters/2007/documents/hf_ben-xvi_let_20070527_china.pdf
104. *AsiaNews.it*, "Cardinal Dias Tells Chinese Catholics the Pope Blesses Them All, Wants to See Them United," May 24, 2008, <http://www.asianews.it/news-en/Cardinal-Dias-tells-Chinese-Catholics-the-Pope-blesses-them-all-wants-to-see-them-united-12342.html>
105. Carol Glatz, "Experienced Diplomat, Indian Cardinal Dias Dies at 81," *National Catholic Reporter*, June 20, 2017. <https://www.ncronline.org/news/people/experienced-diplomat-indian-cardinal-dias-dies-81>

106. Leung and Wang, "Sino-Vatican Negotiations."
107. Jeroom Heydriks, "Towards a Chinese Church in Dialogue: Exploring Ways of Cooperation with the Church in China," *Tripod*, 26, no. 143 (Winter 2006), http://www.hstudyc.org.hk/en/tripod_en/en_tripod_143_05.html
108. Antonio Spandaro, "Interview with Pope Francis," The Vatican, August 19, 2013, https://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2013/september/documents/papa-francesco_20130921_intervista-spadaro.html
109. Gerard O'Connell, "Pope Francis Invites China's President to Meeting on World Peace," *America*, September 17, 2014, <https://www.americamagazine.org/content/all-things/pope-francis-invites-chinas-president-meeting-world-peace>
110. Cindy Wooden, "Cardinal sees reason to hope for improved Vatican-Chinese relations," *National Catholic Reporter*, August 30, 2016, <https://www.ncronline.org/news/vatican/cardinal-sees-reason-hope-improved-vatican-chinese-relations>
111. Jiang, "Catholicism in 21st Century China."
112. Ibid.
113. Spandaro, "Interview with Pope Francis."
114. Christopher Lamb, "Nice Guy or Tough Guy? The Two Faces of Pope Francis," *The Catholic Register*, June 25, 2017, <https://www.catholicregister.org/faith/item/25498-nice-guy-or-tough-guy-the-two-faces-of-pope-francis>; Staff Reporter, "Pope Francis Asks Cardinals to Inform Him Whenever They Leave Rome," *Catholic Herald*, June 13, 2017, <http://www.catholicherald.co.uk/news/2017/06/13/pope-francis-asks-to-cardinals-to-inform-him-when-ever-they-leave-rome/>
115. Nicholson, "Fides Media Director Cervellera Views."
116. Tong, "The Communion of the Church in China with the Universal Church."
117. Cardinal Ze-kun Zen, "Card. Zen: My Concerns Over China-Holy See Dialogue and Repercussions on Chinese Church," *AsiaNews.it*, August 4, 2016, <http://www.asianews.it/news-en/Card.-Zen:-My-concerns-over-China-Holy-See-dialogue-and-repercussions-on-Chinese-Church-38222.html>
118. Cowan, "Vatican Looks Towards China"; Bernado Cervellera, "Vatican Commission on Church in China Meets. Expectations and Realism," *AsiaNews.it*, April 11, 2011, <http://www.asianews.it/news-en/Vatican-Commission-on-Church-in-China-meets.-Expectations-and-realism-21266.html>; Sisci, "China and the Vatican-The Times They Are a Changin'."

Pope Francis and India: Mutual Enrichment and Challenges

John Chathanatt, S.J.

My title is figurative and symbolic, not literal. Pope Francis so far has never set foot on Indian soil—though he might want to make a visit because of his special devotion to Saint Francis Xavier, the Apostle of the Indies, whose mortal remains are still intact in the basilica of bom Iesu at Old Goa. Of course, one could say that through the Apostolic Nuncio in India—the Italian Archbishop Giambattista Diquattro, whom he has appointed on January 21, 2017—Pope Francis is “present” on Indian soil through representation. As I review his thoughts, words, passion, and actions, which are a source of inspiration and challenge in the Indian context, and the responses and reactions of not only Catholics but the majority of the people in India in the last four years of his Pontificate since March 13, 2013, I can say that Pope Francis is more present in India by his absence.

A new Pentecost seems to have accompanied Pope Francis on to the papal scene: a revival of the heart, beyond the head; a revival of wisdom, beyond knowledge; a revival of mercy and forgiveness, beyond rules and regulations and judgment and condemnation; an advent of joy and hope, beyond the mundane reality of struggle and suffering. There is also a call

John Chathanatt, S.J. (✉)
Delhi Jesuit Province, Delhi, India

to an expansion of horizon beyond our narrow domestic walls of religious segregations: a call to an inclusiveness taking all aboard beyond an exclusivist indifference.

My subtitle is a double-edged statement. First, Pope Francis has, in the last four years of his Pontificate, placed before us many challenges and has offered pastoral guidance to the church and the world at large through his ideas, words, and actions. Given the current context of India, these challenges and guidance are relevant. Second, India, with its rich diversity, strengths, and weaknesses, can also present challenges to the Pope and the Catholic Church at large. After exploring the Christian presence in India and Pope Francis's major concerns and challenges in general, I delve into four major aspects of Pope Francis that would be relevant in the Indian context: his simplicity of life and action that speaks; his analysis of structural injustice and structural sin; his model of the Catholic Church as a church of and for the poor; and his theology of the people. In addition, I will point out some of the challenges from the Indian context that Pope Francis and the church at large must address if he is to be relevant universally.

When Pope Francis met the young people from Argentina on July 25, 2013, during his visit to Rio de Janeiro on the occasion of World Youth Day, he told them, "I want to tell you something."¹ These words could be a direct address to each one of us individually and also to people collectively in India too. As leader of 1.2 billion Catholics in the world, his voice will be heard and his opinion and decisions matter. What is that Pope Francis wants to tell me as a Catholic in India? What is it that he wants to communicate to us as Indians?

CHRISTIAN PRESENCE IN INDIA

According to the 2011 census, there are 27.8 million Christians in India, which is about 2.3 percent of the total population of 1.21 billion people.² Catholics make up around 1.5 percent of the total population. Despite being a small minority in India, the contribution of the Catholic Church, particularly in the fields of education, healthcare, and socioeconomic development, has been exponential and much above its numerical strength. Realizing the great importance of education as a liberative force from the bondage of ignorance, poverty, and exploitation, Christians, and particularly the Catholic Church, became a pioneer in formal education in India, bringing it as a service mainly to the downtrodden, girls, the minorities, the rural, and the tribal populations. By running two-thirds of its schools

in rural and tribal areas and having 71 percent of the total number of schools at the primary and middle school level, the church is decidedly committing more of its resources to the service of the poor. The same could be said of the church's involvement in healthcare as well as in the socioeconomic sector.³

Pope Francis definitely exercises a moral authority among Catholics in India. As the spiritual head of 1.5 percent of Catholics out of the total of 1.21 billion people in India, to whom especially the Catholics are looking for spiritual and religious sustenance and ethical moral guidance, he is very much present and relevant in the Indian context. As a world moral leader and spiritual guide, and as one who is deeply concerned about human issues facing the world and speaking about such issues firmly, with sincerity and purpose, he is much more relevant than is often accepted, though he faces many critics—a sign that he is getting to them!

Given the responsible social involvement of the Catholic Church in the Indian subcontinent, the Pope's message would definitely be more than welcome in India. So far he has addressed Indians as such only once: in a video message he sent at the time of the Eucharistic Congress held at Mumbai in November 12–15, 2015, in which he said: “The Eucharistic Congress is God's gift not only to the Christians of India but to the entire population of a country so culturally diverse and yet so spiritually rich.”⁴

THE CONTEXT, HIS CONCERNS, AND CHALLENGES

At the present juncture of history in India—when religious fanaticism seem to be gaining ground in the mindset of many people, when attempts at imposing one religious ideology (Hindutva) is spreading all over India through a political process, when over a third of its population is still living below poverty line and is struggling to eke out an existence and keep their life alive, when acceptance of the other as an equal is vanishing and is not even present in a religious theoretical platform, when mining-induced displacement and livelihood deprivations are affecting the entire lifestyle especially of the tribal population, and at the same time, all of us in India are continually making a tryst with our destiny, individually and collectively—it seems worth spending a little time with this man, whom we affectionately call “Our Holy Father.”⁵

In this context, as a person of dialogue and acceptance of the other as the other beyond just tolerance of the other; a person of environmental concerns; a champion of concern for equality and dignity of all especially

women; a spokesperson of the downtrodden; and a person with a passion for truth, justice, and freedom, Pope Francis is quite relevant in India today. His sociopolitical concern pivots around the principles of preferential option for the poor and the marginalized, common good, social justice, and subsidiarity. At present, the Catholic Church in India tries to organize itself around these principles, so the Pope's directions and concerns are all the more relevant and challenging.

The concerns that Pope Francis has often addressed, and the style of his life and the signal that he gives, could also become the models and challenges in India. His emphasis on a universal engagement and outreach, his deep commitment in reaching to the marginalized through the core principle of option for the poor, his eagerness to actively engage in political dialogue, his engagement with economic realities prevalent in the world, his active involvement in interfaith dialogue, his concern for peace and justice—all these have given hope to the devout Catholics and many others in India, and, thus, have made him very relevant and appreciated in the Indian context.

He has provided clarity and purpose to many social issues, such as non-acceptance of extreme economic poverty, of wealth inequality, of the gap between rich and poor, or of environmental degradation. He has energized many commitments to social and environmental justice. Rejecting the dichotomy of the sacred and the secular, he engages in a manner that we call “secular in a sacramental way.” We know that the secular has taken a sacramental significance because of the life of Jesus. This is very much emphasized by Pope Francis. His addressing of the issues of larger struggles facing humankind makes him a paradigmatic figure. He has given guidance to many sociopolitical challenges facing our world, and his interventions are very relevant in the Indian context of poverty and destitution, global warming, acts of terror, religious fanatic thinking, and communal resurgence.

He is not a person who would run away from the world—*fuga mundi*, as it is traditionally framed. He is very much a man of the world in his concerns, which are clearly articulated and fearlessly expressed. Continuing his tradition of visiting slums, he has notably toured Scampia, a mafia-dominated slum in Italy, and condemned the mafia on their own turf, encouraging people to actively resist crime and evil. Meeting with the members of gay community and washing the feet of women and people of other faiths were courageous acts of innovation. He has not shied away from the global warming debate, and he has spoken about the need to

care for creation, calling on world leaders to be better stewards of creation and the environment in particular. The Pope has raised environmental issues to a central stage through his encyclical *Laudato Si'*.⁵ He points out that climate change and global warming represent the principal challenges facing humanity in our day and may be the most important moral issue of the twenty-first century. He tells us that living our vocation to be protectors of God's creation is essential to a life of virtue. A truly ecological approach must integrate questions of justice "so as to hear *both the cry of the earth and the cry of the poor.*"⁶

He is constantly addressing the ethical and moral aspects of economics, politics, and other disciplines, such as environmental issues based on a deeper foundation of the love of the poor, following Jesus's example. He is eager "to address every person living on this planet."⁷ India is no exception to his concern.

He continuously draws our attention to issues such as wars and violence, economic conflicts that hurt the weakest, corruption and greed, love of power, crimes against creation and human life, the "worship of the golden calf," consumerist and throwaway culture, the cult of money, and the dictatorship of the economy. The Pope's deep concern for the emancipation of the poor will surely inspire songs of hope and produce tears of joy in the lives of the slum dwellers, night shelter inhabitants, and pavement dwellers—those rejected from the social fabric: the Dalits and the indigenous people who constitute the majority in India.

India's political scenario today is very disturbing. There is unjust religious interference in politics. The communal forces that create hatred and division in the name of religion are threatening the democratic secular fabric of the country. Pseudo-religious elements are breaking down society through domestic hatred and division. The present political regime, with its Hindutva ideology, is promoting a militant Hindu nationalism that threatens to undermine the very foundation of the constitutional secular democratic republic that promises to "secure to all its citizens: Justice, social, economic and political; Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; Equality of status and of opportunity and to promote among them all Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and unity and integrity of the nation."⁸ Today concerned citizens ask, "[W]ill we in India move forward together or fall apart?"⁹ The Hindutva objective is to restore a Hindu *rastra* (nation) with one religion, one culture, and one language.

In the speech, he gave in May 6, 2016, when he received the International Charlemagne Prize for service to European unification, Pope Francis identified three principles of the founding vision, namely, unity in diversity, solidarity, and the principle of subsidiarity. These, together with the principles of *common good*, *social justice*, and *preferential option for the poor*, could be the guiding light to take us back to the Indian Constitution and for a new India of many visionaries.¹⁰

The concern expressed in his encyclical *Laudato Si'* is very appropriate at this moment of Indian history: “What happens with politics? Let us keep in mind the principle of *subsidiarity*, which grants freedom to develop the capabilities present at every level of society, while also demanding a greater sense of responsibility for the *common good* from those who wield greater power.”¹¹

In an interview with French journalists, Pope Francis points out how the church should engage with modern democracy:

States must be secular. Confessional states end badly. That goes against the grain of history. When I hear talk of the Christian roots of Europe, I sometimes dread the tone, which can seem triumphalist or *even* vengeful. It then takes on colonialist overtones ... Erich Przywara ... teaches us, *Christianity's contribution to a culture is that of Christ in the washing of the feet*. In other words, service and gift of life. It must not become a colonial enterprise.¹²

Pope Francis's comment fits very well in the Indian political scenario today, where pseudo-religion and so-called Hindu roots are used as a means of political control of the people at large—to the extent that the state wants to determine even the type of food the people are going to eat!

SIMPLICITY OF LIFE AND ACTION THAT SPEAKS

Reports about Cardinal Bergoglio emphasized his remarkable simplicity and humility. That he lived in an apartment, cooked his own food, slept on an ordinary bed, used public transport in Buenos Aires along with the ordinary people: these are the very first impressions that we had of him. When Cardinal Bergoglio became Pope Francis, he manifested his startling simplicity: bowing to the general public asking for blessings and prayers at the very first appearance on March 13, 2013, at the central balcony of Saint Peter's Basilica, the loggia overlooking Saint Peter's Square; going over to pay the bills at the clergy home where he stayed at

the time of his election as the new Bishop of Rome; seeking simplicity in his attire and opting for a silver ring. One of the first acts of the newly elected Pope was to telephone his newspaper supplier to cancel daily delivery. The universal church has already experienced him as a caring pastor who is “*ahead* of the faithful to mark out the path,” “*in the midst* of the faithful, to foster communion,” and “*behind* the faithful, because they can often “sniff out the path.”¹³ This simple down-to-earth pastor, connecting with people and speaking their language, communicates through body language: he salutes the poor, embraces the disabled, and kisses the children, especially the physically impaired ones. He opens the door for Cardinal Oswald Gracious of Mumbai, waits for the Jesuit General at the door, asks the Swiss Guard to take a brief rest, and goes around thanking all who worked at the Secretariat of State. Thus, his body language, style of simplicity, and warm human approach challenge us in our daily life. He demands this very same simplicity of life from his pastors and the faithful.

His repeated use of the phrase “Bishop of Rome” instead of “Pope” to introduce himself and his preference for this title, based on which he certainly enjoys a primacy within the college of Bishops, show his theology of the papacy itself. He admonishes his brother bishops to “smell” the sheep, to mix and mingle with those under their care, and to be “pastors close to the people” instead of having ambitions in their heart.¹⁴ In India, where people look for actions rather than just words and exhortations to manifest authenticity, Francis’s gestures and deeds will take him quite far with the people.

ANALYSIS OF STRUCTURAL INJUSTICE AND INSIGHT INTO STRUCTURAL SIN

This is an important challenge that Pope Francis is placing before the world, each Christian, and the church at large. After Saint John Chrysostom and Saint Thomas Aquinas, perhaps, Francis would go down in history as giving the most authoritative lesson on structural injustice. Other popes have touched on this topic, but Pope Francis’s approach—the clarity of thought, its vivid expression, and his bold presentation, without mincing words—is unique.

There exists today an “economy of exclusion and inequality” and alienation to which we have to respond “thou shalt not.”¹⁵ Today, “under the laws of competition and the survival of the fittest” the “powerful feed

upon the powerless.”¹⁶ As a result, masses of people are “excluded and marginalized: without work, without possibilities, without any means to escape.”¹⁷ In today’s consumer culture and throwaway lifestyle, even people are “considered goods to be used and then discarded.”¹⁸ This fast-spreading culture is not only exploitative and oppressive, but it “discards” people, considering them as “leftovers” and outcasts¹⁹ from a social life of togetherness. This is unfortunately true in the Indian socioeconomic and political structure. Even after six decades of independence, the melodious music in the new economic opera that we hear are “liberalization,” “globalization,” “privatization,” “competition,” “efficiency,” and “free market.” The *Bharat* is sidelined and even discarded. The plight of the displaced tribals and the marginal farmers who lost their precious livelihood are vivid examples of marginalization and even rejection from the mainstream economy.

Speaking of structural causes of poverty, Pope Francis is very forthright: “As long as the problems of the poor are not radically resolved by rejecting the absolute autonomy of markets and financial speculation and by attacking the structural causes of inequality, no solution will be found for the world’s problem or, for that matter, to any problems. Inequality is the root of social ills.”²⁰ India proves that he is right. This inequality and utter poverty are caused, among other factors, largely by structural mechanisms.

According to Pope Francis, none of us is exempt from concern for the poor and social justice. We need to resolve the structural causes of poverty immediately, “for the pragmatic reason of its urgency for the good order of society,” and “the society needs to be cured of a sickness which is weakening and frustrating it,” because it “only leads to new crises.”²¹ All our economic policies should be shaped with the dignity of each person, the principle of solidarity, and the pursuit of common good in mind. A new mindset that reflects the priority of life of all, especially the poor, over the appropriation of goods by a few, and that thinks in terms of *community* needs to be created. Francis is quite radical in his approach, even advocating a “fight” for justice: “An authentic faith ... always involves a deep desire to change the world, to transmit values, to leave this earth somehow better than we found it ... The earth is our common home and all of us are brothers and sisters. If indeed “the just ordering of society and of the state is a central responsibility of politics,” the church “cannot and must not remain on the sidelines in the fight for justice.””²² According to Pope Francis, integrating the poor in the mainstream of society as well as peace and social dialogue are two important items close to his heart and they will

shape the future of humanity.²³ Enabling the poor to be fully part of the society through their promotion and liberation is part of the vocation of each Christian and every society. This demands that “we be docile and attentive to the cry of the poor and to come to their aid.”²⁴ This option is thus implicit in our faith in a God, “a God who became poor for us, so as to enrich us with his poverty.”²⁵ This is why Pope Francis wants a church that is “poor and for the poor.”²⁶ The Indian church and the society have plenty to consider.

Today we are “carried away by the limitless possibilities for consumption and distraction offered by contemporary society.”²⁷ This leads to alienation. Rather than relying on a welfare mentality and trusting in the “invisible hand” and unseen forces of the market, we need to move beyond economic growth to an integral and inclusive development that requires “decisions, programs, mechanisms and processes specifically geared to a better distribution of income, creation of sources of employment and an integral promotion of the poor.”²⁸ Pope Francis is quite outright and forthcoming to name the evils of the society one by one, and quoting Genesis 4:9, he asks, “Where is your brother or sister who is enslaved? Where is the brother and sister whom you are killing each day in clandestine warehouses, in rings of prostitution, in children used for begging, in exploiting undocumented labour” and “many people have blood in their hand as a result of their comfortable and silent complicity.”²⁹ Common good and social justice demand wealth distribution.

POPE FRANCIS’S MODEL OF THE CHURCH: A CHURCH POOR AND OF THE POOR

On September 11, 1962, just a month before the opening of Vatican II, Pope—now Saint—John XXIII gave an address in which he spoke of a “luminous point”—*un puncto luminoso*.³⁰ The Pope proposed to the Council a vision of the Catholic Church in relation to poverty. He said that in the face of underdeveloped countries and particularly of world’s poverty and even utter destitution “the church is and wishes to be the church of all, but particularly the church of the poor.”³¹

Pope Francis wants to bring back the concerns expressed by Pope Saint John XXIII. His choice of December 8 for the opening of the Holy Door inaugurating the Extraordinary Jubilee Year of Mercy is very symbolic. The Pope said, “I have chosen the date of 8 December because of its rich

meaning in the recent history of the church. In fact, I will open the Holy Door on the fiftieth anniversary of the closing of the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council. The church feels a great need to keep this event alive.”³² Starting from memories of Vatican II, moving through Medellín (1968), the Declaration of the Argentine Bishops in San Miguel (1969), especially in Document VI on Pastoral Practice for the People,³³ Puebla (1979), and more fully at *Aparecida*, Brazil (2007), Pope Francis has taken up the obligation to promote the well-being of the poorest and laid the foundation of the church of the poor through his theology of the people. Now that he is in Rome, Pope Francis definitely wants the journey known as the “theology of the people” in Argentina to culminate in Rome, so that it can be shared with the universal church. This he does in his Apostolic Exhortation, *Evangelii Gaudium* (EG: *The Joy of the Gospel*, 2013).³⁴

The image of the church that characterizes the ecclesial vision underlying Pope Francis’s teaching, as described mainly in *Evangelii Gaudium*, is founded on our Christological faith “in the God who became poor for us, so as to enrich us with poverty.”³⁵ Pope Francis is very clear and emphatic about this:

I want a Church which is poor and for the poor. They have much to teach us. Not only do they share in the *sensus fidei*, but in their difficulties they know the suffering Christ. We need to let ourselves be evangelized by them. The new evangelization is an invitation to acknowledge the saving power at work in their lives and to put them at the centre of the Church’s pilgrim way. We are called to find Christ in them, to lend our voice to their causes, but also to be their friends, to listen to them, to speak for them and to embrace the mysterious wisdom which God wishes to share with us through them.³⁶

The language of Jesus as well as his actions, options, and even lifestyle always favored the marginalized and the insignificant, referred to in the generic category of the “poor.” His manifesto echoes this (Luke 4: 18–19). Pope Francis calls us to go back to a “Christic way of life,” which calls for a paradigm shift for the church in India today.³⁷ Francis reminds us of the normativity of the Jesus community.³⁸ There was also a rusticity to Jesus’s preaching. Jesus’s mission was not focused on urban areas; he restricted his mission, by and large, to the countryside. The Catholic Church needs to emulate this. Pope Francis is playing a much-needed prophetic and timely role today. He is challenging the church to become what Christ wanted and willed it to be. As the face of God’s mercy, Jesus comes to meet us in the flesh (John 1:14). Through parables (words), miracles

(deeds), and the example of his own life, Jesus manifested this mercy to the people of his time. Ever since he became a successor to Peter, Pope Francis has been consistently and passionately communicating to us through his sermons, interviews, talks, encyclicals, apostolic letters, exhortations, and even his powerful gestures and actions—his passionate desire to free the church from the clutches of power, wealth, and an attitude of triumphalism. He is challenging and guiding the church to be Christ-like, to be authentic and work to regain its lost identity and image.

The Indian church is definitely facing a challenge here for a renewed pastoral praxis. In Asia the church remains, according to Aloysius Pieris, “a rich church working *for* the poor” and not a “poor church working *with* the poor.”³⁹ Given the rampant poverty prevalent in the country, the church in India needs to take the Pope seriously in order to become authentic to the Master. It can learn from the simple, pastoral, and participatory style of Pope Francis.

Pope Francis’s imagery of the Catholic Church as a “field-hospital” in time of war is liked and quoted frequently in various fora. In an interview, Antonio Spadaro, S.J., the editor of *La Civiltà Cattolica*, stated:

The thing the Church needs most today is the ability to heal wounds and to warm the hearts of the faithful; it needs nearness, proximity. I see the Church as a field hospital after battle. It is useless to ask a seriously wounded person if he has high cholesterol and about the levels of his blood sugars! You have to heal his wounds. Then we can talk about everything else ... The Church sometimes has locked itself up in small things; in small-minded rules.⁴⁰

The majority of the nursing staff of practically all the hospitals in India are Christians, and they would be delighted to hear Pope using the symbol of “field-hospital” to depict the church.

Pope Francis identifies the concern for the poor at the heart of the gospel. Christian uniqueness has to be in the option for the poor. In the church’s option for the poor, there is a “special form of primacy in the exercise of Christian charity, to which the whole tradition of the church bears witness.”⁴¹

“[A]s long as Lazarus lies at the door of our homes (see Luke 16: 19–21), there can be no justice or social peace,” writes the Pope in his Apostolic Letter, *Misericordia et Misera*, upon the conclusion of the Extraordinary Jubilee Year of Mercy, November 20, 2016. For Pope Francis, the privilege of the poor has its theological basis in God. The theological foundation of this is quite clear for him:

For the Church, the option for the poor is primarily a theological category rather than a cultural, sociological, political or philosophical one. God shows the poor “his first mercy.” This divine preference has consequences for the faith life of all Christians, since we are called to have “this mind ... which was in Jesus Christ” (Phil 2:5). Inspired by this, the Church has made an option for the poor which is understood as a “special form of primacy in the exercise of Christian charity, to which the whole tradition of the Church bears witness.”⁴²

The church in India needs to pay serious attention to the Pope’s call for a church *of* the poor, not just *for* the poor.

THEOLOGY OF THE PEOPLE (IN ARGENTINA), AND THE ATTEMPT AT A PEOPLE’S THEOLOGY (LIBERATION THEOLOGY) IN INDIA

Developed in Argentina in conversation with diverse strands of the liberation theology prevalent in Latin America, the theology of the people (TP) has influenced and shaped the theological thinking of Pope Francis. “A faithful people” is one of Pope Francis’s characteristic expressions through which he preserves this notion in his exhortation *Evangelii Gaudium*. Those who subscribe to the TP “understood the situation (in Argentina particularly) not so much from the standpoint of economic domination, but predominantly from the standpoint of political domination (imperialism), which includes the economic dimension.”⁴³ Integral liberation from sin embraces both of these dimensions, including structural sin.⁴⁴ The institutional and structural injustice is understood as a betrayal of a unity in a culture prevalent among the “people.” It is the simple and the poor “who best preserve a common culture, its values and symbols, even religious ones because they alone have their human dignity and common culture without the privileges of power, possession, and knowledge.”⁴⁵ The insights given in the theology of the people can meaningfully explain the plight of the tribal poor in the mining areas. The exploitation of natural wealth by the corporate mining companies, national and/or multinational, is not only an economic deprivation resulting in the injustice of displacement, but also destruction of a culture. Hence, the emerging theologizing especially from a tribal context (popularly known as Tribal Theology) in India can find resonance in the insights of the theology of the people. Here is matter for Indian theologians to explore in their theologizing process in today’s context of tribal and indigenous exploitation.

According to the theology of the people, poverty is annihilation. The poor are those who achieve nothingness as a total absence of being. They are those who have no life. The *Aparecida* document says that evangelization exists so that the poor have life and have it abundantly.⁴⁶ The rise from nothingness to being is possible here and now, relieving the suffering of the poor. Hence the basis of hope and joy. Both the Dalit and Feminine theologies emerging in the Indian context can develop from the insights of the theology of the people in Argentina, and their categories are very much used by Pope Francis in his letters and exhortations.⁴⁷

Pope Francis does not enter theologically into the soteriological value of other religious traditions. Emphasizing the pastoral, he shifts our energies from the *theoria* of interpreting other religions theologically to the *praxis* of interreligious dialogue, and even accepting the other as the other—that is, as the Pope says, quoting the bishops of India, “being open to them, sharing their joys and sorrows.”⁴⁸ The challenge for us today in the Catholic Church, particularly the church in India, is to search for an adequate theology of religions, adequate and comprehensive enough to have a dialogue, accepting them and “their different ways of living, thinking and speaking.”⁴⁹ In the Indian context, this includes Hindus, Muslims, Buddhists, Sikhs, Jains, Parsees, Zoroastrians, the Tribal Sarna people, and people of no particular religious affiliation. Speaking of interreligious dialogue, if I understand the Pope correctly, he advocates living *with* each other, trying to understand the other as the equal other, and accepting the other *as* the other with one’s virtues and limitations.⁵⁰ We need to go a little further.

THE INDIAN CHALLENGE FOR THE POPE

The Indian environment will not be that easy for Pope Francis to fathom and to digest. India is a complex and even complicated country—complicated by its ways of thinking, acting, living. India is a phenomenon! Contradictions can exist side by side in India without a moral prick of conscience. This does not bother many, though it could be a moral priority for many. The deeply diverse religious sentiments present in the people—including a caste mindset concerned with polluting the other by mere physical presence—irrespective of religious affiliations; the recent rise of Hindu nationalist parties in the political arena; the overall tension prevalent in India related to religious fanaticism; and even a political intervention into lifestyle with dietary prescriptions do provide a very complex and intricate environment for the moral prescriptions of Pope Francis from a Catholic perspective.

The fact that he is both a Latin American and a Jesuit is significant for the church in India. India may be one of the most religiously diverse countries in the world. It is an emerging economy, though under the clutches of extreme poverty and the rule of a handful of extremely rich people, and now in the political power of a fundamentalist regime. Yet, the Christians, especially the Catholics—including over 4000 Jesuits imparting both formal and informal education, as well as engaged in healthcare ministries and developmental work—can be a workforce to translate the Pope’s vision into action. Christians run some of the best educational institutions in the country. The Pope’s real challenge is to initiate a process in the Indian church in which, through their enormous strength, religious men and women become salt instead of pebbles in the water of authentic evangelization. The church’s pattern of involvement is something like a pebble in the water. Yes, we are in the water, wet a little bit, but like pebbles, we maintain a separate identity. We need to be like salt and collectively merge with the water around us.

Given the three ritual churches in India—the Latin, Syro-Malabar, and Malankara—and the lack of cohesiveness among them, one of the Pope’s first tasks would be to keep a balance and bring them to work together for the immense task within and without, to become a “church of the poor,” manifesting unity within and spreading the “reign of God.” A lot of theological soul searching and inner transformations are required for this. Given the emergence of various theologies in India—Dalit, Tribal, Women—the Pope’s theology of the people would resonate there. The process that the Pope has started in freeing up theological thinking and the emphasis he puts on orthopraxis—implying less importance is given to orthodoxy—needs to be fostered and sustained. The local church needs to be given enough leverage to work responsibly, and it ought to be seen as “an incarnate expression of the universal.”⁵¹

BEYOND INTERRELIGIOUS DIALOGUE TO INTERFAITH ACTION

We already see in Asia that Christians are working with a variety of issues regarding sanctity of life and the family, human equality and dignity, ecological responsibility, attempts at transformation of the ever-present caste system, and so on and so forth. Herein we have the ground for a radical living according to the Catholic moral truth that the Pope calls our attention to. Beyond the interreligious dialogue with people of other faiths, we need a dialogue of action motivated by faith. I would say that we should

start from within the church itself. For this, first and foremost, we need to seriously look at our theology of religions: Is it adequate enough as a basis for interreligious dialogue or as a cementing factor for interfaith actions?

A call to faith-filled action is the way of the universal in the local. Since Vatican II, there has been a move to a strong centralized church. I would agree with Keenan that “we need for the church once again so become incarnate as the Spirit descends into the local not only to evangelize but in order to find again and again her dwelling place,”⁵² so that we have the wisdom and audacity to find in the local the universal. We, within the church itself, need to talk to each other and reflect together to have an adequate ecclesiology, thematizing an authentic “Christic praxis” for the universal church giving importance to the local.

A dialogue of action with people of other faiths could be treated as one of the central ministries of the church. This is a serious challenge to the Indian church. A rebirth is needed, though it may be more painful and challenging. Pope Francis’s theology of the people may help us in this direction. Helping to reinvent the symbol of salt and enabling the church to become salt, while maintaining the “localness” of the Indian church, will be the challenge for Pope Francis.

In doing good we must meet one another. In a private homily on May 22, 2013, Pope Francis mentioned that it is through “good works” that believers, atheists, and humanists can meet and collaborate. We meet there doing good. This is the correct approach in the Indian context. The question for Pope Francis is how do we do that and where do we start?

Pope Francis is concerned with the real lives of people everywhere. Archbishop Menamparambil elaborates this:

On Palm Sunday he [Pope Francis] prayed for the victims of an earthquake in Iran and China; those of the collapse of a garment factory in Bangladesh, of a flood in Argentina, others at Oklahoma, and appealed for the release of the Greek and Syrian Orthodox bishops who had been kidnapped. He prayed for the victims of the explosion in Boston, and hoped that “all Bostonians will be united in a resolve not to be overcome by evil, but to combat evil with good” [cf. Rom 12:21]. Every human concern is his concern. He would like to be *close to every nation*, region, ethnic group, community, and person most intimately. He feels that that is the vocation of the Church, and this is the way of offering the Gospel to all peoples.⁵³

One can correctly assume that his mindset includes India too, though he may not have specifically mentioned it.

Pope Francis stands for a rethinking of our way of functioning within the entire global system in order to correct it in a manner consistent with fundamental human rights, the rights of all men and women in the universe. Our ecological responsibility for stewarding the cosmos needs to be consciously exercised. The Pope correctly identifies in *Laudato Si'* that the “export of raw materials to satisfy markets in the industrialized north has caused harm locally,”⁵⁴ which is quite applicable to the Indian situation. The issue is how to help the local and especially the tribal people from such exploitative mechanisms, which is rendering them homeless, landless, and cultureless. Beyond the identification of the problem, what are we going to do to liberate ourselves from the sins of exploitation as well as from the sin of desecration of the image of God because of utter destitution? This is another challenge for all of us, as well as for the Pope, especially when he has written so much on ecological concerns and economic exploitation of the marginalized. How do we motivate the Indian church to get involved collectively in the real issues of the indigenous, the outcast, and the marginalized people? The church needs to *reflect* as well as *do* more. The challenge for Pope Francis is to make the pastors leave their chairs and smell the sheep.

In section I of *Lumen Gentium*, the Council teaches and expresses its self-understanding of the church to be “like a sacrament or as a sign and instrument” of “the unity of the whole human race.”⁵⁵ In order to bring this to its logical conclusion, in the twenty-first century, where violence is rampant in the name of religion, dialogue with other religious communities needs to become a central pastoral ministry of the church. How effective will Francis be in orienting the church toward this goal?

A vision of the church’s role and its relation with the people was so beautifully enunciated by the European Council President Donald Tusk in his address to the Pope, when the latter received the Charlemagne Prize, and is so appropriate in the Indian context that I am tempted to quote him at length:

Politics and religion, in their most profound dimensions, have a common goal in this world ... to limit suffering and evil ... That is why it is with such joy that I have embraced the vision of the Church proposed by the Holy Father ... I deeply believe that today, in these uncertain times of great changes and dramatic challenges, all the believers and the non-believers need a Church which is inclusive, rather than exclusive. A Church which relinquishes lavishness in order to support the poor, and which is radical in

love, leaving judgment to God. A Church which trusts humans and their freedom, rather than the omnipotence and omniscience of institutions; a Church which brings hope—not condemnation—to broken lives. A Church which inspires only good feelings, and—never, nowhere and in no-one—fear, contempt or anger. That is the Church we all need.⁵⁶

DIALOGUE OF ACTION AND SOCIAL HEALING OF HISTORICAL TRAUMA

In his recent visit to Egypt, Pope Francis wanted the Christians to be “sowers of hope, builders of bridges and agents of dialogue and harmony.”⁵⁷ In the Indian context, Christians could be healers of a historical trauma. Our history is wounded, and we are wounding it further. This requires healing. We need a dialogue of action beyond just assembling together for a dialogue. Mechanisms for social healing of history’s wounds need to be found to identify and heal memories. Conflicts create trauma in the collective consciousness of societies. Tension increases through the political use of religion at the service of narrow gains, without considering the violence and the human pain it produces. We see that “any act of collective violence leaves behind fractured memories, unhappy consciousness, bitterness, and a wounded psyche.”⁵⁸ This affects the psyche of individuals and fractures intercommunity relations. The growing conflict all over the world, a fortiori in the recent Indian scenario, makes people live in continuous psychological stress, trauma, and fear. Today, minorities are in fear in the Indian subcontinent. The wounded psyche reproduces war-mongers, and humanity may end up in conflicts of mutual destruction. Concrete signs of deteriorating relationships are visible all over the world today, and India is no exception. The need to address this structurally is one of the major challenges of the present Pope and the church at large. I hope Pope Francis will establish a committee to concretely identify mechanisms of sociostructural healing. It is the need of the hour.

And at last, but not the least, Pope Francis must help our Indian church to recover Jesus. This, perhaps, is a great challenge for Pope Francis. What Jerry Rosario, S.J., has reminded us is worth repeating: “We could recollect here the words of Blessed (now Saint) Pope John Paul II at New Delhi in 1999 while releasing the Asian Synodal Document: ‘How come, Asia, you have lost your fellow Asian Jesus! Get back to him afresh and bring him back to your continent to which he came in flesh!’”⁵⁹ Yes, Jesus was/is an Asian. We should not forget it. In his South Americanness, Francis

found Jesus and has taken Him to Rome; and now he can direct us in India to Him through our Asianness so that we may find Him fully and repeat with Thomas: “My Lord and My God.”⁶⁰

In time, Pope Francis will be remembered in India as a guru, a world teacher and moral guide. A person of his stature will be remembered more for his ideas, down-to-earth actions, and the personal examples he sets than for his name, office, nationality, race, or physical stature—in other words, more for the authenticity of his being than for his sociocultural specifications. His ideas remain deeply rooted in the world. It is easy to see his footprints, all over the world, and India is no exception.

NOTES

1. Nicole Winfield, Marco Sibaja and Jenny Barchfield, “Pope Francis urges Catholics to shake up dioceses,” Associated Press, July 26, 2013, <http://old.seattletimes.com/text/2021467621.html>
2. Census 2011 data on Population by Religious Communities, Press Information Bureau, Government of India Ministry of Home Affairs, August 25, 2015, <http://pib.nic.in/newsite/PrintRelease.aspx?relid=126326>
3. For detailed description of the involvement of the church in education, healthcare, and socioeconomic development, see *Silent Waves: Contribution of the Catholic Church to Nation Building*, edited by John Chathanatt, S.J., and Dr. Jaya Peter (Bangalore: Claretian Publications, 2012).
4. Quoting Paul VI, he continued “For thousands of years India has been permeated with a desire for truth and a search for the divine, seeking goodness and kindness. As you celebrate this great event, I think of the words of Pope Paul VI in his address to the members of non-Christian religions on 3 December 1964: ‘The Eucharist is the commemoration of Jesus Christ and his love for God the Father in heaven, and for all men, a love unto death. This love of Jesus is not a matter of the past; it is meant to remain present and to live in every human heart. Christ is dear also to this country, not only to those who are Christians—they are a minority—but to the millions of people who have come to know and love him as an inspiration of love and self-sacrifice.’” Francis, Video Message to India’s Eucharistic Congress, November 12, 2015, *Vatican Radio*, http://en.radiovaticana.va/news/2015/11/12/pope_francis_video_message_to_indias_eucharistic_congress/1186162

Besides, I am sure that when Jean-Louis Cardinal Tauran President, Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue, sent a message to the Hindus for the feast of Deepawali (Diwali) in 2016, entitled “Christians and Hindus: Promoting Hope Among Families,” he was expressing the sentiments of the Pope. October 26, 2015, *Vatican Radio*, <http://>

en.radiovaticana.va/news/2016/10/25/vatican_sends_message_to_hindus_for_diwali/1267591

5. “According to the FAO, one in seven people worldwide—925 million people—goes to bed hungry every night. Roughly one quarter of these people—230 million—are Indians. In other words, nearly one in five Indians suffers from chronic hunger. According to Global Hunger Index (GHI) 2012, India ranks 65th among 88 vulnerable countries, below both Pakistan and Nepal, despite a strong economy. As much as 21 percent of India’s population is undernourished.” See John Joseph Puthenkalam and John Chathanatt, *Poverty and Hunger: The Millennium Development Goal in the Global and Indian Context* (Delhi: Indian Social Institute, 2014), 84. For the impact of mining on the tribal people in Orissa, see the unpublished paper “Development and Deprivation: A Study on the Impact of Mining in Four Selected Tribal Districts of Odisha,” a research study done by Susmita Guru, under the guidance of John Chathanatt, at Indian Social Institute, New Delhi.
6. Francis, Encyclical Letter, *Laudato Si’: On Care for Our Common Home*, no. 49, <http://www.usccb.org/about/leadership/holy-see/francis/pope-francis-encyclical-laudato-si-on-environment.cfm>. Emphasis original.
7. See Francis, *Laudato Si’*, no. 3.
8. *Preamble of the Indian Constitution*. The Preamble reads like a gospel passage: “We the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign, Socialist, Secular, democratic Republic and to secure to all its citizens: Justice, social, economic and political: Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; Equality of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all Fraternity assuring the dignity and integrity of the Nation.” Today “Crossroads question: who are included in the ‘we the people of India’? Tribals, Hindus, Jain, Buddhists, Jews, Christians, Muslims, Zoroastrians, Sikhs, were the content of the Constitutional phrase till recently ... But for the ruling ideology, known as Hindutva, ‘we the people’ categorically means ‘we the Hindus.’” T. K. John, “India’s Struggle with Democratic Governance,” *Third Millennium: Indian Journal of Evangelization* 19, no. 3 (July–September 2016): 8.
9. See John, “India’s Struggle with Democratic Governance.”
10. Gandhi’s (the Father of the Nation) vision of India explains: “I work for an India, in which the poorest shall feel that it is their country in whose making they have an effective voice; an India in which there shall be no high class and low class of people; an India in which all communities shall live in perfect harmony. There can be no room in such an India for the curse of untouchability or the curse of intoxicating drinks and drugs. Women will enjoy the same rights as men, since we shall be at peace with all the rest of the world, neither exploiting, nor being exploited. We shall have the

- smallest army imaginable. All interests not in conflict with the interests of the dumb millions will be scrupulously respected, whether foreign or indigenous ... This is the India of my dreams.” *Young India*, September 10, 1931. See also John Chathanatt, S.J., “‘Bharat’ vs. ‘India’: The New Economic Policy and the Marginalized,” *Vidyajyoti Journal of Theological Reflection* 61, no. 11 (November 1997): 816–30.
11. Francis, *Laudato Si'*, no. 196. Emphasis mine.
 12. Pope Francis, Interview with *La Croix*, May 9, 2016, <http://www.la-croix.com/Religion/Pape/INTERVIEW-Pope-Francis-2016-05-17-1200760633>. As quoted in Gerard Whelan, “Learning from Past Mistakes?: Pope Francis, Religion, and Democracy in Europe,” *Third Millennium: Indian Journal of Evangelization* 49, no. 3 (July–September 2016): 60. Emphasis mine.
 13. Francis, Press Conference of Pope Francis During the Return Flight from Apostolic Journey to Rio De Janeiro on the Occasion of the XXVIII World Youth Day, The Vatican Website, July 28, 2013, https://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2013/july/documents/papa-francesco_20130728_gmg-conferenza-stampa.html
 14. See “Address of Pope Francis to Pontifical Representatives and Apostolic Nuncios,” The Vatican, Clementine Hall, Friday, June 21, 2013, especially pp. 320–23, in *Unto the Margins: Pope Francis and His Challenges*, edited by John Chathanatt, S.J. (Bangalore: Claretian Publications; Delhi: Media House, 2013).
 15. Francis, *Evangelii Gaudium (Joy of the Gospel, Apostolic Exhortation)*, The Vatican Website, November 24, 2015, 53, http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/apost_exhortations/documents/papa-francesco_esortazione-ap_20131124_evangelii-gaudium.html
 16. Ibid.
 17. Ibid.
 18. Ibid.
 19. Ibid.
 20. Ibid., 202.
 21. Ibid., 202.
 22. Ibid., 183.
 23. Ibid., 185.
 24. Ibid., 187.
 25. Ibid., 198.
 26. Ibid.
 27. Ibid., 196.
 28. Ibid., 204.
 29. Ibid., 211.

30. Whenever John XXIII wanted to emphasize something, he spoke of “*un puncto luminoso*.” *Pacem in Terris*, The Vatican Website, April 11, 1963, http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-xxiii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_j-xxiii_enc_11041963_pacem.html. Gustavo Gutierrez explains: “Just a month before the Council’s opening, on September 11, 1962, John XXIII gave an address in which he spoke of ‘*another luminous point*.’ If you are at all familiar with Pope John’s texts, you know that often, whenever he wanted to say something important, he spoke of *un puncto luminoso*, ‘a luminous point.’” See Gutierrez, “Option for the Poor: Review and Challenges,” *The Month*, January 1995, 5–6.
31. For more on this, see John Chathanatt, S.J. “Option for the Poor: Review, Challenges and Implications,” *Vidyajyoti Journal of Theological Reflection* 75, no. 3 (March 2011): 194–212. See also Gutierrez, “Option for the Poor: Review and Challenges.”
32. Francis, *Misericordiae Vultus: The Face of Mercy* (Bull of Indication of the Extraordinary Jubilee of Mercy), The Vatican Website, April 11, 2015, no. 4, https://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/apost_letters/documents/papa-francesco_bolla_20150411_misericordiae-vultus.html
33. See Juan Carlos Scannone, S.J., “Pope Francis and the Theology of the People,” *Theological Studies* 77, no. 1 (2016): 118–35.
34. For a detailed exposition of this journey, see Scannone, “Pope Francis and the Theology of the People.”
35. Francis quoting Benedict XVI, in *Evangelii Gaudium*, no. 198.
36. Francis, *Evangelii Gaudium*, no. 198. *Evangelii Gaudium* could be a Magna Carta for the church’s reform.
37. Francis, Message on the First World Day of the Poor: “Let Us Love, Not With Words but with Deeds,” The Vatican Website, June 13, 2017, https://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/messages/poveri/documents/papa-francesco_20170613_messaggio-i-giornatamondiale-poveri-2017.html. Likewise, Saint Paul urges the Corinthians to imitate Christ in 1 Corinthians 4: 15–16, at <http://www.usccb.org/bible/1corinthians/4>
38. George Soares Prabhu of happy memory, Scripture scholar who was teaching at JDV Pune, calls our attention to this moral approach. See “Radical Beginnings: The Jesus Community as the Archetype of the Church,” in *Theology of Liberation: An Indian Biblical Perspective. Collected Writings of George M. Soares-Prabhu, SJ*, vol. 4, ed. Francis D’Sa, 136–39 (Pune: Jnana Deep Vidyapeeth, 2000).
39. Aloysius Pieris, *An Asian Theology of Liberation* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1988), 36, 112.
40. Interview of Francis by Antonio Spadaro, S.J., The Vatican Website, September 21, 2013, https://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2013/september/documents/papa-francesco_20130921_intervista-spadaro.html

41. Francis, *Evangelii Gaudium*, no. 198.
42. *Ibid.*, 198.
43. Scannone, "Pope Francis and the Theology of the People," 121.
44. For Gustavo Gutierrez, the third level of liberation is liberation from sin. See "Option for the Poor: Review and Challenges." See also John Chathanatt, *Gandhi and Gutierrez: Two Paradigms of Liberative Transformation* (New Delhi: Decent Books, 2004), 123.
45. Scannone, "Pope Francis and the Theology of the People," 122.
46. *Aparecida*, no. 3 and John 14: 6. See also Chathanatt, ed., *Unto the Margins*, 69.
47. The four pillars, (as introduced in Chapter 2), of the theology of the people are (1) Time is greater than space; (2) Unity prevails over conflict; (3) Realities are more important than ideas; and (4) The whole is greater than the part. See Francis, *Evangelii Gaudium*, 222–37.
48. Francis, *Evangelii Gaudium*, 250.
49. *Ibid.*, 250.
50. In *Evangelii Gaudium*, 250–58, Pope Francis is elaborating on interreligious dialogue.
51. What James Keenan, S.J., observes in the US context is valid for India too. See his "Pope Francis and the Local church: A Hope-filled Future for Moral Theology," in Chathanatt, ed., *Unto the Margin*, 86.
52. *Ibid.*
53. Quoted in Chathanatt, ed., *Unto the Margins*, 45.
54. Francis, *Laudato Si': On Care for our Common Home*, May 24, 2015, The Vatican Website, 51, http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/encyclicals/documents/papa-francesco_20150524_encyclica-laudato-si.html
55. Paul VI, *Lumen Gentium*, November 21, 1964, 1, at http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19641121_lumen-gentium_en.html
56. Speech by Donald Tusk, President of the European Council, at the Award Ceremony of the International Charlemagne Prize to Pope Francis, <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2016/05/06-tusk-speech-pope/>. Quoted by Gerard Whelan, "Learning from Past Mistakes," 64.
57. As quoted by Poulouse Mangai, S.J., in "Editorial," *Vidyajyoti Journal of Theological Reflection* 81, no. 6 (June 2017): 402.
58. For more explanation of the same, see John Chathanatt and Manindra N. Thakur, eds., *Wounded History: Religion, Conflict, Psyche and social Healing* (Delhi: Media House, 2006).
59. See Chathanatt, ed., *Unto the Margins*, 242–43.
60. John 20: 28.

“You Are Instead a Gift”: Pope Francis’s Response to Global Migration and the Refugee Crisis

Tara Carr-Lemke and Miguel Glatzer

SETTING THE STAGE

Pope Francis’s papacy has coincided with the largest number of forcibly displaced people ever recorded. The 65.3 million people in this category counted by the United Nations in 2015 exceeds the number displaced during World War II.¹ Of these, 24.5 million were refugees or asylum seekers and therefore crossed international borders. Pope Francis both inherited a world overflowing with refugees and, within the first four years of his papacy, witnessed dramatic increases to an already significant number.

Pope Francis likewise ascended to the papacy during a momentous series of events in the Arab world, which gained attention in part because of the population flows that unfolded in their wake. In December 2010, 27 months prior to the election of Francis to the papacy, Mohamed Bouazizi set himself aflame in southern Tunisia, thereby unleashing the Arab Spring. However, by March 2013, as Rome celebrated a new Pope, the promise of the Arab Spring had given way to the Arab Winter. Syria had descended into civil war, the Libyan government controlled an

T. Carr-Lemke • M. Glatzer (✉)
La Salle University, Philadelphia, PA, USA

ever-smaller slice of the country, and Egypt was less than four months away from a military coup that would extinguish its nascent democracy. Each of these countries has come to play important roles in the migration of people entering Europe through the desperate and dangerous sea crossings of the Mediterranean, a movement and space Pope Francis has frequently returned to in his travels and expression, as discussed below. Syrians fled carnage to Greek islands just off the Turkish coast. Leaving a country unable to provide enough jobs for its poor, young Egyptian men reached Italy in substantial numbers. Like so many other Middle Eastern and African migrants, they often used Libya as a transit point.²

While Syria and Yemen rank high among countries producing forcibly displaced people, the Arab Winter is only one of many causes of this global tragedy. In fact, seven of the ten principal source countries of refugees predate Pope Francis's papacy by a wide margin.³ These include conflicts, many of them dating decades, in Afghanistan, Somalia, Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Colombia, as well as long-standing political repression in Myanmar and Eritrea. Three of the principal source countries for refugees emerged during or just prior to Pope Francis's papacy (Syria, South Sudan, and the Central African Republic) but only one of them (Syria) can be attributed to the Arab Winter.

The staggering numbers of displaced people during the first years of Pope Francis's papacy are thus the combined result of inherited problems and new and unfolding crises. In addition, predictions abound of additional population displacements to come. Even if conflict and political repression were to end, climate change will undoubtedly create pressure for movement.⁴ Desertification of the Sahel has already led to population movements, for example.⁵ Rising sea levels and drops in fish stocks are predicted to disrupt the lives of tens of millions of people, the vast majority in poor countries. As is often the case, international law has failed to keep pace with new dynamics on the ground. The term "climate refugee" is well understood, for example, but remains absent from conventions on refugees.⁶

Although developing countries host 85 percent of refugees, media coverage in the West tends to focus on refugee and migratory flows to the developed world. Government, media, and popular rhetoric frequently employ frames focused on border control, vetting, danger, threats, assimilation, and national identity.⁷ Populist politicians on the right have employed and exacerbated these tropes to substantial effect. As Pope Francis stepped into his new papacy, the world described above is the world he confronted.

Focusing on Pope Francis’s travels, writings, and remarks, and restructuring of Vatican offices, the following section analyzes Pope Francis’s stance toward migrants and refugees. A final section on impacts on public attitudes concludes this chapter.

POPE FRANCIS’S APPROACH TO MIGRANTS AND REFUGEES

While international debates ensue regarding the crisis of migration, Pope Francis reframes the issue, characterizing it and the people affected by it as a global solidarity opportunity. Francis both highlights his commitment to migrant rights and appeals to the public to welcome opportunities to receive and help orient newcomers. As he offers words, gestures, and actions designed to succor migrants themselves, he also reaffirms the modern Catholic Church’s support of migrants and underscores the benefits or “gifts” migrants bring to receiving communities. Recurring themes in Pope Francis’s rhetoric, writing, and public encounters center around principles rooted in Catholic social teaching (CST), such as the preferential option for the poor, the dignity of all persons, solidarity, and care for God’s creation. Moreover, his attention to migrants echoes a lesson embedded in Matthew 25 to welcome the stranger. Pope Francis rejects Western consumerism, calling for a reordering of priorities away from a focus on individual achievement, prosperity, and well-being toward one that affirms the human dignity of both insider and outsider, citizen and migrant, wealthy and poor. His approach to migration echoes the notion of a “culture of encounter,” which resonates throughout his words and actions on a range of social issues.

Since at least 1891, when *Rerum Novarum* was issued, the Catholic Church has paid particular attention to those made vulnerable by unjust social, economic, and political systems. While explicit references to the plight of refugees are emphasized particularly in the wake of unprecedented global population shifts following World War II, popes throughout the twentieth century have embraced CST, each with a focus corresponding and relevant to his era. In this regard, Pope Francis’s emphasis on the marginalized and vulnerable represents a point of continuity with previous pontiffs; however, few popes have paid as much attention to the plight of the migrant and refugee as has he. Pope Francis’s unique attention to migrants likely reflects the contemporary reality of unprecedented migratory flows, the rising tide of populist pushback in the West, as well as this Pope’s particular moral concerns and historical experience.⁸

The following subsections will identify the ways in which Pope Francis's travel choices, written and rhetorical expression, and administrative restructuring are grounded in the traditional themes of CST, yet conform to his particular modern-day concerns as pope, and find expression in his unique voice.

Pope Francis's Official Travel and Visits as Pope

Pope Francis has consistently employed his travel choices to highlight issues of migration. In July 2013, as his first trip outside of Rome as pontiff, Pope Francis travelled to the Italian island of Lampedusa, a common destination for migrants departing North Africa for travel to Europe across the Mediterranean Sea. During his homily at a Mass attended by some 10,000 people, Pope Francis critiqued social indifference to migrant humanitarian concerns, noting, "We are a society which has forgotten how to weep, how to experience compassion—'suffering with' others: the globalization of indifference has taken from us the ability to weep! In the Gospel we have heard the crying, the wailing, the great lamentation: 'Rachel weeps for her children ... because they are no more.'⁹ Francis recalled the book of Genesis, reflecting upon the stories of Adam and Eve, as well as of Cain and Abel. He interpreted God's first question to Adam following the sin in the Garden of Eden, "Adam, where are you?" as an indication that Adam has "lost his bearings, his place in creation, because he thought he could be powerful, able to control everything, to be God."¹⁰ Francis observed the loss of life and trauma of migration across the Mediterranean Sea, opening his homily with the words, "Immigrants dying at sea, in boats which were vehicles of hope and became vehicles of death," and noted that when "humanity as a whole loses its bearings, it results in tragedies like [what] we have witnessed."¹¹ Reappropriating the question God poses to Cain after the murder of Able, "Cain, where is your brother?," Francis criticized human disregard for one another, noting, "We are no longer attentive to the world in which we live; we don't care; we don't protect what God created for everyone, and we end up unable even to care for one another."¹² Francis foregrounded the loss of right relationship in the Genesis stories and applied the lesson to the intolerance and xenophobia accompanying contemporary migration, noting that "harmony was lost; man erred and this error occurs over and over again also in relationships with others. 'The other' is no longer a brother or sister to be loved, but simply someone who disturbs my life and my comfort."¹³

Significantly, Francis also stressed the loss of humanity of the individuals in the receiving country, the inhumanity of global indifference that “makes us all ‘unnamed,’ responsible, yet nameless and faceless” and strips the indifferent of her/his humanity even as she/he disregards the humanity of the migrant.¹⁴ Not only is the dignity of the migrant reduced, but that of the receiving country’s inhabitants, as well. Francis articulated his intention to “offer some thoughts meant to challenge people’s consciences and lead them to reflection and a concrete change of heart.”¹⁵ He directed a portion of his questions to the receiving country’s residents, remarking “‘Where is your brother?’ His blood cries out to me, says the Lord. This is not a question directed to others; it is a question directed to me, to you, to each of us ... How often do such people fail to find understanding, fail to find acceptance, fail to find solidarity. And their cry rises up to God!”¹⁶

Closer to home, Francis visited a migrant soup kitchen at Centro Astalli, the Italian headquarters of the Jesuit Refugee Service, founded in response to the humanitarian crisis of Vietnamese boat people, in September 2013. The Pope greeted and conversed with migrants using Centro Astalli services and then proceeded to the Church of the Gesù to meet with 350 refugees and 300 volunteers associated with the center. In addition to speaking with a Syrian and a Sudanese refugee, the Pope visited the tomb of the founder of the Jesuit Refugee Service with an Egyptian family.¹⁷ In his remarks, Pope Francis noted that Rome, as the “second stage” of transition after arrival in Italy, “should be the city that allows refugees to rediscover their humanity, to start smiling again. Instead, too often, here, as in other places, so many people who carry residence permits with the words ‘international protection’ on them are constrained to live in difficult, sometimes degrading, situations, without the possibility of building a life in dignity, of thinking of a new future.”¹⁸ Reflecting on the concept of solidarity through service and relationship, Francis remarked, “Solidarity, this word elicits fear in the developed world. They try not to say it. It’s almost a dirty word for them. But it’s our word! To serve means to recognize and welcome the demands for justice, for hope, and to seek ways together, a concrete path of liberation.”¹⁹

As his remarks shifted to address a privileged audience, Francis emphasized the opportunity migrants offer to the developed world, observing, “Every day, here and in other centers, so many people, especially young people, queue for a hot meal. These people remind us of the suffering and tragedies of humanity. But that queue also tells us that it is possible for all of us to do something now. It is sufficient to knock on the door,

and say: ‘I’m here. How can I give a hand?’”²⁰ Pope Francis underscores the unique spiritual gift migrants bring, remarking, “The poor are also privileged teachers of our knowledge of God; their fragility and simplicity will unmask our egoisms, our false securities, our pretenses of self-sufficiency, and guide us to the experience of the closeness and tenderness of God, to receive His love in our life, His mercy of a Father who with discretion and patient trust, takes care of us, of all of us.”²¹

In the remarks, Pope Francis likewise challenged Romans to welcome migrants in a spirit of solidarity and service. He enjoined them to reflect upon their attitudes and actions, encouraging them, “to ask [them]selves this question: do I kneel down to someone in difficulty or am I afraid to soil my hands? Am I closed in on myself, focused on my things, or do I notice those in need of help? Do I just serve myself or am I able to serve others as Christ did to point of giving his life? Do I look into the eyes of those who seek justice or do I look the other way so as not to look into their eyes?”²²

Turning his attention to the modern Catholic Church, Pope Francis maintained that the body should involve itself in support for migrants, insisting, “It’s important for the whole Church that the welcome of the poor and the promotion of justice are not entrusted only to ‘specialists,’ but that they are the focus of attention of all the pastoral work, of the formation of future priests and other religious, of the normal commitment of all parishes, movements and ecclesial groups.”²³ Notably, he also addressed the Catholic communities of women and men religious, inviting them to “read seriously and responsibly this sign of the times” and asserting “the Church does not need to turn empty convents into hotels to earn money. Empty convents are not ours, they are for the flesh of Christ, for refugees. The Lord is calling us to be more courageous and generous in welcoming in our community, homes, in empty convents.”²⁴ His challenge to ordinary Catholics and Romans as well as to the institutional church bodies to pivot their attitudes and approach to migrating people reflects his belief that there is urgency and great need for assistance, coupled with a potential for positive internal change on the part of the privileged.

In the midst of the contentious US Republican presidential primary campaign, Pope Francis concluded a February 2016 visit to Mexico with Mass in Ciudad Juárez, celebrated 300 feet from the border. At a memorial marked by a cross for migrants who have died along the border, Pope Francis stopped to pray, survey the border, and offer a papal blessing.

Notably, the cross featured an icon of the Holy Family travelling by donkey, an image associated with the flight from Bethlehem to safety in Egypt, echoing images linked to the 1952 apostolic constitution, *Exsul Familia Nazarethana*. Pope Francis highlighted the human suffering accompanying migration and called for solidarity on the part of receiving countries, remarking, “Here in Ciudad Juárez, as in other border areas, there are thousands of immigrants from Central America and other countries, not forgetting the many Mexicans who also seek to pass over ‘to the other side.’ Each step, a journey laden with grave injustices: the enslaved, the imprisoned and extorted; so many of these brothers and sisters of ours are the consequence of a trade in human trafficking, the trafficking of persons.”²⁵ Francis reminded his listeners of the human face of suffering, noting, “This crisis which can be measured in numbers and statistics, we want instead to measure with names, stories, families. They are the brothers and sisters of those expelled by poverty and violence, by drug trafficking and criminal organizations.”²⁶ The Pope does not, however, stop with a request for compassion. Emphasizing the preferential option for the poor through a call for solidarity, Pope Francis urged, “Let us together ask our God for the gift of conversion, the gift of tears ... open to his call heard in the suffering faces of countless men and women. No more death! No more exploitation! There is always time to change, always a way out and always an opportunity, there is always the time to implore the mercy of God.”²⁷ Again, Francis appeals to the notion of conversion via mercy, noting, “let us say together in response to the suffering on so many faces: In your compassion and mercy, Lord, have pity on us ... cleanse us from our sins and create in us a pure heart, a new spirit.”²⁸ He links contemporary opportunities with biblical, noting that “just as in Jonas’ time, so too today may we commit ourselves to conversion; may we be signs lighting the way and announcing salvation.”²⁹ A closing remark called for cross-border linkages as he noted, “And now I also want to greet from here all our beloved brothers and sisters who are joining us simultaneously from the other side of the frontier ... Thanks to technology, we can pray, sing and celebrate together that merciful love which God gives us, and which no frontier can prevent us from sharing. Thank you, brothers and sisters of El Paso, for making us feel one single family and one same Christian community.”³⁰ Francis is cognizant of and encourages the cross-border unity of the faithful.

The Pope’s April 2016 visit to the Moria refugee camp on the Greek island of Lesbos received widespread media coverage, perhaps not surprisingly in the context of a US presidential campaign debate around

immigration, the approaching Brexit vote in the UK, and the rise of xenophobic political discourse across Europe. In his remarks, Francis commented on the suffering connected to migration, articulating, “Today, I renew my heartfelt plea for responsibility and solidarity in the face of this tragic situation ... We must never forget, however, that migrants, rather than simply being a statistic, are first of all persons who have faces, names and individual stories. Europe is the homeland of human rights, and whoever sets foot on European soil ought to sense this, and thus become more aware of the duty to respect and defend those rights.”³¹ Pope Francis concretized his rhetoric through the highly symbolic act of returning from Greece with 12 Syrian Muslim refugees to be entrusted to the care of the Vatican: the number 12 suggestive of Christ’s 12 apostles as well as the 12 tribes of Israel. While caring for 12 individuals hardly makes a significant impact in the Syrian refugee crisis, the Pope’s message that Muslim refugees are worth assisting may be intended to have a ripple effect on Church and state responses. A Vatican statement related to the visit stated, “The pope has desired to make a gesture of welcome regarding refugees.”³² Pope Francis’s action links to the central Judeo-Christian tenet to “welcome the stranger,” which in no way is a radical departure from traditional Catholic Church teaching but instead signals a reinforcement.

Even when his trips are not explicitly wedded to sites of migration, Pope Francis has carried the message of welcome to migrants with him. While remarks made in front of Independence Hall in Philadelphia centered on the legacy of and historical struggle for religious freedom, Pope Francis included a message to immigrants, noting “Among us today are members of America’s large Hispanic population, as well as representatives of recent immigrants to the United States. Many of you have emigrated (I greet you warmly!) to this country at great personal cost, in the hope of building a new life.”³³ The Pope exhorted migrants, “Do not be discouraged by whatever hardships you face. I ask you not to forget that, like those who came here before you, you bring many gifts to this nation ... Do not forget the lessons you learned from your elders, which are something you can bring to enrich the life of this American land.”³⁴ Citing the “gift” that immigrants bring to the USA, Pope Francis referred to the “vibrant faith which so many of you possess, the deep sense of family life and all those other values which you have inherited. By contributing your gifts, you will not only find your place here, you will help to renew society from within.”³⁵

As of September 2017, Pope Francis has made 21 foreign trips and visited 30 countries.³⁶ Francis’s visit to Egypt, an important source of Christian and Muslim migrants bound for Europe, occurred in April 2017. Continued teachings and reflection upon the struggles faced by migrants, the responsibility of receiving countries to welcome migrating people, and the opportunities these individuals offer to receiving countries are likely themes of Francis’s public statements.

Pope Francis’s Writing and Public Statements

Pope Francis’s official writings have likewise engaged the issue of migration and emphasized the importance of an inclusive approach to migrating persons and families. In the 2013 apostolic exhortation *Joy of the Gospel* (*Evangelii Gaudium*), Pope Francis promotes the concept of a joyful proclamation of the Gospel embodied in a “culture of encounter.” As “pastor of a Church without frontiers,” Francis underscores his ministry to migrants and “exhort [s] all countries to a generous openness which, rather than fearing the loss of local identity, will prove capable of creating new forms of cultural synthesis.”³⁷ He foregrounds the aesthetic opportunities for “those cities which overcome paralyzing mistrust, integrate those who are different and make this very integration a new factor of development! How attractive are those cities which, even in their architectural design, are full of spaces which connect, relate and favor the recognition of others!”³⁸ Although aware of the tangible benefits migrants bring to new communities, Francis does not abandon the purely altruistic impulse and encourages individuals “to draw near to new forms of poverty and vulnerability, in which we are called to recognize the suffering Christ, even if this appears to bring us no tangible and immediate benefits.”³⁹

In the 2015 encyclical *On Care for Our Common Home* (*Laudato Si*), Francis links climate change with migration, noting, “There has been a tragic rise in the number of migrants seeking to flee from the growing poverty caused by environmental degradation.”⁴⁰ He notes the injustice and desperation of their plight, continuing, “They are not recognized by international conventions as refugees; they bear the loss of the lives they have left behind, without enjoying any legal protection whatsoever,” and highlights the failure of unaffected communities to respond, noting, “Sadly, there is widespread indifference to such suffering, which is even now taking place throughout our world.”⁴¹

Pope Francis's statements serve again to highlight the pontiff's central concern for migration issues and the opportunity for redemption for the developed world through the presence of migrants in their communities. Just three days after the Pope's trip to Lesbos, and on the 35th anniversary of the opening of Centro Astalli, Pope Francis praised the agency for its work with refugees. In a video message partly addressed to refugees served by the agency, he notes that "each one of you, refugees who knock at our doors, has the face of God, and is the flesh of Christ."⁴² He suggests, "Treated like a burden, a problem, a cost, you are instead a gift. You offer witness of how our gracious and merciful God knows how to transform the evil and injustice you suffer into a good for all, as each one of you can be a bridge that unites distant peoples, that makes possible the encounter between different cultures and religions, a way to rediscover our common humanity."⁴³ The Pope's description of migrants as "gift" challenges the common understanding of migrants as humanitarian and public policy dilemmas. In fact, Pope Francis links the earthly realities of migrant and receiving country, declaring, "Your experience of pain and of hope reminds us that we are all strangers and pilgrims on this Earth, welcomed by someone with generosity and without deserving this."⁴⁴ He appeals to the assembled migrants, "Forgive the closedness and indifference of our societies, which fear the change of life and mentality that your presence requires."⁴⁵

Even while at home at the Vatican, Pope Francis has engaged in symbolic action to highlight migration. One example includes his 80th birthday in December 2016, when he shared an Argentinian breakfast with eight homeless people, including four non-Italians from Moldova, Peru, and Romania.⁴⁶ The more widely referenced actions, however, have included the highly symbolic Holy Thursday Mass in 2016 at the Reception Center for Asylum Seekers at Castelnuovo di Porto, outside of Rome. Pope Francis washed and kissed the feet of 12 male and female migrants and refugees from Muslim, Catholic, Coptic, and Hindu traditions.⁴⁷ Just a few days after terrorist attacks in Brussels, Pope Francis cited Christ's washing of his apostles' feet in preparation for priesthood as a gesture of inclusion as he noted, "Muslims, Hindus, Catholics, Copts, evangelicals, but brothers. Children of the same God who want to live in peace, integrated."⁴⁸ Francis links Judas's betrayal of Christ in exchange for 30 coins to the attacks which implicate not only the individual actors, but also the systems that motivate them. Pope Francis traces the terroristic acts to "people who don't want to live in peace" but also argues that "behind that act, just as behind Judas, there were those who gave him money so that

Jesus would be delivered ... Behind that act (in Brussels), there are manufacturers, arms traffickers who want blood, not peace, who want war, not brotherhood.”⁴⁹ The rich, developed world is implicated in this read of the migration crisis. Francis tempers his critique of those who benefit from the conflict that feeds migration to a message to the migrants themselves, observing, “Each of you has your own story. Many crosses, many pains, but also an open heart that wants brotherhood. Each one, in their own religious language, prays to the Lord, so that this brotherhood ‘infects’ the world—so that there will not be the thirty coins to kill our brother, because there will always be brotherhood and goodness.”⁵⁰

Pope Francis’s Organizational Restructuring

Even within the organizational structure of the Vatican, Pope Francis has signaled his interest in migration as a priority. In August 2016, via an apostolic letter released *motu proprio* (on his own initiative), Pope Francis announced the creation of a new Vatican office, the Dicastery for Promoting Integral Human Development, thereby placing issues of migration under his direct supervision. The administrative reorganization “expresses the Holy Father’s care for suffering humanity, including the needy, the sick and excluded, and pays special attention to the needs and issues of those who are forced to flee their homeland, the stateless, the marginalized, victims of armed conflicts and natural disasters, the imprisoned, the unemployed, victims of contemporary forms of slavery and torture, and others whose dignity is endangered.”⁵¹ Beginning on January 1, 2017, the Dicastery merged the pontifical councils for the Health Care Ministry, Justice and Peace, Cor Unum, and Migrants and Travelers into one entity. Pope Francis indicated that the unit within the Dicastery focused on refugees and migrants would be “temporarily placed (*ad tempus*) under the direction of the Supreme Pontiff,” a choice that “expresses in a special way the pope’s concern for migrants and refugees.”⁵² In addition to the study of CST on humanitarian issues, the collection of research and data related to migration, and assessments to ensure that local Catholic Church dioceses can provide assistance to migrants, the Dicastery will perform advocacy to “enter into discussion with representatives of civil governments and other international public institutions, in order to promote study, deepen knowledge, and public awareness regarding matters within its competence.”⁵³ Whether or not state actors will heed Dicastery policy recommendations remains to be seen.

Pope Francis's Public Statements at Convenings on Migration

Key platforms for Pope Francis's migration messaging also include annual celebrations and institutional church gatherings linked to migration. Building upon the concept of migrant as "gift" for his Message for World Day of Migrants and Refugees in 2014, Pope Francis underscores the possibilities and opportunities that migration creates. "We ourselves need to see, and then to enable others to see, that migrants and refugees do not only represent a problem to be solved, but are brothers and sisters to be welcomed, respected and loved," Francis declared.⁵⁴ Moreover, Francis attests that migrants "are an occasion that Providence gives us to help build a more just society, a more perfect democracy, a more united country, a more fraternal world and a more open and evangelical Christian community."⁵⁵ He posits that migration may occasion opportunities for religious and indeed philosophical transformation, declaring, "Migration can offer possibilities for a new evangelization, open vistas for the growth of a new humanity foreshadowed in the paschal mystery: a humanity for which every foreign country is a homeland and every homeland is a foreign country."⁵⁶

In the Pope's address to the Plenary Assembly of the Pontifical Council for the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Travelers in May 2013, he addressed the council's theme, "The Pastoral Concern of the Church in the Context of Forced Migrations." Francis makes equivalent "the flesh of Christ that is the flesh of the refugees: their flesh is the flesh of Christ" and hopes that "our Christian communities be truly places of hospitality, listening and communion."⁵⁷ While he expressed gratitude for the entity's response to migrants, he "encourage[d] [the council] to continue on the path of service to the poorest and marginalized brothers ... [recognizing that] we are in fact only one human family that, in the multiplicity of its differences, walks towards unity, valuing solidarity and dialogue between peoples."⁵⁸

In the Pope's discourse to the Seventh World Congress for the Pastoral Care of Migrants in November 2014, he asserted that "migration is still an aspiration to hope. Above all in areas of the world in difficulty, where the lack of work prevents individuals and their families from achieving a dignified life, there is a strong drive to seek a better future wherever that may be, even at the risk of disappointment and failure."⁵⁹ Francis pushes the Catholic Church to extend itself beyond its charitable work, not only identifying the problems to be addressed, but also observing the migrants' abilities, contending, "When encountering migrants, it is important to

adopt an integrated perspective, capable of valuing their potential rather than seeing them only as a problem to be confronted and resolved.”⁶⁰ Francis again foregrounds the promise migrants offer to receiving countries, remarking that “migrants, therefore, by virtue of their very humanity, even prior to their cultural values, widen the sense of human fraternity” and notes that their presence will allow them “to become partners in constructing a richer identity for the communities which provide them hospitality, as well as the people who welcome them, prompting the development of a society which is inclusive, creative and respectful of the dignity of all.”⁶¹

CONCLUSION: ASSESSING THE “FRANCIS EFFECT” ON CATHOLICS’ VIEWS ON MIGRATION

Despite the attention and rhetorical gifts Pope Francis has brought to the plight of the immigrant, evidence of an impact on public attitudes and voting behavior among Catholics is scant. This is true on both sides of the Atlantic. In the 2016 election, where issues of a border wall, a ban on Muslims, and reductions in the entry of refugees occupied a prominent place on the Republican platform, candidate Trump won a higher share of the white Catholic vote than Candidates Bush, McCain, and Romney had in the four preceding elections.⁶² In France, where the National Front’s rhetoric emphasizes fears of immigration and Muslim integration, Catholics were more likely to have voted for Marine Le Pen than non-Catholics.⁶³

It is of course true that citizens consider many factors in voting for a president. Unless the voter focuses on a single issue, the candidate’s position on issues other than immigration matter as well, as do voter characteristics such as regional and sociodemographic variables. Nonetheless, the divergence between the pro-immigrant and pro-refugee positions of Pope Francis and many of the highest prelates of the American Catholic Church, on the one hand, and public opinion on the issue by rank-and-file Catholics, on the other, is notable. American Catholics closely mirror the broader American public in their attitudes toward immigration. A large majority of Catholics (71 percent) agree that there should be a path to regularization for most immigrants in the country illegally, in consonance with 71 percent of the broader population that holds this view.⁶⁴ However, there are notable differences in views between Hispanic and White non-Hispanic Catholics. White non-Hispanic Catholics are evenly divided (44 percent to 44 percent) on the question of whether immigrants

strengthen society or are a burden, and in this they mirror whites overall (42 percent to 45 percent). By contrast, the views of Hispanic Catholics on this issue (73 percent strengthen to 16 percent burden) closely resemble Hispanics as a whole (72 percent to 18 percent). This data suggests that being Catholic is of little predictive value; other characteristics such as race and ethnicity predominate.

An important reason why American Catholics mirror the population at large, and deviate from the position of the clergy on the issue of immigration and refugees, likely lies in the factors that voters consider in determining their stance. While 20 percent or more ranked personal experience, their education, or media coverage as the most important factor in their decision, only 7 percent stated that their religious beliefs were the primary determinant.⁶⁵ Consistent with these findings, a 2006 survey found that white non-Hispanic Catholics who attended church at least once a week held more favorable attitudes toward immigrants than their counterparts who attended church less often, although Catholics overall were more likely than the general population to support overall reductions in immigration.⁶⁶ Nonetheless, frequent church attendance in 2016 (religious breakdown not available) was associated with a higher likelihood of voting for Trump.⁶⁷

Recent elections in which right-wing anti-immigrant and anti-cosmopolitan parties have fared well remind us of the enduring power of the nationalist idea, the political effects of the unmooring of economic livelihoods, and misplaced risk perception in an era of saturated coverage of terrorist incidents.⁶⁸ Under these circumstances, Pope Francis's agenda on immigration and refugees faces strong headwinds. It has yet to be determined if Francis's official visits as pope, his writing, his rhetoric, and his administrative decisions, rooted in a long tradition of CST principles and expressed in Pope Francis's unique voice, will "convert" Western society, including Catholics, to a widespread attitude of welcome and acceptance of refugees and migrants as the "gifts" Pope Francis extols.

NOTES

1. UNHCR, *Global Trends Forced Displacement 2015*, 2016, <http://www.unhcr.org/576408cd7>
2. Nikolaj Nielsen. "People Leaving Egypt to Italy Doubled in Past Year," *EU Observer Website*, July 1, 2016, <https://euobserver.com/migration/134163>; Ayman Zohry, *The Migratory Patterns of Egyptians in Italy*

- and France*. Euro-Mediterranean Consortium for Applied Research on International Migration Research Report, CARIM RR 2009/17, 2009, http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/12253/CARIM_RR_2009_17.pdf;jsessionid=4EDAD82A2DDD37F02E4B97B18529D01F?sequence=2
3. International Crisis Group, *What’s Driving the Global Refugee Crisis*, 2016, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/global/what-s-driving-global-refugee-crisis>
 4. Collectif Argos, *Climate Refugees* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2010).
 5. Gregory White, *Climate Change and Migration: Security and Borders in a Warming World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
 6. Jane McAdam, *Climate Change, Forced Migration and International Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).
 7. J. David Cisneros, “Contaminated Communities: The Metaphor of ‘Immigrant as Pollutant’ in Media Representations of Immigration,” *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 11 (2008): 569–601; Otto Santa Ana, *Brown Tide Rising: Metaphors of Latinos in Contemporary American Discourse* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002).
 8. For views on immigration expressed by Pope John Paul II and Pope Benedict XVI that differ from Pope Francis, please see Elizabeth Carter’s chapter in this volume.
 9. Francis, “Celebration of Holy Mass at the ‘Arena’ sports camp,” The Vatican Website, July 8, 2013, http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/homilies/2013/documents/papa-francesco_20130708_omelia-lampedusa.html
 10. Ibid.
 11. Ibid.
 12. Ibid.
 13. Ibid.
 14. Ibid.
 15. Ibid.
 16. Ibid.
 17. Jesuit Refugee Service, *2014 JRS Italy Annual Report*, 2014, <http://www.centroastalli.it/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/JRS-Italy-Annual-Report.doc>
 18. Jesuit Refugee Service, “Pope Francis’ Message to Jesuit Refugee Service,” September 12, 2013, http://jrsusa.org/news_detail?TN=N EWS-20130912100648
 19. Ibid.
 20. Ibid.
 21. Ibid.
 22. Ibid.
 23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.
25. Francis, "Homily in Ciudad Juarez," The Vatican Website, February 17, 2016, https://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/homilies/2016/documents/papa-francesco_20160217_omelia-messico-ciudad-juarez.html
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
33. Francis, "Meeting for religious liberty with the Hispanic community and other immigrants," The Vatican Website, September 26, 2015, http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2015/september/documents/papa-francesco_20150926_usa-liberta-religiosa.html
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. See a list of his travels on the Vatican website at <http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/travels/2017/outside.index.html>
37. Francis, "Apostolic Exhortation *Evangelii Gaudium*: Joy of The Gospel," The Vatican Website, November 24, 2013, http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/apost_exhortations/documents/papa-francesco_esortazione-ap_20131124_evangelii-gaudium.html
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. Francis, *Laudato Si': On Care for Our Common Home*, Encyclical Letter, The Vatican Website. May 24, 2015, http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/encyclicals/documents/papa-francesco_20150524_enciclica-laudato-si.html, p. 25.
41. Ibid.
42. *Vatican Radio*, "Pope Francis to Centro Astalli: 35 Years of Service, Witness," April 19, 2016, http://en.radiovaticana.va/news/2016/04/19/pope_francis_to_centro_astalli_35_years_of_service,_witness/1223912
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
46. Sheena McKenzie, "Pope Celebrates 80th birthday, Invites 8 Homeless People to Breakfast," *CNN*. December 17, 2016, <http://www.cnn.com/2016/12/17/europe/pope-80th-birthday-homeless/>
47. National Catholic Register, "Pope Francis Washes Feet of Migrants and Refugees on Holy Thursday," *National Catholic Register*, March 24,

- 2016, <http://www.ncregister.com/daily-news/pope-francis-washes-fee-of-migrants-and-refugees-on-holy-thursday>
48. Ibid.
49. News VA: Official Vatican Network, “Pope Francis: Gestures of Fraternity, Defeat, Hatred and Greed,” March 24, 2016, <http://www.news.va/en/news/pope-francis-gestures-of-fraternity-defeat-hatred>
50. Ibid.
51. Francis, “Apostolic Letter Issues Motu Proprio by the Supreme Pontiff Francis Instituting the Dicastery for Promoting Integral Human Development,” The Vatican Website, August 17, 2016, http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/motu_proprio/documents/papa-francesco-motu-proprio_20160817_humanam-progressionem.html
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.
54. Francis, “Message of his Holiness Pope Francis for the World Day of Migrants and Refugees,” The Vatican Website. August 5, 2013, http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/messages/migration/documents/papafrancesco_20130805_world-migrants-day.html
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid.
57. *Zenit.org*, “Pope’s Address to Pontifical Council for Migrants,” May 24, 2013, <https://zenit.org/articles/pope-s-address-to-pontifical-council-for-migrants>
58. Ibid.
59. Center for Migration Studies, “Pope Francis addresses 7th World Congress for the Pastoral Care of Migrants,” November 21, 2014, <http://cmsny.org/pope-francis-addresses-7th-world-congress-for-the-pastoral-care-of-migrants>
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid.
62. Pew Research Center, *How the Faithful Voted: A Preliminary 2016 Analysis*, November 9, 2016, <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/11/09/how-the-faithful-voted-a-preliminary-2016-analysis/>
63. Pew Research Center, *5 Charts Showing Where France’s National Front Draws Its Support*, April 21, 2017, <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/04/21/5-charts-showing-where-frances-national-front-draws-its-support/>
64. Pew Research Center, Catholic Leaders Urge Immigration Reform. September 6, 2013, <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2013/09/06/demographics-play-role-in-catholic-leaders-push-for-immigration-bill/>
65. Pew Research Center, *Catholics, Other Christians Support Immigration Reform, But Say Faith Plays Small Role*, April 1, 2014, <http://www.pewre>

[search.org/fact-tank/2014/04/01/catholics-other-christians-support-immigration-reform-but-say-faith-plays-small-role/](http://fact-tank/2014/04/01/catholics-other-christians-support-immigration-reform-but-say-faith-plays-small-role/)

66. Pew Research Center, "Attitudes Toward Immigration: In the Pulpit and the Pew," April 25, 2006, <http://www.pewresearch.org/2006/04/25/attitudes-toward-immigration-in-the-pulpit-and-the-pew/>
67. Pew Research Center, *How the Faithful Voted*.
68. John Judis, *The Populist Explosion: How the Great Recession Transformed American and European Politics* (New York: Columbia Global Reports, 2016); David Ropiek, *How Risky Is It, Really? Why Our Fears Don't Always Match the Fact* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2010).



Erratum to: Sign o’ the Times: Does Francis’ Papacy Represent a New Era for Western Europe?

Elizabeth Carter

Erratum to:

Chapter 9 in: A. J. Lyon et al. (eds.), *Pope Francis as a Global Actor*, Palgrave Studies in Religion, Politics, and Policy, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-71377-9_9

The original version of Chapter 9 was inadvertently published with incorrect chapter title “The Pope and Europe: Sign o’ the Times: Does Pope Francis’s Papacy Represent a New Era for Western Europe?” instead of “Sign o’ the Times: Does Francis’ Papacy Represent a New Era for Western Europe?”. The chapter has been updated.

The updated online version of this chapter can be found at https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-71377-9_9

© The Author(s) 2018
A. J. Lyon et al. (eds.), *Pope Francis as a Global Actor*,
Palgrave Studies in Religion, Politics, and Policy,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-71377-9_14

E1

INDEX¹

A

Abbas, Mahmoud, 111
Abolitionist movement, 150
Abortion, xiii, 11, 100, 107, 113, 136,
145, 146, 151, 164, 207, 212n57
Accommodation strategy, 232
Ad Apostolorum Principis, 228
Addiction, 82, 83, 87, 89, 91
Ad Sinarum gentem, 228
Aggiornamento, 172, 173, 183
Amoris Lactitia, xi, 10, 18
Anglican Communion, 148
Aparecida (meeting of CELAM),
24, 192, 194, 197
Apostolic exhortations, xi, 8, 24, 26,
31, 33, 41, 73, 98, 145, 254, 275
Aquinas, Thomas (Saint), 12, 62–66,
68, 69, 74, 77n17, 78n19,
78n21, 78n22, 78n26, 78n28,
79n37, 79n42, 88–90, 94n27,
94n31, 95n35, 95n36, 95n37,
95n38, 251

Archbishop Claudio Celli, 219, 231
Archbishop of Canterbury, 148
Argentina, 6, 8, 25, 26, 28, 47, 48,
50, 53, 54n1, 61, 84, 87, 90, 97,
109, 145, 170, 179, 183, 189,
191, 192, 195–204, 218, 224,
227, 235, 236, 246, 254, 256,
257, 259
Aristotle, 12, 63, 75, 202
Asia, 16, 40n62, 86, 215–236, 255,
258, 261
Asian Bishops' Conferences,
216, 217
Augustine (Saint), 88, 94n27
Augustine of Hippo (Saint), 61
Austria, 171

B

Bartholomew (Saint), 124
Bartolomé de Las Casas of Spain, 25
Bellarmine, Robert, 53, 55n7, 217

¹Note: Page number followed by 'n' refers to notes.

- Benedict XVI (Pope), ix, 4, 5, 11, 12, 15, 16, 19n8, 38n48, 43, 97, 116n20, 124, 138n16, 138n17, 148, 165n9, 170–174, 176–178, 182–184, 185n3, 185n9, 185n15, 185n17, 186n21, 186n23, 192, 194, 216, 217, 219, 220, 224, 232–234, 239n37, 243n103, 265n35, 281n8
- Bergoglio priorities, 26, 33
- Bergoglio, Jorge Mario, 8, 20n13, 24, 35n8, 35n9, 35n12, 40n62, 42, 44–49, 53, 54, 54n1, 54n4, 55n8, 56n11, 59–62, 84, 85, 145, 165n1, 169, 179, 192–197, 200, 201, 204, 210n17, 210n26, 212n55, 212n57, 227, 250
- See also* Pope Francis
- Berlin Wall, 173
- Bishops' Conference of the Catholic Church in China (BCCC), 217, 220, 222, 229–231
- Boehner, John, 148, 157, 164
- Bouazizi, Mohamad, 267
- Brazil, 8, 24, 82, 134, 191, 194, 207, 209n6, 254
- Brexit, 171, 274
- Buddhists, 218, 225, 233, 257, 263n8
- C**
- Cap-and-trade system, 134
- Capitalism, 4, 30, 81, 82, 121, 170, 172, 178, 183, 198
- Cardenal, Ernesto, 173, 175
- Cardoso, Fernando Henrique, 197, 210n28, 211n29
- Caritas in veritate*, 177
- Castro, Raoul, 51
- Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 10, 13
- Catholic Relief Services, 215
- Catholic social teaching (CST), 39n54, 61, 62, 170–184, 198, 199, 269, 270, 277, 280
- Cavallo Plan, 199
- Cavallo, Domingo, 199
- Centesimus annus*, 174, 177
- Central African Republic, 133, 268
- Charism, Jesuit charism, 41
- Child Welfare Provider Inclusion Act, 158
- China, 16–18, 50, 100, 134, 215, 259
- Chinese Catholic Church, 216–218, 220, 221, 223, 226–230, 234–236
- Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association (CCPA), 217, 221, 222, 228–230, 233, 234
- Chinese Communist Party, 234
- Chrysostom, John (Saint), 251
- Climate change, 12, 13, 17, 51, 59, 119, 145, 146, 157, 164, 249, 268, 275
- Cold War, 101, 170, 171, 174, 175, 234
- Colegio Máximo, 192
- Commission for the Catholic Church in China, 233, 234
- Conference of Latin American Bishops (CELAM), 24, 192–194, 197
- Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, 10, 145, 176, 192
- Congress, US, 17, 129, 143, 144
- Constitutions*, 46, 48, 52, 55n7
- Corporatism, 84, 85, 92, 181, 183
- Cuba, 101, 189, 195
- Cultural Revolution, 222, 229
- Cupimus imprimis*, 228
- D**
- Death penalty, 144, 153, 154, 158–162
- Democrats, 133, 164, 171
- Deng Xiaoping, 222, 230
- Deontological*, 67, 68, 70, 74
- Dependency theory, 174, 180, 181, 183, 197

Dicastery for Promoting Integral
Human Development, 277
Diocese of Hong Kong, 217
Diocese of Macao, 217
Dirty War, 7, 84, 85, 87, 90, 179,
192, 195, 196
Dorothy Day, 144, 155, 160, 161
Drug cartels, 82
Duterte, Rodrigo, 86–88, 92

E

Ecclesial Base Communities, 191
Egypt, 149, 261, 268, 273, 275
Ehrlichman, John, 88
Elementary and Secondary Education
Act (ESEA), 158
Elizabeth II (Queen), 144, 162
Encyclicals, 7, 17, 33, 51, 59–61, 63,
64, 67, 68, 71–76, 81, 119, 121,
123, 124, 127, 128, 130, 132,
134, 145, 157, 159, 170, 172,
181, 228, 249, 250, 255, 275
Environmentalism, 127
Episcopal Church, 148
Episcopal Conference of Chile, 192
E-Rate Program, 158
Esse, 65
Etchegaray, Roger Marie Élie
(Cardinal), 216
Eternal law, 59
EU Parliament, 182, 183
Euro, 171
Europe, 16, 17, 40n62, 50, 56n15,
63, 92, 161, 169–184, 194, 219,
226, 228, 250, 268, 270,
274, 275
European Union (EU), 134, 171, 183
Euthanasia, 100, 107
Evangelicals, 14, 132, 152, 154, 157,
202, 276, 278

Evangelii Gaudium “Joy of the
Gospel”, 8, 18, 24–28, 30, 41,
81, 87, 98, 197, 199, 254,
256, 275
Exsul Familia Nazarethana, 273

F

Faletto, Enzo, 197, 210n28, 211n29
Falungong, 223, 231
Fátima the Virgin, 33
Fernández de Kirchner, Cristina, 201
Fernando Oliveira of Portugal, 25
Ferré, Alberto Methol, 7, 8
Fifth General Conference of the
Bishops of Latin America, 8
First Amendment Defense Act, 158
France, 33, 133, 171, 225, 279
Francis (Pope), 3–9, 13–16, 24, 26,
29, 42, 43, 52, 60, 68, 75, 98,
103, 114, 119, 123, 129, 136,
144, 155, 170, 182, 184, 192,
218, 253, 267, 268, 274, 275
Francis effect, 112, 130–133,
202–208, 279, 280
Francis factor, 121, 208
Francis of Assisi (Saint), 3, 4, 26, 123,
145, 165n3
Franco, Francisco, 92, 181
Freedom Party (Austria), 171

G

Galli, Carlos Maria, 4, 8, 18, 24,
26, 36n19
Gallup, 102, 130
Gaudium et Spes, 24, 62, 176, 229
Genesis, ix, 69, 70, 123, 124, 253, 270
Globalization, 13, 39n58, 100, 173,
176, 180, 184, 197–199,
252, 270

Global South, 3, 25, 125, 126, 169
 Goa, 56n15, 245
 Golden rule, 75, 154, 156, 159,
 161, 162
 Gosar, Paul, 164, 168n43
 Greece, 171, 182, 274
 Guardini, Romano, 60, 77n4
 Gustavo, Gutiérrez, 24, 34n6, 44,
 55n5, 62, 77n11, 173, 197,
 211n30, 266n44

H

Habermas, Jürgen, 11, 12
 Henríquez, Raúl Silva (Cardinal), 192
 Heyndrickx, Jeroom, 218, 233,
 237n17, 242n80, 242n81
 High Middle Ages, 69
 Hindus, 249, 250, 257, 262n4,
 263n8, 276
 Hollande, Francois, 133
 Holy See, xiii, 43, 51, 100, 101, 109,
 113, 121, 129, 134, 215, 216,
 218, 220, 221, 228, 230, 235
 Hong Kong, 216–219, 228, 231
 Human rights, xiii, 62, 73, 87, 88, 92,
 100, 121, 155, 174, 182, 191,
 192, 227, 235, 260, 274

I

Ignatius of Loyola (Saint),
 42, 46, 55n7
 Immaculate Conception, 102, 225
 Inculturation, Jesuit practice of, 224
 Inculturation strategy, 225
 India, 16–18, 50, 56n15, 233,
 245–252, 254–259, 261, 262,
 262n4, 263n5, 263n8,
 263–264n10
 Indian Catholic Church, 246, 248, 257
 Intended Nationally Determined
 Contributions (INDCs), 134

Introduzione alla teologia del popolo, 25
 Iron Curtain, 173, 174
 Islam, 59, 109, 149
 Italy, 25, 44, 171, 232, 248, 268, 271

J

Jain, 257, 263n8
 Jefferson, Thomas, 149, 150, 152
 Jerusalem, 51, 110
 Jesuit, 3, 7, 10, 16, 17, 32, 41–54, 84,
 87, 145, 179, 182, 192, 196,
 218, 224–227, 235, 251, 258
 Jesuit background, beliefs of Pope
 Francis, impact on global
 leadership and politics, 53
 Jesuit movement, history of, 53
 Jin Luxian (Bishop), 223, 233
 John Paul I (Pope), 172
 John Paul II (Pope), 4, 5, 14–16,
 43, 97–114, 121, 124, 148,
 165n9, 170–178, 184, 185n3,
 185n6, 192, 193, 216–219,
 224, 226, 229–232, 234,
 241n59, 242n80, 242n81,
 242n85, 242n87, 261,
 281n8
 John XXIII (Pope), 14, 22n42, 172,
 174, 183, 209n5, 226, 229, 253,
 265n30

K

Kennedy, John F., 7, 145, 152,
 155, 164
 Kennedy, Joseph P. II, 162
 Kenya, 133
 King, Martin Luther Jr., 144, 151,
 155, 156, 160, 161
 Kirchner, Néstor, 201, 211n39,
 212n44, 212n57
 Kiribati, 133
 Knights of Malta, 235

L

Laotian Catholic Church, 215
 Latin America, 8, 17, 18, 24, 25, 31,
 40n62, 44, 84, 92, 169, 172,
 177, 178, 189–208, 256
Laudato Si, 17, 18, 51, 59–76, 81,
 119, 123–129, 132, 134, 249,
 250, 260, 275
 Lesbos, 181, 273, 276
 Leo XIII (Pope), 170, 171
 LGBT, 10, 12
 Liberation theology, 8, 24, 31, 44, 54,
 62, 63, 83–86, 171, 183,
 191–194, 196, 197, 256
 Lincoln, Abraham, 144, 151, 153,
 155, 160, 161
 Ling Mangkhanekhoun (Cardinal), 215
Los Angeles Times, 97–99, 103–106,
 108–113
 Lucie-Smith, Alexander, 85, 93n5,
 93n18
Lumen Gentium, 260

M

Macao, 216, 217, 228
 Malankara Church, 258
 Mãn, Phạm Minh (Archbishop
 Emeritus), 216
 Marijuana, 82, 86
 Marshall Islands, 126, 133
 Marxism, 7, 84, 92, 171, 172, 174,
 176, 178, 202, 229, 234
 Medellín, 24, 36n17, 172,
 191–194, 254
 Media, 4, 9, 14, 97, 132, 133, 144,
 178, 183, 268, 273, 280
 Menem, Carlos Saúl, 199, 201
 Merkel, Angela, 135, 141n51
 Merton, Thomas, 144, 155, 160,
 161, 164
 Millennium Development Goals, 128
 Moria, 181, 273

Muslims, 100, 101, 109, 152, 157,
 170, 176, 178, 182, 257, 263n8,
 274–276, 279
 Mussolini, Benito, 181

N

National Conference of Brazilian
 Bishops, 191
 National Front, 171
 Natural law, 64, 66–68, 70, 72,
 88–90, 92
 Nazi Germany, 176, 184
 Nazi Youth, 176
 Neoliberalism, 81, 92, 195, 198, 199,
 201, 211n38, 212n46
 Neo-Marxist, 18, 23, 25
 New Testament, 4, 85
New York Times, 19n3, 22n40, 77n1,
 97–99, 103, 105–113, 114n2,
 116n17, 116n19, 140n42,
 167n37, 183, 186n20,
 187n43, 243n94
 Nhón, Nguyễn Văn (Archbishop), 216
 Nicaragua, 203
 Nietzsche, Frederick, 61
 Nixon, Richard, 88, 89
 Novarum, Rerum, 92, 170–172, 269

O

Obama, Barak, 51, 89, 134
 Organisation for Economic
 Cooperation and Development
 (OECD), 29, 38n39

P

Papal infallibility, 102, 172
 Parental Choice (School Choice),
 151, 158
 Parsees, 257
 Paul (Saint), xi, 46, 85

- Paul VI (Pope), 26, 34n5, 37n24, 124, 172–174, 177, 183, 193, 209n5, 229, 241n75, 262n4, 266n55
- Pentecostals, 190, 204, 208
- Peres, Shimon, 111
- Perón, Juan, 39n60, 54, 61, 195
- Peronism, 54, 61, 62, 77n10, 195
- Pew Foundation (Research Center), 15, 16, 22n45, 139n32, 152, 166n20, 202, 203, 205, 206, 208, 213n60, 213n61, 213n63, 213n65, 283n62, 283n63, 283n64, 283n65, 284n66, 284n67
- Philippines, 86–88, 90, 230
- Pinochet, Augusto, 92, 192
- Piqué, Elisabetta, 19n8, 45, 55n9, 77n2
- Pius XI (Pope), 172, 181, 184, 187n48
- Plato, 12, 61
- Poland, 43, 101, 105, 107, 108, 174, 175, 183
- Policy Entrepreneur, 17, 119–137, 143–164
- Politics, political views of Pope Francis, 41
- Pontifical Academy of Sciences, 129
- Pontifical Council for the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Travelers, 278
- Pope Benedict XVI, 105
- Populism, 62, 195, 210n24
- Populorum progressio*, 172, 173, 177
- Prebisch, Raul, 197
- Preferential option for the poor, 8, 32, 73, 172, 175, 191, 193, 194, 197, 250, 269, 273
- Protestants, 14, 50, 132, 145, 150–152, 154, 157, 203, 204, 206, 218
- Public opinion, 121, 130, 133, 136, 279
- Puebla (meeting of CELAM), 24, 26, 62, 193, 197, 254
- ## Q
- Quiroga, Facundo, 84
- ## R
- RAB, *see* Religious Affairs Bureau
- Ratzinger, Joseph, 172, 176–178, 185n10, 194
- The Ratzinger Report*, 176
- Reagan, Nancy, 83, 89, 144, 174, 175
- Reagan, Ronald, 89, 144, 174, 175
- Rehabilitation, 86, 89–92, 154, 159
- Religious Affairs Bureau (RAB), 222, 229
- Republicans, 127, 132, 157, 164, 224, 272, 279
- Republic of China (ROC), 216, 226, 228
- Ricci, Matteo, 50, 224, 226, 227, 230–232, 240n46, 240n48
- The Ressourcement*, 172
- Rio de Janeiro, 45, 189, 205, 207, 246
- ROC, *see* Republic of China
- Romero, Oscar, 173, 183
- Rosas, Juan Manuel de, 84
- ## S
- Same-Sex marriage, xiii, 161
- Sandinista, 173, 175
- SARA, *see* State Administration for Religious Affairs
- Sarmiento, Domingo F., 84
- Scalia, Antonin, 157, 164

- Scannone, Juan Carlos, S. J., 8, 9, 26, 28, 34n6, 36n17, 36n20, 37n33, 37n34, 77n9, 83, 84, 86, 87, 93n10, 138n13, 141n52, 143, 165n1, 193, 210n14, 213n58, 265n33
- Scholasticism, 12, 63, 68–73
- School Lunch Program, 158
- Science, 4–6, 12, 13, 50, 59, 63, 66, 69, 70, 72, 73, 76, 124, 125, 127, 132, 136, 137, 146
- Second Vatican Council, 6, 24, 41, 46, 62, 99, 172, 191, 226, 229
- Secularization, 33, 120, 227
- Senate, US, 126
- Sepe, Crescenzo (Cardinal), 232
- Seventh World Congress for the Pastoral Care of Migrants, 278
- Sikhs, 257, 263n8
- Slavery, 81, 151, 152, 277
- Society of Jesus, 42–44, 46, 48, 50, 51, 53, 60, 145
- Sorondo, Bishop Marcelo, 129
- Spain, 171, 190
- Spiritual Exercises*, 46–48, 56n12
- Spirituality, Jesuit spirituality, 26, 42, 44–48, 50–52, 61, 87
- State Administration for Religious Affairs (SARA), 222
- Suárez, Francisco, 53
- Subsidiarity, 32, 68, 172, 199, 212n43, 248, 250
- Sweden Democrats, 171
- Syrian refugee crisis, 17, 18, 274
- Syro-Malabar Church, 258
- T**
- Taiping Rebellion, 223
- Taiwan, 216, 217, 228, 230
- Tello, Rafael, 25, 35n14
- Thatcher, Margaret, 101, 144, 161, 167n36, 175
- Theology of the people (TP), 8, 9, 18, 24–33, 54, 61–63, 83–86, 90–92, 124, 192–195, 207, 246, 254, 256–259
- Thomas, Clarence, 164
- Thuận, Nguyễn Văn, 216
- Tomko, Jozef (Cardinal), 230, 232
- Tong Hon, John (Cardinal), 217–221, 235, 237n13, 238n19, 239n31, 239n32, 239n33, 244n116
- Tribal Sarna people, 257
- Tribal Theology, 256
- Trump, Donald, 11, 89, 135, 138n6, 163, 279, 280
- Tunisia, 267
- Turkey, 30, 38n43, 101, 109
- Tuvalu, 133
- U**
- Uganda, 133
- UN Climate Change Conference of Parties 21 (COP21), 120, 133, 134
- UN Development Programme, 134
- UN Economic Commission for Latin America, 197
- UN Environment Programme, 134
- UN Food and Agriculture Organization, 124
- UN General Assembly, 125, 129
- United Arab Emirates, 101
- United Kingdom (UK), 109, 171, 274
- United Nations (UN), 16, 17, 100, 119–122, 127–130, 134, 135, 137, 138n4, 200, 215, 267
- United States (US), 5, 7, 14–17, 32, 60, 98, 100, 101, 103, 104, 107, 108, 112, 113, 126, 127, 130–136, 143, 144, 148, 149, 151–158, 163, 174, 177, 178, 183, 272, 274

United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB), 26, 129, 149, 153, 158, 163
 Universal destination of goods, 198, 199, 211n34
 UN Sustainability Development Goals, 17
 Uruguay, 82, 203
 U.S. Constitution, 82, 149, 150
 USSR, 211n35

V

Vatican, 10, 12, 18, 51, 52, 72, 81, 111, 113, 153, 169, 170, 172, 173, 178, 182, 183, 193, 194, 215–221, 223, 225, 226, 228, 229, 231–234, 236
 Vatican Bank, 99
 Vatican II, 18, 46, 47, 55n10, 154, 171, 172, 176, 253, 254, 259
 Vicariate of Solidarity (*Vicaria de la Solidaridad*), 192
 Vietnam, 16, 17, 100, 215, 216, 220, 224, 225, 232, 233, 236

W

War on Drugs, 16, 17, 81–92
 Weber, Max, 45
 West Bank, 111
 Wojtyła, Karol, 170, 172
 World Communications Day, 103
 World Day of Peace, 123
 World Meetings of Popular Movements, 48
 World Migration Day, 175
 World Youth Conference, 45
 World Youth Day, 45, 189, 205, 246
 Wu Cheng-Chung (Cardinal), 217

X

Xavier, Francis (Saint), 50, 145, 245
 Xi Jinping (General Secretary), 218, 219, 223, 227

Z

Zen Ze-Kiun, Joseph (Cardinal), 217, 244n117
 Zoroastrians, 257, 263n8