EXPLORING DEMOCRATIC TURNS IN POLITICAL THEOLOGIES AFTER SCHMITT*

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ABSTRACT

In this review essay, I discuss some of the arguments that Miguel Vatter develops in his book *Divine Democracy.* The first section articulates arguments concerning the primary contributions of democratic political theology from Vatter's standpoint and elucidates its implications for the redefinition of an old problem (the issue of sovereignty). In the second section, I navigate how Vatter's book could resonate and speak broadly within global contexts of political theologies. I finish my review essay by exploring potential future trajectories of political theologies and how the book opens new paths for comprehending the intersection of religion and politics within political theory.

In 2012, I conducted an interview with Miguel Vatter for the Chilean journal, *Pléyade*, as part of a special issue on "Power and Sovereignty: Political-theological readings." At the time, the agenda of political theology was evolving in Chile and Latin America, establishing itself as a burgeoning interest among scholars in the region.[1] In our discussion, Vatter delved into political theology, characterizing it as a "technical term from political philosophy"[2] and framing the debate on political theology within a

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[1] On this period, see Diego Rossello, "Pluralizando la teología política. Nuevas agendas en torno a un antiguo problema," *Síntesis. Revista de Filosofía* 2, no. 2 (2019): 1–8, https://doi.org/10.15691/0718-5448Vol2Iss2a286.

[2] Miguel Vatter and Ely Orrego Torres, "Pensar La Política Desde La Teología Política. Entrevista a Miguel Vatter," *Pléyade* 8, no. julio (2012): 186.

twofold perspective: political theology as an argument in favor of sovereignty and political theology as the destruction of sovereignty.

A decade after this initial interview, Miguel Vatter continues to reflect on the diverse modes of political theology in modern and contemporary philosophy. I have approached my reading of Vatter's *Divine Democracy* as an urgent, lucid, and thought-provoking book, showcasing the author's expertise and proficiency in addressing the challenges of reconsidering the longstanding issue of political theology through a contemporary lens. Thus, this commentary aims to focus into the main contributions and provocations of Vatter's book to political thought.

In *Divine Democracy,* Miguel Vatter puts forth two hypotheses. Firstly, he argues that post-Schmitt, political theology takes a democratic turn by displacing sovereignty as the primary locus of the modern crisis of legitimation, suggesting the concept of political theology without sovereignty. Secondly, Vatter challenges the Western-centric notion of political theology, rooted in the hegemonic role of Christianity, and proposes alternative paths drawn from the direct democratic character of Jewish and Islamic traditions in late antiquity and the medieval period.[3]

While engaging with aspects of political theology in Judaism and Islam, the book's chapters delve into contemporary political thinkers and core concepts of liberal democracy. Each chapter focuses on different theorists and their contributions: Chapter 1 explores Carl Schmitt and Sovereignty; Chapter 2 delves into Eric Voegelin and Representation; Chapter 3 examines Jacques Maritain and Human Rights; Chapter 4 explores Ernst Kantorowicz and Government; and Chapter 5 delves into Jürgen Habermas and Public Reason. Consequently, Vatter's work navigates the possibility of proposing a concept of political theology without sovereignty while also exploring notions of political theologies in non-Western traditions, specifically Judaism and Islam.

In what follows, I discuss some of the aspects that I consider potential avenues for further developing Vatter's theoretical contributions. Still, I see it as an opportunity and an invitation to think together about the present and future trajectories of political theologies, acknowledging their plurality. Accordingly, this review essay is structured into three sections. The first section articulates arguments concerning the primary contributions of democratic political theology from Vatter's standpoint and elucidates its implications for the redefinition of an old problem (the issue of sovereignty). In the second section, I navigate how Vatter's book could resonate and speak broadly within global contexts of political theologies. I finish my review essay by exploring potential

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[3] Miguel Vatter, *Divine Democracy: Political Theology after Carl Schmitt* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2021), 3.

future trajectories of political theologies and how the book opens new paths for comprehending the intersection of religion and politics within political theory.

TOWARDS A DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL THEOLOGY

There is almost no dispute regarding the origins of the term "political theology." In his oft-quoted essay *Political Theology* (2005), Carl Schmitt asserts that "all significant concepts of the modern theory of the state are secularized theological concepts,"[4] suggesting an implicit theological underpinning to political legitimacy persisting even in postmodern times. Schmitt's affirmation instigated a research agenda in political science, political philosophy, and critical theory, delving into the intricate linkages between the political and theological to scrutinize issues of sovereignty and secularization within the Judeo-Christian tradition.

The "scandalous term" of political theology, as Lambelet writes,[5] was later contested by the so-called "new political theology" formulated by Jürgen Moltmann, Dorothee Sölle, and Johann Baptist Metz to distinguish the term from Schmitt's political theology. Leftist political thinkers such as William Connolly, Bonnie Honig, and Chantal Mouffe, have "retrieved Schmitt's critique of liberal proceduralism without his turn to a dictatorial rejection of democracy."[6] In the case of liberatory political projects, James Cone innovated "Black liberation theology," Rosemary Radford Ruether and Mary Daly proposed "ecofeminist theology," and in Latin America, Gustavo Gutierrez developed "theology of liberation," centering on the impoverished as bearers of salvation. In essence, following Lambelet's insights, these various approaches to political theology explore questions of sovereignty. The field itself, according to Lambelet, extensively examines the underpinnings of political concepts and their expression in political bodies.[7]

Divine Democracy strengthens the affirmative idea of a democratic political theology rooted in Judeo-Christian traditions, albeit with a reinterpretation of democratic concepts tailored to contemporary and global challenges. As suggested by its title, the book beckons us to reimagine political theologies beyond the scope of Carl Schmitt's thinking, advocating for a democratic reinterpretation of fundamental concepts in

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[4] Carl Schmitt, *Political Theology: Four Chapters on The Concept of Sovereignty* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 36.

[5] Kyle B. T. Lambelet, "Redemption Contests: Imperial Salvation and the Presence of the Dead," *Social Analysis* 64, no. 4 (December 1, 2020): 106, https://doi.org/10.3167/sa.2020.640406.

[6] Lambelet, "Redemption Contests," 106.

[7] Lambelet, "Redemption Contests," 106.

liberal political theory. These include but are not limited to legitimacy, sovereignty, representation, and human rights.

At the core of Vatter's analysis is the fundamental premise that political theology, post-Schmitt, embarks on a democratic trajectory. This trajectory finds its bearings in contemporary Western Christianity and draws inspiration from late antiquity and the medieval period in Judaism and Islam. Consequently, the underpinnings and potentialities of democratic political theology revolve around the question of the legitimacy of power. The "theological" aspect, defined by the author as the "political 'presence' of God,"[8] is intricately linked to political institutions, practices, and the underlying concepts of modern democracy. This stands in contrast to the conventional narratives of political theology, which historically revolves around hierarchical sovereign entities such as the Church, Empire, and Nation.[9] In essence, Vatter's argument, as I interpret it, underscores the necessity for a democratic political theology to shift its focus from determining "*who*" the sovereign is to understanding the "*how*" sovereignty is constructed in the modern world. Then, the book's primary contribution lies in its exploration of alternative sources of legitimacy for power within the framework of democratic political theory. This emphasis on the "*how*" of sovereignty in the modern context, rather than fixating on the identity ("*who*") of the sovereign, constitutes one of the book's significant merits.

To advance his thesis, Vatter initiates his discourse from a foundational standpoint within the history of of political theology, notably delving into the works of Carl Schmitt and the enduring polemical issue of representation, rooted in Thomas Hobbes' seminal work, *Leviathan*. Vatter, in other words, demystifies the entrenched notions of hierarchical and divine sovereignty by adhering to Schmitt's assertion in *Political Theology II* that "there are many political theologies because there are, on the one hand, many different kinds and methods of doing politics."[10]

In the specific context of representation and its association with the hierarchical and monarchical governance promoted by the figure of Christ, Vatter engages in a dialogue between Schmitt and Erik Peterson's concept of trinitarian representation. Peterson's proposition is grounded in a pagan politico-philosophical discourse emanating from Hellenistic kingship. Schmitt, on the one hand, aligns with a democratic political theology through Hobbes, proposing the potentiality of three sovereign peoples[11] and an exploration of representation theories encompassing anarchical forms (as articulated

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[8] Vatter, *Divine Democracy*, 5.

[9] Vatter, *Divine Democracy*, 5.

[10] Carl Schmitt, *Political Theology II: The Myth of the Closure of any Political Theology* (Cambridge; Malden, MA: Polity, 2008), 66.

[11] Vatter, *Divine Democracy*, 57.

by Goethe) and a Christian notion of providence. It is imperative to note that Schmitt's envisaged "democratic political theology" stemming from the figure of Christ operates solely within the mystical realm of a Christian trinitarian democracy. Consequently, the underlying argument posits the necessity to broaden the confines of political legitimacy beyond conventional structures, urging an expansion into new institutions and practices, notably within civil society and the people.

Of special note is the treatment in Chapter 2, where Vatter introduces the role of the Church (*ekklesia*). However, this conversation goes beyond simply reconstructing the Church's importance in the late 1960s. It also delves into the emergence of liberation theology and how it intersects with radical democracy. Vatter's groundbreaking thesis posits that Eric Voegelin and Jacques Maritain are part of what can be termed a "Christian political theology" that fundamentally opposes theocratic tendencies.[12] *Divine Democracy* challenges the conventional classification of these thinkers as "Catholic political philosophers" by delving into the mystical dimensions of political theology. In doing so, the author aptly elaborates what I consider one of the main contributions of *Divine Democracy:* to articulate a democratic political theology, one must transcend the confines of the Christian tradition and reexamine the ancient traditions of the Greeks, Romans, pagans, and gnostics. In this sense, chapter 2 represents the most intricate and compelling development of arguments, presenting an alternative and innovative approach to political theologies. By framing the mystical facets of Christian political theology, Vatter shifts the focus from forms to practices. For instance, he scrutinizes Voegelin's "cosmic order" of representation, rooted in Egyptian-Hellenistic-Jewish cosmic theology,[13] and explores "Gnostic social movements" as exemplifying a new interpretation of Saint Paul's theology.[14] This approach accentuates the significance of the charismatic, mystical, and "spiritual" dimensions inherent in every political theology, surpassing the mere contemplation of a theory of the state. Bluntly said, what confines political theology to the realm of theology is its insistence on the involvement of individuals, movements, and masses. This is evident in the context of populism and how, contrary to the commonly associated interpretation of Voegelin as totalitarian, an examination of the radical aspects of Christian political theology reveals a potential defense of democracy.

[12] Vatter, *Divine Democracy*, 69.
[13] Vatter, *Divine Democracy*, 82.
[14] Vatter, *Divine Democracy*, 94.

DEMOCRATIC CONCEPTS FOR GLOBAL CONTEXTS

The primary focus of the book, as articulated by the author, is the "development of political theology after Schmitt and in reaction to the emergence of totalitarian regimes."[15] This central theme is essential for contextualizing the book's contributions within the contemporary state of affairs. The practical value of *Divine Democracy* lies in its examination of how political theology in the early 20th century prompts a reevaluation of a "political theology without sovereignty" in our post-secular society.

Consequently, a reconsideration of secularization theories provides a compelling avenue for situating Vatter's book within political theory and the study of religion and politics. Secularization theories, often anchored in the Peace of Westphalia,[16] have traditionally served as the starting point for discussions on the role of religion in politics following the establishment of Western modern states. These theories typically emphasize the decline or demise of religion in the public sphere, exploring its causes and consequences.[17] However, the emergence of political theologies is not solely a matter of methodological questioning; it is also deeply intertwined with how theories of sovereignty and secularization have shaped Europe and the New World.

Critical theorists in International Relations like Robbie Shilliam[18] and Siba Grovogui[19] challenge the prevailing understanding rooted in Westphalian sensibilities, which recognizes the Peace of Westphalia as a foundational moral principle establishing state sovereignty as the cornerstone for the international system or community of states. Both Grovogui and Shilliam, in their critiques, advocate for alternative lenses to explain sovereignty, urging an acknowledgment of the settler

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[15] Vatter, *Divine Democracy*, 2.

[16] See for instance: Daniel Philpott, "The Religious Roots of Modern International Relations," *World Politics* 52, no. 2 (2000): 206–45; Meirav Jones and Yossi Shain, "Modern Sovereignty and the Non-Christian, or Westphalia's Jewish State," *Review of International Studies* 43, no. 5 (2017): 918–38, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210517000195; Gordon A. Christenson, "'Liberty of the Exercise of Religion' in the Peace of Westphalia," *Transnational Law & Contemporary Problems* 21, no. 3 (2013): 721-761; John D. Carlson and Erik C. Owens, eds., *The Sacred and the Sovereign: Religion and International Politics* (Washington, D.C: Georgetown University Press, 2003).

[17] See for instance José Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994) and Philip S. Gorski and Ateş Altınordu, "After Secularization?," *Annual Review of Sociology* 34, no. 1 (2008): 55–85, https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.34.040507.134740.

[18] Robbie Shilliam, "Non-Western Thought and International Relations," in *International Relations and Non-Western Thought: Imperialism, Colonialism and Investigations of Global Modernity*, ed. Robbie Shilliam, Interventions (London: Routledge, 2011).

[19] Siba N. Grovogui, "Regimes of Sovereignty: International Morality and the African Condition," *European Journal of International Relations* 8, no. 3 (September 2002): 315–38, https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066102008003001.

colonial and imperial origins of race relations. In *Divine Democracy*, Vatter refrains from overtly challenging the imperial aspects inherent in European and liberal democratic representation. Although a subtle allusion is made to self-government and independence within the framework of anti-colonial and anti-imperial struggles, aligned with the cosmopolitan principles of democracy and human rights,[20] the primary focus of the argument centers on the examination of the role played by civil society actors. However, Vatter notably underscores the "prophetic" role of civil society actors who transcend state and government representation, bravely embodying the potential to situate political theologies within democratic practices and the configurations of multitudes, peoples, and masses. Despite Vatter's subsequent emphasis on divine providence, the courageous actions of civil society actors shed light on the possibilities of articulating a political theology without sovereignty (of the state). By focusing on transformative practices that challenge the status quo, a different understanding of what constitutes a charismatic leader in a political-theological context emerges.

In my opinion, a discernible omission in the realm of political theology, upon which Vatter builds his work, pertains to the global contextualization of these theories. I argue that Vatter's conception of democratic political theology reflects a somewhat provincialized comprehension of sovereignty, primarily rooted in European perspectives and subsequently exported to the rest of the world. This conceptualization of sovereignty, despite incorporating gnostic and pagan elements, continues to center around the dominance of the Catholic Church as the principal religious institution shaping Christian political theology. However, at the beginning of the 20th century, Protestant Churches played a pivotal role in fostering and shaping diverse political theological ideas, be they democratic or otherwise. For instance, consider the significant role of the Protestant Church in constructing a new empire in the Atlantic world, founded on the development of slavery and race dynamics.[21] Additionally, it is crucial to acknowledge the varied interpretations surrounding the birth of America as a Christian nation, influenced by Christian eschatology and Post-Millenarianism, which differ significantly from the prevalent narratives concerning the construction of the US American Republic.[22]

Besides the origins of theories of sovereignty, Vatter underscores the centrality of the legal dimensions within politico-theological "forms." Chapter 3, focusing on human rights, is particularly noteworthy as it delves into the legal framework of rights, adopting

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[20] Vatter, *Divine Democracy*, 112-113.

[21] Katharine Gerbner, *Christian Slavery: Conversion and Race in the Protestant Atlantic World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018).

[22] Steven K. Green, *Inventing a Christian America: The Myth of the Religious Founding* (Oxford, [England]; New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

a universalistic and democratic approach. Even though Maritain's Christian democracy is characterized as "both charismatic and constitutional,"[23] the chapter highlights that, despite the universal and intrinsic nature of human rights, their acknowledgment necessitates the recognition of states and adherence to legal frameworks. Probably the most interesting case within human rights is religious freedom or the right to freedom of religion or belief (FoRB), as it finds endorsement in legal and public policy spheres globally, including constitutions, state offices of religious affairs, and international law (e.g., Article 18 of the Declaration of Human Rights). Nevertheless, from the perspective of numerous UN member states, such as the United States,[24] the realization of these universal ideals in practice remains subject to ongoing debate.

Religious freedom is commonly construed as an individual right delineated within the realm of the "private," a consequence of secularism and Enlightenment principles aimed at keeping religion as a personal and internal matter.[25] In other words, it is built upon the idea of a subject who is "an autonomous individual defined by his or her freedom to choose to believe or not."[26] Therefore, religious freedom is internally conflicted, existing in multiple versions that may conflict or collide with each other. As Hurd notes, it is not a singular, stable principle detached from history or spatial geographies but rather a context-bound, polyvalent concept unfolding within divergent histories and political orders, thereby provincializing discussions of West versus non-West.[27]

An additional layer of complexity arises when considering its contested nature, which is intricately linked with the interpretation of law and the conception of secularism. Religious freedom, while ostensibly about liberating religion, paradoxically constrains religious expression by censoring the religious practices of minority groups,

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[23] Vatter, *Divine Democracy*, 112.

[24] In the case of the United States, the drive to "operationalize" religious freedom has been accelerated and institutionalized after 9/11. See Elizabeth Shakman Hurd, *Beyond Religious Freedom: The New Global Politics of Religion* (Princeton Oxford: Princeton Univ. Press, 2017).

[25] Peter G. Danchin, "Religious Freedom in the Panopticon of Enlightenment Rationality," in *Politics of Religious Freedom*, ed. Winnifred Fallers Sullivan et al. (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), 240–52.

[26] Elizabeth Shakman Hurd, "Believing in Religious Freedom," in *Politics of Religious Freedom*, ed. Winnifred Fallers Sullivan et al. (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), 51.

[27] Hurd, "Believing in Religious Freedom," 5. For a different account of the state of religious freedom in political science, see Daniel Philpott and Timothy Samuel Shah, "In Defense of Religious Freedom: New Critics of a Beleaguered Human Right," *Journal of Law and Religion* 31, no. 3 (2016): 380–95; Jonathan Fox, Roger Finke, and Dane R. Mataic, "The Causes of Societal Discrimination against Religious Minorities in Christian-Majority Countries," *Religions* 12, no. 8 (August 2021), https://doi.org/10.3390/rel12080611.

as exemplified in the case of American-occupied Japan.[28] In summary, instances of colonization and imperialism worldwide illustrate the articulation of a specific Christian secularism that has been exported globally as an anticipated principle of emancipation. In other words, Western history has defined and "exported" the ideal of religious freedom into specific practices and histories.

A similar claim can be made concerning political theologies, particularly given the absence of a singular and stable definition after Schmitt's claim. Vatter adeptly elucidates the capacity of democratic political theologies to encompass Christian mystical elements inherent in the "forms" and "practices" of the gnostic and metaphysical tradition. In sum, there is no Christian democratic theology without gnosticism. But also, without republican constitutionalism.

Furthermore, exploring the symbiotic relationship between these diverse theological and political elements provides a nuanced understanding of the intricate dynamics shaping democratic political theologies. The interplay of Christian mystical aspects, gnostic traditions, and republican constitutionalism forms a complex tapestry that influences the development and articulation of modern and contemporary political theologies. Vatter's book draws attention to the multifaceted approaches of these intellectual traditions, revealing the interconnectedness of seemingly disparate elements in the realm of democratic political thought.

FUTURE OF POLITICAL THEOLOGIES

Despite the ambitious scope of the project and its enormous contribution in putting into dialogue diverse approaches to political theology after Schmitt, *Divine Democracy* remains confined within the contours of Western history; therefore, it falls short of addressing the broader global landscape of contemporary political theologies. Thus, what might a democratic and radical political theology look like beyond the Western framework? Is it conceivable to reconceptualize political theologies from a decolonial and postcolonial perspective?

In recent years, the field of political theology has witnessed the emergence of new epistemologies and studies that strive to pluralize the state of the art on a global scale. These endeavors include exploring the histories of non-Western traditions and considering cultural contexts outside of Europe. However, these approaches often maintain a predominant focus on the state as the primary sovereign entity, consequently ignoring the voices of people who actively contribute to shaping the plurality of political

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[28] See: Jolyon Baraka Thomas, *Faking Liberties: Religious Freedom in American-Occupied Japan* (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2019).

theologies. As Robert Yelle contends, the deprovincialization of discourses and practices in political theology becomes an imperative task. This urgency is underscored not only by the expanding nature of the field but also by the increasingly plural nature of societies, where political considerations readily transcend nation-state borders.[29]

A path worth exploring to delve into political theologies is through the political anthropological lens of "theopolitics." In essence, a *theopolitical* perspective seeks to understand not only how theological categories extend beyond the Schmittian framework of secularization into everyday life but also how these categories play a role in extensive histories involving the body, affects, material religion, and how these histories contribute to the constitution of peoples and commons.[30] Notably, Napolitano and McAllister emphasize the limited attention that political theology allocates to the Americas, despite the profound impact of the colonization of American territories on the global order. This transformation was facilitated by "the Church, its missionaries, and its theologies" as key agents, often employing violence to achieve this world-historical shift.[31] Therefore, *theopolitics* not only denotes a moment in the formation of the New World (The Conquest) but also signifies an ongoing reconfiguration of "matter out of place" in the aftermath of the global Christian imperial project.[32]

Yountae An articulates a similar viewpoint, highlighting the pressing necessity for a Trans-Atlantic, decolonial theory (or a decolonial method), in the study of religion. He contends that scholars should reposition the Americas and the Trans-Atlantic historical experience as central sites for theorizing modern religion.[33] In a similar venue, Carlos A. Manrique, drawing inspiration from the tradition of Liberation Theology in Latin America, amalgamates the testimonies of individuals who lived through and experienced the Buenaventura popular uprising with insights from the European and Western canon of political theology.[34]

Yet there is much work to be done to deprovincialize political theology by using decolonial theories, this endeavor should also include practices and voices of

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[29] Robert Yelle, "Deprovincializing Political Theology: An Introduction," *Political Theology* 23, no. 1–2 (February 17, 2022): 11, https://doi.org/10.1080/1462317X.2022.2032456.

[30] Carlota McAllister and Valentina Napolitano, "Introduction. Incarnate Politics beyond the Cross and the Sword," in "Theopolitics in/of the Americas," ed. Carlota McAllister and Valentina Napolitano, special issue, *Social Analysis* 64, no. 4 (2020): 7.

[31] McAllister and Napolitano, "Introduction," 9.

[32] McAllister and Napolitano, "Introduction," 11.

[33] Yountae An, "A Decolonial Theory of Religion," *Contending Modernities*, February 28, 2020, https://contendingmodernities.nd.edu/decoloniality/a-decolonial-theory-of-religion/.

[34] Carlos A. Manrique, "Towards a Political Theology of Radical Democracy: Notes on a Popular Uprising in Afro-Colombia's Pacific Littoral," *Political Theology* 23, no. 1–2 (February 17, 2022): 119–36, https://doi.org/10.1080/1462317X.2022.2038947.

marginalized communities. As I have argued somewhere,[35] the study of political theology, inflected by ecofeminism, can effectively challenge the existing geographic, androcentric, and anthropocentric biases that currently shape discussions on the relationship between political theology and sovereignty—and extend beyond ecofeminism. Given the escalating prominence of political theologies, there exists a critical need to broaden the conversation about religion and politics by incorporating perspectives from various fronts. In that regard, the concluding remarks of *Divine Democracy* offer intriguing perspectives for the future of political theologies. These insights are particularly relevant when considering the influence of ancestral cosmologies and theologies that recognize the divine significance of Nature. Such viewpoints contribute valuable perspectives to the ongoing conversations concerning the present and future of humanity, especially within the context of ecological crises.[36]

As mentioned from the beginning, *Divine Democracy* offers a crucial and demystified account of the Schmittian concept of political theology and invite us to explore the democratic aspects of representation. The book lays out new questions and opens up prospects for further development by including other histories and territories as I have argued. I have no doubt that this book will remain a subject of discussion for years to come, sparking fresh debates on the role of political theologies in our post-secular world.

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[35] Ely Orrego Torres, "Hacia La Posibilidad de Una Teología Política Ecofeminista," *Síntesis. Revista de Filosofía* 2, no. 2 (January 1, 2020): 114–31, https://doi.org/10.15691/0718-5448Vol2Iss2a292; Ely Orrego Torres, "Beyond Boundaries: Exploring Transnational Ecofeminist Political Theologies and Solidarities in Latin America," *Philosophy and Global Affairs*, forthcoming.

[36] For a critical approach to Latin American Ecofeminist Political Theologies (LAEPT) and their insights into political theologies narratives, see Ely Orrego Torres and Diego Rossello, "Imagining Ecopolis: Visions of Ecofeminist Political Theology and Ecocriticism in Latin America," *Social Compass*, forthcoming.

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