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BLACK LIVES MATTER (BLM): A PERSPECTIVE FROM LIBERATION AND POLITICAL THEOLOGIES

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Abstract: Black Lives Matter (BLM) is a civil rights movement that rose as a natural response to the killing of unarmed young African-American persons by armed vigilantes and some law enforcement officers. BLM advocates for rights of people who are racial minorities in the United States of America and around the world. This article contextualizes BLM in the foundational principles of liberation and political theologies. The perspectives of contemporary political and liberation theologies are appropriated as a way to understand how civil rights movements such as BLM come into being in societies where there are rampant experiences of injustice, oppression, and systemic violence. This paper also correlates the concepts of memory and solidarity in political theology to factors leading to the rise of civil rights movements such as BLM. In addition, the paper views preferential option for the poor in liberation theology as a means for understanding BLM's focus on the lives of racial minorities. In the process of bringing about transformative social praxis (action), the paper concludes by highlighting the necessity for holding difficult conversations in society regarding injustices and racism.

Key words: Black Lives Matter (BLM), liberation, political, ethics, theology, praxis, memory, solidarity, Johann Baptist Metz, Gustavo Gutiérrez.

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"Everything has a political color. It is always in the political fabric—and never outside of it—that a person emerges as free and responsible being, as a person in relationship with other people, as someone who takes on a historical task. Personal relationships themselves acquire an ever-increasing political dimension" (Gutiérrez 1973/1981, 47).

1. Introduction

Human beings are moral persons. As moral persons, humans seek justice for themselves and for others. An experience of injustice to oneself and others causes many people who are morally inclined to seek a way to change the situation. Many historical movements and uprisings are borne out of an experience of injustice. The preceding is true of movements such as those seeking to end slavery, colonialism, subjugation of women, gender-based inequality and restrictions on reproductive rights, among others. Economic and social injustices are catalysts that ignite people to take corrective action. This paper argues for the relevance of liberation and political theologies in our contemporary world, especially regarding civil rights. The Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement is presented in this work as a case example in the analysis of the liberation and political theologies.

The liberation and political theologies are useful analytical tools in understanding movements for change in societies. Various forms of oppression lead human persons to form diverse issue oriented groups. This is especially true of the BLM movement in the United States of America. Extreme forms of oppression lead to not only the loss of social and economic goods but also to the loss of the fundamental good that is human life. Living a good life involves the freedom to work for the perceived understanding of the good life, and ultimately one's destiny. It is the pursuit for freedom and happiness. Liberation and political theologies aim to ensure human freedom and overall wellbeing. Similar to BLM, these theologies rose in historical contexts of suffering and oppression. In this essay, liberation theology's preferential option for the poor is applied in the analysis of the BLM movement. The concept and practice of memory and solidarity as developed in political theologies offer a good foundation in the analysis and understanding of BLM. Liberation and political theologies are not concerned with abstract thought. These theologies are about how beliefs or ideas inform practice (praxis). Civil rights movements share a similar worldview with liberation and political theologies. The analysis of BLM here fits in the historical context of the civil rights movement in the United States of America and around the world.

2. Historical Background of the BLM Movement

BLM movement is a recent civil rights movement. Public news media in the last decade have continuously reported civil or public protests after police killing of a person of color. BLM has been instrumental in organizing several public protests and street demonstrations. The BLM website states the following regarding its origins: "#BlackLivesMatter was founded in 2013 in response to the acquittal of Trayvon Martin's murderer" (https://blacklivesmatter.com/about/, Accessed January 15, 2020). The website further states the mission of BLM is to eradicate white supremacy and build local power to intervene in violence inflicted on Black communities by the state and vigilantes. This movement concerns itself with the marginalized people of all backgrounds. BLM describes itself as a liberation movement. It has also advocated for the rights of undocumented and detained immigrants.

BLM attests to the sanctity of the lives of racial minorities in predominantly white countries of the United States of America, Canada, and Europe. It evolved from anger and frustration caused by police killings of unarmed black men and women in the United States of America. As a movement, BLM has mobilized citizens to protest especially in many major cities. BLM is a movement defined clearly by its agenda: the value of black lives. It reminds all people to value human lives. The movement does not undermine the value of human lives of other races. It is in a special way an advocacy movement for lives of people regarded as racial (or even sexual) minorities in their societies. This movement is a reaffirmation of the right to life by members of racial minority groups and all other disenfranchised groups. It is an assignment of equal value to all human beings.

3. Part One: Memory and Solidarity in Political Theology

When we encounter protests in our cities, we sometimes think of them as a nuisance that interferes with traffic flow or even the noise that comes with so many people feeling strongly about an issue and expressing it. However, protests or public demonstrations offer a way to call attention to and remember the injustice suffered. The expression within protest raises awareness of an issue or problem. Protests advocate change in society. Central to protests is the imperative for transformative action especially in the area of public policy and the equitable application of the laws. The European political theology kept alive concepts of memory, remembering, or not forgetting the historical abuses of rights, and even keeping in mind the suffering of people everywhere. Memory (or the remembering of the suffering of others) ideally lead to solidarity with the suffering human persons. Feeling the pain of others has the power of

moving one to action. This empathy can also inspire individuals to change the situation that is causing the pain and suffering.

3.1. Memory

Memory in political theology requires people not to forget the people who suffer whether in the past or in the present. Remembering historical suffering caused by human cruelty to others has a redeeming (salvific) aspect in the present. If we remember and feel the pain of the past, it should lead us not to cause the same pain to others in the present and in the future. This is the salvific or redemptive aspect of memory. The memorialization of past negative events leads to furtherance of actions that ensure the atrocities of the past will not happen again. Many countries remember their wars of independence and even create systems of defense against internal and external threats. These past threats, or perceived threat, are integral to the development and acceptance of national and international values. The Second World War led to the development of charters or declarations of human rights, codes of ethics in health care and scientific experimentation on human subjects, among others. It is, therefore, true to view humanity's past as informing the present.

Religions in a profound way use history to show the meaning of their beliefs. Exodus in the Hebrew Bible reminds the Jewish people of their history of enslavement and liberation. The Christians remember the suffering of Jesus Christ: Christ has died, Christ is risen, and Christ will come again. Remembering is supposed to remind and inspire the people to live a good life befitting the historical price paid for their liberation. This acknowledgement of the past liberative actions is key in both religious and political history. Hence, remembering the historical and current suffering of people is supposed to lead to corrective political and social action. There is a healing power in remembering the past by victims of violence and oppression. It is supposed to create hope for the future (Frochtling 2002, 43-53).

Johann Metz, a German political theologian who died in 2019 at age 91, encountered experiences during the Second World War and the era of National Socialism in German that shaped his understanding of solidarity with those who are suffering. Besides asking the question, "where was God in Auschwitz," Metz questioned the whereabouts of humanity and the Christians. According to Metz, the *memorial passionis*, or the rememberance of the sufferings of others, should be part of the Christian discourse on God (Metz 1998, 5; cf. Maina 2016, 100). Samantha Slaubaugh has summarized Metz's work as follows: "Johann Baptist Metz (1928–2019) called for a spirituality that sees more suffering, not less, the more liberated it is; he has described this as a "mysticism of open eyes" (Metz 2021, 685). According to Metz, seeing the suffering of others is supposed to

lead to solidarity with them, including taking collective action to change the situation.

3.2. Solidarity: being with others for a Cause

The practice of historical memory goes together with the requirement for solidarity. The concept of solidarity traces its origins in the nineteenth century workers' (labor) movements. To bring about sociopolitical and economic change, people organized into large groups are a power to reckon with. This accounts for the bargaining power of labor unions. Solidarity consists of a call for people to unite. The unity of purpose in solidarity movements is a historical tool that inspired and strengthened people in the fight for human rights in oppressive governments. Even in our contemporary world, workers' solidarity is necessary when dealing with powerful corporations or institutions.

Metz argued that the academic field of theology has to focus on the discourse on God, primacy of the human subject, *praxis*, and the suffering of others (Metz 1998, 14; See also Maina 2016, 101). He brought the concept of solidarity with the suffering people of the world into the theological field. For Metz, solidarity was not limited to issues in a particular country but also in the international arena. His work argues for wealthy countries to be in solidarity with economically poor countries. For Metz, solidarity has a universal dimension (Metz 1980, 234-36). It includes solidarity with those suffering abuse of their basic human rights. Eulogizing Metz, Matthew Ashely stated the following: "Political theology was a prophetic protest against the privatization of Christian faith: the reduction of its scope to one's relationship to God and one-on-one ethical behavior towards others. For Metz, religion in general and Christianity in particular, is inherently political" (December 03, 2019).

The preceding is also reflected by Elizabeth Dias where Metz's obituary refers to him as the theologian of compassion. Dias states: "Professor Metz, an ordained priest, believed that the church must be aligned with the victims of history, and he devoted his work to building solidarity with the oppressed. He challenged German Catholics to face the reality of Auschwitz when many did not" (New York Times, Dec. 10, 2019). Human suffering caused by poverty and injustices is an abuse of basic human rights. Ending suffering caused by oppression in its various forms requires joint effort. This is also evident in various historical social-political movements.

A case example is in the history of South Africa. To end an oppressive apartheid regime required solidarity of the oppressed and others with a sense of justice. The oppressive government ended through public (majority) protests. Writing on the black consciousness as an attitude of mind during the apartheid regime, Steve Biko stated the following: "Its essence is the realization by the black man of the need to rally together

with his brothers around the cause of their oppression—the blackness of their skin—and to operate as a group to rid themselves of the shackles that bind them to servitude. It is based on a self-examination which has ultimately led them to believe that by seeking to run away from themselves and emulate the white man, they are insulting the intelligence of whoever created them black" (Biko 2002, 81).

Biko was keenly aware that the people who enjoy the benefits of an oppressive system are not generally excited about bringing forth the required change. He notes, "tradition has it that whenever a group of people has tasted the lovely fruits of wealth, security, and prestige it begins to find it more comfortable to believe in the obvious lie and accept it as normal that it alone is entitled to privilege" (Biko 2002, 79). Biko's perspective relates to the American theologian, James Cone, who raises the following question: "What is it that renders White Catholic and Protestant theologians silent in regard to racism, even though they have been very outspoken about anti-Semitism and class and gender contradictions in response to radical protest?" (Cone 2000, 732). Theologically, the issues of racism and all the historical and current injustices relate to failure in authentic religious and secular morality. This contradiction is precisely stated by Michael Battle: "...confusing worldview in much of Western Christian spirituality that the Holy Kirk (Church) has often lacked virtue in seeing the likeness of God in black people and have instead structured such likeness primarily for those of European descent" (Battle 2021, 21).

In the ongoing analysis, we can see the possibility of some divisions on issues of race and injustices, and why a movement like BLM is supported and opposed by some people in society. When one is comfortably safe, it is easy to forget those who are suffering. Solidarity and memory require courage. The analysis of the history of oppression and violence in this section relate to Rene Girard's mimetic theory. In Girard's theory, mimetic desire leads to violence. The oppressed are viewed as the cause of every imaginable problem in society. They are the scapegoat. The scapegoat represents a justification of violence meted on victims. However, violence is not the end since the scapegoat figures a way to change their status as victims. Biblical religion indicates how the scapegoat victim turns the game around through what is referred to as victim intelligence (Ramirez, de Beer 2020, 1-9; See also Freccero, Girard 2009). Victim intelligence is where we can locate civil movements such as BLM.

3.3. Solidarity: BLM as a Solidarity Movement

BLM is a good example of a solidarity movement. The exclusion of people who constitute minority groups (or who are outside the margins of society) is a regular occurrence. While rights are enshrined in

constitutions and other charters, minority groups have to publicly fight (claim) for their rights through public demonstrations, and through civil rights organizations. Human rights include not only personal freedom but also the socio-political and economic rights. This exclusion or forgetting of the minority groups leads to poverty, poor housing, and even poor healthcare. The forgetting, therefore, is a form of disenfranchisement. The rights and dignity of the few are treated as an afterthought even when stated clearly in the constitution and the statutes of the law. Better political representation is generally the best way to protect minority rights. The worst denial of rights is the extrajudicial killing of citizens by law enforcement officers. The solidarity of minority groups and other projustice individuals and organizations has great impact in bringing about social transformation through political representation overseeing the equitable distribution of resources and application of laws. Movements such as the BLM are effective due to the number of people involved and the determination of their members to bring about justice. Solidarity with minority groups is irreplaceable in creating a just and peaceful society.

4. Part Two: The Latin American Perspective on Preferential Option in Liberation Theology

For a proper understanding of liberation theology and ethics, it is necessary to examine its beginning in the contemporary developments in Latin American theology. The relation of Latin American liberation theologies to European political theology is worthy of note. Some of the Latin American theologians studied in Europe (Livingston 1997, 292). The two theologies focus on the praxis of religion in ending human suffering and oppression. These theologies are critical examination of the historical contexts that lead to the systemic entrenchment of oppressive political and economic systems. According to Clodovis Boff, liberation theology is about the movement of an oppressed people becoming conscious of their oppression and struggling to throw off the yoke of social domination (Boff 1984, 94). It is to believe in the power of practice (praxis). Leonardo Boff described the pursuit of liberation as one where "Everything must converge toward practice (love)" (Boff 1984, 4; See also Frunză 2022, 39).

Ivan Petrella presents a good summary of the historical context of liberation theology. He traces the history of liberation theology to the Second General Conference of Latin American Bishops (CELAM) at Medellin, Colombia in 1968, where the political and economic problems caused by a culture of dependency and colonialism were discussed. Petrella describes the historical context as follows: "Latin American liberation theology was born at the crossroads of a changing Catholic Church and the revolutionary political—economic ferment of the late1960s and early 1970s. In the first case, the Second Vatican Council (1962–65)

opened the door for a fundamental rethinking of the relation between Christian faith and the world by asserting the value of secular historical progress as part of God's work. Papal social encyclicals such as *Mater et Magistra*, *Pacem in Terris*, and *Populorum Progressio* focused not just on worker's socioeconomic rights but also on the rights of poor nations in relation to rich nations. In addition, Vatican II gave greater freedom to national episcopates in applying church teaching to their particular contexts" (Petrella 2016, 1).

As previously noted, the key concepts in political theology are memory and solidarity with suffering people. The theologian from Peru, Gustavo Gutiérrez, made major contribution in the development of liberation theology as we have it today. From Gutiérrez's work, the irruption of the poor is a vast historical event. This irruption concerns the voices of those who have been excluded from decisions shaping their lives in the society and the church. For Gutiérrez, this means being denied "...the opportunity to manifest their sufferings, solidarities, projects, and hopes" (Gutiérrez 1996, 22). The preceding relates to what Jon Sobrino refers to as the situation of the disenfranchised people taking charge to change their plight through a theology of liberation as 'the in-breaking' of the poor into history (Sobrino 1994, 25; See also Maina 2016, 101).

It is important here to make a more in-depth analysis of Gutiérrez's views regarding poverty and some of what he views as failed economic systems. Gutiérrez analyzes the inadequacy of the concept of development as applied to the changing situations of poverty and oppression in developing countries. Of development, Gutiérrez notes it did not include systemic change since it was to be accomplished through the existing institutions and with no challenge to the existing order. This was an approach meant not to offend powerful political and corporate economic powers. He views developmentalism as futile since it does not bring about radical change or transformation. For Gutiérrez, a radical break from the status quo is required. This break would bring about the following: a profound transformation of the private property system, access to power of the exploited class, and a social revolution that would break dependence and create a new society (Gutiérrez 1981/1973, 26-27). In addition, he views poor countries being dependent on wealthy countries as continuation of the original problem (Gutiérrez 1973/1981, 84). It is only through liberation that human oppression by other humans ought to cease. "A broad and deep aspiration for liberation inflames the history of mankind in our day, liberation from all impediments to the exercise of his freedom" (Gutiérrez 1973/1981, 27).

Gutiérrez analyzes his Christian theological tradition through an appropriation of the philosophy of Karl Marx. The preceding is the reason some in the Christian theological scholarship and church leadership have been critical of Gutiérrez and liberation theology. Although Gutiérrez's work is pragmatic in its historical application of the life and the teaching

ministry of Jesus, the perceived Marxist angle is misconceived as hostile to the Christian doctrine. Gutiérrez states: "...Marx situated himself equidistant between the old materialism and idealism; more precisely, he presented his position as the dialectical transcendence of both. Of the first, he retained the affirmation of the objectivity of the external world; of the second he kept man's transforming capacity. For Marx, to know was something indissolubly linked to the transformation of the world through work" (Gutiérrez 1973/1981, 29).

The preceding, as Gutiérrez observes, is the basis for understanding the historical reality by Karl Marx. Gutiérrez advocates for social and psychological (rational) liberation. Liberation involves inner and outer reality. "Ideas must be reconsidered too in light of praxis, which is the proving ground of all theory, and in light of socio-cultural realities very different from those from which the ideas emerged" (Gutiérrez 1973/1981, 32). Gutiérrez is critical of disconnecting theology from reality: "Theology seems to have avoided for a long time reflecting on the conflictual character of human history, the confrontations among men, social classes, and countries" (Gutiérrez 1973/1981, 35). Gutiérrez's work is applicable in countering the other-worldly predilection of some Christian doctrines. He holds that "Sin—a breach of friendship with God and others—is according to the Bible the ultimate cause of poverty, injustice, and the oppression in which men live" (Gutiérrez 1973/1981, 35). Gutiérrez promotes a biblical understanding of human beings as both body and spirit (or soul). For example, he states, "We are dealing here with the classic question of the relation between faith and human existence, between faith and social reality, between faith and political action, or in other words, between the Kingdom of God and the building up of the world" (Gutiérrez 1973/1981, 45).

The liberation theological critique, as presented by Gutiérrez, is not only relevant in understanding BLM but it is also applicable to understanding human rights in the world today. There are billions of people who identify as Christians, or even theists in world religions, and if all these people engaged in positive transformative action, our world would be radically different. A disconnect of religions from social-political issues translates into inaction on the part of a majority of people in our societies. A socially engaged polity is one that caters to building a just society.

Human rights are a necessity for a just and flourishing society. Besides basic human rights such as those codified in the United Nations Universal Declaration on Human Rights, human beings, like other animals, have basic needs such as food, shelter, and clothing. Any distraction from what it entails to be human would be an opiate in this perspective. Liberation in history is human beings taking charge of their own destiny (Gutiérrez 1973/1981, 36). Any rational human person would agree with their inalienable right to life and the freedom to carry out life-projects.

Life as a basic right and a basic good is the foundational tenet of BLM. The imperative of social and political action is where Gutiérrez and Metz agree on the *praxis* of religion. Ashley eulogized Metz as follows: "Religion is, rather, for Metz, provocative and interruptive. It breaks through our self-reliance and self-satisfaction, attitudes often purchased at the cost of ignoring the suffering of those put on the margins of society or who had been left beaten on the side of the road in its march of progress" (Ashley 2019).

BLM and other historical civil rights movements would agree with Metz and Gutiérrez. The work of the members of BLM shares the same sentiments with Gutiérrez when he states the following;,....the behavior of man ever more conscious of being an active subject of history; he is ever more articulate in the face of social injustice and of all repressive forces which stand in the way of his fulfillment; he is ever more determined to participate both in the transformation of social structures and in effective political action" (Gutiérrez 1973/1981, 46).

Promoting human agency is the very essence of civil rights movements. Humans want to be self-determining subjects and not objects for manipulation by others.

4.1 Preferential Option for the Poor: Why take the option?

The cry for freedom (or human rights) with all that it entails is the beginning of liberation movements. BLM fits in the contexts that inspired liberation theologians to coin-up the preferential option for the poor. Option means making a choice between two or several courses of action. It also means choosing one person or groups of persons over others. It is a preference. The Latin American liberation theologians popularized the 'preferential option for the poor' (Gutiérrez 1996, 26). By the phrase 'preferential option for the poor,' liberation theologians proposed that God cares or chooses the side of the people who are poor. The preceding also applies to human beings in a society making the choice to help the suffering. This choice includes changing systems responsible for the suffering of others. BLM advocates for the people denied their basic or fundamental rights. It is a concern for people who have lost their lives and the families and communities seeking retributive and reparative justice.

How can we justify a preferential option of one person and leave out the other? I think the simple answer is need. We help those that need our help. The preferential option for the poor means the poor need help or empowerment to overcome their circumstances. If you were to set up a charity meant to help the wealthy people in society, it would be nonsensical. It is usually an insult in political parlance when one politician, especially in the USA, refers to another politician as creating welfare programs for the wealthy. Welfare programs are pragmatically meaningful to people who are experiencing bad economic times such as

those caused through loss of employment and/or physical and mental disability. The words of Jesus in the New Testament gospel are applicable in the option for the poor: Jesus answered, "Those who are well have no need of a physician, but those who are sick" (Lk. 5: 31).

4.2 BLM from the Perspective of Liberation theology's option for the Poor

BLM is concerned with the rights of racial minorities. Those critical of BLM often respond by stating that "all lives matter." I think this is a misunderstanding of BLM's concern. BLM is concerned about the exclusion of black and brown people whose lives are undervalued. This has led to illegal killings of persons of color by some law enforcement officers and other civilian vigilantes. The critics of BLM further respond by stating that "blue lives matter," in reference to the lives of law enforcement officers. Of course, law enforcers are human and therefore their lives should be accorded due consideration as any other human life. However, law enforcers occupy a place of authority and power over those they police. This returns me to the example of the 'welfare for the wealthy' or a 'charity organization to help billionaires,' i.e., people who do not need assistance. A preferential option for the poor is an option for the person who really needs it. If we made a preferential option for the armed officer who takes an innocent life for no legal reason, it would be unethical. BLM shares the liberation theology's preferential option since it is also about the inclusion of those who were previously absent in the socio-political and economic life in a country.

There is nervousness and unwillingness of people to talk about race, and especially anything regarding blackness. However, there is necessity everywhere for these types of conversations regarding injustice and the need to listen to previously unheard of calls (Phoenix, Amesu, Naylor, Zafar 2020, 520).

5. Conclusion

The concepts of liberation, preferential option, memory, and solidarity apply to all victims of violence and those most likely to be victims of government-sanctioned instruments of force. These concepts apply also to all human persons who want to live in a just (moral) world. Liberation, in this instance, implies empowering the marginalized to change their circumstance. It is empowering those denied just existence to have the same legal protections as everyone else. Memory, from a BLM perspective, would imply remembering those that have suffered all types of violence, and especially victims of perennial historical violence and other injustices. It is memorialization of the rights of all in our respective civil societies. Solidarity requires the victims to unite to change the course

of human history. It includes uniting with all people who morally espouse justice and peace. Preferential option is supposed to move the moral consciences of the justice-loving human persons to make choices to help change systems that cause suffering, and to enable those who suffer to be agents of their liberation. We can conclude with the statement by Gutiérrez: "Human reason has become political reason" (Gutiérrez 1973/1981, 47).

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