

# The Gospel of Pura Luka Vega: Queer Love, Irreverent Life, and Indecent Faith in the Margin

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## Abstract

In this particular historical epoch described by many as a time of hypermasculinity and fascist populism, how do we think of emancipatory resistance and decolonizing spirituality that disrupts the patriarchal logic and destabilizes imperial structures that supply blood to the capillaries of our neoliberal order? Where do we locate and source the nerve impulse for our theological task to animate emancipatory praxis of our time? Moving away from the heterosexual theological discourse of emancipation, I suggest that queer life in the margin offers us a different theological vision and, importantly, better provides us with a theological voice that talks back to the system of domination and embraces the marginalized collective selves excluded in our time. Taking lessons from a drag performance, here I argue for a queer spirituality of resistance, one that is particularly angled at the hetero-patriarchal system. Channeling the blasphemous and rebellious spirit of Pura Luka Vega, a Filipino trans drag performer, I lay out a picture of why and what this could mean for peo-

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ple's theology and I conclude this paper with a proposal for a new theological militant subject: an indecent and irreverent outlaw/outlawed.

**Keywords**

Pura Luka Vega, Queer, Resistance, Spirituality, Love, Outlaw/Outlawed

## I. Pura Luka Vega: The Persona Non Grata

On July 10, 2023, Pura Luka Vega, the drag name of Amadeus Fernando Pagente,<sup>1</sup> uploaded a video of their drag performance in a local bar to the song remix of “Ama Namin,”<sup>2</sup> to the social media platform X (formerly known as Twitter). Dressed in an outfit that resembles the Black Nazarene<sup>3</sup> and blended elements of religious iconography with drag aesthetics, Luka performs “Jesus” and lip-syncs the song “Ama Namin” with intricate choreography set to an upbeat electronic remix of the prayer. The video that was posted online initially got positive response from X (formerly known as Twitter), but received a huge public backlash when it went viral on FaceBook. Setting aside the issue of demographics (between X and FB users), many of those who viewed the video on FB found the performance blasphemous. Widely disseminated, the post generated heated debate and discussion, and subsequently, on other social media platforms and public occasions.

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1 In the spirit of clarity, the pronoun they, and its corresponding possessive form their, is used throughout in this paper. Although Pura Luka Vega uses any pronoun at a given time, the pronoun they/their highlights the non-binary and queer life they live and seek to embody. In addition, as a background of the drag name Pura Luka Vega, “Pura” comes from the name of beauty queen Pura Villanueva Kalaw; “Luka” may have come from the Tagalog word *luka-luka* which means crazy; “Vega” is a reference to the name of the singer Suzanne Vega who also performed a song named “Luka”. This bit of personal information is taken from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pura\\_Luka\\_Vega](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pura_Luka_Vega). Accessed October 9, 2023.

2 A Filipino version and rendition of the song “Lord’s Prayer,” it is a popular Christian prayer song frequently used not only in church events and worship services but also during public occasions.

3 Black Nazarene is a life-sized statue of a dark-skinned Jesus carrying the cross. In the country, it has a huge devout and fanatic followers. Enshrined in the Minor Basilica and National Shrine of the Black Nazarene in Quiapo, Manila, the Feast of the Black Nazarene is celebrated on January 9.

Most noticeably, not only the netizens and public figures and known personalities (including theologians<sup>4</sup> and artists) but also local politicians and governments reacted so negatively to the performance. In the national scene, the Senate President (Philippines) Miguel Zubiri condemned the performance “in the strongest possible term” and adds that “this is the height of the misuse and abuse of our freedom of expression that borders on criminal activity.” In addition, Senator JV Ejercito described the Filipino drag queen’s video as “blasphemy” and Senator Sherwin Gatchalian, in an apocalyptic tone, warned, “This is exactly what will destroy our society.” Even the LGBTIA+ ally Senator Risa Hontiveros commented that this drag performance is “regrettable”.<sup>5</sup> And the first transgender woman elected to Philippine Congress, Geraldine Roman also commented that the performance is “plain disrespect for the religious sensibility of other people.”<sup>6</sup>

In the local scene, there are, since July 18, 2023, local politicians, from the north to the south of the country, through public resolutions and ordinance declared Pura Luka Vega “persona non grata”.<sup>7</sup> While this local ordinance and political resolutions largely remains symbolic, they never-

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4 Prominently, because they published their opinions on school paper regarding the issue, theology professors, namely, Leo-Martin Angelo Ocampo and Reverendo Vargas of the University of Santo Thomas (UST), considered as the oldest university in Asia.

5 As reported in the GMA News Network, <https://www.gmanetwork.com/news/lifestyle/hobbiesandactivities/875721/pura-luka-vega-says-ama-namin-performance-wasn-t-meant-to-be-disrespectful/story/>. Accessed October 3, 2023.

6 <https://www.gmanetwork.com/news/lifestyle/artandculture/875758/cbcp-calls-pura-luka-vega-s-ama-namin-performance-blasphemous/story/>. Accessed October 4, 2023.

7 *Persona non grata* means Luka Pura Vega is considered not welcome within these locales. They is unwanted guest. Economically, this local ordinance will prevent any drag performance from taking place in their respective area as it serves as a political pressure to local establishments. What this means for Pura Luka Vega is a potential loss of income.

theless conveyed a strong political and social message of their personal disgust and anger, directed at Pura Luka Vega, that they are not welcomed and they will be an unwanted guest if and when they come and visit in their respective places.

Also voicing their strong opposition is the influential Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines (Roman Catholic) which issued a statement condemning the performance. Being disrespectful to the church, they insisted that "religious symbols and imagery should not be employed for purposes of entertainment". Their spokesperson as well characterized the performance as "blasphemous" and "bordering on the profanity, a sacrilegious".<sup>8</sup> In the midst of this public cacophony is a legal case filed against Pura Luka Vega. Urged by politicians and responding to public clamor, religious groups have filed legal cases against them. Under Article 201 of the Revised Penal Code,<sup>9</sup> Pura Luka Vega is accused of "immoral doctrines, obscene publications and exhibitions and indecent shows." Leading the charge of this case are the religious groups, namely, the Philippines for Jesus Movement and *Hijos del Nazareno*. For them he is not only persona non grata but he is also a threat to the moral and religious order.

On October 4, 2023, the Manila police (PNP) arrested Luka following an arrest warrant issued by the Regional Trial Court Branch 36 Manila, for the violation of the Revised Penal Code and Cybercrime Prevention Act of

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<sup>8</sup> Articulated through their spokesperson Fr. Jerome Secillano, this pronounced can be accessed in this website <https://www.gmanetwork.com/news/lifestyle/artandculture/875758/cbcp-calls-pura-luka-vega-s-ama-namin-performance-blasphemous/story/>. Accessed October 1, 2023.

<sup>9</sup> Article 201 of the Revised Penal Code penalizes those who "offend any race or religion in the performance of obscene or indecent plays, scenes, acts or shows in theaters, fairs, or any other place." Based on the latest amendment under Republic Act 10951, violators could face *prision mayor*, and/or fined from P20,000 to P200,000.

2012, on the grounds of a complaint filed by the *Hijos del Nazareno* (a group of Black Nazarene devotees). Pending bail and facing possible 12 years in prison, Pura Luka Vega was being held at the Santa Cruz Police Station for a few days behind bars. While he is able to raise enough funds to pay for their bail bond, but due to technical legal issue, his release was unduly delayed for another day, prolonging and curtailing further their movement and freedom.

## II. The Axis of Evil: The Collusion of Heterosexual Religion and the Patriarchal State

This incident is personal and singular: a one-time personal performance of Pura Luka Vega that they themselves uploaded a video of it on X (formerly known as Twitter). Yet this personal performance and singular act sets off a national discussion and heated debate between and among citizens and netizens, religious or otherwise. Rankled spirits and ruffled feathers, it became a religious and political issue that people talked about for months. In the Philippines where the regime of heteronormativity and patriarchy colludes in more ways than one to persecute and prosecute deviant and rebellious sexual minorities, the drag performance of Pura Luka Vega has indeed become something else. A pop-political phenomena, the drag performance has evolved into a medium of storytelling and protest, far from its earlier form of shallow slapstick entertainment. As a medium of storytelling, drag performance is a way to tell ones queer story to the heteronormative world. It is a public expression of oneself. In their defense Pura Luka Vega made this clear: that their performance is about their expression and their experience.

"I understand that people call my performance blasphemous, offensive or regrettable. However, they shouldn't tell me how I practice my faith or how I do my drag. That performance was not for you to begin with. It is my experience and my expression, of having been denied my rights."

It is giving an account of oneself in a public manner that is expressive of one's queer life. Transgressive of social norms and ideologies such expression and performance is nevertheless an affirmation of oneself and what one believes in. In their account, this is also about healing, of oneself. In queer life, the act is trying to make sense of the spiritual dissonance between their identity and their faith. That is to say, this is a way to heal the existential gap of one's life.

"I really did that performance as a way for me to kind of heal the exclusion I have experienced as a Catholic, as a queer person being somewhat being made to feel that I don't really belong."<sup>10</sup>

As a medium of protest, drag performance is a "big middle finger to the heteronormative world". It is a political act, Pura Luka Vega puts it this way: "the act of putting on makeup, being loud and proud and out there is... political".<sup>11</sup> Thus the platform itself and the attention it receives is part of the political they perform. Put differently, the performance and the platform is not a neutral but rather a political site, generative of subjectivities and collectivities. As NAIA Black, the winner of *Drag Den Philippines*,<sup>12</sup> de-

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10 <http://www.cnnphilippines.com/news/2023/7/14/Pura-Luka-Vega-sorry-but-stands-by-Ama-Namin-performance.html>. Accessed October 7, 2023.

11 <https://www.rappler.com/life-and-style/arts-culture/drag-too-political-drag-den-philippines-queens>. Accessed October 8, 2023.

12 A Philippine drag pageantry reality competition television series. Premiered on

scribes this site: "It's like a rally almost, when all the *Drag Den* queens are together with the cast and crew, it's really a rally."<sup>13</sup> They see themselves not anymore as entertainers but political agents, part of a larger system of a political constellation. For them, performance is advocacy; and being an advocate—trans right to bullying—is being a political agent. For Pura Luka Vega, their performance that got the national attention is their advocacy for justice of the oppressed—the sexual minorities—that Jesus does not forget.

"I just want to create a narrative that despite all of these, Jesus, as the embodiment of God's love for all, does not forget about the oppressed, including the LGBTQIA+ community."<sup>14</sup>

In their mind, belief and politics are intertwined not only in being a performer but also in the performance. In the tradition of liberation theology, drag performance is the *praxis* of what they believe in. Pura Luka Vega sees their performance as who they are and what they are. In a historical milieu defined by heteronormativity and patriarchy, what they do, define them. Importantly, this also tells us of agential sites of resistance and revolutionary practices of agents, all needed to think for our planetary life and our collective task theologically. In this particular instance, the performer themselves is an agent and the embodiment of the force that opposes and destabilizes structures of domination, exploitation, and exclusion—theologically put, a testament to life amidst death.

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December 8, 2022 through Amazon Prime Video.

13 *Ibid.*

14 <https://www.gmanetwork.com/news/lifestyle/artandculture/884171/drag-queen-pura-luka-vega-arrested-in-manila/story>. Accessed October 8, 2023.



### III. Performing Jesus: Spirituality of Unplugging and Loving of Oneself

Thus, beyond sociological description and political analysis of their drag performance, is a performative theological impulse that highlights an embodied spirituality<sup>15</sup> that resists and rejects the current neoliberal order, particularly its sexist and heterosexist roots. In the same manner that Jesus provokes the religious and political order of his time, the drag performance of Pura Luka Vega indicates an embodied spirituality that exposes the injustice and violence of the order. Thus, in this sense, I call Pura Luka Vega's drag performance "performing Jesus" as it provokes and unmasks the facade of the unjust order. In this paper, I simply wish to suggest two important ways in which this "performing Jesus" can be understood along the line of an emancipatory political theory of "unplugging" and the womanist theology of "loving of oneself" as a way to see its transformative possibilities it offers, particularly how the embodied spirituality of Pura Luka Vega suggests a new militant theological subject for people's theology today.

In their drag performance of "Jesus," Pura Luka Vega performs, on the one hand, interpretative act of their faith, on the other, declarative of the unconditional love for the dispossessed selves. On the former, they said that their performance of Jesus' prayer is "praising God" and embodying "a version of Christ that is one with queer audience". Thus, while their critiques denounced their public performance because faith is not about entertainment nor to be entertained, Pura Luka Vega reminds them that

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15 As employed in this paper, this is a way of life according to one's belief expressed in and through the affirmation of the sacredness of life in spite and despite of, an insistence on living and flourishing. In this sense as well that this life is a testament, a witness to something.

“(a)nyone can...express their faith, no matter how different it may be” consider such interpretative act of faith as illegitimate. Yet Pura Luka Vega insisted that how one expresses faith is not limited to one form. People have different ways of interpreting and expressing it. Indeed, theirs is a creative and spiritual appropriation of their belief that at once made available to everyone.<sup>16</sup> Dominant religious groups nevertheless<sup>17</sup> and that now one can also claim it—like they did. In their interpretative act of faith, they legitimized what is (made) illegitimate. In this particular performance, boisterous laughter and shared joy is part of their prayer in/for their queer community, that they claimed as theirs, while maybe different from other expressions like that of the heterosexuals.

As indicated, this interpretive act recognizes the plurality of interpretations and the multiple expressions of faith. Like the gospel writers and their different stories of Jesus, Pura Luka Vega offers their own story. Unlike the gospel writers, in this retelling, they are attentive to the historically silenced voices and firm in their insistence that such interpretation is geared toward a certain ethical responsibility to the excluded community.<sup>18</sup> As they believe, faith must embody a “version of Christ that is one with queer audience”. Intentional, through this interpretative act that also entails a constructive attempt to build a shared ethos between the story and its intended listener, we hear the gospel according to Pura Luka Vega. On the latter (the declarative of the unconditional love for the

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16 <https://philnews.ph/2023/10/07/pura-luka-vega-released-drag-artist-says-no-public-apology/>. Accessed on October 8, 2023.

17 In this note that we can connect and think with Paul of Tarsus—the universal is made available and possible through the particular.

18 Along the theoretical and hermeneutical lines of Elisabeth Shussler-Fiorenza: that there is ethical responsibility, in postmodern frame, to our task of interpretation. See, for instance, her *Rhetoric and Ethic: The Politics of Biblical Studies* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1999).

dispossessed selves), by performing “Jesus,” Pura Luka Vega declares God/Jesus is also theirs. According to their, “the ownership of Jesus is something that I think anyone can own”.<sup>19</sup> Highlighting the proprietorial nature of “divine objects” that only the dominant class can have, here they exposed the naked ideological and religious claims over who could “own” what is proper or right or even access to what is holy. In the case of Pura Luka Vega, it is a claim properly claimed by those who are dispossessed. Thus in its drag form, while this is an advocacy performed on stage, and due to their flair and flamboyance, drag queens are not only “beauty queens, they are also advocates,” the public declaration of taking a claim of what is also theirs is a public declaration of their unconditional love of the dispossessed selves.<sup>20</sup>

Performative, such a declaration highlights a life that drag performance generates and recreates. Here I describe this life to the tune of “performing Jesus” as an embodied spirituality of resistance—that is to say, “performing Jesus” is a way of life, a spiritual life insofar that it affirms the depth and transcendence of one’s existence in relation to others/Other and resistance insofar as it tries to not be determined by the logic of the ruling and reigning regime. To elaborate and to illustrate the political consequence and theological stake of this performance, let me briefly make a segue and cast this reflection along the political theory of Slavoj Žižek and the womanist theology of Delores Williams.

In his psychoanalytically-inflected political reflection, Slavoj Žižek suggests that pervasive idea of political subjectivity in contemporary po-

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19 <https://philnews.ph/2023/10/07/pura-luka-vega-released-drag-artist-says-no-public-apology/>. Accessed on October 8, 20223.

20 This is not a claim to private property and ownership—this is a claim to the dispossessed selves as theirs.

litical theory is a subjectivity that is always along the circuit of the system (the capitalist order). Even radical and militant subjectivities as theorized remain in this loop of never ending cycle.<sup>21</sup> Passionately attached to the circuitry, this political subjectivity cannot offer revolutionary political action. Thus, he suggests a kind of political subjectivity that can “unplug” itself from the closed circuit of the system and instantiate transformative political possibilities. In his theoretical framework, this subjectivity is made possible through its primary animator: the Pauline mandate to “love your neighbor as yourself (Galatians 5:14; Romans 13:8-10 NRSV), a *praxis* which Žižek considers as a kind of “unplugging”<sup>22</sup> from the system (the capitalist order) that can interrupt and break the circuit of this logic and system. In other words, this *praxis* of “unplugging” by way of love of neighbor and oneself is a revolutionary act that allows us to dis-align, suspend ourselves from the circuitry.<sup>23</sup>

While Žižek pursues this helpful theoretical insight to develop a radical militant position against capitalism, I believe the “unplugging” can unleash its radical potential when it is placed in history and in the margins, particularly thought in and through the lives of those who experienced violence. Neighbor in its abstract form is only a romanticized neighbor. Love in abstraction is only a Hollywood edition. Thus, we need to think

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21 Part of his critique is that Marxist subject, i.e., proletariat, or even the poor of liberation theology, still falls in the trap as it does not take seriously the question of desire and “passionate attachment” that subjects have. See, for instance, his *The Fragile Absolute: Or, Why is the Christian Legacy Worth Fighting For?* (New York, NY: Verso Press, 2001).

22 *Ibid.* For Žižek, this is demonstrated by the Christian emphasis of this Pauline mandate — “to love your neighbor as you love yourself”.

23 See also his *Welcome to the Dessert of the Real: Five Essays on September 11 and Related Dates* (New York, NY: Verso 2002). Why “love of neighbor”? Briefly, this love gestures to something that is beyond the self and sameness.

about this Pauline love that ushers our thinking to and in the margins, in and through the experience and reality of those who are historically marginalized, like the early followers of the Jesus movement.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, we must consider the necessity to think about the pre-supposition of this love since this is crucial to the substance and meaning, indeed, the materiality of the injunction.

To briefly outline what I am referring to, let us follow here the trailblazing work of womanist theologian Delores Williams, who invited black women, based on their historical reality and their experience as African American women in the US, in their experience of otherness and domestic violence, both in their own community and in the larger society, to first love themselves.<sup>25</sup> This is not of course about the old liberal or post-modern turn to the self. But this is an act of resistance especially against the images imposed on them. To love oneself is to resist the dominant images they are asked to portray and embody. The love of “love yourself” is love insofar as this love is an act of care and affirmation of the self, more precisely, an act against white supremacist hetero-capitalist system domination, and imposition of what the self should be and is. In this sense, this is a militant love insofar as it embraces the dominated upon self and collective selves of the violated against. Not simply inward moving but also outward facing, this selves-love instantiates a differentiated community, of difference and different from. Such love inaugurates womanist selves that can, in my mind, unplug from the vicious cycle of repetition and re-

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24 See the scholarship of Richard Horsley and company of “Paul and Empire”. In this particular hermeneutical frame, I suggest the “love of neighbor as oneself” is not asymmetrical in terms of social and class status insofar as this is an injunction addressed to members of a marginalized communities.

25 Delores Williams, *The Sisters in the Wilderness: The Challenge of Womanist God* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1993).

iteration of violent racial representation and domination.

Placed in the situation of the oppressed and excluded, the injunction to “love your neighbor as yourself,” in short, is an injunction to unplug oneself from the circuitry of domination. This liberates, and in the process, generate a new self/selves in the face of multiple oppressions. In relation to the performance of Pura Luka Vega, the political stake of “performing Jesus,” in other words, is a kind of life animated by contrapuntal mandate to resist imposition and domination. It is unplugging from heteronormativity and patriarchy insofar as it loves oneself and loves the excluded selves. In the context of drag performance, “unplugging” is resisting and taunting the hetero-patriarchal system. While it is an indecent and irreverent life because it is outside the moral universe of this system, it is fulfilling the mandate of love. Which in this case, it is loving the neighbor insofar as the neighbor is the self and others excluded and marginalized by the religious-political order.

#### IV. Indecent and Irreverent Spirituality: Life and Living in the Time of Neoliberalism

Drag performance is ridiculed and even dismissed by many progressive sectors simply because it is a form of entertainment, not a serious militant position; its potent religious and political commentaries, as demonstrated in the transgressive drag performance of Pura Luka Vega, however, are profound and prophetic. It resonates widely across the social and cultural spectrum and it deeply irritated the dominant religious and political blocs.

In addition, while religious leaders and Christian theologians do not

consider it serious and some even view it as “offensive” for “lack of reverence,”<sup>26</sup> only a “drag Jesus” managed to unify different religious blocs (both from the Roman Catholic and Protestant side) in expressing their collective disgust and elicited strong condemnatory statements and public ordinances from politicians (both national and local). In a way it forged the alliance of forces between and among religious conservatives and political elites. In other words, what it does is made eligible the hidden heterosexist script and exposed it to public eyes. Such exposure may not destroy nor undermine the ideological infrastructure all together but it certainly slowly weakens its fictional foundations. In the voice and through the body of Pura Luka Vega, drag performance of “performing Jesus” is not just therefore a form entertainment and advocacy for non-binary and queer folks. It is an event that undresses the political theological matrix of the current neoliberal order and its roots. As such it is opening of a possibility, which in the case of Pura Luka Vega, is an agential site<sup>27</sup> for the excluded. Simply put, this is a site of transformation where creative expression and invention of the self/selves find and produce meaning of and for existence. For drag performers, as in the case of Pura Luka Vega, this is where their way of life is lived, in living out their desired identify, queer faith, and progressive/radical politics in public platforms and local bars. A space where their way of life that they claim and make out of the situation they find themselves in, finding love and lovers, and indeed, community, is inaugurated.

Indecent to the eyes of religious gatekeepers and irreverent to the po-

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26 In an interview Father Jerome Secillano voiced this out in response to the drag performance of Pura Luka Vega. See <https://edition.cnn.com/2023/10/06/asia/philippines-drag-queen-pura-luka-vega-arrest-intl-hnk/index.html>. Accessed October 10, 2023.

27 Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1990).

lice of the order, in the case of “performing Jesus,” their drag performance is a *praxis* against heterosexism and the private proprietorial regime. A protest and protestation, this *praxis* is about making things visible and exposing the violent order. Disgusting to the religious majority, it is nevertheless a way to love to oneself and for the excluded community, a *praxis* to “love” what is good and just for the beloved community, as Pura Luka Vega called, “queer community”.

In *Indecent Theology*, Marcella Althaus-Reid challenges us to think seriously the theological and epistemological import of indecency for our liberative work. She insists that we must be theologically and sexually honest with our work if we are to unmask a “moral order which is based on heterosexual construction of reality, which organizes not only categories of approved social and divine interactions but of economic ones too”.<sup>28</sup> In short, in a decent society, liberation theologians must live if not think indecently.

In our current situation, I found its potent expression in queer life and experience in the margins. In and through Pura Luka Vega, the theological category and epistemological import of indecency comes to its most intense contemporary form in irreverence. I argue that this is the bloodline and the impulse of people’s theology in the present, a theology that grows out from the “ordinary experience of the people,” in their unruly life to survive and flourish and through their agential capacity to name and claim the very terms of their lives. Its *praxiological* irreverent commitment always means a refusal to honor the imposed values and this is a rejection of the “sacred canopy” of this order.

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28 Marcella Althaus-Reid, *Indecent Theology: Theological Perversions in Sex, Gender and Politics* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 2.



## V. Conclusion: Queer Life and Experience of the *Minjung*

This theological reflection finds inspiration from the experience and reality of the *minjung* (particularly sexual minorities) as it also seeks to highlight its potential and capacity to change theological thinking in the service of survival and flourishing of the excluded and exploited life. In terms of method, it finds itself in the work of Hyun Young-hak who once argued that we start our theological reflection based on a “secular event”<sup>29</sup> which, in his case, is the mask dance. But here I also argue and demonstrate the need for us to focus our theological attention on the power structures that undo lives, so we must pay attention to the “life and praxis” of the outlaws, of the unwelcomed/the *persona non grata* for it is and through them that we see legibly and experience transcendence and its violent operation in our midst in the present.<sup>30</sup>

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29 Hyun Young-hak, “A Theological Look at the Mask Dance in Korea” in Kim, Yong Bock, ed., *Minjung Theology: People as the Subjects of History* (Singapore: Christian Conference of Asia, 1981).

30 Marcella Althaus-Reid, *Indecent Theology: Theological Perversions in Sex, Gender and Politics* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 2.

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