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碩士論文

Sporting Gays and the Gay Movement: The
Emergence of Gay and Lesbian Sports Groups in Taiwan

研究生：蔡國成

指導教授：白瑞梅博士

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研究生簽名： 蔡國成

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指導教授姓名： Amie Parry 白瑞梅 博士

系所： 英美語文學系 所 博士 碩士班

學號： 89122003

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Abstract

In this thesis I am going to explore the historical and cultural background of the emergence of the gay/lesbian sports groups in Taiwan along with relevant body politics and gender politics of the participants since late 1990s. The thesis begins with the etymology of the Chinese term “*tongzhi yundong*,” which has mostly referred to the gay movement not physical sports. The trivialization of gay/lesbian athletics is related with the general conceptions that “sports” is not serious and apolitical. As both a participant and a researcher, I would like to give counterarguments by giving evidences that gay/lesbian athletes do involve themselves in the gay movement such as participating in the Rainbow Games and Lesbian Championship in 2001, the Sydney Gay Games in 2002, and the gay march in 2003.

In addition to demonstrate the correlations between sporting gays and the gay movement, this thesis also aims to delineate the unique body politics, gender politics and identity politics that characterize gay/lesbian athletes. These various politics in some ways challenge the boundary projects that are often affiliated with modern sport, such as policed differentiation of sex, gender, sexuality, race, and nationality etc. Sometimes these politics conform to the heteronormative maintenance of norms, including acceptable masculinity and femininity etc. By reading and interpreting these politics, the researcher wants to demonstrate the complexity of gay/lesbian athletics. Last but not least, the researcher will try to disclose the interior performativity of the gay/lesbian athletes and manifest how the body politics, gender politics and the identity politics can be recognized as different forms of doing the gay movement.

Key Words: gay/lesbian sports, gay/lesbian sports groups, body politics, gender politics, identity politics

摘要

本篇論文旨在探討 1990 年代末期之後，臺灣男女同志運動團體(gay/lesbian sports groups)興起的歷史文化背景及其相關的身體政治、性別政治等議題。本篇論文從探討中文裡「同志運動」一辭的字義開始。「同志運動」向來是形容同志參與社會平權運動(gay movement)而非身體、體育相關的運動(sports)。仔細推敲下，台灣男女同志運動團體缺乏學術關注及研究的原因可能是因為一般觀念認為運動不是嚴肅具有政治性的活動。同時身為同志運動員和研究者，筆者試圖替男女同志運動團體的「政治性」翻案，從 2001 年彩虹運動會暨雷斯盃、2002 年雪梨同志世運會、2003 同志遊行，都可以看到男女同志運動員參與同志運動(gay movement)的足跡。

除了證明運動同志與同志運動之間的關係外，本篇論文將試圖勾勒同志運動員的身體、性別、認同政治。這些不同的層面和以往現代運動(modern sport)所注重的疆界分野時而相背時而相符。相背的地方，比方現代運動嚴格區分生理性別、心理性別、性傾向、種族及國家而同志運動(gay/lesbian sports)並未嚴格區分。相符之處，比方同志運動團體有時也替性別表現設限，如什麼是可接受的女性化或男性化行為等等。藉著閱讀分析這些身體、性別和認同政治，筆者冀望展現同志運動的複雜性。最後，筆者也將論證男女同志內在的身體、性別和認同政治如何具有表演性(performativity)，如何可以被視為不同「做」同志運動(gay movement)的方式。

關鍵字：同志運動、同志運動團體、身體政治、性別政治、認同政治。

致謝辭

在寫論文之前，我常不解為何大部份的作者在出書或是寫完論文之後總是會寫上長長的致謝辭，如今寫完論文後，我卻能深深體會致謝辭並不只是虛應故事也不是故作謙虛，而是發自內心的一種感動。忙著寫論文的這一年多來，若不是老師們的指導、朋友們的鼓勵、家人和愛人的支持，我想任何人都很難在孤獨的研究路上一路風順。

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Introduction

A New Kind of Tongzhi Yundong

As a gay athlete myself, the term *tongzhi yundong* (同志運動) has always perplexed me because it is rarely used to refer to gay/lesbian athletics.¹ Instead, its predominant meaning is associated with the gay movement.² This lack of language to express my own identity as a gay athlete stimulates me to engage in this project of narrating the emergence of gay/lesbian sports groups and the lives of gay/lesbian athletes. During this quest for self-identity, I learn that in fact gay athletics and the gay movement are not as incompatible as one might think it is. This discovery inspires me to look into the Chinese etymology of *tongzhi yundong* and reason why the combination of the two homonymous words “*tongzhi*” and “*yundong*” mostly denotes “the gay movement” but not “comrade movement,” “comrade sports,” or “gay/lesbian sports.” What is the evidence to justify my claim that gay/lesbian athletics and the gay movement are relevant? Furthermore, what is it that makes me as a gay athlete think that *tongzhi* is the most suitable term to identify myself, but not *tongxinglian* (同性戀) or *kuer* (酷兒). Is there a generational divide among these three identities? Last but not least, are the *tongzhi* athletes class-marked?

To begin with, *tongxinglian*, *tongzhi*, and *kuer* are all common Chinese terms referring to homosexuals but these three identities can be further distinguished. *Tongxinglian* has often been used in medical diagnosis of homosexuality. According to Jens Damm’s research, the term *tongxinglian* was first invented by sexologists in China sometime between 1920 and 1930 as he states:

¹ For reference of following Chinese terms in pinyin, please refer to appendix 1—the pinyin glossary.

² In my thesis, “gay” sports groups generally refer only to male gay sports groups. However, I will keep the common terminology such as gay movement and gay activists in which the word “gay” here includes GLBT people not just gay men.

In China in the 1920s and 1930s, sexologists such as Zhang Jingsheng (張競生), known as Doctor Sex (*xing boshi* 性博士), or Pan Guangdan (潘光旦), the translator of the works of the British sexologist Havelock Ellis, were the first to use the loan word “*tongxinglian*” in their publications...(Damm, 1998)

In comparison with the medical-based term *tongxinglian*, the phrase *tongzhi* originally was not used to refer to homosexuals. In mainland China, it is a term to address other comrades in the communist party. This usage can also be found in the political circles of Taiwan. It was not until early 1990's that a Hong Kong film critic Lin Yihua (林奕華) associated the term “*tongzhi*” with homosexuality in order to create a new discourse on gay/lesbian identity.³ Under this discourse, gay/lesbian identity becomes a positive identification, unlike the previous *tongxinglian* identity that often carries pathological connotations and is usually an involuntary and unfavorable title to identify oneself with. But a couple of years later, activists and theorists started to see the limitations of *tongzhi* identity and its non-violent/non-threatening trope of pursuing gay rights. Thus the *kuer* identity arises. This *kuer* discourse originates from the “queer” identity in the United States which is a progressive identity stressing the diversities, eccentricity, and provocative sexualities of the sexually marginal people including homosexuals. *Kuer* identity introverts the stigma imposed on homosexuals and turns that stigma into something empowering and subversive. In general, *tongzhi*

³ Film critic Lin Yihua borrowed the phrase “comrade” (*tongzhi*) to refer to gay people from the Chinese idiom “The revolution is not yet successful; the comrades still need to make efforts” and named the 1992 New Queer Cinema “*Tongzhi* Festival” (同志影展), which is part of Taipei Golden Horse Film Festival. There are several references I consult concerning the origin of using *tongzhi* to refer to gay, including “A Week in Gay Taipei” (台北同志一週) in Sinorama magazine (volume 23, issue 8, August, 1998), appendix 1 of *When the Rainbow Raises* (揚起彩虹旗) and Antonia Chao's essay “Review and Future Development of Queer Studies: A Viewpoint of Political Economics” (同志研究的回顧與展望：一個政治經濟學的觀點) in 1999.

discourse (sameness) and *kuer* discourse (diversity) appeal to different goals. *Tongzhi* discourse seeks recognition and basic human rights while *kuer* discourse challenges the social structure and demands radical changes. Accordingly they are respectively deployed in the gay movement.

Speaking of the gay movement, the Chinese term for “social movement” is a homonym of “sports/athletics”—“*yundong*.” Nevertheless, when the two terms “*tongzhi*” and “*yundong*” are combined together, it’s generally associated with gay activism but not gay/lesbian sports. There are several reasons to this. First, the social movement is considered at large more important than sports. Second, gay activism is more visible and valued than gay/lesbian sports in Taiwan over the last decade. Even so, since the 1990s gay/lesbian sports groups have sprung up in major cities in Taiwan, including Taipei, Hsinchu, Taichung, and Kaohsiung. Some of these gay/lesbian sports groups have gained publicity since Rainbow Games and Lesbian Championship (彩虹運動會暨雷斯盃) held in Taipei in the summer of 2001.⁴ Later in the year 2002, a group of lesbian basketball players even made it to the Sydney Gay Games. Following this is the unprecedented gay march on November 1, 2003. In this march, members from *Shuinanhai* (水男孩) the gay swimming club voluntarily participated and became the center of attention in the public, on the newspapers, and in the media.⁵ These events pollute the categories between gay activism and gay/lesbian sports. If the one-sided use of the ambiguous term “*tongzhi yundong*” shows how gay/lesbian sports is not concerned of as a political activity, then the events participated by

⁴ Rainbow Games and Lesbian Championship in Chinese is 彩虹運動會暨雷斯盃. It’s one of the activities of 2nd Lesbian and Gay Civil Rights Movement, Taipei 2000 (台北 2000 同志公民活動) which is also called Taipei Gay Festival (台北同玩節). Taipei Gay Festival is held once a year and carries different themes and activities. For more information, see <http://glplay.ariesdog.com/>

⁵ See appendix 2 for detailed information of *Shuinanhai* (水男孩) the gay swimming group and other gay and lesbian sports groups.

gay/lesbian sports groups, as I mentioned above, demonstrate how political gay/lesbian sports could be. Therefore when speaking of *tongzhi yundong* as a social movement, we should also give credit to the gay/lesbian athletes in addition to the gay activists.

One thing to notice here is that the *tongzhi yundong* (gay athletics) I refer to are mostly competitive team sports and “western” sports. There are several reasons to this. First, the current data of gay/lesbian sports groups I collected are mostly team sports. It does not mean that non-competitive or individual gay/lesbian sports groups do not exist. As far as I know, there is a gay mountain climbing club. Some of my lesbian informants also told me in the near future a lesbian bicycling club and a rock-climbing club will be founded. These non-competitive and individual gay/lesbian sports are beyond my research capabilities and await other scholars to do further research. Second, most of the sports groups I analyze in this project are in some degree related with the gay movement or activism. This could be the empowerment and identification sports groups render to gay/lesbian athletes. In general team sports provide more social network and interactions than individual sports. They also form better consolidation. Third, the reason that the sports I analyze are competitive and western is relevant to the historical development of modern sport in most post-colonial countries. Competitive sports is a way for the colonizer to discipline the body and mind of the colonized through which the colonizer instills the ideology of obedience. Yet later this ideology of obedience is introverted into a source of self-consciousness and self-empowerment. Modern “western” sports since 1940’s have become a foundation for the local Taiwanese to build its nationalistic identity. The team sports baseball is one good example. The sport discourse in Taiwan as well as in many post-colonial countries follows the western trajectories and definition of

sport. Any local activity that is not considered as a sport in the west will not be considered as a sport per se, such as yoga, chikung (氣功) and other traditional activities. I have not found any gay/lesbian sports groups related to these traditional sports. This accounts for the reason I only analyze “western” “competitive” sports which are most prevalent in Taiwan. However, if in the future there are gay/lesbian groups of traditional sports, it will be interesting to look at the postcolonial and nationalistic aspect of such sports groups in addition to the body politics and gender politics which this project lay much emphasis on.

Back to my thesis title, one might question why I complicate the term “*tongzhi*” *yundong* but not “*tongxinglian*” *yundong* or “*kuer*” *yundong*. This is related with the politics of gay/lesbian athletics. The stigmatized image and unhealthy association of “*tongxinglian*” is in conflict with the healthy discourse of gay/lesbian athletics. In addition, in the old *tongxinglian* discourse, *tongxinglian* identity is very specific (referring to gay and lesbian only) and restrained (without legitimacy) in the social movements. This is very different from the *tongzhi* identity which is more inclusive in terms of encompassing LGBT issues and more liberating in terms of deploying optimistic rhetoric and attitudes to engage in the gay movement. *Kuer* identity is also inclusive of LGBT issues but it is more concerned with challenging the social structure and values. In terms of gay/lesbian athletics, its strategy and function is prone to display the normalcy and health of homosexuals rather than the “queerness” that *kuer* deploys to defy and challenge the powers that be. It is because of the strategic differences among *tongxinglian*, *tongzhi* and *kuer* politics that I situate gay/lesbian athletics under “*tongzhi*” *yundong* not “*tongxinglian*” or “*kuer*” *yundong*.

Based on the successive historical development of the three identities of *tongxinglian*, *tongzhi*, and *kuer*, I observe that there is a rough generational divide

among these three identities. *Tongxinglian* is identified by a comparatively elder group of homosexuals in a time when homosexuals did not have positive rhetoric to name themselves.⁶ *Tongzhi* is used the most frequently among elitist homosexuals and younger generation. *Kuer* identity is usually adopted by the most marginal and radical group of sexual minorities without clear age difference. Since gay/lesbian athletics have only emerged since the late 1990's, most of the members are familiarized with the *tongzhi* discourse and tend to identify themselves as *tongzhi*. According to the interviews and questionnaires conducted, the statistics show that the average age of my informants is 25 years old.⁷ In addition, in a total of 98 informants, 50% are students, 43.8% are working professionals. Only 2.02% are unemployed. The statistics show how in general the gay/lesbian athletes are young and well-off. The statistics also show that the gay/lesbian sports groups comprise of no laborers, working class, or proletariat. By looking at the education, wealth, and social network of the informants, it is clear that they more or less belong to the middle-class. This explains the time and expenses they have to involve in the leisure activities such as gay/lesbian sports groups. These *tongzhi* athletes are class-marked.

Even though the gay/lesbian athletes are class-marked and belong to a specific generation, it does not undermine the fact that they are engaging a new kind of *tongzhi yundong* (gay movement) through local and international gay games and marches. In this project, I also want to look at the body politics and gender politics of these gay/lesbian athletes and see how they challenge and provide new thoughts about

⁶ However, Lin Xianxiu (林賢修) proposed in "Seeing homosexuals" (看見同性戀) that instead of applying "*tongzhi*" or "*kuer*" to Taiwanese homosexuals, the gay/lesbian community should embrace the much stigmatized identity of "*tongxinglian*" as how homosexuals in the West turned the negative term "queer" into a positive identity.

⁷ See appendix 3 for the contents of the questionnaire and appendix 4 for the statistics of the questionnaire.

gender expressions, sexuality, and agency.

Below I am going to review the current literature related with gay/lesbian sports in Taiwan.

Review of Literature

The rhetorical unfamiliarity of “gay sports” in Chinese also reflects in the academic research and other literature in Taiwan. In fact, despite the integration of sport and cultural studies around the world, in Taiwan the study of sport is predominately confined to the fields of physical education, kinesiology, management science, psychology, and medical science.⁸ Up to now, there are only two published theses relevant to gay/lesbian sports issues and one related thesis is still in progress. One of which was written by Zhong Zhaojia (鍾兆佳), a student in the Graduate School for Social Transformation Studies in Shih Hsin University. Her MA thesis is titled “Movement through Sport: An Analysis of the ‘Les-Cup’ and Lesbian Identity.”⁹ In her thesis, she places the lesbian sports groups and Lesbian Championship within the gay movement by emphasizing the empowerment of gathering, pleasure/leisure theory, and identity politics.¹⁰ Her basic theory is that through the sports activities and gatherings like the Lesbian Championship, the Gay Games, and in ordinary life, lesbians consolidate their homosexual identity. Moreover, the networking and division

⁸ A keyword search related to sport studies in the Dissertation and Thesis Abstract System (全國碩士論文資訊網) testifies to this.

⁹ Les Cup in Chinese is 雷斯盃 which sounds like “Lesbian Cup.” In this thesis, I use the term Lesbian Championship instead for clarity. For more information on Lesbian Championship, see <http://www.geocities.com/les5466/history.htm> Zhong Zhao-Jia’s thesis is on line on <http://sex.ncu.edu.tw/course/liou/Thesis2.html>

¹⁰ Even though Zhong Zhaojia did not play on the homophone of *tongzhi yundong* and gay movement in the Chinese title, in the English translated title she purposefully used the expression “movement through sport” to connect these two seemingly unrelated issues. In the academic research, she is one of the forerunners of such concept.

of labor in holding the Lesbian Championship is crucial and beneficial for engaging in the gay movement. However, she mentions in the end of her thesis that the emergence of male gay sports groups is distinct from the lesbian experience due to differences based on gender and social status, thus this area is as yet unexplored.

Li Zhenghong's (李振弘) and Ye Jiande's (葉建德) thesis, on the other hand, focuses on the gay counterpart.¹¹ Coincidentally, both Li and Ye take *Bai Ling* Basketball Team as their research subject.¹² Li's thesis is not exclusively on sports. It is a complicated psychological depiction of Li's personal formation of gay identity in his experimental fictional writing. The thesis is composed of several fictional life biographies. The last two stories "My Youth Goes On and On" and "Under the Silent Sun" (my translation) deal with the empowerment and self-affirmation gained in *Bai Ling* Basketball Team.¹³ As for Ye's thesis in progress, he intends to analyze the specific development of masculinity in the *Bai Ling* Basketball Team. To a certain extent he affirms the empowering part of the gay sports groups, but on the other hand he is anxious about the fixed gender expression in playing basketball. According to his observation, the diversity of gender expressions is diminished as the team grows bigger. Because of peer pressure, now there are orthodox gender expressions, such as being aggressive and manly.

In terms of non-academic publications, the book *When the Rainbow Raises* (揚起彩虹旗) and *Nu Pengyou* (女朋友) magazine volume 35 both document

¹¹ The thesis title of Li Zheng-Hong (李振弘) is 沙程: 一個男同志的主體實踐與小說創作 while the ongoing thesis of Ye Jian-De (葉建德) is 特定社群次文化下的「陽剛氣概」與自我認同建構之分析研究—以同志百齡籃球隊為例。

¹² *Bai Ling* Basketball Team (百齡籃球隊) was formed in October, 2000. See appendix 2 for detailed information of *Bai Ling* Basketball Team and other gay and lesbian sports groups.

¹³ The original Chinese titles of "My Youth Goes On and On" and "Under the Silent Sun" are 我的青春走啊走 and 靜靜的太陽下。

gay/lesbian sports.¹⁴ Before *When the Rainbow Raises* was written, there were few discussions or records of gay/lesbian sports in print. *When the Rainbow Raises* is a chronicle of gay activism and gay movement. The inclusion of Chu Xuan's (楚軒) narration of forming Lalainfo (拉拉資推工作室). The sports meet held by Lalainfo demonstrates the gradual visibility of gay/lesbian sports and the recognition of gay/lesbian sports as one form of embodiment of the gay movement.¹⁵ *Nu Pengyou* magazine volume 35 documents the first-ever participation of Gay Games by a group of lesbian basketball athletes in Taiwan.

I intend to write my thesis to unveil the existence of gay sports groups in Taiwan to both the general public and the gay community. Another hope of mine is to extend Zhong Zhaojia's project by piecing together the broader picture of gay and lesbian sports groups while not effacing the subtleties of the anti-boundary project gay and lesbian sports groups respectively deploy. The performativity, gender politics, and identity politics in gay/lesbian sports empower lesbian and gay athletes respectively to "play" with inscribed sexualities and gender expressions. With my thesis, I also look forward to encouraging a dialogue between the gay and the lesbian sports groups and to promoting integration and cooperation between them against the boundary project.

Methodology and Data Collection

In terms of the methodology, I am greatly inspired by the author of *Female Masculinity*, Judith Halberstam, who adopts an interdisciplinary approach while writing her book. Like Halberstam, I would like to find a balance between cultural

¹⁴ *When the Rainbow Raises* is the English translated title of 揚起彩虹旗: 我的同志運動經驗. The book is edited by Zhuang Huiqiu (莊慧秋). *Nu Pengyou* magazine was initiated since August, 1994 by the earliest-formed lesbian group *Wo Men Zhi Jian* (我們之間).

¹⁵ Lalainfo in Chinese is 拉拉資推工作室. See <http://www.lalainfo.com.tw/>

studies and theory; between text-based analysis and action-based observation. The cultural texts I want to analyze not only include media representation of gay/lesbian sports groups but also films depicting gay sports groups while the action-based observation embodies the sporting practice itself, athletes' self-representation, and athletes' involvement in the gay movement.

As for the data collection, I have undertaken various methods. First of all, I have made use of the online news database to dig out the past news reports about gay/lesbian sports groups and the participation of Taiwanese lesbians in 2002 Gay Games. Besides I have spent a couple of years observing the formation of gay/lesbian sports groups via the cyber space, such as the bulletin boards of different gay/lesbian sports groups on kkcitv or websites on the Internet. Also in order to bolster the credibility and validity of this kind of qualitative research, participant observation and interviews have both been undertaken. Participation observation includes attending activities of different sports groups, gay and lesbian, such as the 2002 Sydney Gay Games Achievement Report Meeting (雪梨成果發表會) and three Lesbian Championships.¹⁶ Interviews have been conducted after gaining the trust from the informants. I have also followed the interview ethics by using pseudonyms to secure the privacy of the interviewees.¹⁷ Since it is harder for the researcher to conduct an equal amount of interviews between gay and lesbian athletes due to my gender and access, I have conducted a questionnaire and administered to participants in the recent Lesbian Championship on January 31, 2004 in order to obtain more information on the athletic experiences of lesbians. Later in order to collect a wider sample from more sports groups, I eventually put the questionnaire on the Internet on April 6, 2004.

¹⁶ 2002 Sydney Gay Games Achievement Report Meeting (雪梨成果發表會) was held on April 6, 2003 in a meeting room of Taiwan Tongzhi Hotline Association (台灣同志諮詢熱線協會).

¹⁷ For a complete list of the interviews and informants, please refer to appendix 5 and appendix 6.

In the end, I collected 98 effective questionnaire.

The questions asked in the interviews and the questionnaire are meant to explore various aspects of gay/lesbian sports groups, including body politics, identity politics, temporality, experience, and function etc. I have first listed all the issues and aspects that I want to analyze and then design questions to solicit applicable and legitimate answers from my informants. Except the background information requires specific numbers and choices, such as age or what group the informant participates in etc., in order to avoid leading questions and remain as impartial as possible, closed format and open format are both adopted in designing the questionnaire. Closed format takes the form of multiple choice questions which avoids suggesting a certain type of answer and provides statistics and percentages for the researcher to analyze. Open format, such as leaving blank lines, help solicit unprompted answers if the informants find the choices given do not apply to their cases and wish to write down their own answers in the blanks.

The results of the survey corroborate some of my hypotheses concerning gay/lesbian sports. For instance, before I conducted the questionnaire, I was confident that most of the gay/lesbian athletes learned of gay/lesbian sports groups from the bbs based on my personal experience. And the survey confirmed to my assumption. 38.6% of the 98 informants learned about gay/lesbian sports groups via kkcitv the bulletin board system. The percentage is the highest among other factors such as learning from friends (34.3%) or learning from the Internet (10.9%). Nevertheless, not all suppositions are correct. For instance, before conducting the survey, I assumed that most of the gay/lesbian athletes were aware of the participation of the Taiwanese lesbian basketball players in the 2002 Gay Games but the survey proves me wrong. 40.8% of the informants are completely unaware of this incident. The questionnaire

helps prove and disprove my hypotheses concerning gay/lesbian sports and enables me to be more reflexive when making interpretations and evaluations of the data. Below I will sum up the rest of the data in the questionnaire and my interpretation of the information.

First of all, among 98 informants, 41 of them are female and 57 are male. In terms of sexual identity, 75.6% of my female informants claim themselves to be lesbians. 7.3% of them are bisexuals. 9.7% of them have not decided what category to identify themselves with. 4.9% claim to be *bufen* (不分), which means gender neutral in English. 2.5% is transgender identified. As for the male informants, 92.9% are gay-identified. 3.7% are bisexuals. 1.7% of them have not decided a specific sexual identity. 1.7% identify with lesbian identity. From the statistics, one can observe that the members constituting the gay/lesbian sports groups are not all gay or lesbian identified. There is still a comparatively smaller group of bisexuals and transgender people. This reflects the proportional ratio of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender people in the society. Second, the *bufen* category is a new and emerging concept in the lesbian community to resist the traditional *po* (婆) and T binary identities. From interviewing some of the *bufen*-identified lesbians, I learn that some of them are anxious that they do not fit in in either category of *po* or T. Still some explain to me *bufen* can be a way for bisexuals to avoid unnecessary scrutiny. This phenomenon will be further analyzed in the gender politics of lesbian athletes in chapter three. Third, as one can see from the results, one male informant chooses the lesbian identity that is not a typical sexual identity for male homosexuals. There are some possibilities for this. One is that the male informant answers less than truthfully. Second, he does identify as a lesbian and likes more feminine type of male homosexuals. Third, it is part of the campy language game that male homosexuals are distinguished for. I

include this humor rhetoric in the body politics of gay athletes and will examine this language use in chapter 3.

Regarding the numbers of sports groups the informants participate in, 85 people only participate in one specific gay/lesbian sports group. 9 people (5 females 4 males) participate in two sports groups simultaneously while 4 people (2 females 2 males) participate in three sports groups. As I interviewed some of the lesbian athletes, they told me as biological females and lesbians, it is difficult to find a non-sexist and gay-friendly sports group. Therefore when they learn of the varieties of lesbian sports groups, they tend to show great support by attending more than one sports group. Statistically lesbians are more involved in various sports groups than their gay counterparts with 17% of them participating in more than one sports group. It is only 10% for gay men. This can account for the better consolidation and networking among individual lesbian sports groups than the gay sports groups. Lesbian Championship is one good illustration of this cooperation. There is no such collaboration across individual gay sports groups yet. In chapter 2, I will account this phenomenon about how the emergence of lesbian sports groups has been more political and more feminist conscious than the gay ones.

As for the age range of my informants, it is between 34 and 17 years old. The average age is 25 years old. When asked about the age they started participating in the gay/lesbian sports groups, the maximum age is 32 with the minimum age 15. The average age is 23 years old. This indicates that gay/lesbian sports groups are in general comprised of younger generation and the history of the emergence of gay/lesbian sports groups has only begun since late 1990's.

In terms of the motivation, interest is ranked the number one reason (34.1%) followed by making friends (28.6%), fitness (16%), killing time (9.7%), and making

girlfriends/boyfriends (6.75%) etc. Other reasons include “seeking *tongzhi* identity,” “finding the feeling of belonging,” and “people watching.” To my surprise, only a couple of informants acknowledge that “*tongzhi* identity” is relevant to their decision in joining the gay/lesbian sports groups. Nonetheless, 71.4% agree that participating in gay/lesbian sports groups reinforces *tongzhi* identity. People who hold the opposite opinion tend to resist the association among sports, identities, and social movement. To them, sports is just sports. However, when I asked these specific informants why not joining the heterosexual sports groups but gay/lesbian ones. They contradicted themselves by making statements that are associated with “*tongzhi* identity” and “the feeling of belonging.” The statements include “being in the gay/lesbian sports groups makes me feel good” or “I feel like being home.” The ambiguous feelings about whether to specify *tongzhi* identity when doing sports are related with the discussion of two opposing strategies of the gay movement—i.e. whether to become accepted into the mainstream (sameness) or to build a separate gay identity (difference/diversity). For those supporting the former strategy, *tongzhi* identity is played down in the gay/lesbian sports groups. Gay/lesbian athletes can sanitize their sexualities by highlighting their status as “athletes” instead of “gay/lesbian” athletes. On the other hand, for those seeking attention from the society and claiming subjectivities, “*tongzhi* identity” is an indispensable foundation to emphasize. They tend to stress the uniqueness of their gender politics and body politics. In the thesis I want to cover both strategies when discussing the relationship between gay/lesbian sports and the gay movement. By contextualizing these two contested strategies, maybe one can find the malleability and flexibility of the gay movement and the complexities of the politics of gay/lesbian sports groups.

Following the two contested strategies about sameness and difference between

straight and homosexual athletes, the questionnaire requires the informants to list the differences, if any, in their participated sports groups. The results show that the most different characteristic of the gay/lesbian sports groups is the language use (29.4%). The second one is the interaction during doing sports (22.9%), followed by entertaining degree (22.4%) and body language (13.9%). Still 5.8% insist there is no difference between straight and gay/lesbian sports groups. One informant who belongs in the Gay Volleyball Team (often called GVB) pointed out a unique poker culture. When GVB members take turns playing volleyball, those who are waiting usually sit around the volleyball courts and play poker cards. It does not mean straight athletes do not play poker cards, but they rarely do so when doing sports. The play mood of the gay athletes, at least for GVB members, obviously exceeds the straight counterparts. A similar play mood can be found in *Shuinanhai* (水男孩) Swimming Group such as making jokes about who wear the outdated swimsuits, which is something not relevant to the sport itself and not a typical discussion among straight athletes. These examples will be further discussed in the body politics section in chapter 3.

In regard to the intention of participating in the domestic or international sports meets for homosexuals, such as Lesbian Championship and the Gay Games, the informants show a higher interest in attending the local ones (68.3%) than the international ones (45.9%). Originally I have anticipated such results because I assumed there would be more financial pressure in attending international sports events. But the statistics indicate otherwise. For the informants who do not want to attend international sports meets for homosexuals, coming out issue is the main reason that stops them from going (32.1%), followed by other reasons such as insufficient skills (29.8%) and pressure of representing Taiwan (17.2%). The financial

concern only constitutes 14.9% of the informants. As for people who do not want to go to local gay/lesbian sports meet, the top one reason is still the coming out issue (50%), followed by insufficient skills (38.8%), and financial concern (2.77%). Combining both statistics, one can observe that despite the positive image of athletics, most gay and lesbian athletes are hesitant revealing their sexuality in the public arena. This accounts for the no-camera policy in the local gay or lesbian sports events, such as the twice-yearly “Lesbian Championship” and the 2001 “Rainbow Games and Lesbian Championship.” It also explains the practice of “masking strategy” of lesbian athletes in the 2002 Gay Games and *Shuinanhai* in the 2003 Gay March. In addition, the statistics demonstrate a general misunderstanding of gay/lesbian athletics and gay/lesbian sports meets. After all, skills are not the most essential requirement in these gay/lesbian sports meets. As far as I know, either the local gay/lesbian sports events or the international ones hardly exclude athletes who do not excel at sports. On the contrary, the gay/lesbian athletics and sports meets are known to promote inclusion and boundary-breaking. The inclusion is illustrated by welcoming transgendered people and transsexuals to participate while the boundary-breaking can be seen in the inclusion of same-sex figure skating in the competition which does not conform to the accepted form of sports. As for the pressure representing Taiwan, it reveals the nationalistic concern as Taiwanese since a heroic image is usually imposed on athletes who represent Taiwan to compete in international events. In chapter four I will discuss how lesbian activists and athletes make use of this nationalistic sentiment to legitimize the participation in the Gay Games.

Despite my belief that the gay/lesbian sports could be deployed as a way to do the gay movement, according to the statistics, 14.2% of my informants hold the opposite opinion. It indicates that there is not an overall consensus towards this

association. Still, most of the informants (81.6%) agree that more or less the gay/lesbian sports can be utilized in the gay movement. As one informant Miranda comments in the questionnaire:

[Gay/lesbian sports are related with the gay movement] because we are united of the same interests. The same interests bring fellowship and consensus which render us courage and strength.

I will come back to discuss the feeling of fellowship and networking in chapter 2 with more evidences and illustrations from my informants.

Last, as confident as I am about the anti-boundary project gay/lesbian sports are engaging, the survey shows that many informants (42.8%) have personally experienced or seen others experience exclusion from other members. The reasons for this exclusion include personality (28.5%), insufficient sports skills (25%), looks (20.2%), biological sex (5.95%), sissy (3.57%), masculinity (3.57%), femininity (2.38%), and outstanding sports skills (1.19%). The statistics show that even though gay/lesbian sports groups may have displayed unconventional body politics and gender politics defying the norm, they can also practice other boundary projects similar to the ones in the straight sports groups. Due to the scale of this project, I am going to focus on the gender politics of masculinity and femininity in chapter 3. The rest of the boundary projects will await other researchers to continue their analyses.

The Researcher

I will not claim complete impartiality and detachment from my research due to the impossibility of eliminating all bias and normative values. As a researcher, I will be approaching this subject as a gay man in my mid-twenties and a student who is immersed in the feminist literature, thinking and gay & lesbian/queer theories. Before

deciding to do this research, I have participated in gay sports for three years. The role as both a longtime participant and a researcher is tough for me but on the other hand this role enables me to do the insider observation which might be difficult for non-participant in gay sports.

Thesis Organization

I will divide my thesis into four chapters. In the first chapter, I will address the issue of modern sport as a project of boundary maintenance based on Brian Pronger's theory. In the essay "Post-Sport: Transgressing Boundaries in Physical Culture", Pronger defines boundary project of modern sport as an ideological tool which differentiates gender, sexuality, race, and health etc. I want to apply his theory to look at modern sport in the specific cultural context of postcolonial Taiwan and see how boundary projects work similarly or differently in the United States and Taiwan.

I will begin my second chapter by approaching gay sports groups with historical conditions and performance theories. In history, after Taiwan gained its independence from Japan, the sporting culture was deeply rooted in the educational system. However, due to martial law, people rarely gathered and formed clubs to engage in sporting activities outside the nation's subsidized teams. Later martial law was lifted and the social climate started to change. Debates between the feminist movement and lesbian politics furthered the visibility and solidarity of the queer community. With the Five Working Day Policy releasing manpower and increasing the demand for leisure activities and through the ubiquitous Internet, gay sports groups gradually emerged from these advantageous forces whether political, economical or technological.

As for the performance theories, based on Richard Schechner's seven ways to

approach “play,” I have come up with five dimensions to analyze gay sports groups, i.e. structure, spatiality, temporality, experience and function.¹⁸ In terms of structure, some gay sports groups are organized while some are more informal. This has to do with different sport populations, various formations, and group consensus. As for spatiality, it is not easy for gay sports groups to play in a particular place since all space, not to mention just sporting venues, is heterosexual space. Therefore some groups make use of outdoor playing-fields in schools or parks while some rent indoor space on a regular basis if the members can afford the rent. The former makes use of the policy of the “national fitness awareness program;” the later functions under the capitalistic principle. When it comes to temporality, the gathering time varies according to the status of the members. Students are generally more available than the working members. Besides, the length of the sporting event is directly proportional to the amount of energy exerted and to the degrees of friendship between the members. More than often the sporting event does not have a clear beginning and an end because the members might have treated it as part of a greater performance—a queer family or community. In terms of experience, I intend to bring in identity politics based on my interviews and participant observation to shed light on the positive empowerment of such sporting gatherings. The gay sports groups for some people are places to liberate their bodies and exert their sexualities; for some, the gay sports groups have become their alternative family. Moreover, they are fortresses for gay and lesbians alike to transgress the boundary project, to pursue further relationships with other gay people. All these are achieved through the act of gathering and engaging in sporting practices together. Lastly, I will talk about the function of gay sports groups

¹⁸ Richard Schechner reads play as more than just an activity. To him, play can also mean anything from a mood or a performance to make-believe. In this sense, gay/lesbian sports groups do create certain moods and are related to both gender and political performance. See *Performance Studies: An Introduction*. (New York: Routledge, 2002.)

from the perspective of the gay movement, such as voluntary fundraising for the lesbian players to join the Gay Games in 2002, and the participation of the gay swimming club in the gay parade in Taipei in November 2003. By theorizing gay sports as performance, the interaction among the performers, spectators, and those in-between enriches the potentiality of sports activity as a social movement or as a kind of politically charged social practice. The presentation of self in gay sporting culture is challenging to the boundary project as such.

In chapter three, I will deal with the body politics of gay sports groups. Members of the gay/lesbian sports groups explicitly and implicitly unite to resist hetero-stereotyped identities, but are the gender behavioral patterns similar between lesbian sports groups and gay sports groups or even just among different gay sports groups? How does each group view masculinity and femininity? Is gender mocked or reproduced when engaged in sports? At this moment in my research my answer is both yes and no. In the gay context, some people I interviewed consciously pointed out the greatest difference between gay sport and straight sport was the fun that some effeminate men brought to the playing-field with their flamboyant demeanor, boisterous screams and laughter, and incessant wisecracks. However, some people confided in me the uneasiness and embarrassment they felt in the presence of these effeminate men. In the lesbian context, the butch-femme role-playing influences the interaction between self-identified butches and femmes. For example, butches will never want to lose to femmes in sports but in the meantime they are under peer pressure (other butches) to be gentle to femmes. That's hard for butches and femmes to have a fair play. I will first delineate the respective body politics and gender politics within gay and lesbian sports groups. Then I will focus on the obsession of masculinity by both lesbians and gays when engaged in sport. I believe the obsession

has different effects for women's groups and men's. Then I will try to find in the groups some possibilities for gay/lesbian sports to become postmodern and transgressing instead of being modern and conditioned.

In chapter four, I will focus on three specific events that reshape the relationship between sporting gays and the gay movement. One is the Rainbow Games and Lesbian Championship held in Taipei in the summer of 2001. It was the first gay sporting event sponsored by the Taipei government. The other event is the 2002 Sydney Gay Games which was the first time Taiwan had ever participated. The third event is the 2003 Gay Parade in which gay swimming group participated. In the first event, the players were well-protected for fear of being unnecessarily outed. In the second event, the players were supposed to embrace the event as an "outing" according to the spirit of the Gay Games but instead they chose to highlight national identity as if they helped Taiwan itself to come out but not themselves on this international debut. In the third event, the gay swimmers practiced the mask tactic in order to disclose their homosexual subjectivity while saving faces of their family. I find these events intriguing and I want to analyze different approaches and strategies deployed in these events concerning coming out and resisting media voyeurism. Besides, how the gay movement is contested between a politic of sameness and a politic of diversity. I'd like to unearth the hidden messages behind the participation of gay/lesbian sports groups in such social events and the gay movement and discuss whether there should be certain expectations of gay/lesbian sports groups or the gay movement in Taiwan and whether Gay Games is the ultimate realization for gay/lesbian sports groups to demonstrate their self-acceptance and anti-boundary project.

In conclusion I'd like to examine the pros and cons of identity politics involved

in gay/lesbian sports groups and the gay movement. Identity politics could be a way to empower and to form a community. However, any identity is formed based on excluding an “Other” and sometimes is even incorporated by the “primary” identity. Gay/lesbian sports groups and the gay community are no exception. Thus we need to be careful what gay/lesbian sports groups might exclude and be prejudiced against because we do not want another boundary project at work in gay/lesbian sports. By engaging dialogues and cooperation among gay and lesbian sports groups, gay activists and other social minorities, gay/lesbian sports could implode the masculinity and femininity myth, prescribed gender expression, and the desire to win through aggression. Ultimately, I hope that my thesis can challenge the boundary project as well as the traditional approach of doing sport studies in Taiwan and contribute to the possibilities of actively engaging in sport as a social movement.

Chapter One

Sport as a Boundary Project

Before tackling the issue between gay/lesbian sports and the gay movement, I want to look at the dichotomies sport produces and naturalizes for it has always been the project of boundary maintenance. Without knowing the limitations and stereotypes sport has imposed on us, we will not be able to see how unique and transgressing gay/lesbian sports are.

[M]odern sport [is] a project of socio-cultural boundary maintenance. Many boundaries are negotiated in sport...man and woman; heterosexual and homosexual; white and “other”; healthy and sick; animal, human and machine; legitimate play and illicit sex; rationality and irrationality; order and chaos. (Pronger, 1998: 277-278)

According to the preceding comment Brian Pronger makes, modern sport is probably the most solid fortress of sexism, homophobia, racism and other defining norms. As a matter of fact, Pronger’s theory can actually be proved in our daily lives. Like a ritual, many of us grow up taking physical education classes, listening to sports on the radio, watching sports on TV, and discussing sports news with our friends. As we are situated in the society, we continue to embrace the gym culture and the fitness mentality. It’s hard to be reflective when we so naturally absorb the dominant discourse of modern sports. Before we know it, we think there is nothing wrong about the division between “male sports” and “female sports” and we question not why in certain sports, like golf and tennis, most of the athletes are white. Moreover, we have certain imagination and stereotypes about homosexuals in sports like sissy gay men and butch lesbians. Below I am going to elaborate on different boundary projects implemented and maintained in modern sport based on Pronger’s quote above.

The Boundary Project of Gender

First, previous theorists have analyzed how sports are strictly segregated on the basis of biological sex because of different expectations between men's and women's roles. Men are expected to be competitive and yet collaborative while women are supposed to be docile and dependent. Therefore in male sports we find men being tough, strong and aggressive but the same qualities are not encouraged for female athletes. The segregation of the sexes in sports, however, is mostly based on beliefs that men are larger and stronger than women. This is a biological reductionism. Carol L. Christensen points out in her essay "Basic Exercise Physiology: Myths and Realities":

It has been shown that women have some physiological disadvantages (when compared with men) for sports performance: smaller hearts, less muscle mass, less hemoglobin, and more body fat, to name a few. These contribute to their generally lower...speed, and power disadvantage in sports and physical competition. *However, it would be wrong to conclude that all women are weaker and slower than men, because many highly trained women athletes exceed the abilities of most men.*

(Christensen, 1993: 119, my emphasis)

In addition, the constructivist discourse also influences the division of male and female sports, such as the Victorian idea of macho manhood and frail womanhood. Together the essentialist and constructivist viewpoints on gender reinforce each other and lead to the exclusion of women from team sports. Essentialist viewpoint assumes team sport is too strenuous for women; constructivist viewpoint reaffirms the dominant status of men by eliminating women to have the opportunities to learn aggression, perseverance, and cooperation which are crucial in terms of dominance.

This is why women are still not encouraged, not to mention rarely admitted, to various team sports, such as American football and baseball. Several scholars have attributed this division of sports to specific historical circumstances. For instance, Brian Pronger presumes in his book *The Arena of Masculinity* that “contemporary conceptions of manliness and sportsmanship emerge[s] out of the larger economic and social picture of late-nineteenth-century Europe and Great Britain.” (Pronger, 1990: 16) Paul Hoch’s essay “School for Sexism” also seconds Pronger’s view. Hoch believes that team sports in English public schools in the nineteenth century were to “train and socialize an all-white, all-male imperial ruling class.” (Hoch, 1972: 10) The value has changed over time when imperial regimes gradually were succeeded by more democratic political bodies. Nonetheless, men are still conscious of the importance of maintaining their control and domination over women. In the nineteenth-century United States, for example, as the farming culture was turning into industry, fathers had to work in the cities. The sons faced the crisis of losing their “manly” models. That’s the reason Brian Pronger concludes that “sports were introduced to public-school boys and the adolescent members of organizations like the YMCA.” (Pronger, 1990: 17) In this period, sports in schools continued to emphasize aggressiveness, competition, physical strength and phallogentrism. This prevailing model of masculinity has descended to our day.

Female sports, compared with male sports, staggered along in sport history. Women had to fight for their rights and resources in participating in sports. The various waves of feminist movement empowered women to challenge the male hegemony, including the exclusion of women in sports and unfair distribution of athletic funding. In the United States, Title IX is an epoch-making congressional passage of legislation ensuring sports equity for women. The preamble to Title IX of

the Education Amendments of 1972 reads:

No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subject to discrimination under any educational programs or activity receiving federal financial assistance. (qtd. in Carpenter, 1993: 82)

Thus after the enforcement of Title IX, girls and women in the United States eventually broke in to different kinds of sports preserved for men and they continued to challenge the male-dominated sports world. The All-American Girl's Professional Baseball League is one of the legacies these women had left us.

However, when discussing the same boundary project in Taiwan of dividing sports into male and female ones, we need to pay attention to the specific historical and colonial background of Taiwan. From 1895 to 1945, Taiwan was under Japanese colonization. According to Yu Chien-ming's essay "The Development of Female Physical Education in Taiwan during the Japanese Colonial Period," there were three phases of the colonial education policies: gradualism from 1895 to 1918, assimilation from 1919 to 1936, and Kouminka movement (皇名化運動) from 1937 to 1945.¹⁹ Physical education in colonial Taiwan reflected these three phases, but female students were given a milder physical training than men. In the first phase, due to the custom of foot-binding, only singing and games were included in the female physical education. In the second phase, gymnastics and sports gradually replaced singing and games. In this phase the female physical education was not too different from the male one except that boys' sports were more strenuous. Besides, fencing and judo were only taught to boys not girls. In the third phase, the physical education was replaced by military training and martial arts due to the war Japan waged against

¹⁹ Kouminka literally means "becoming children of the Emperor."

China. Boys and men under the military training were expected to render army service to Japan; girls and women bore the responsibility of self-defense. Because of the division of labor during the war time, boys' and men's training tended to be much tougher, for instance they were poured cold water on during the military training in order to enhance their endurance. Girls and women only needed to learn martial arts for self-defense.²⁰

Yu also observes that in the second phase when girls and young women practiced sports, the public started to worry about the masculinizing effects of sports on female students. One article "Changes in Modern Female Figures" from Taiwan *Rixin* Newspaper (日日新) reads:

Compared with females several years ago, they [the sporting women today] do possess a powerful look. In general, female athletes are too masculine. The female beauty, with its curvaceous and charming qualities, is gradually disappearing. It's an unfortunate phenomenon. (Yu, 2000: 47, my translation)

From the descriptions above, we can see the different discourse of sport between Taiwan and the western countries. The concept of modern sport in Taiwan was introduced by the colonial Japan to remold Taiwanese bodies, to reshape their mentalities and further to assimilate their identities. Since physical education was a means to control Taiwanese bodies and mind, there is no reason female students should not be included as well. By contrast, when modern sport was first developed in the nineteenth-century Britain and United States, it was a male reserve, a place to solidify men in order to maintain their manhood and patriarchy. At the same time, even though female students in Taiwan seemed to embrace greater opportunities to

²⁰ Illustrations of the colonial physical education at this time can be found in the book *Scanning Taiwan 1895-2000* Vol. 3 page 102. (Taipei Yuan-Liou Publishing Co, 2002)

engage in sports, they were treated as physically inferior. The requirements for their male counterparts were much higher. This was illustrated in the exclusive teaching of offensive martial arts to boys. Even in the Kouminka movement, when Taiwanese girls also received military training, they were taught to defend but not attack. There was a big difference. This demonstrated that the colonial government had specific gender expectations which were also believed by the general public. That's why even though the physical education programs included girls to a larger extent than in the west, they were still unable to change existing gender stereotypes and expectations.

Today the segregation of men and women in sport is not as distinct as it was before, but it still exists. Men still have greater resources and better opportunities to engage in sports than women. And many sports, like baseball and American football etc., are still considered male sports. Thus sports can be read as an ideological tool that naturalizes the gender expressions in order to maintain the gender relations in the real world. Following this logic, there is no wonder female athletics is often contested, especially the contact sports, and female masculinity is often associated with lesbianism. Similarly, male athletes who engage in "feminine" sports are easily labeled as a sissy or faggot because they do not conform to the traditional gender roles. This is the next boundary project of sport I want to analyze—defining heterosexuals and homosexuals.

The Boundary Project of Sexualities

In the preface of *The Arena of Masculinity*, Brian Pronger makes a profound statement, which is "women athletes are often expected to be lesbians; men athletes are seldom expected to be gay." (Pronger, 1990: xi) Pronger doesn't make clear whether his theory applies to every kind of athletics. In the same book, Pronger

categorizes sports into three different kinds: violent ones, struggling ones and aesthetic ones. (19) Violent sports are the most masculine ones, like hockey and football, while struggling sports are competitive ones in which there are less body contacts, such as tennis and baseball. Aesthetic sports emphasize more on skills and of course, aesthetics, such as skating and gymnastics.

I want to argue that men still face possible accusations of being gay in sports and women sometimes are safe from the “lesbian stigma” if they choose to do aesthetic sports. The pigeonholing of homosexuality is contextual depending on what kind of sports men or women do. For men engaging in violent and struggling sports, they are unlikely to be associated with homosexuality because homosexuality often equals nonviolence and femininity. Yet in aesthetic sports, there are chances for men to be recognized as possessing gay sensibilities and demeanors, for instance male skaters. For women, they don’t have access to the violent sports. But in terms of the struggling sports, if they display too much aggression and female masculinity, they are immediately suspected of lesbianism. After all, aggressive behavior and macho values can only be applied to men. In terms of aesthetic sports, since female sensitivity is often praised as a quality women should possess, female athletes doing this type of sports don’t face the same scrutiny from the society as those participating in struggling sports.

Before going on I’d like to analyze two incidents that demonstrate how in the arena of sports homophobia is still prevalent. First, Japanese baseball player Kazuhito Tadano apologized in a press conference for acting in a gay porn in his college years and emphasized he is not gay. Second, the lesbian tennis player Mauresmo received name-calling from other tennis players as “half a man” after her brilliant performances in tennis.

Tadano was signed by Indian minor league as a pitcher. In a press conference he asked for forgiveness for his appearance and homosexual conduct in a gay porn video. Through an interpreter, Tadano said: 'I'm not gay. I'd like to clear up that fact right now.' It's interesting to observe that the press session was set up by the Indians and the emphasis of the press session focuses on Tadano's sexuality as if homosexuality is not tolerable in the baseball diamond. According to AP Sports Writer Tom Withers' report, "there are no openly gay players in the big leagues today. The same is true in the NFL, NHL and NBA."²¹ If Pronger is too general when making the statement "men athletes are seldom expected to be gay," I believe what he means is that any traces of homosexual behavior in sports are strongly discouraged and forbidden. Tadano's case testifies to this boundary project of homophobia in the sports arena. The same homophobia had occurred earlier to the prominent tennis player Mauresmo.

In the 1999 Australian Open, Lindsay Davenport said she thought she was playing against a man in her loss to Mauresmo in the semifinal. On the same day, Martina Hingis made a homophobic comment in a German press conference "[Mauresmo] travels with her girlfriend, she is *half a man*." After both remarks were learned by Mauresmo, the reactions of Davenport and Hingis were totally different. Davenport apologized to Mauresmo immediately because she didn't mean to criticize Mauresmo's sexual orientation. She asserted she was referring to Mauresmo's muscular play, especially her powerful one-handed backhand. Davenport said she was mistaken by the media. In comparison, Hingis acted unapologetic for her brutal remarks. From this incident, we can draw some conclusions: (1) It's not a compliment to say a female athlete plays like a man even though the aggressiveness is encouraged in competitive sports. (2) Lesbianism is still stereotyped as a bad copy of heterosexual

²¹ See the complete report of Tom Withers on <http://sportsillustrated.cnn.com/2004/baseball/mlb/01/27/indians.gay.porno.ap/?cnn=yes>

relationship. Thus in a lesbian relationship, one has to play the role of man. However, a woman can not be a man. That's why "half a man" is used derogatorily to refer to a butch-like lesbian for she can never be a full man. (3) Lesbianism is still treated as a scandal in most media and tabloid. This can be seen in the later sports reports on Mauresmo. The usage of "half a man" has even been practiced by Taiwanese media and has become her fixed title.²²

The Boundary Project of National Identity

On a national scale, modern sport stabilizes the notion of nation-states while that national identity also reinforces the boundary project of modern sport. This can be testified in the frenzied outpour of national celebration displayed when winning medals at international events, for instance the reaction of the Taiwanese public upon learning of Taiwan Baseball Team's victory over Korea in 2003 Asian Championship which qualified them to compete in the 2004 Olympic Games. In fact, baseball is the most recognized national ballgame in Taiwan. The sport was introduced by colonial Japan. It became wildly acknowledged and practiced after the legendary *Hong Ye* (紅葉) Baseball Team defeated two visiting teams from Japan in 1968 and *Jin Long* (金龍) Youth Baseball Team won the first gold medal for Taiwan at the Little League World Series in 1969.²³

In order to analyze why sports could differentiate and consolidate national identities, I am going to draw on Homi K. Bhabha's "colonial mimicry" theory and apply it to the baseball mania in Taiwan. As Bhabha put it:

²² This is especially true in the Taiwanese Newspapers. When the sports column mentions about Mauresmo, she is often dubbed "*nanrenpo*" (男人婆), which means butch or tomboy in English. For instance, keying in "nanrenpo" and the name Mauresmo in udndata.com (聯合知識庫), a database of news reports, brings up 18 items of such usage dating from 1999 to now.

²³ Illustrations of the colonial baseball history can be found in the book *Scanning Taiwan 1895-2000*

Colonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, as a subject of difference that is almost the same, but not quite. Which is to say, that the discourse of mimicry is constructed around an ambivalence; *in order to be effective, mimicry must continually produce its slippage, its excess, its difference.* [...] Under cover of camouflage, mimicry, like the fetish, is a part-object that radically revalues the normative knowledges of the priority of race, writing, history. *For the fetish mimes the forms of authority at the point at which it deauthorizes them.* (Bhabha, 1994: 85-92)

Bhabha's colonial mimicry refers specifically to the English colonies. The colonial rulers of Britain on one hand want to civilize their subjects but on the other hand keep reminding their subjects "that no level of mastering the 'parent' culture could wash out the racial stain" (Schechner 2002: 233) Of course the racial stain is a wishful thinking. The colonized people can mimic the master's education, knowledge, and even sports to challenge or outdo the colonial mother. That's what Bhabha suggests, "in order to be effective mimicry must continually produce its slippage, its excess, its difference." Since Japan's ideology of colonialism derives from the West, its policies on the colonies are very similar to Britain. On the one hand, they think their subjects are inferior, but on the other hand, they want to transform their subjects into Japanese. It is exactly this partial treatment of Taiwanese as Other, shown in the earliest education policies, and partial assimilation in the Kouminka movement that construct a particularly form of colonial subjectivity of Taiwan.

Today this colonial mimicry of baseball sports in Taiwan has become the political strategy of politicians to enunciate their nationalistic propaganda. In fact, the phenomenon is not unique in post-colonial Taiwan. Mark Naison observes the same boundary project in the United States:

The support that organized sports has been given by government, business, and education is not coincidental. The sports industry has been self-consciously used as a *safety valve for social discontent and a vehicle for the political and cultural unification of the American population.* (Naison, 1980: 30)

Thus we know the saying “sports is without boundary” is not true at all. Different nations use different sports to strengthen citizens’ national identity. In Taiwan, the national sport of Taiwan would be baseball.

The Boundary Project of Race

In terms of the categorization of racial identities, the hypersexualization and discrimination of black athletes are the most intricate byproducts of the boundary project of sport. This can be seen in the name-calling of various black athletes including Dennis Rodman in basketball (portrayed as a sex menace), and Venus Williams and Serena Williams in tennis (being called black orangutans). Even though racism is not a big issue in Taiwan, sports fans sometimes blatantly display their prejudices of black masculinity, especially the female one. For instance, on the tennis forum on bbs, one sports fan was tired of seeing William sisters getting into the championship all the time and made a crude comment, “please not another competition between the two orangutans at the finals, it’s unattractive.” (my translation)²⁴ In fact, on the Videoland Sports website, the term “orangutan” is used in a news report. It read “now the greatest hope is not to repeat the competition

²⁴ The original comment in Chinese is 千萬別又來一場大小猩猩的對決...很難看的. This post was written by a university student in NCTU. It was posted on July 2, 2003.

between the two orangutans in the women's finals.” (my translation)²⁵ This shows how the media and the general public are insensitive to the racism in sport.

The Boundary Project of Health

Modern sport also defines sickness and health, the famous basketball player Magic Johnson being the most pertinent case in point. After he announced his HIV status in 1991, he suddenly became taboo and retired from the NBA. In the press conference where he announced his HIV status, he said:

Because of the HIV virus that I have...attained, I will have to retire from the Lakers today. I just want to make clear first of all that I do not have the AIDS disease, cause I know a lot of you want to know that, but HIV virus.²⁶

Even though Magic Johnson later was still included in the dream team and nabbed the Olympic gold medal for basketball in 1992, he never regained his respected status as a basketball player. This exhibits how the arena of sports is exclusive of sickness, especially the contagious or transmissible diseases.

Based on the different discussions of boundary projects in sport, we can infer that there must be a lot of collisions of ideologies in gay/lesbian sports because of its transgressing qualities, especially in gender, sexuality and race. It's exactly under this premise that I find the emergence of gay/lesbian sports groups in Taiwan especially unique and worthy of further research. In the next chapter, I am going to analyze the history and structure of gay/lesbian sports groups in Taiwan.

²⁵ The original wording in Chinese is 不過現在球迷們最希望的可能是女子的冠軍戰別再看到兩隻黑金鋼的交手. See <http://sport.videoland.com.tw/event/aso/default.asp?rd=2002/2/4>

²⁶ Magic Johnson made the announcement in LA Forum on November 7, 1991.

Chapter Two

Emergence of Gay Sports Groups

As I mentioned in chapter one, the concept of modern sport was introduced to Taiwan by colonial Japan. By the time Taiwan gained its independence from Japan in 1945, the colonial sporting culture was deeply rooted in the educational system. For instance, group morning radio calisthenics, practiced under the Japanese regime, continued to be a common sight in morning rallies of elementary and high school students after Taiwan's independence. The tradition of holding sports meets was also kept by the Nationalist Government in Taiwan. However, due to martial law, people rarely gathered and formed sports club teams to engage in sporting activities outside the nation's subsidized teams, school teams or varsities. Later martial law was lifted in 1987 and the social climate started to change. The media was no longer under strict surveillance by the government and thus the public had more room for expression in the media, and it was possible, for example, to find sports pals in the magazines. Besides, public gathering was no longer forbidden. Sport was not limited to the physical education in the school anymore. Sports groups and clubs thrived in this liberal environment.

In the beginning, however, gay/lesbian sports were practiced within lesbian activist groups, not sports-specified groups. For instance, *Wo Men Zhi Jian* (我們之間), the first explicitly lesbian group in Taiwan, formed in 1990, started to hold sports gatherings in 1992.²⁷ Besides, *Wo Men Zhi Jian* also published *Nu Pengyou* magazine beginning from 1994 in which the issues of gay sports were discussed several times. The founding of *Wo Men Zhi Jian* and other successive lesbian and gay groups reflect

²⁷ See the historical records on <http://groups.msn.com/v4pe6jm9u2g98jn9brm8sgmvh1/page9.msnw>. On the website of *Wo Men Zhi Jian*, one line read "on February, 1992, two years after the establishment of *Wo Men Zhi Jian*, different groups including culture groups, sports groups, chatting groups and study groups were founded." (1992.2 兩週年慶, 成立藝文、運動、聊天、讀書會等家族。)

the cultural upheavals after the lifting of the martial law. The truth is the oppositional groups in Taiwan, especially feminists, laborers, lesbians and gays, had been subdued for decades. The accumulation of social discontent and oppositional groups forced the government to reconsider its autocratic policies toward its people, such as martial law. Once the government began to give in to public opinion, different appeals were addressed. Scholar Manuel Castells observed that in Taiwan “the lesbian movement emerged as a component of the feminist movement...albeit in the 1990s it acted in close alliance with an equally powerful gay men’s liberation movement.” (Castells, 1997: 206) This historical development of lesbian politics, followed by the gay men’s liberation movement, furthered the visibility and solidarity of gay intellectuals and activists, especially in Taipei, since lesbian politics and gay men’s liberation mostly originated from the university environment in Taipei metropolis. This is crucial for the subsequent emergence of gay and lesbian sports groups in northern Taiwan. Many of the participants in gay and lesbian sports groups were students who had received feminist curriculum or had been empowered by the feminist movement and gay men’s liberation. These students were instilled with the notion of equality between straights and homosexuals and thus they were more likely to pursue equivalent leisure activities which straight people were privileged to attend.

In the meantime, due to the economic boom and the rising living standards, the government implemented the Two Days Off Every Other Week policy on January 1, 1998. Before this policy, most people worked six days per week. Students were also required to go to school for half a day on Saturday. This Two Days Off Every Other Week policy has released manpower on the weekends and increasing the demand for leisure activities. Three years later on January 1, 2001, the government modified this policy as Two Days Off Per Week. Consequently, workers and students alike had

more time to engage in leisure activities, including sports. This economic factor is also significant to the emergence of gay sports groups in addition to the political and social factors I mentioned above. However, not everyone was under the umbrella of the Two Days Off Per Week policy. Many laborers were still required to work on the weekends or work additional shifts in the evenings. Therefore participants in the gay/lesbian sports groups were more or less class-marked, like people who benefited from the Two Days Off policy and could afford both time and expenses in participating sports groups.

Last but not least, the prevalence of BBS after the mid-1990s brought new channels for gay and lesbian sportlovers in Taiwan to discover one another and do sports together. BBS is the abbreviation of bulletin boards system. It was created by Ward Christensen and Randy Suess in Chicago in 1978. The system operates like a virtual thumb-tack bulletin board. Participants can post messages to a public "board," and others can read and respond to those messages, creating an ongoing virtual discussion. Moreover, online chat and e-mail communications are also available on BBS. The anonymity feature of BBS ensures the privacy of users. Convenience, security, and no time restrictions (there is no restriction on time), and are the three main factors that draw gays and lesbians to build their virtual communities here. According to my observation, since the mid-1990s, membership to BBS began to decrease in the United States as well as in other western countries due to the development of the World Wide Web. However, BBS maintained its popularity in Taiwan, especially in the universities. This phenomenon could be attributed to the practice of setting up BBS's among school computer centers and computer engineering students. Another reason is students had grown accustomed to its interface.

According to Zheng Minhui's thesis "Facing Reality in Virtual Space: The Lesbian Practice in TANET BBS," in the beginning of BBS development, there was only one bulletin board designated and reserved for gays and lesbians—MOTSS, which means Members of the Same Sex.²⁸ Yet since gays outnumbered lesbians on the BBS, the topics of the posts were mostly gay-oriented. Due to this reason, lesbians eventually applied for another board for their kindred on Danjuan BBS.²⁹ The board was named Les. Simultaneously the lesbian-friendly BBS *Huainuer* (壞女兒) was established.³⁰ Zheng Minhui points out in her thesis that during this period of time there was a wide spectrum of posts on Les board so that it was hard for lesbians to engage in a more detailed discussion on certain issues, which I believe could be applied to the discussion of sports. This explains why only one Les board couldn't satisfy the communication needs of lesbians and why different boards were founded on *Huainuer* BBS, such as the Sport board. In fact, from the 41 questionnaires I have collected from lesbian athletes, 3 informants have pointed out that the Sport board on *Huainuer* BBS was how they first learned of lesbian sport gatherings and sports groups.

While lesbians started to have sport gatherings and form sports groups on *Huainuer*, different gay sports groups also began to recruit players on BBS and the WWW. However, the process of the formation of gay male sports groups was comparatively slower than the lesbian counterparts. I attribute this phenomenon to the NTU BBS Purge incident. On February 25, 2000, NTU BBS, the school-run BBS system, announced that NTU BBS would get rid of the function of nicknames and

²⁸ 鄭敏慧。在虛擬中遇見真實—台灣學術網路 BBS 站中的女同志實踐。台大建築與城鄉研究所碩士論文，1999。

²⁹ *Danjuan* BBS in Chinese is 淡江蛋捲廣場站。

³⁰ *Huainuer* in Chinese is 酷/異壞女兒站。

descriptive introductions of users to stop the trend of finding one-night stands and other sexual behaviors. This not only decreased the opportunities for gay sportlovers to find one another on NTU BBS, but also reduced the willingness of gay men to go to NTU BBS because of this policy. I would like to suggest that this is one of the reasons why the development of gay sports groups was slower than the lesbian ones. Soon after this setback of freedom of speech on the NTU BBS, KKCITY BBS was founded in the same year drawing the discontented users to its free BBS service. It would become commercialized and supervised later by Sky Soft Company. The difference between KKCITY BBS and other BBS's is that KKCITY BBS provides three different modes for users to select—the normal mode, the adult mode, and the *tongzhi* (同志) mode. With the normal mode, users can't access sex-oriented boards and can't see the profiles of the adult-mode or *tongzhi*-mode users. Similarly, for the adult-mode users, they can't see the profiles of normal-mode users and *tongzhi*-mode users. And of course, the *tongzhi*-mode users can't see the profiles of the other two groups of users. This policy was made to protect the privacy of different groups of different ages and sexual orientations and to ensure that no user would be subject to interference and intrusion by outsiders.

Stemming from the segregation policy mentioned above, various sub BBS's designed for gays and lesbians were founded on KKCITY, such as NTU, 5466, Les-world, FriedEgg, Bear-World etc.³¹ On these BBS's, lesbian and gay sports groups applied for individual boards for their sports groups. Although some gay/lesbian sports groups prefer using yahoo or msn groups on the WWW as their

³¹ NTU, 5466, Les-world, FriedEgg, Bear-World are the English names of sub BBS's of KKCITY. In Chinese, NTU BBS is 新椰林風情站. 5466 is 我是拉拉站. Les-World is 拉拉百貨專櫃站. FriedEgg is 炒蛋瘋人院站. Bear-World is 熊熊猴猴俱樂部. NTU BBS was named "new" NTU BBS in response to NTU BBS Purge incident.

team discussion forum such as the lesbian badminton team *Jingbaodian* (勁爆點), most gay/lesbian sports groups cluster on KKCITY and its sub BBS's.³² Take lesbian sports groups for example, there are *Xiaomo* (小摩) Softball Team, *Heixingan* (黑心肝) Volleyball Team, and *Ye Guang* (夜光) Basketball Team. As for gay sports groups, there are *Bai Ling* (百齡) Basketball Team, *Hong Guang* (虹光) Badminton Team, *Zhuoqiu Tonghaohui*(桌球同好會), Gay Volleyball Team, *Xiong Hou* (熊猴) Basketball Team, Bobo Volleyball Team and *Shuinanhai* (水男孩) Swimming Group.

One thing I would like to emphasize is that the BBS's I have introduced here don't account for all gay sports groups in Taiwan. They only represent the development of Northern Taiwan sports groups and the particular BBS culture these sports groups are affiliated with. According to my observation, the majority of BBS users are students and intellectuals. This phenomenon echoes the class specificity I mentioned earlier in the economic factor contributing to the emergence of gay sports groups. Even though not every participant in the gay sports groups is a BBS user, most of them are. Based on this BBS culture, I would like to suggest that most participants in the gay sports groups have to be well-educated students and working professionals in order to access BBS and the WWW. Combined with the economic factor, it's obvious that the participants in gay/lesbian sports groups are class-marked and come from relatively privileged backgrounds.

In conclusion, gay sports groups gradually emerged in the mid-1990s from the advantageous forces I listed above whether political, economical or technological. Nonetheless, each group is unique in its own formation process and body politics.

³² See appendix 2 for detailed information of *Jingbaodian* and other gay and lesbian sports groups. The names of these sports groups are translated into English directly from the Chinese pronunciations with hanyu pinyin system unless they don't have Chinese team titles like Bobo Volleyball Team.

This chapter will analyze how some sports groups are connected with the gay movement by examining the five dimensions in gay/lesbian sports—structure, spatiality, temporality, experience, and function. With structure uniting gay and lesbian athletes, spatiality challenging hetero-space, temporality transcending time and space, experience reinforcing gay and lesbian identity, I will end this chapter with the possible function of doing gay/lesbian sports as doing gay movement.

Five Dimensions of Gay Sports Groups

It's common in English to express doing certain sports with the verb “play,” like playing basketball, playing volleyball etc. Besides, “play” has often been associated with performing, something not for real, like “playing a role,” or something not serious, like the expression “I said it in play.” In the book *Performance Studies: An Introduction*, Richard Schechner describes play as:

Play is very hard to pin down or define. It is a mood, an activity, an eruption of liberty; sometimes it is rule-bound, sometimes very free. It is pervasive. It is something everyone does as well as watch others engage in—either formally in dramas, sports ... at playgrounds. Play can subvert the powers-that be, as in parody or carnival, or it can be cruel, absolute power.... (Schechner, 2002: 79)

Here performance theorist Schechner has extended the meaning of play from a concrete activity to abstract mood and mentality. In sports, game is play and more than a play. The atmosphere of the game and the mentality of the players enrich the game as a greater performance and as a cultural activity. Schechner's enunciation of play inspires me to look at sports from a different perspective and tie it up with its possibility being an anti-boundary project (Pronger), as what Schechner termed

“eruption of liberty.” This eruption of liberty is a universal feeling I observe in various gay/lesbian sports groups. Also a great number of my informants have emphasized how being in the gay sports groups makes them free—free from the expectations of society, free from pretenses of being straight, free from conforming to inscribed gender expressions. As for the ambiguous qualities of play being both rule-bound and free, what Schechner means is play can be finite, for the purpose of winning, or can be infinite, for the purpose of continuing play. In different gay/lesbian sports groups, games are often held to enhance the involvement of the players. Under such circumstance, rules are required to decide who has won. However, the purpose of the game in the gay/lesbian sports groups is not merely to decide who plays well but how everyone can keep participating and interested. Thus the players could be paired or grouped with different members every time in a game to prevent the boredom of always winning or losing the game. It’s an infinite game played for the purpose of continuing play. This is how such sport gatherings empower gay athletes and unite them. Besides, we can also find the pervasive quality of play on and off the sports arena as Schechner describes. This confirms my hypothesis that gay sports could be utilized as a performance, changing people’s attitudes of homosexuality and masculinity. The subversive qualities of gay sports will be further analyzed in the function section. And of course play, as in sports, can be cruel maintenance of boundary project. After approaching gay sports from positive sides, I will also bring up some possible crises gay sports groups might encounter.

In terms of analyzing “play,” Richard Schechner has listed seven ways to approach it, which are structure, process, experience, function, different genres of play, ideology, and frame. In his definition, structure is the synchronic events that constitute a play act. Process is the diachronic development and formation of play acts.

Experience is what the players and observers feel. Function is the possible uses play has. Ideology is the values extracted from the play acts. Frame is to define the beginning and end of a play act. Based on Schechner's seven ways to approach play and considering the specificities of gay sports groups I want to analyze, I have modified these seven approaches into five to analyze gay sports groups, which are structure, spatiality, temporality, experience and function. I've borrowed some of these terms from Schechner but I've given them different interpretations and dimensions. For instance, in the category of structure, I want to emphasize the organizational characteristics of each gay sports group and the historical background of them, so it's quite different from the structure dimension Schechner approaches. In addition, Schechner doesn't include space in his discussion of "play", which I think is crucial for gay sports groups, particularly in Taiwan where public space is limited. Thus I add the category of spatiality. Furthermore, I combine the two approaches process and frame into temporality to elaborate both the tangible play and the intangible play mood. Then I have left out of the approach different genres of play, where Schechner compares animal play with human play, because it is not strongly related with my research subject. On the contrary, I have kept the two approaches experience and function in order to delineate the impact of gay sports on gay athletes and how gay sports groups could function as one kind of gay movement. In terms of ideology, I will wait until the next chapter to discuss about it since it's related with the gender/body politics I want to focus on.

Structure

Most of the gay and lesbian sports groups are informal in the sense that the members don't need to pay enrollment fees and they don't have obligations to the

sports groups. These groups include GVB volleyball team, BoBo volleyball team, *Heixingan* Volleyball Team, *Xiong Hou* Basketball Team, *Ye Guang* Basketball Team, *Hong Guang* Badminton Team, *Jinbaodian* Badminton Team, *Shuinanhai* Swimming Group, and *Zhuoqiou Tonghaohui* the gay table tennis group etc.

The most organized groups would be *Bai Ling* Basketball Team and *Xiaomo* softball Team. *Bai Ling* is a gay basketball team founded in October 2000 while *Xiaomo* is a lesbian softball team founded in November 2001. Both teams require members to pay enrollment fees. The membership fee costs 200NT dollars for *Bai Ling* basketball players and 300NT dollars for *Xiaomo* softball players. One thing to be noted here is that both membership fees only cover six months, which means the membership needs to be renewed every six months after it expires. This rule reflects the unstable attendance of players. According to my observation, a good amount of players in both *Bai Ling* and *Xiaomo* are working professionals. These players sometimes have business trips or errands, sometimes need to go home on the ball practice day. Another great proportion of members is student. For them, family, schoolwork, extracurricular activities, and examinations all constitute reasons for absence. Therefore the reason why memberships in both teams only last six months is to ensure that players could withdraw at their earliest convenience if their schedules are in conflict with the ball practice. Also the membership fees can serve as budget for purchasing miscellaneous equipment and accessories for the ball practice. In addition to the formal expenditure, in *Bai Ling* Basketball Team, the membership fees are also spent monthly in celebrating birthdays of players who were born in the same month.

Another indicator showing the structure of both teams is the team jersey both team members possess. Since team jerseys are only worn on official competitions, owning team jerseys demonstrates the regular frequency of a team participating in

competitions. Moreover, jerseys also symbolize the unity of team members. Wearing a jersey embroidered with team logos or team names reinforces the identification with the team for the players.

Another characteristic of both sports groups is the organization and division of work. Not only do both groups hold member meetings to discuss practice, revenue and expenditure, publicity, and recreational activities but they also elect designated candidates to be responsible for different affairs. Take *Bai Ling* basketball team for example, it has an administration division, general affairs division, documentation division, training division, activity division, and a medical division. Literally speaking, the administration division is in charge of decision-making while the general affairs division is responsible for finance and coordination. The documentation division is to keep records and minutes of the team. The training division provides mentors to be responsible for the ball practice of different groups. The activity division is responsible for holding birthday celebrations each month and holding socials with other sports groups from time to time. The medical division provides first aid to secure the safety of team members. *Xiaomo* softball team also elects members to be responsible for different affairs, including a president, vice president, treasurer, coordinator, WWW forum monitor, and bulletin board monitor etc. The reasons the organization and division of work differentiate *Bai Ling* and *Xiaomo* from other gay/lesbian sports groups are multifold. It could be an inevitable part of maintaining a group with numerous members. It could be a characteristic of team sports like basketball and softball. It could be the intense identification with the sports groups that causes members to be willing to volunteer to keep the team working.

By comparison, the other gay/lesbian sports groups are more informal. Except *Shuinanhai* the swimming group which doesn't emphasize competition when

gathering, members in other gay/lesbian sports groups usually come to play the scrimmage or pickup games without really devoting themselves to the institutionalization of the sports groups. However, I am not arguing that gay/lesbian sports groups with more structure are better than informal gay/lesbian sports groups per se. On the contrary, my research suggests that the formality and informality of different sports groups enriches various presentations of play and play mood in the sports arena. What is more important is to see the hidden networking among individuals and sports groups. Since February 2004, *Shuinanhai* has started to contact various gay sports groups and plans to engage in dialogues with these groups. The motivation may be a political one such as recruiting more gay/lesbian people to engage in sports to counter the stigma of homosexuality; or the motivation may be just recreational like providing members in different sports groups opportunities to meet people. No matter what the real motivation is, one certain thing is that in the near future the structure of gay/lesbian sports groups as a whole will be more complex and more interaction among these groups will be expected.

Spatiality

Spatiality is a main element in constituting a performance. This has been discussed and analyzed by many performance theorists. Theorists like Richard Schechner want to expand the horizons of theater/ritual into everyday life and adopt a new perspective in reading everyday life as a performance; of course gay/lesbian sports groups can be considered in this light. In order to expand the scope of performance, it's necessary to magnify the spatiality of performance. Thus before discussing the spatiality of gay sports groups as a performance, different levels of space need to be addressed.

According to the panorama of the time-space-event chart Richard Schechner provides in the chapter “Magnitudes of Performance” in his book *By Means of Performance*, space can be divided into private space, local space, indoor space, general space and multispace etc. In this chart Richard Schechner has foreseen the performativity of sports and listed it on the chart along with other more traditional performance genres such as aesthetic theater, sacred ritual, secular ritual and social drama etc. In the category of sports, private space can be restricted like sports played at home; or private space can be open like sandlot baseball. Most of the gay/lesbian sports groups do sports in this private but open space, such as university playing fields and park playgrounds. What I mean by private is that the location gay/lesbian sports groups choose are usually not the top choices of straight athletes and therefore can dominate the playing fields or playgrounds by outnumbering their straight counterpart. However when straight athletes want to do sports together with the gay/lesbian athletes, the latter have no rights to refuse. Thus the space is still open to the general public. It's just the atmosphere of gay/lesbian sports groups that makes the space private and not easy to access for non-gay players. Local space is more welcoming to the general public, such as the local basketball league and volleyball league etc. So far as I know, no gay/lesbian sports groups are in the local sports league. At best they form their own sports league and hold regular competitions, like *Bai Ling* Basketball Team. This separatist politics from the heterosexual sports arena demonstrates how gay/lesbian players are uncomfortable to play in a total straight environment.

In terms of indoor space, it has been utilized more frequently for certain gay/lesbian sports groups, like *Hong Guang* Badminton Team, *Jinbaodian* badminton team, *Zhuoqiu Tonghaohui* the table tennis group and *Shuinanhai* the swimming group. The regular attendance of *Hongguang* and *Jinbaodian* is the main reason these

groups are able to rent an indoor badminton court. However, the expenses are much higher compared with gay/lesbian sports groups exercising in free outdoor space. *Zhuoqiu Tonghaohui* members play table tennis in open gym hours in a university gym; therefore their gathering time is determined by the schedule of open gym hours. As for the *Shuinanhai* swimming group, it's the most nomadic group of all gay/lesbian sports groups. As long as the group members have a consensus about where to swim on the weekends, they can swim indoors in expensive swimming pools or outdoors in public swimming pools. Sometimes they even travel to different parts of Taiwan to swim in various locations and socialize with other gay swimmers. General space, as implied by the name, is a space where people of different nationalities, races, sexes can all participate, such as Gay Games. The politics of "queering" the general space will be further discussed in chapter four with the instance of the Taiwan lesbian basketball team participating in 2002 Sydney Gay Games. Multispace refers to the concept of an event held in different locales like Olympics. I'd like to appropriate this concept to analyze the play mood of gay sports groups in the following accounts of spatiality of doing "gay" sports.

Despite the features of limited space, privacy, and exclusion from heterosexual players that characterize the spatiality of gay/lesbian sports groups, there are other forms of using space for gay/lesbian sports groups. The performance of gay sports takes place in various places, which is similar to the concept of multispace Richard Schechner defines Olympics. For instance, the Gay Volleyball Team and Bobo Volleyball Team gather every weekend on the same university playground. Due to the requirement of the volleyball rules, only two teams of six players each can compete at a time. The other members came up with a good way to kill time while waiting for their turn, i.e. playing poker games. This is a very unique sub-culture of gay

volleyball groups which is rarely seen in the pickup games or scrimmage of straight volleyball groups. Thus the performance of gay volleyball is extended from the volleyball court to the off-court poker games. The play mood reaches out from the physical exercise of volleyball to the mental and emotional interaction of gay players. In this example, we can see the creativity of gay sports groups and the intensified interaction among the gay members. I surmise that the performance of gay sports groups in multispace is to counter the day-to-day oppression of heterosexual space. By countering the normal expectations of playing only in the sports arena, gay sports groups like Gay Volleyball Team and Bobo Volleyball Team subvert the regulations of play. It's a postmodern reaction to the rationalization of most modern sports which emphasize set rules and fixed sports arena. Moreover, the integration of play and play mood in both gay volleyball groups on and off the sports arena help gay players to socialize with various team members rather than focus on competing and polarizing "self" (our team) and "other" (their teams).

Despite the positive maneuver of turning heterosexual space into queer space of gay/lesbian sports groups, sometimes these groups experience setbacks when searching for space to do gay/lesbian sports together. Below I will demonstrate this with two incidents. One is a lesbian informant being discriminated against on a basketball court. The other is a fight over the right of using a volleyball court among the *Heixingan* Volleyball Team, Bobo Volleyball Team and Gay Volleyball Team.

Paula, a lesbian informant who loves basketball, told me during my interview with her that as both a woman and a lesbian, she encountered a lot of discrimination from heterosexual men on the basketball court. She recounted that one time she went to a basketball gathering for lesbians and a bunch of heterosexual men came to take over the basketball court. These heterosexual men didn't even bother to ask whether

they could join in. Paula felt irritated and told them it was very rude of them to take over the place. Afterward Paula went away for a break and left her basketball under the basketball stands thinking she could come back later to play when these men went. To her surprise, she came back finding her basketball stuck with lumps of chewing gum where she had put it carefully under the basketball stands. When Paula carried her basketball away suspecting the unfriendly heterosexual men, they deliberately missed a shot and hit Paula. This incident is not just a singular event happening to Paula, but it illustrates a general discrimination towards female athletes in the sports arena, not to mention lesbian athletes. Many other lesbian informants had similar stories to Paula's.

If lesbian athletes were discriminated against in the heterosexual world, one might expect them to be respected when doing sports with their gay allies. However, this is not the case. This can be demonstrated by the quarrels between the *Heixingan*, Bobo and Gay volleyball teams. Among these three teams, the Gay Volleyball Team has been the first team in using this specific school volleyball court in Taipei since 1999 for their weekly gatherings. There are three volleyball courts in this particular school with one men's net in the middle and two women's nets on each side. Later, Bobo, another gay male volleyball team, was founded in December, 2002 and they also have their weekly gatherings in the same school using one women's net where many non-gay athletes have been playing. *Heixingan*, a lesbian team, was founded in July, 2003. In the beginning they had their volleyball gatherings on Monday evenings in a different school. Later they had occasional gatherings on Saturday in the same school where GVB and Bobo congregated. Then the disputes erupted between Bobo and *Hexingan* over who had the rights to play the women's net. Since Bobo had been playing the women's net, they treated *Heixingan* players as outsiders and asked them

to play the other women's net. However, the other women's net was too close to the ground-track and field. Once the ball was hit towards that direction, it took a long time for players to get it back. Therefore *Heixingan* members were reluctant to play in that inconvenient court. Later they played a scrimmage game against each other in order to decide which team could stay. During the play, *Heixingan* members were unsatisfied that Bobo players hit in the front row instead only in the back row and they even blocked *Heixingan* members' swings. *Heixingan* members thought that when playing mixed volleyball in the women's net, male players should respect female players by only hitting in the back row and not blocking the spike of female players. The result was Bobo beat *Heixingan*. This made *Heixingan* members dislike the atmosphere of playing volleyball with gay players.

In another unplanned gathering on November 22, 2003, *Heixingan* members were the first to come to the volleyball court. On that day all three courts were women's nets and *Heixingan* chose the most convenient middle court to play on so that the ball wouldn't roll too far to the ground-track and field. Soon GVB members arrived and discovered "their" court was occupied. Two of GVB members tried to reason with *Heixingan* leaders and asked them to use the other women's nets. *Heixingan* members refused and told them to adjust the other women's net into a men's net. This has caused many GVB members complain to me since I was acquainted with some of the *Heixingan* members. I told them how *Heixingan* was excluded previously by Bobo and how unfair it was that men could play both in women's net and men's net but not vice versa.

From the experience of Paula and *Heixingan* members, I have observed that an inequality of access to playing space exists between female athletes and male athletes in general. Female athletes, lesbian or straight, are treated as inferior in the sports

arena and their space in doing sports is not guaranteed despite the gender-specific facilities. For instance men take it for granted that they can play women's net in terms of the volleyball. In terms of gender-neutral facilities such as basketball or softball fields, female athletes are usually looked down upon by male players and it is common for male players to take over women's space. This is related with the boundary project of modern sport in terms of boosting male masculinity over female masculinity and will be further discussed in the gender politics section in the next chapter.

Temporality

When it comes to temporality, the gathering time varies according to the status of the members. Students are generally more available than the working members. For instance *Zhuoqiu tonghaohui* the table tennis group is mostly composed of students. Consequently they are more flexible in the gathering time such as in the weeknights. The majority of gay/lesbian sports groups have their gatherings on the weekends, thanks to the Two Days Off Per Week policy I mentioned in the beginning of this chapter. Besides, a relatively high percentage of lesbian athletes partake in more than one sports group. According to the 41 questionnaires I collected from the lesbian athletes, 5 people have participated in two different sports groups at the same time. This is probably related to the difficulty of maintaining a fixed number of people showing up at lesbian sports gatherings. For instance, before there were the *Heixingan* volleyball, *Ye Guang* basketball and *Jinbaodian* badminton teams, lesbian sports gatherings were usually contingent and held by lesbian awareness groups such as *Wo Men Zhi Jian* and *Lalainfo*. Now that there are fixed groups in various sports, of course lesbian athletes cherish the opportunity to have regular sports gatherings. The

best way for them to support lesbian sports is to fund various sports groups and participate. This explains the high percentage of lesbian athletes playing in more than one sports group.

In addition, the length of a sporting gathering is directly proportional to the amount of energy exerted and to the degrees of friendship between the members. For sports as intense as badminton and basketball, the actual playing time is typically shorter than less intense sports such as volleyball and table tennis. If the members are good friends, they usually extend the sporting gathering before and after the actual sports time by adding other activities, such as having lunch and dinner together, watching movies, playing mahjong etc.

If gay/lesbian sports are performances, then the performances should be viewed as activities that involve the recognition and identity politics of gay/lesbian athletics. Therefore the everyday online chat/posts, occasional outings, competition with other sports groups, warm-up before the sports, bodily movement in the sports, cooldown after exercise and aftermath of the sports gathering are all part of the performance called gay/lesbian sports. If we take temporality and spatiality into account, the scope of the performance of gay sports is large enough to challenge the general public as well as to unite the gay/lesbian athletes. These experiences of participating in gay/lesbian sports groups are unique in identity politics in the way in which they empower gay/lesbian athletes and encourage them to achieve the goals of the gay movement through doing gay sports.

Experience

Before there were gay/lesbian sports groups, gay men and lesbians didn't have many social outlets. School was probably the safest place for gay and lesbian youths

to access information about homosexuality and to make friends of their kind. In the society, the gay/lesbian bar is probably the meeting place for most gays and lesbians. However, as Masao Kashiwazaki points out about the limitations of the gay bar setting in his essay “Providing ‘Safe Spaces’ to Aid the Identity Formation Process of Japanese Gay Youth.”

Commercialism and sexual relations are the focal point of [gay/lesbian bar] where the patrons are expected to spend money and to negotiate complex human relations with little direct assistance. Although the gay bar scene may help gay youth to come to terms with the purely sexual aspects of their identity, it does little to help them integrate that into their larger social existence. (Masao, 1996: 490)

Even though Masao is addressing gay youth in Japan, I think it is also applicable to general gay men and lesbians in Taiwan. Developing an affirmative gay or lesbian identities involves accepting one’s sexual orientation, sexuality, and most important of all the socialization as a gay man or a lesbian. Socialization is important because gays and lesbians don’t live in a secluded environment. They need to learn how to cope with the prejudices and biases toward homosexuality and how to penetrate the stereotypes straight people have imposed on them. Gay/lesbian sports groups provide exactly the safe spaces and opportunities for gays and lesbians to support one another and develop affirmative gay and lesbian identities. In the 98 questionnaires, three informants have mentioned that their motivation in participating in gay/lesbian sports groups is based on the sense of belonging in the community. 71.4% admit that by participating in gay/lesbian sports groups, they get to accept their homosexual identities more than before. 41% have sought counseling from their sports partners when facing difficulties, such as pressure from work or school, financial problems,

and emotional swings. This has proved how significant gay/lesbian sports groups are in terms of forming an affirmative gay/lesbian identity within a society that is usually hostile to gays and lesbians.

Besides, gays and lesbians do sports together because they can freely and openly socialize with other congenial partners and express their sexuality. First let's look at the performance of sexuality of the lesbian players. As I observed in the weekly *Xiaomo* softball practice and the Lesbian Championship in the spring of 2003, the players were very relaxed and intimate when they were among other lesbian participants no matter whether the space was an open space, like the school softball field, or a private space, like school gyms rented to hold Lesbian Championships. Take *Xiaomo* softball team for instance, it is mostly composed of butch-identified lesbians. Some of their femme partners come to watch them practice or cheer during pick-up games with other women's softball teams. The softball field they regularly practice in is situated inside a school playing field, which means outsiders could easily observe the interaction among players. Nonetheless the couples and participants never try to conceal the sexual undercurrent or the same sex camaraderie. It's a common scene to see couples holding hands, hugging or even kissing. And friends could make comments or jokes about single femmes on the sidelines, like who is cute etc. Their acts and gestures that articulate and enact desires of the lesbian participants contradict the regulated sexuality of modern sport. Brian Pronger distinguishes the legitimate play from the illicit sex (including sexual desire) and lesbian sport is blurring the fine line between them. This is a liberating experience for these lesbians.

As for the sexuality of gay men in the sports arena, it is less obvious due to the general fear of showing gay sexuality in public. Nonetheless gay men in the sports arena are comparatively more subversive than their lesbian counterparts in languages

and in body movement. For instance, in the Gay Volleyball Team, some players call one another sister and love to identify themselves with professional female volleyball players instead with professional male volleyball players. When at play, these players deliberately exaggerate their body movement such as doing backhand spikes and screaming during defense. As far as I can recall, one time a member even rolled on the floor when retrieving a spike. After he missed it, he stayed on the floor and screamed “spotlight.” This was a rich performance filled with subversive oral and body language.

Since there is a show going in sports, we need to analyze the relationship of different layers of viewing and interaction among the participants and between the participants and non-participants. Richard Schechner illustrates this meta-performance theory in his essay “News, Sex, and Performance Theory”:

A person sees the event; he sees himself; he sees himself seeing the event; he sees himself seeing others who are seeing the event and who, maybe, see themselves seeing the event. Thus *there is the performance, the performers, the spectators; and the spectator of spectators; and the self-seeing-self that can be performer or spectator or spectator of spectators.* (Schechner 297, my emphasis)

To apply Schechner’s terms, the event is the gathering of gay/lesbian athletes. The players see this event while perceiving the presence of other spectators, i.e. friends and outsiders who happen to be there either exercising or just watching the game. The different individuals could choose to be a performer, spectator, or spectator of spectators. The performative of sexuality creates the slippage among these layerings of gazing and enacting. One can perform the female masculinity, make fun of gender stereotypes such as sissy gay men, and even express same-sex desire or camaraderie.

One can choose to observe the act knowingly or disagreeably without actually involving oneself in the performance, and one can just impartially probe into the performance and the act of seeing as a scholar or anthropologist, which is where this paper takes its stance.

Andy, a friend of one GVB volleyball player, has come to watch GVB volleyball games several times. At my request, he wrote down his experience as a spectator of the gay sports group GVB:

They are a team or even surpassing that, they are the game itself, an event that transcends the boundaries that keep them trapped in their own isolated little worlds. Suddenly they belong to something. They feel safe, they feel strong, they feel accepted, they have found refuge... Winning and losing play such a small part here. What is important is the sense of being part of something that allows the burden of self in isolation to dissolve, at least temporarily... Just watching them as a spectator, whether gay or straight, is an inspiration to break down whatever self-centered boundaries we have made for ourselves, that prevent us exploring our human potential.³³

His reflections as a spectator not only echo the experiences of the players, such as finding a sense of belonging, and forming affirmative gay identities but also foresee the function of gay sports groups in empowering gay/lesbian athletes and breaking the boundary project (Pronger).

Function

How function differs from experience is in the objective evaluation of gay/lesbian sports as a social movement and the subjective narration of the

³³ See appendix 7 for the complete contents of his reflections as a spectator of GVB Volleyball Team.

experiences of gay/lesbian athletes themselves. Below I will tentatively list two important functions provided by gay sports groups. One is the positive representation of homosexuals; the other is the empowering networking within the gay/lesbian sports groups and across different gay/lesbian organizations domestically and abroad.

Since the development of modern sport, sport has been an indicator of normalcy and health. As I quoted Brian Pronger in the first chapter about the various boundary projects of modern sport, modern sport elicits the one-sided association of different dichotomies, such as masculinity, heterosexuality, racial superiority, health, rationality and order, which is opposed to femininity, homosexuality, racial minority, sickness, irrationality and chaos. This rationale could be read as problematic when recognizing the positive representation of gay/lesbian sports and athletes. It's as if gay/lesbian athletes are doing sports in order to pass as normal. However, the opposite side of the coin is the transgressing power of gay sports in challenging the binary boundaries of modern sport. Thus the categories will be obscured and pluralism will take the place of boundary projects.

My hypothesis can be proved by the positive reports of gay/lesbian sports groups in the media. For instance, the student-run news website Sheng Ming Li (生命力) has done a story on the Xiaomo softball team. The reporter Zhang Si-jie ended her coverage with the following conclusion:

The existence of this sports group can bring positive images for homosexuals. The team members all hope not to be treated as minorities in the society. They believe that if the sexual orientation is not seen as abnormal, they will not be considered as marginal. (Zhang, 2002, my translation)³⁴

34 Sheng Ming Li news website in Chinese is 生命力公益新聞網. The report can be read online on

Many of my informants and interviewees have seconded this positive image gay sports can bring forth. In the questionnaire, I asked my informants to express what images they thought gay sports can bring for homosexuals. 35% mentioned a healthy image, 28% mentioned a sunny image, while 10% mentioned a positive image. It's very consistent both inside the gay/lesbian sports groups and outside in the society to agree upon the destigmatization effect of gay/lesbian sports. Of course the problematics will be what qualities are ostracized in the destigmatization process. Is it femininity? Is it sickness? Is it unspeakable sexuality? These questions will be further discussed in the following chapter.

As for the networking in gay/lesbian sports, I want to analyze it within the gay/lesbian sports groups and across different gay/lesbian organizations domestically and abroad. The former is networking that emphasizes identification and support while the latter is networking that involves cooperation and gay activism. The experience of gay/lesbian athletes within the gay/lesbian sports groups can be counted as the first kind of networking in which participants seek support and recognize their sexualities. The latter networking can be demonstrated by different events involving communication and cooperation among different sports groups and organizations like twice-yearly Lesbian Championship, Rainbow Games and Lesbian Championship in 2000, participation in Gay Games in 2002, the Gay Parade in 2003 etc. These events wouldn't have been possible without the gay/lesbian volunteers who did all the coordinating and fund raising. Moreover, some of the events require publicity in the media and financial support from the government, such as the Rainbow Games and Lesbian Championship, participation in the 2002 Sydney Gay Games and the 2003 Gay Parade. These experiences unite gay/lesbian athletes, volunteers, and activists in

creating a network by which a social movement can be made possible. There is still much potential.

A current project initiated by *Shuinanhai*, the swimming group, is an electronic bulletin board named GaySports whose main purpose is to continue the networking and dialogue among different gay sports groups and eventually with lesbian sports groups and gay/lesbian activist groups. A recent plan is to congregate gay sportlovers in different gay sports groups to participate in Nike Taipei International Expressway Marathon on March 28, 2004. Even though these players will compete against one another and they won't highlight their sexualities in the marathon, the significance of the assembly is how communicative channels have been built across these gay sports groups and how in the future the networking can be utilized for other social campaigns and gay movement.

After discussing the two functions—visibility and networking—gay sports groups have, the next chapter will deal with the body politics and gender politics of gay sports in which some boundary projects are deconstructed and some are yet to be transgressed.

Chapter Three

Body Politics

Despite the fact that there are fixed and universal rules in most team sports, I'd like to argue that the body politics of gay/lesbian athletes are very different from the heterosexual ones. These body politics include speech acts, representation of one's body, aesthetics of outfits, and blatant display of sexuality. However, as I noted from the interviews and questionnaires, the body politics of gay and lesbian athletes are very different. Thus I will discuss the body politics of gay and lesbian athletes separately.

In terms of body politics of gay athletes, the speech acts of sarcasm and humor are practiced distinctively. For instance, in the Gay Volleyball Team, almost everyone has a nickname based on volleyball skills and appearance. One team member is nicknamed Serena Williams because he spikes very hard as the tennis player smashes the tennis ball. Another reason is that the member is quite tanned and likes to mimic the howl of Serena Williams in a tennis rally. In addition, when at play, the players identify themselves or others as women's professional volleyball players according to specific situations. For example, some players might call themselves the Japanese team or the Korean team once they find out their average height is much shorter compared with their opponents in a scrimmage game. Similarly some players will be dubbed as Russian female players if they are tall and hit the ball the way Russian players do. It's also common for gay members to call one another sister. In the Gay Volleyball Team, there used to be a group named Shi Jiemei (十姐妹), literally meaning "ten sisters" to symbolize their unique friendship. I also found this phenomenon in the *Bai Ling* Basketball Team where there was *Bai Ling San Duo Hua* (百齡三朵花).

In addition to the names of the players, the naming of events and teams are very creative as well. The Gay Volleyball Team has held several gay volleyball championships with different themes such as “The War of the Fairies”(仙女們的戰爭) and “The Battle of the Men”(Man貨大亂鬥). The winners were required to don a tiara and hold a magic wand. The names of teams in these championship are very special too, such as “Russian team”(惡螺絲), “Italian team”(一大粒), “Brazilian team”(G!芭吸) etc. In these examples, the team names are sexually explicit with the implications like screws (螺絲), a big one (一大粒) and sucking cocks (G!芭吸). By naming and uttering these terms, gay players blatantly reclaim their sexuality in a humorous way. Linguistic philosopher J. L. Austin once discovered the performative feature of language when one makes a promise and a curse etc. Following Austin’s belief, John R. Searle developed his theory of “speech acts:”

The unit of linguistic communication is not, as has generally been supposed, the symbol, word, or sentence, or even the token of the symbol, word, or sentence, but rather the production or issuance of the symbol or word or sentence in the performance of the speech act. To take the token as a message is to take it as a produced or issued token. (Searle, 1969: 16)

This theory of speech acts is how I tie up the rhetoric of gay humor with performance. By using gender-subversive and sex-related terms to describe players or teams, the actions of speech have helped the gay players to transgress the boundaries of gender and challenge moral surveillance on sexuality.

As for the representation of body, gay men are more comfortable in exposing their upper torso than straight men. This not only happens in the *Bai Ling* Basketball Team where this practice is common, but also in the Gay Volleyball Team. In fact, different sports evoke different body imaginings. Basketball is a sport in which

players usually take off their shirts not just in the gay context but in the completely straight scene as well. This has to do with the buddy-buddy relationship in basketball games. Basketball players are comfortable hugging each other or patting on the shoulders of partners after a good defense or scoring. The contact with body is frequent and thus is a good way for gay players to express their sexuality without being suspected when they play with straight basketball athletes. For instance, one informant, Tony, told me some *Bai Ling* basketball players would deliberately take advantage of this particular body practice in basketball to have closer body contact with straight basketball players. Unlike with basketball, players rarely strip off their shirts when playing volleyball. Nonetheless, in the Gay Volleyball Team, several players like to bare their backs to attract the attention of the other players. Exposing the body has become a way to disclose gay sexuality. This also holds true for *Shuinanhai* members, in and off the swimming pool. One informant, Simon, told me in the swimming gathering, people would lean against one another's back without embarrassment. After getting used to exposing one's body and seeing others' bodies, the body politics has reinforced self confidence and extended itself to daily representation of body for these gay swimmers. Simon recounts:

I used to stay in a men's dorm and I felt that I should always wear pants and T-shirts or proper clothes. But since I participated in the gay swimming group, I usually walk around in my apartment wearing underwear even when friends are visiting. This is the same for the other two roommates who are also members of *Shuinanhai*. To a degree, the body politics in the gay swimming group influences how we look at our bodies in daily life. As long as friends who visit are from *Shuinanhai*, my roommates and I won't deliberately try to conceal our bodies from them because we are used to

seeing one another this way in the swimming pool.

From Simon's statement, we can grasp a general idea of how participating in a gay sports group can influence one's body image.

Another interesting body politics for gay athletes is the emphasis on the aesthetics of their outfits. This phenomenon is most prevalent in *Shuinanhai* the swimming group. According to my informant Simon, specific swimwear is expected:

In terms of swimwear, most members prefer wearing the famous brand, Arena. As a matter of fact, besides swimming in them, *Shuinanhai* members love modeling their bikini swimsuits. There used to be this member who wore swimming trunks whose brand is not well-known. The other members ridiculed him and threatened to exclude him because they considered it essential to wear bikini style swimsuits. Some people even have ten bikinis or more. Besides, the sides of a bikini are expected to be a certain width. Usually the narrower the sides are the sexier people would think you are.

This philosophy of outfits is not exclusive to *Shuinanhai*. In other sports, some gay athletes love to wear fashionable sportswear including shirts, shorts, socks, or even shoes to make themselves stand out above the rest. I assume this may be because the gay players want to outperform the straight athletes since they have usually suppressed their individuality in the public due to their sexuality. The special attention to clothing is an implicit way to reassert their sense of being, including the sense of existence and the sense of pride.

As for the display of sexuality, it is usually under the cover of doing sport. For instance, as I mentioned earlier, gay basketball players take advantage of the inevitable contact with other players such as hugging, patting on the shoulder, head

and buttock et cetera while *Shuinanhai* members lean against one another's back in the swimming pool. Since sport is a positive and supposedly "sex-free" activity, the straight athletes or spectators on the scene will not question the homoerotic behavior among these gay athletes. It will only be considered as manly camaraderie. Scholar Alan Dundes has done an analogous queer reading of sport back in 1980 in the essay "Into the Endzone for a Touchdown." Dundes employs a psychoanalytic reading on folk speech, idioms and metaphors related to American football and exemplifies how sexual and homoerotic American football can be. His quote from David Kopay, one out homosexual in professional football, recapitulates the hidden sexuality I observe among gay athletes in gay sports groups in Taiwan:

David Kopay, despite suggesting that for a long time football provided a kind of replacement for sex in his life and admitting that football is "a real outlet for repressed sexual energy," refuses to believe that "being able to hold hands in the huddle and to pat each other on the ass if we felt like it" is necessarily an overt show of homosexuality. Yet I think it is highly likely that the ritual aspect of football...is a form of homosexual behavior. (Dundes, 1980: 209)

Besides body contact, the gaze is another expression of gay sexuality. Many informants have admitted that they have discussed with other gay members straight athletes who are on the same or a different playground. For instance, Howard, the current leader of the Gay Volleyball Team, told me about this gaze:

It occurred quite often that some GVB members didn't concentrate on playing volleyball. Instead they paid attention to the basketball players on the basketball court. Sometimes some members even went near to watch them play. It's very cute for these members to express their sexuality so

directly.

This code of looking is unique for homosexuals. The gaze is a way not only to express one's sexuality but to engage an identity politics for discussing same-sex desire. That's why another member Chris told me the difference between the gaze in the Gay Volleyball Team and in the school volleyball team.

In the school team I can only gaze at other players without sharing, but here in the Gay Volleyball Team I can share my gaze with other gay athletes. It's a warm feeling.

The warm feeling Chris brought up responds to the identification process I mentioned as the gaze opens up dialogues among gay athletes and reinforces their identity as homosexuals.

As for the body politics of lesbian athletes, the representation of one's body is the major manifestation. Unlike exposing one's body and having close body contact with other teammates as gay athletes do, lesbian athletes express their sexuality and female masculinity by appearance and mannerisms, especially for T-identified lesbians. In terms of appearance, a high percentage of these lesbian players wear short hair and defy feminine clothing such as skirts. In addition, it's a common practice for T-identified lesbian athletes to practice breast binding or wear bind-bras. For instance, Jessica from *Heixingan* told me over fifty percent of *Heixingan* members have worn bind-bras or practiced breast binding. Another informant Mini, who participates both in *Heixingan* and *Xiaomo*, told me the breast binding culture is even more prevalent in *Xiaomo*. As a matter of fact, based on interviews and questionnaires, the four lesbian sports groups (*Xiaomo*, *Jinbaodian*, *Ye Guang*, *Heixingan*) in my research are mostly composed of T-identified lesbians, which accounts for the general masculine appearance and mannerisms of lesbian athletes.

When asked about interactions when engaging in sports, my informants told me body contact is subdued to the accepted forms of clapping hands, patting on the shoulder and on the head but rarely on the buttock. Based on this observation, I speculate that lesbian athletes have very different interpretations of accepted intimacy among friends than gay athletes. Nonetheless, the gaze and discussion of other members' bodies also exist in lesbian athletic culture even though it is more subdued. For instance Jessica said:

I appreciate female athletes with great bodies. But when I am playing volleyball, I don't discuss this with other people. I only think about how in shape someone is and how cute someone's butt is. Usually I think within my head instead of saying it out loud. When I am watching other people play, I will compliment blatantly and jokingly "what a beautiful butt" or "I really want to touch that butt" etc.

Besides, lesbian athletes surround themselves with an aura of solemnity when doing sports instead of using camp or gender-subversive humor. Jane and Connie from *Xiaomo* confided this difference on speech acts to me:

In terms of humorous talk, it only happens among close friends but generally it's not a common practice. For instance, if you know someone is fat, you will avoid using the word "fat" in front of that person.

Comparatively speaking, gay men are more gifted in manipulating language. Their way of talk and humor make me laugh all the time.

However, sometimes lesbians do joke about their bodies humorously and sexually. One time I did a field observation with *Heixingan* group. After playing volleyball, we went to a restaurant to have a snack and chat. That day one lesbian member hurt her hand. Other members joked how this injury will cause dissatisfaction of the lover of

this member. To my surprise, these lesbian athletes were quite open-minded making such jokes with sexual implications. So despite the fact lesbian athletes are solemn and serious when playing sports, off the sports arena they also perform humor rhetorics as a way to confirm their sexuality.

Gender Politics

If the body politics mentioned above demonstrate the performing aspect of body, speech, and sexuality in gay/lesbian sports, then my discussion of gender politics in this section aims to analyze how gay and lesbian athletes relate individually to gender issues such as femininity, masculinity, gender, and agency.

In the gay context, some people I interviewed consciously pointed out the greatest difference between gay sport and straight sport was the fun that some “effeminate” men brought to the playing-field with their flamboyant demeanor, boisterous screams and laughter, and incessant wisecracks, which are analyzed in the previous body politics section of gay athletes. For instance, Chris, an informant from GVB, explained the difference between playing volleyball in the school team and in GVB:

The school team is low-keyed. Unlike here (GVB), where players are more relaxed and they have more fun. Both their speech and body movement are fancy, like the fairies. There are no fairies in the school team. The fairies scream and dig balls “elegantly”. Besides, it’s fun to see them act like girls...the more fairies the merrier.

Fairy (仙女) in Chinese is an euphemistic way to describe effeminacy and sissy behavior. However, it’s one thing to admit the pleasure of seeing fairies but another to admit oneself as one.

Some informants confided in me about the uneasiness and embarrassment they felt in the presence of these effeminate men. I attribute this to the general fear of gay men being labeled as “feminine.” In other words, in spite of the transgressing and challenging qualities of gay body politics, there is underestimated sissyphobia (Bergling) among gay men, including gay athletes. According to Tim Bergling, the author of *Sissyphobia: Gay Men and Effeminate Behavior*, sissyphobia is a disavowal of “qualities historically attributed to women.. [such as] weakness, timidity, delicacy...unmanly, unvirile.” (Bergling, 2001: 4) Bergling suggests that sissyphobia not only exists in the straight society but also exists in the gay community. This can be illustrated by the informant Chris, who had a good time with fairies around but had concerns about sissiness when playing official volleyball games.

If there is a sissy teammate when playing an official volleyball game, I'd feel quite embarrassed. I haven't encountered such situations. One time it's because the game (Gay Volleyball Championship) was held outdoors. Since I couldn't protect myself, I left the place as soon as the game ended.

What Chris was referring to was the tradition of putting on tiara and holding magic wands in Gay Volleyball Championship in the post-game ceremony. In Chris' account, the game was held outdoors where gay athletes were under the heterosexual gaze. This gaze made Chris afraid to be labeled as a sissy or even reveal his homosexuality. Another informant Chad from BoBo revealed the same anxiety. He said, “I can accept feminine behavior in the playing-field as long as it doesn't take place all the time.” As both a researcher and participant in gay sports, I have to question myself all the time about whether gay sports inherit the boundary projects of modern sport or challenge them. I am trying to reveal some truths about how some gay men contradict themselves when talking about femininity and sissiness and how

these prevailing attitudes may be caused by socialization and cultural prejudice that gay men themselves are not always completely aware of as a contradiction.

There is not an absolute equation between being gay and being a sissy even though effeminacy is a stereotypical indicator of male homosexuality for both gays and straights. Since modern sport values masculinity, aggressiveness, leadership and skills, especially in competitive team sports, I am curious about what will happen when effeminate gay athletes participate in gay sports groups. Will they conform to the standards of “proper” male masculinity in sports or will they challenge the ideology of masculinity or femininity per se? After several years of participant observation and recent interviews and questionnaires, I think effeminacy works both ways in gay sports groups. As I analyzed previously in the body politics section, some gay men deliberately mimicked the body language of females and talked girlishly. This can all be seen as practice of effeminacy or sissiness and it challenges the fixed gender expressions of men. If effeminacy is read this way, then it can resist the boundary project. However, effeminacy also is met by sissyphobia within gay sports groups as illustrated from the previous remarks from Chris and Chad. If effeminacy is read this way by the athletes themselves, we have to put a question mark on whether gay sports could break the boundary project of gender in sports. So how can I as a researcher justify what I observe in gay body politics as positive and not negative?

There is still one aspect concerning effeminacy I have not yet disclosed, which is the agency of performing effeminacy. Effeminacy can be intrinsic and it can also be performed. This complicates the effects of effeminacy I mentioned previously. Many informants honestly told me that they don't mind being referred to as sissies even though in daily life they are not. From the rhetoric, we can presume that they are afraid to admit their effeminacy. On the one hand, this could be understood as the

reason that they can “pretend” to be sissies but not really “be” sissies. But another possibility is that they are not afraid of effeminacy and by “performing” effeminacy they want to defy the fixed gender expression of masculinity.³⁵ This reading makes effeminacy playful and full of possibilities because the agency is in the hands of the gay athletes. The agency trivializes the question of whether one is really a sissy or not. What matters is what can be performed as “effeminate” and what can be performed as “sissy-like.” If this behavior makes a stir or makes people laugh, it may as well make people reflexive about the underlying ideology of masculinity. For instance, Kay, a narrator from GVB, told me about his practice of effeminacy:

In the school team, I played volleyball seriously. But not that much is expected from the players in Gay volleyball team. Everyone just plays for fun. That’s why the body language of players is expressive and there is no need to hide anything. For instance, some players scream. There are also sissies. It’s fun this way. I don’t reject this behavior and I am not embarrassed by it either. Sometimes I even act that way (sissy)...this is the culture of gay community.

Kay doesn’t categorize himself as a sissy but from his talk we know he is one of the practitioners of effeminacy. It’s exactly this self-conscious agency of performing effeminacy that can defy the boundary project of gender.

Socialization and cultural prejudice work hand in hand in terms of maintaining the masculinity myth. As Taiwan has incorporated western sport since the colonial period, sport has become an apparatus to turn boys into men and to turn men into combative armed forces. Even though girls also received physical education, the

³⁵ This is why many gay athletes used the term “performing sissiness” (裝 C) when they described the effeminate behavior of other gay athletes or themselves. They are aware that effeminacy is something that can be deconstructed and further analyzed.

purpose and training were obviously different. Today physical education, especially for boys, is still highly valued because it serves as a rite of passage for them. Violent and struggling sports (Pronger) are encouraged for boys to participate in while girls are encouraged to do more aesthetic sports and less violent sports or struggling sports. This has to do with the social expectations on masculinity and femininity. This also leads to an overemphasis on masculinity and a contempt of effeminacy in male sports. Since sports can be categorized into violent sports, struggling sports and aesthetic sports, below I want to situate the gay sports groups in these categories and analyze whether there are differences in relation to the attitudes about effeminacy and masculinity in different sports.

Current gay sports groups cover five different sports including basketball, badminton, table tennis, volleyball and swimming. Basketball is probably the most violent sport of all because it involves a lot of physical contact during games. Badminton, table tennis and volleyball are similar sport types in which players compete with opponents on two different sides with a net separating them. Due to this format of net sports, players from different sides hardly ever knock into one another like basketball players do. The only possible hit comes from the ball itself. As for swimming, it is probably the most nonviolent sport of all, not to mention *Shuinanhai* swimming gathering emphasizes more on interaction among swimmers than real competitions like who swims faster. It's these different characteristics that have created a myth among the general public as well as gay athletes that some sports are more masculine than others. Here basketball is on the top of the hierarchies of masculinities in sports.

Many informants agreed that basketball is a more masculine sport. For instance, Chris, a member of Gay Volleyball Team, has played basketball once with *Bai Ling*

basketball players. He commented that Bai Ling players are more macho compared with volleyball players in GVB. Angus, also a member of GVB, explained that volleyball is usually considered as a female sport and therefore people think it is not a very masculine sport compared with basketball. Tony from *Bai Ling* described his impression of gay basketball players when he first joined *Bai Ling*:

The first time I went to *Bai Ling*, I was very surprised. I saw this group of basketball players that didn't look gay at all. They had crew cuts, they were sun-tanned, they worked out in gyms and they wore tank tops. I had not known at that time these qualities were part of gay subculture. I felt very intimidated by these images.

From the description of Tony, I observe that Tony associates homosexuality with effeminacy. Therefore when he saw masculine sports apparel, masculine bodies and demeanor on *Bai Ling* athletes, it was difficult for him to cope with. However, as he mingled with other teammates, he started to see a wide spectrum of different gender expressions in other members:

Later I discovered some players had very interesting body movement when playing basketball. There was this tall, skinny and sissy guy who bent his wrist all the time and swung his body unlike other players. When he hit a shot, he would run around the basketball court flamboyantly or lay on the ground like a lady.

Indeed, like what Chris, Angus, and Tony pointed out above, basketball players do in general look bigger and tougher, but it doesn't mean basketball players are necessarily masculine, such as the example Tony provided. This association between hyper-masculinity and basketball can be attributed to the influence of NBA culture and the media portrayals of basketball athletes. Tony described this influence from the

media:

We incorporate many values from the mainstream society when playing basketball, especially from the media. The media portrays basketball as a specific type of sport to demonstrate masculinity and naturally we conform to this ideology in the basketball court. *Bai Ling* members used to be less serious when playing basketball but now many of us play aggressively. To a certain degree this aggressiveness is taken as a way to perform masculinity.

The ideology of masculinity permeates basketball via the influence of media. Similarly, media can also impose different body images on different sports and create the myth of hierarchies of masculinity in different sports. Below I want to talk about two films that contribute to this body imaginings of gay athletes. One is *Iron Lady* and the other is *Waterboys*.

Iron lady talks about the story of a volleyball team from Lampang in Thailand defying the odds and the prejudice of others to make it to the national championships of Thailand. The team is composed of a group of friends of whom only the captain is straight. Interestingly, the Chinese translation of this film is *Ren Yao Da Paiqiu* (人妖打排球), which literally means “Transsexuals Play Volleyball”. *Ren Yao* in Chinese is a very derogative term usually used to describe Thai transsexual performers in night clubs or to describe men who dress, act or look like women.³⁶ Even though in the film most characters are portrayed as effeminate and flamboyant, they are not cross-dressers. Only one character in the film is transsexual. Therefore, the Chinese translation of the film is very misleading. Besides, the portrayals of vivid, sissy and

³⁶ According to the definitions of the online Chinese dictionary approved by Ministry of Education, *Zenyao* refers to (1) people with weird behavior and who do other people harm (2) transsexuals (3) sarcastic term to describe ugly people who overdress or put too much makeup.

comic-like gay volleyball players also reinforce the stereotypes of volleyball as a feminine sport, especially when gay men do it. Personally, I have heard people use *Ren Yao Da Pai Qiu* to describe gay men playing volleyball when I told them I am a member of the Gay Volleyball Team. Some other GVB informants also had similar experiences. From this naming of gay volleyball as *Ren Yao Da Pai Qiu*, we can see how the film has inscribed a specific cultural and gender imagination on general public about gay volleyball athletes.

If the film *Iron Lady* to a certain extent encourages the association that gay volleyball athletes are effeminate, then the film *Waterboys* also suggests that swimmers' bodies can be aesthetic and elegant instead of conforming to the orthodox masculinity with its aggressive and feisty behavior in ball games. *Waterboys* is a story of five lousy swimming club members striving to learn synchronized swimming, which is considered an extremely non-manly sport in Japan. The five members are not the typical manly or masculine type of athletes. The captain Suzuki is a failure in competitive swimming. The other four members consist of a basketball team quitter, a nerd, a muscle pursuer, and of course a sissy gay. These sports misfits in the end survive different trials and tests and succeed in putting on a synchronized swimming performance along with other classmates and schoolmates. However, despite the uplifting happy-ending, the casting of five sports misfits in *Waterboys* has somehow conformed to the idea that swimming is not a masculine type of sport and only sports misfits can win back their dignity through mastering synchronized swimming, which is taken for granted as a female sport. In fact, if synchronized swimming didn't attract female students from a neighboring girls' school, I don't think in the end other classmates and schoolmates would participate. After all in the beginning of the story, the swimming club is looked down by athletes from other school teams, especially the

basketball team. The hierarchies of different sports are self-evident.

From the real life experiences of my informants to the cultural texts of the two films *Iron Lady* and *Waterboys*, I want to suggest that different masculinities are imagined and categorized in gay sports via the representation of athletes in the media and cultural industries such as film, arts or novels. As my informant Craig reasoned:

Every gay sport group consists of both sissy gay men and manly gay men. People who excel in a certain sport supposedly have the relevant build and body language related to that particular sport. That is the reason why we think basketball players are tall and muscular, volleyball players are tall and skinny, and badminton players are swift in their movement. These outward representations of body might be the reasons for the stereotypes of [different masculinities in different sports.]

As Craig pointed out, representations of the body coerce the generalization of certain sports as more masculine than others. This can take the form of the lauding of the body representations of NBA athletes. Or alternatively, it can be the deifying of a nation-wide popular and skilled sport, such as baseball in Taiwan. Being gay and being in the sports groups bring up issues such as homosexuality and effeminacy, internalized sissyphobia, and the myth of hierarchies of masculinities in various sports. Only by cross-examining the experiences of gay athletes from different sports alongside the influences of media and cultural industry can we reconsider the relevance and causality of these issues. This is what we have to look at when analyzing the gender politics of gay athletes.

In the lesbian context of gender politics, the butch femme interaction in the sports arena has been a contested terrain for butches between impartiality and respect towards femmes. Based on my observation and interviews, I discover that most

lesbian athletes claim themselves to be butches. Take *Xiaomo* for instance, of the members of this team only one member Ellie claims herself to be femme. As a femme and not being very athletic, Ellie sometimes experiences unintentional jeers from other butch members. In one field observation in January, 2004, I witnessed this interesting interaction between pitcher Teresa and Ellie. In this softball practice, Teresa was throwing groundballs for Ellie to catch. However, because of the speed and irregular jumps of the groundballs, Ellie screamed a couple of times and missed catching the groundballs. Then Teresa yelled, “Ellie, remember you are a P, a player, not a Po (婆) ok?” The other members who stood around almost all laughed to this pun. In this particular case, Ellie was expected to meet the requirement of catching the groundballs despite the fact that she is the only femme in the team. She did not get any special treatment. The butch players treat her impartially. Yet not every interaction between butches and femmes is as unequivocal as this one.

In general, the interactions between butches and femmes are much more troublesome than the one described above. To begin with, it’s almost a rule of thumb for butches to treat femmes gently and politely as heterosexual men treat heterosexual women. Yet in sports it’s inevitable to play tough and rough in order to pursue for victory. Under these two mentalities between courtesy and victory, it’s hard for butch players to make up their mind whether to play fair or play weak with femme opponents. One informant Helen, a self-identified butch athlete, told me her experience when playing basketball with femmes:

I don’t like to keep reminding myself who are butches and who are femmes when I do sports. Some butches think that butches have to respect femmes when doing sports together and it’s better to reduce physical contact with femmes. I can’t believe this is required. One time I stole a ball from a

femme player in a basketball game, and other butch players blamed me for this. Personally I don't feel like reserving any physical capability when I play against femmes.

Helen's account describes the complex interaction between butches and femmes. Besides, it also shows how in general butches presume that femmes are physically and technically inferior. That's why out of politeness, butches have to play weak and gentle against femme players. However, this polite play has a limit. As Helen added to her previous remark, "if a femme blocks a butch's shot, the butch will be laughed at or even booed." It's a very tricky mentality of butches that Helen brought up here. As a butch athlete, there is a certain pride or dignity to be defended. Lesbians who believe in butch and femme identities tend to appropriate heterosexual beliefs that masculinity overrides femininity in terms of physicality and athletics. However, female masculinity has its own ways of manifestation and it's not a feature that only characterizes butch athletes. Femme athletes can also possess this quality of female masculinity in terms of doing sports. Helen is not reserving any physical capability towards femmes in sports shows a new aspect considering butch-femme relationship: believing in butch femme identities doesn't mean treating femmes as secondary or thinking butches should be athletically superior to femmes. This is a new anti-boundary project related to butch-femme interaction in sports waiting to be further discussed and engaged in.

The other characteristic of lesbian athletes is the avoidance of sexuality in the sports arena. This can be interpreted that lesbians consider sexuality as private, something not to be meddled with unless other lesbians bring the issue up themselves, such as consulting friends about relationships. Besides, this can also be interpreted as suggesting that sports are treated seriously and the issue of sexuality or relationships

in the sports groups is seen to cause disturbance and chaos to the maintenance of sports groups. For instance, Jane, a narrator from *Xiaomo* Softball Team, explained this phenomenon of avoiding sexuality in the sports arena:

There is an unwritten rule in *Xiaomo* which is intimacy is not allowed in the presence of other members. If a couple breaks up in *Xiaomo*, one will undoubtedly leave...Doing sport is a healthy and decent activity while sexuality and desire are very private personal matters. Therefore, sexuality and desire are only allowed under the table or out of the sports arena. After all, it is not worthy to sacrifice the harmony of the sports groups with pursuing personal pleasures.

From Jane's description, we can see the traces of one of the boundary projects of modern sport that Brian Pronger mentions: legitimate play and illicit sex. Besides, there is a clear delineation between public and private matters, such as play is public and sexuality is private.

Speaking of the division between public matters and private matters, some people might argue that the personal is political. Indeed, sexuality shouldn't be avoided and shunned away just because mainstream society treats it as private. Yet, the previous illustration of how sexuality is avoided shows how systematic the social scrutiny is and how sexuality is stigmatized. For bisexual athletes, avoiding talking about their own sexuality and sexual identification has another layer of meaning. It responds to the general misunderstanding of bisexuality per se by the mainstream gay and lesbian members. Despite the umbrella GLBT, bisexuals are often treated as outsiders in the gay movement and campaigns, which are mostly run by gays and lesbians. Even in gay/ lesbian sports groups, bisexuals often feel estranged for their sexuality. This estrangement of bisexual players can be epitomized as the political

dilemma bisexuals face in identity politics in everyday life.

Besides avoiding talking about sexuality, female bisexual athletes tend to use ambiguous identification, such as claiming to be *bufen* (不分), to protect their bisexual identity. *Bufen* (不分) means gender neutral; it is also a refusal to be categorized as either butch or femme. Betty, member of *Heixingan*, told me how reluctant she was to talk about her sexuality when other butch athletes assume masculine acting members to be lesbians. As a bisexual, Betty felt estranged emotionally among other butch identified athletes. She knew she could be despised if she “came out” to other lesbian members as bisexual. This fear has coincided with the misunderstanding and accusation of bisexual women as “sleeping with the enemy.” Betty’s testimony reveals that bisexuality in the queer community still remains marginalized subjects.

This dilemma of Betty shows how in lesbian sports there are still taboos and limitation. If the existence of lesbian sports groups is to provide lesbian athletes places to exert their energies and do sports without interference from the heterosexual society (such as discriminatory language and behavior Paula experienced in a basketball court which I mentioned in the spatiality section in chapter two), then discriminating bisexuals or less athletic femmes/butches in the lesbian sports groups contravenes the purpose of the establishment of lesbian sports groups. The discrimination occurs when a primary identity overlooks the existence of marginalized identities, such as butch-femme believers exclude bisexuals, *bufen* in the sports arena or athletic lesbian athletes look down on less athletic ones.

In connection with this exclusionary characteristic of identity politics, I propose to step out of one’s identity and rethink the possibilities of politics of difference. As social theorist Eli Zaresky describes:

The notion of identity involves negation or difference—something is something, not something else. Post-structuralists, such as Derrida, problematized identity, for example by arguing that identity presupposes differences, that it involves the suppression of difference, or that it entailed an endless process of deferral of meaning. Post-structuralism, therefore, contributed to the complication of identity politics by introducing what is sometimes termed a politics of difference, *a politics aimed less at establishing a viable identity for its constituency than at destabilizing identities, a politics that eschews such terms as groups, rights, value, and society in favor of such terms as places, spaces, alterity, and subject positions, a politics aims to decenter or subvert than to conquer or assert* (Zaresky 1994: 200, my emphasis)

Identity politics helps queers to found gay and lesbian sports groups, but it also repeats boundary projects such as excluding bisexuals, treating femmes as weaker athletes, and discriminating less athletic players. If politics of difference can be practiced among gay and lesbian sports groups, it helps to transgress boundary projects and implode the masculinity and femininity myth, prescribed gender expression, and the desire to win through aggression. Then this new politics will undoubtedly relate to what the gay movement also tries to achieve: legitimizing differences of sexuality and embracing similarities of humanity.

Chapter Four

Sporting Gays and the Gay Movement

In the introduction, I claim that gay/lesbian sports is a new kind of *tongzhi yundong* (gay movement) by relating them to the participation of three activities, including the Rainbow Games and Lesbian Championship (彩虹運動會暨雷斯盃) in 2001, the Gay Games in 2002, and the Gay March in 2003, without clarifying why these three activities qualify as the gay movement and what constitutes the gay movement.

The gay movement is one type of social movements that according to the *Encyclopedia of Sociology* involve “collective attempts to promote or resist change in a society or a group.” (1880) To promote change or to resist change depends on different contexts. In general, revolutionary movements and reform movements tend to pursue changes more than movements that are launched by the vested interests or the conservatives. So far as the gay movement in Taiwan is concerned, it is prone to promote change rather than to resist change. The concerns for change include the extant legal rights and human rights of LGBT individuals, the impression of homosexuals in the society, and last but not least, the acceptability of homosexuality.

Based on the concerns for change of the gay movement in Taiwan, we can position the three activities under the various goals of the gay movement. The Rainbow Games and Lesbian Championship provides a new image of homosexuals as healthy sportsmen in contrast to the common portrayals of homosexuals as criminals, perverts, and drug addicts in the media. The Gay Games functions similarly to the Rainbow Games and Lesbian Championship but with a further attempt for the localized gay and lesbian activists as well as athletes to learn from the experiences of

the gay movements in other regions and countries. The Gay March of 2003 focuses on marriage rights and children adoption of homosexuals. All in all, these three respective activities blend a plethora of political and attitudinal objectives to promote institutional change as well as ideological change concerning homosexuality. Therefore I assert that these three activities qualify as the gay movement.

Most movements require movement organizations to acquire and deploy resources, mobilize adherents, and plot strategy and tactics. In terms of the three activities mentioned above, various gay/lesbian sports groups undertake the responsibilities of movement organizations, such as Lalainfo and *Shuinanhai*. As a matter of fact, the correlation between the gay/lesbian sports groups and the three activities helps me to see the agency of gay/lesbian sports groups. Based on the observation of the agency, this research has so far explored the anti-boundary projects (Pronger) gay/lesbian sports groups engage in by means of body politics and gender politics. In this chapter, I intend to lay out the historical backgrounds of the respective activities and bring out issues of utilizing different strategies and tactics in these three activities.

The connection between gay/lesbian sports and movement was brought up by Zhong Zhaojia in her thesis “Movement Through Sport: An Analysis of ‘Les-Cup’ and Lesbian Identity.” Unlike Zhong’s approach to relate sport to movement by analyzing the empowerment of gathering, pleasure/leisure theory, and identity politics, this chapter intends to emphasize the problematics concerning coming out strategies, media voyeurism, nationalism, and the unique “masking” tactic of gay/lesbian athletes. These problematics reflect the heated debate in the gay community over sameness and diversity—i.e. whether to become accepted into the mainstream or to build a separate gay identity. For instance, Lesbian and Gay Civil Rights Movement (同志公民運動)

devise different activities each year. Some activities, such as the cross-dressing performance in the 2000 Rainbow Fair, has been criticized as imposing bad images of homosexuals on the minds of the public and marking homosexuals as different. Some activities, such as the Rainbow Games and Lesbian Championship, seek recognition from the public and intend to emphasize the similarity between homosexuals and heterosexuals. The deployment of masking in the Gay March is also interpreted differently. While some scholars posit that masking marks the difference, the shameful of homosexuals, some hold the opposite opinions about masking believing it's a good tactic to alleviate the family oppression as well as maintaining the subjectivity of homosexuals. The emphasis on patriotism rather than sexual identity of lesbian athletes in the 2000 Sydney Gay Games can be seen as a strategy to reassert the sameness between gay/lesbian and straight athletes at the cost of subsuming their sexual identity beneath national identity. I intend not only to pinpoint the contradiction and ambiguity of the problematics but also to demonstrate how the problematics can be interpreted as flexible and empowering tactics of burgeoning yet vulnerable gay/lesbian sports groups.

Rainbow Games and Lesbian Championship (彩虹運動會暨雷斯盃)

The reason why Rainbow Games and Lesbian Championship was made possible in Taipei in 2001 is indebted to years of holding Lesbian Championship in the lesbian community.³⁷

In the summer of 1996, one young ardent lesbian activist B.C. (her pseudonym) on her own launched the first sports meet for lesbians, including basketball and volleyball games. This event was later titled as the Lesbian Championship. In 1997, B.

³⁷ The sources for the historical information of Rainbow Games and Lesbian Championship can be referred to on the websites <http://glplay.ariesdog.com/> and <http://www.lalainfo.com.tw>

C. joined in Lalainfo, a cyber non-profit organization to help lesbians familiarize themselves with the Internet in order to build a virtual community of their own. With the resources and manpower of Lalainfo, the Lesbian Championship was held again in the summer of 1998; it eventually became a regular activity of Lalainfo. Since the third Lesbian Championship of 1999, the event became twice-yearly and was divided into two sections, the winter Lesbian Championship and summer Lesbian Championship. The winter Lesbian Championship is composed of badminton and ping-pong while the summer one is composed of basketball and volleyball.

In 2000, Department of Civil Affairs of Taipei City Government (台北市政府民政局) officially listed the expenses for holding Lesbian and Gay Civil Rights Movement (同志公民運動) annually in the municipal budget. Even though the name “The Lesbian and Gay Civil Rights Movement” sounds like a movement not an event, it is actually an annual government-sponsored activity to promote better understanding of the queer community. The theme of the activity each year varies. The activity of the first year (2000) was a Rainbow Fair in Warner’s Village in which Lalainfo participated. In the following year 2001, several gay/lesbian activist groups were planning to use the municipal funding to hold the first *Tongzhi* Athletic Meet. Since Lalainfo is very experienced in holding the Lesbian Championship, it eventually became the main organizer of Rainbow Games and Lesbian Championship.

In fact, in the beginning there were different opinions on the naming of the athletic meet. Gay activists from Taiwan Tongzhi Hotline Association and other gay activist groups proposed naming it “Rainbow Games,” but representatives from Lalainfo argued that the title of “Lesbian Championship” should be kept due to its historic significance in the lesbian community. In general lesbian activist groups, such

as Lalainfo, have been much aware of the potentials of developing lesbian sports groups in terms of assembling closeted lesbian athletes, recruiting lesbian volunteers in holding the Lesbian Championships, and empowering lesbian identities. By contrast, gay activist groups seldom work with gay sports groups to hold any gay sports activities or maintain any forms of networking. In the end, the organizer of Lalainfo convinced other gay activist groups to use a compromised title “Rainbow Games and Lesbian Championship” to symbolize the diversity of queer community by including the term “Rainbow Games,” and to emphasize the political significance of Lesbian Championship by including the phrase “Lesbian Championship.”

In this athletic meet, gay and lesbian athletes were well protected for fear of being unnecessarily outed. Only those who could come out greeted the media outside the old gym of National Taiwan University. Among these “outable” people, a group of gays and lesbians performed a cheerleading dance. These cheerleaders put on thick make-up to camouflage their faces as if they were wearing masks. Inside the gym, no photography was allowed. Therefore even though the public knew there were gay and lesbian athletes inside the gym, the players were safely shielded from the public scrutiny under the no-camera policy.

The spatial layout of Rainbow Games and Lesbian Championship reflects a new approach to protect gay/lesbian participants while still providing a “spectacle” for the media to report, such as the cheerleading dance. By defining the indoor gym “conditionally public” and cheerleading performance outside the gym “absolutely public,” gay/lesbian activist groups prevented the media’s paparazzi kind of photography. However, despite such efforts, the newspaper reports on the Rainbow Games and Lesbian Championship were still written in a voyeuristic tone. For instance, reporter Li Shuren from United Evening News (聯合晚報) wrote:

This was not the scene of the Thai film *Iron Lady* (人妖打排球). On the volleyball court a male player with a pony tail dug vigorously. The player acted rather feminine and looked rouged and powdered... [As for] lesbians on the basketball court... their breasts were flat, voices low, demeanor masculine. When they played basketball, they were as tough as men. It was hard to tell whether they were female from a distance.³⁸

The rhetoric of the report repeatedly emphasizes the femininity of gay athletes and masculinity of lesbian athletes as a way to reaffirm the fixated images of homosexuals. With or without photographs and videotaping, the media manipulates what is considered as sensational through exaggerated descriptions from its voyeuristic position.

In fact, the representations of femininity and masculinity of gays and lesbians have always been a thorny issue for gay/lesbian activist groups. In the first Gay Civil Rights Movement (同志公民運動) in 2000, a cross-dressing performance evoked controversies in the queer community because TV news used this cross-dressing footage when reporting related news on the Rainbow Fair in Warner's.³⁹ This has caused criticism from the queer community, especially gay men. Some gay men argued that cross-dressing wasn't representative of the gay community and cross-dressing associated femininity with male homosexuals.⁴⁰ Gay men who held different views argued that cross-dressing was part of gay culture and there was no question of its representability of gay community.⁴¹ In addition, in the opinions of these gay men, cross-dressing challenges heteronormal masculinity. These contrary

³⁸ 這不是泰國電影「人妖打排球」的情節。球場奮勇救球的男子球員綁著小馬尾，舉止秀氣，略帶脂粉味...籃球場上的拉子們...胸部扁平，聲音低沉，動作陽剛，打起球來，慄悍不讓鬚眉，從遠處觀看，很難察覺出她們是不折不扣的女兒身。(2001.08.25)

³⁹ See <http://groups.google.com.tw/groups?selm=3cK0aN%24Qbb%40www.kkcity.com.tw>

⁴⁰ See <http://groups.google.com.tw/groups?selm=3cMiSa%24OaD%40www.kkcity.com.tw>

⁴¹ See <http://groups.google.com.tw/groups?selm=3cMiY2%24Oy3%40www.kkcity.com.tw>

viewpoints demonstrate the problematics of representability per se. Can marginal subjects represent the whole queer community or can the whole queer community be represented by the majority without caring for the marginal? From the debate, I speculate that the current gay movement is a two-headed train. It engages in undemonizing homosexuality in two opposite directions. One is to highlight the sameness, the normalcy. The other is to emphasize the diversity, the “queerness.”

Compared with the much criticized performance of cross-dressing in the first Gay Civil Rights Movement (同志公民運動), Rainbow Games and Lesbian Championship seemed to be well acclaimed by the gay/lesbian community. Athletics is something heterosexuals can relate to unlike cross-dressing. Athletics is also politically more correct in terms of representation of masculinity and femininity than cross-dressing. From the slogan of Rainbow Games and Lesbian Championship “Sunshine, Vitality, Homosexuals” (陽光、活力、同性戀), it is obvious to see how athletics is a trope to emphasize the similarity between homosexuals and heterosexuals. If the strategy employed in 2001 cross-dressing performance at the Rainbow Fair was intended to manifest the diversity and the queerness of homosexuals, then the one in 2002 Rainbow Games and Lesbian Championship meant to reveal the sameness, the normalcy between queers and heterosexuals. Nonetheless considering the newspaper reports on the Rainbow Games and Lesbian Championship, one has to ponder if gay/lesbian athletics has succeeded in “undemonizing” images of gay men and lesbians and what it really means to “undemonize” them.

Media is a vessel containing heterosexual beliefs and values. Its reports on homosexuality most of the time reflects the prejudice, fear, and anxiety of heterosexuals. Therefore even when given the “positive” side of homosexuality, such

as gay/lesbian athletics, the media can still depict it as something secretive, and something that conforms to fixated conceptions of homosexuality like sissy gay men and butch lesbians. If such reports cause dismay within the queer community, it suggests that gay men and lesbians want the gay movement to eradicate “stereotypes.” However, the gay movement will never be a successful one if only “normal” representations of homosexuals are presented in public rather than “eccentric” ones, such as cross-dressing. It requires time and experience for government officials, participants and heterosexual citizens to revalue the stereotypical descriptions of homosexuals and to look into deeper constructions of stereotypes. As for gay and lesbian activist groups, different approaches and effects in planning Gay Civil Rights Movement (同志公民運動) will enrich their experiences in coping with the media as well as adjust the strategies of the gay movement.

Gay Games

2002 Sydney Gay Games was the first time Taiwanese queer community participated in such an international event. As early as when Gay Games was decided to be held in Sydney in 1998, a group representing the committee came to Taiwan to visit Lalainfo and spread the words about this event wishing there would be gay/lesbian athletes from Taiwan to participate. This information was passed on to athletes in the Rainbow Games and Lesbian Championship in 2001, which was organized by Lalainfo. It turned out that not many athletes were willing to participate in the Gay Games because of the risk of being outed. The success of Rainbow Games and Lesbian Championship didn't help Lalainfo activists to recruit enough athletes. In the end, Lalainfo had to keep recruiting on the bbs. It was in the end of April, 2002, that Lalainfo finally recruited 8 basketball athletes, which was the minimum number

required for a basketball team. Then Lalainfo applied for governmental subsidies but only got a hundred eighty thousand NT dollars, which was one-fourth of the predetermined costs. In order to solicit contributions, a huge variety show was staged on August 17, 2002 in the auditorium of Taipei City Council. With the efforts of Lalainfo volunteers and sportloving lesbians, the variety show turned out a big success. The contributions from the variety show and the following donations finally met the expected sum of budget for participating in the Gay Games.

Gay Games was contrived by Tom Waddell, a former Olympian decathlete in 1968. Gay Games is his vision of a sports environment characterized by inclusion, and a space free from prejudice of any kind. Because he used to be an Olympian representative, he knows how racist, exclusive, and nationalistic the Olympics are. Thus his intention of holding Gay Games is to differentiate the exclusive and elitist nature of the traditional Olympic Games. In Gay Games, people of different nationalities, races, gender, sexual orientations, and skills are all welcome to compete. That's why there is usually more than one team from the same country to compete in one sports category, like basketball, volleyball etc. This is unlike the Olympic Games, in which only one team can represent each individual country. Since Gay Games is not a competition among different nations but more like a reunion of gay/lesbian sports groups, teams rarely name themselves after their countries; instead, participants name their teams according to the city they are from or the local characteristics, such as Team Oregon, London Cruises, and the Mullets.⁴²

By contrast, the lesbian basketball team from Taiwan maintained the patriotic nomenclature—Taiwan/Chinese Taipei—to participate in the supposedly

⁴² These names are found in the brochure Lalainfo published and distributed in the 2002 Sydney Gay Games Achievement Report Meeting (雪梨成果發表會) held on April 6, 2003 in a meeting room of Taiwan Tongzhi Hotline Association (台灣同志諮詢熱線協會).

de-nationalized, de-racialized event. Besides, the basketball team was very eager to show the national flag of Taiwan in this international event. The players' jackets, sponsored by Nike, were all emblazoned with the national flag of Taiwan and embroidered with the characters *Zhonghua* (中華), which specified the racial identity of Chinese. In the opening ceremony, almost every athlete from Taiwan held a tiny national flag. This emphasis on national identity of Taiwan was distinct from athletes from other countries who mostly emphasized their campy and flamboyant costumes instead of their national flags. During basketball games the lesbian athletes from Taiwan also brought national flags and decorated the basketball court they played in. Taiwanese lesbian athletes took every chance to exhibit national flags of Taiwan.

The political gesture of the lesbian basketball team is very patriotic and performative. And yet I find this political performance quite problematic when situated in the first-world discourse of Gay Games, which emphasizes boundaries breaking and queer identities embracing. First, Gay Games is against the boundary project Pronger talks about, but the lesbian basketball team seems to place themselves within this boundary project again by holding on to nationalism. Not only do they specify their nationality, Taiwan, but also racial identity, Chinese. Second, under the western discourse, Gay Games is the occasion to recognize one's sexual identity and embrace gay pride. But during the procession in the opening ceremony, only one out player walked in the front waving the national flag of Taiwan to attract attention of the media and protect the unexposed lesbian players from having their pictures taken because they were not out back in Taiwan.

The gay pride these lesbians demonstrated was a compromised one. As a researcher, I can't help wondering about the signification of "coming out" in Gay Games. Diana Fuss explains the duplicity of "out" in "Inside/Out":

“Out” cannot help but to carry a double valence for gay and lesbian subjects. On the one hand, it conjures up the exteriority of the negative—the devalued or outlawed term in the hetero/homo binary. On the other hand, it suggests the process of coming out—a movement into a metaphysics of presence, speech, and cultural visibility. (Fuss 4)

In the western coming out discourse, “out” usually refers to the positive side of visibility. This discourse has also dominated Taiwan’s gay movement. Wearing masks or avoiding media for some activists is a futile effort to rectify shame and still assert the subjectivity of homosexuals. Under such logic, one might jump to a quick conclusion that Taiwanese lesbian athletes only affirm the exteriority of the negative by not fully exposing themselves under the camera. Lin Xianxiou’s 1997 article “Tongzhi yundongde wutou gong’an” [The mysterious case of the headless *tongzhi* movement] critiques such strategy of hiding behind masks. Lin thinks coming out is necessary in delineating the subjectivity of homosexuals and demystifying homosexuality. He thinks mask discourse obscures a unified subjectivity and thus is not beneficial for a gay movement inclusive of different identities. He said:

If a gay movement is a movement of equal rights, a movement that creates dialogue between homosexuals and the national apparatus in the public domain, homosexuals have to come out. We can’t give same-sex marriage rights to invisible people. We can’t protest against the layoffs of invisible homosexuals. We can’t debate with the judges in the Supreme Court that even though the homosexuals don’t exist their rights should be guaranteed. (Lin 1997: 65, my translation)

In the case of Taiwan’s lesbian basketball team, the national flag and national identity can be seen to be appropriated as masks. By wearing these patriotic masks, it seems

that the lesbian basketball team “put out” their lesbian identity as something bad and “brought out” the national identity as something good. Below I am trying to borrow Fran Martin’s *yin/xian* (concealment/disclosure) theory to do another alternative reading of the political performance of the lesbian basketball team.

In the essay “The Closet, the Mask and ‘The Membranes,’” Fran Martin specified the differences between western coming out discourse and the specific mask discourse in Taiwan’s gay movement. In the western coming out discourse, the eventual goal for queer subjects is to come out in public and fight for equality in various aspects. Therefore coming out is an essential step in the gay movement. Fran Martin distinguishes this logic of coming out discourse from Chinese concepts of *yin/xian* (concealment/disclosure). The only way to affirm one’s identity and engage in the gay movement under this coming out discourse is to disclose one’s sexual identity in public (*xian*). Fran Martin then complicates the relationship between *yin/xian* by narrating mask discourse as a common operation of the gay movement in Taiwan. Wearing masks in campaigns and rallies are unique strategies of Taiwanese marginal subjects. For instance, public prostitutes wear masks to avoid the stigma of prostitution; for homosexuals, they wear masks to avoid the shame that homosexuality brings to them and their families. Wearing masks in campaigns and rallies, homosexuals disclose their subjectivity by their physical presence (*xian*) and prevent shame by the absence of their features (*yin*). Mask discourse is a state of both concealment and disclosure. Martin’s *yin/xian* theory defines western coming out discourse as spatial concepts and mask discourse as a tactic that responds to social scrutiny. In contrast to Lin Xianxiou, Fran Martin thinks coming out in public doesn’t apply in every culture. The mask discourse deployed by Taiwanese queer community for Fran Martin not only ensures the diversity of the subjectivity by not been seeing

through but also eases the familial burdens of most homosexuals in Taiwan.

Considering Martin's yin/xian theory, the closeted Taiwanese lesbian athletes may not conform to the ideology of western coming out discourse; nonetheless they are never invisible or unpolitical in terms of their lesbian identities. The national flags are the metaphoric tactic masks of these lesbian athletes in one way to disclose their subjectivity as lesbians in public (We are here we are queer and we are Taiwanese) and in another to prevent shame from overexposure in the media. By appearing in the Gay Games, the existence of Taiwanese queer community is made known in the world. In addition, according to my interviews with one accompanying volunteer Yan-ni, many unouted and closeted athletes were so empowered from the interaction with other gay/lesbian athletes and friends in the Gay Games to the extent that when they came back to Taiwan they were not hesitant anymore in coming out to their friends and family members. Since a mask can be put on and take off at will, homosexuals can decide whether to put on masks or not depending on different issues and occasions. For instance, homosexuals once protested Tu Xingzhe publishing biased research on AIDS and homosexuals in 1995. In the protest scene, Tu Xingzhe said "anyone of you can have further discussions with me if you admit you are homosexuals." At that time mask tactics weren't developed yet. Under the media scrutiny, no protesters could risk coming out. Since the mask tactics developed, homosexuals can more confidently protest, rally and deal with the media. Tu Xingzhe's rhetoric no longer becomes an obstacle for gay movement.

Another interpretation of the highly patriotic behavior of Taiwan's lesbian athletes can be seen from the similar situation of being a Taiwanese and a homosexual. The political status of Taiwan is as marginal as the social status of homosexuality. In need of recognition, Taiwanese have been eager to grab opportunities to declare the

political existence of Taiwan even though Taiwan is under the pressure from mainland China which does not want any country to admit that Taiwan is a nation. As we know, there is no singular identity in one person. Various identities often contest with one another in different situations and contexts. For instance for a woman being discriminated against in a male-dominated working environment, her gender identity will stand out from the rest of her identities. For a Chinese being called a “chink,” his racial identity under such circumstance will precede other identities. For the participants, as both Taiwanese and homosexual, this double marginality inevitably makes Gay Games not an event simply for queer people to participate in but one for a marginal political body like Taiwan to proclaim its subjectivity.

In the 2002 Sydney Gay Games Achievement Report Meeting held on April 6, 2003 in a meeting room of Taiwan Tongzhi Hotline Association, Huban described the contesting identities she experienced, being both a lesbian and a Taiwanese:

We had been thinking about how to introduce ourselves in the opening ceremony. Even though we [Taiwan’s lesbian athletes] were short in height, we were uniformed and attracted a lot of attention. We also wanted to differentiate ourselves from China and let foreigners know about Taiwan. In fact China registered in the Gay Games. But after our investigation, no one from China team came to the opening ceremony. We had planned many ways to protect our unoutable athletes, one of which was to let one outable athlete Pao holding the national flag out so that the rest could walk low-keyed behind since the national flag was huge and could block the unwanted photography of the media. We even thought of wearing sunglasses. When the emcee introduced our team “Taiwan,” suddenly we were very aware of our nationality and then we proceeded in the procession

without fear.

From Huban's account, one can find that the national identity outweighed the lesbian identity for these participants. After all, in an international event like this, it's hard to put the queer identity above the national identity. However, we can't deny the subjectivity of these brave lesbian athletes and volunteers just because some of them can't come out as the politically correct way of participating in a gay movement. In the process of making it to the Gay Games, these lesbian athletes and volunteers have successfully drawn attention from the public by attending press conferences, staging a fundraising variety show and negotiating its representability of Taiwan with the government. These efforts are all worth giving credits for.

In an interview, one Lalainfo activist Xiao J explained the consciousness of combining nationalism with gay movement when Lalainfo took over the task of recruiting gay/lesbian athletes to represent Taiwan:

The Gay Games is so positive that there is no reason for the government not to sponsor the lesbian basketball team. When the government sponsors the team, it naturally implies that the government approves homosexual activities or homosexuality per se. It doesn't matter how much money the government can put up. This is meant to challenge the government and to see how much they can accept with regard to homosexual activities.

Here Xiao J showed how nationalism was not the main concern of participating in the Gay Games but how the government granted representability of the lesbian basketball team and approved homosexual activities. On the one hand, Gay Games is an international event, a good chance for Taiwan to be visible. Lalainfo can apply for subsidies from the government because the Gay Games is a diplomatic matter. On the other hand, by persuading the government to sponsor and authorize the

representability of Taiwan, the government validates and legitimates homosexual activities and homosexuality. The significance of being recognized is far more important than representing Taiwan. As Xiao J said:

During the operation of “nationalism” in participating in the Gay Games, different strategies and ideologies are deployed. It’s the flexibility I highly value. It is not about embracing nationalism and sacrificing subjectivity.

Based on questionnaires, many gay/lesbian athletes are planning to participate in the 2006 Montreal Gay Games while some are reluctant because of their skills, financial abilities, the coming out issue and the pressure representing Taiwan. Hopefully my research can render new thoughts concerning the intention of Gay Games, the operation of nationalism, and mask tactics in the gay movement.

Gay March

The Gay march was the main activity of the fourth Lesbian and Gay Civil Rights Movement (同志公民運動) in 2003. To be able to march demonstrates the liberalism and democracy of a society. This is true for all marches, not to mention a march aimed at prohibiting discrimination against homosexuals and promoting gay rights including gay marriage and gay rights of children adoption. Another purpose of the march, said Cheng Chih-wei, a member of the Taiwan Tongzhi Hotline Association, was to “declare to Taiwan the existence of gays and lesbians here.” Indeed, despite the estimation that one out of ten people is gay, there is an insufficient representation of homosexuals in everyday life. The homosexuals portrayed in the media are often ruthless killers, robbers, suicidal pessimists and AIDS infectors. The gay march was a chance to demonstrate the diversity of the queer community and undemonize the negative associations of homosexuality.

In the beginning a couple of representatives from *Shuinanhai* attended two march preparatory meetings in October, 2003, and recounted the agenda of the gay march to other *Shuinanhai* members. Even though the idea of participating in the gay march with the name of *Shuinanhai* was approved by the leaders, the participation was not obligatory but voluntary. Within less than a month, over 70 members and friends of *Shuinanhai* registered to march on *Shuinanhai's* bulletin board on BBS. This number even exceeded the total participants of the host organization Taiwan Tongzhi Hotline Association. LalaInfo activists and lesbian basketball athletes who participated in the 2002 Sydney Gay Games also partook in the march. The presence of gay and lesbian sports groups in the gay march signifies that gay/lesbian athletes can be as political as gay/lesbian activists. In addition, in the gay march gay/lesbian athletes can exercise their body politics which they have been performing in their individual sports arena.

In the afternoon of November 1, 2003, 228 Peace Park swarmed with various gay/lesbian activist groups. Wearing bikini swimsuits, exposing muscular bodies, *Shuinanhai* members immediately caught the attention of media as well as other marchers and passers-by. Live reports and newspaper coverage included a lot of close-ups and introductions of the *Shuinanhai* members. All in all the image of these *Shuinanhai* members in these reports was very healthy unlike the gruesome portrayals of homosexuals in common news headlines. As Li Ching-ling, an official of Taipei city government's Bureau of Civil Affairs, stated: "Through the march, we want to present the 'sunshine' side of homosexuals to society...to let them be better understood by the general populace." Interestingly, the 'sunshine' side of *Shuinanhai* members successfully grabbed the attention of the public and the media, but they were still criticized within the gay community because of their nudity, adornment, and

demeanor. Below I would like to probe into the meaning behind this criticism.

In the Motss [Members of the Same Sex] bulletin board, John posted an article complaining about the dress and the demeanor of *Shuinanhai* members:

To be honest, some of the marchers dressed too peculiarly. I can't believe they put butterfly adornments on their back and didn't even wear shirts. When the reporter interviewed them, the way they talked exactly matched straight people's stereotypes. I don't think the gay march can achieve the goal of equality but only reinforces the stereotypes of homosexuality in the mind of the public.⁴³

From John's argument, he is accusing *Shuinanhai* of conforming to the typical stereotypes of male homosexuals as sissies. But exposing bodies with tanned skin is rarely associated with sissiness. It's an indicator of regular exercise and confidence. Therefore I speculate the loathing was caused by the butterfly adornment and the demeanor of the gay swimmer. Heterosexual men have to maintain their masculinity myth by wearing gender-specific clothes and talking in a manly way. Butterfly adornment and expressive ways of communicating with a macho body of the gay swimmers challenge the masculinity myth as performative, something that can be constructed and deconstructed. This was an anti-boundary project the gay swimmers were doing. John's anxiety to an extent shows how influential and fixated conceptions concerning masculinity can be. Without the performance of gay swimmers in the gay march, people would never envision the diversities of gender expressions.

Another bbs user Eddy analyzed John's argument and wrote:

⁴³ The article was posted on November 2, 2003 in the Motss bulletin board. The original Chinese text is excerpted as follows. 「不過，我自己也看了一下老實說，那些遊行的人，他們部分的打扮實在有些「另類」。蝴蝶裝還是裸上身統統出籠。當記者訪問時，有些人說話的語調，就是會被死異性戀瞧不起的那種。我覺得，遊行似乎未能達到同志平權的目的，反而再次加深普羅大眾對同志的刻板印象。」 I have changed the name of the author to ensure his privacy.

One sees what one can best see from oneself....The main problem is you care too much about how other people look at homosexuals so that you internalize that standard. That's why you want homosexuals to be portrayed as normal. But can the normalization on the surface gain support from the heterosexual society? Can "normal" images challenge the loathing and fear heterosexuals have?⁴⁴

John's and Eddy's viewpoints represent two contesting strategies of doing the gay movement—a movement that emphasizes similarity and a movement that stresses differences and diversity. Lin Xianxiou called the former strategy as pursuing "gay identity" and the latter as pursuing "*kuer* [queer] identity." Even though these two strategies are both identity politics, the latter can be as effective and less exclusionary than the former one. Taking to the streets and demonstrating diversities of the gay march are exactly the strategies of a politics of difference. By reoccupying the streets (space), the subject positions of the homosexuals are clearly demonstrated. Being different is only a means to decenter and subvert the power that be.

Another issue I want to talk about is the mask tactics. As mentioned earlier, mask is one of the past strategies of collective coming out. At one point, the mask was even used to symbolize the true subjectivity. For instance, during a speech in 1997 *tongzhi* party, a representative of the Tongzhi Space Alliance (同志空間行動陣線) declared that those who didn't wear masks on the scene were not real *tongzhi*. It was a resistance to the public voyeurism and a reversal of the shame discourse that has long troubled homosexuals. With the declaration, wearing a mask is no longer associated

⁴⁴ The article was posted on November 2, 2003 in the Motss bulletin board. The original Chinese text is excerpted as follows. 「你只看到你想要看到的。其實根本的問題是在於你在意的人的看法，間接地否定你的內在需求。所以希望你把同性戀包裝的合你在意的口味一點，[一般化] 是你的至高無上準則。可是，表面上的一般化，真的換取的到認同嗎？同性戀一般化，包裝以後，就不在有嫌惡了嗎？」 I have asked for the permission from the original author to quote.

with guilt or shame but a determination to render visible the subjectivity of homosexuals. The Mask has become a symbol of collectivity.

It was under such a logic of mask tactics that the leaders of *Shuinanhai* had previously suggested closeted members to put on masks, swim caps, goggles, or other accessories to protect themselves. The same suggestion was given by the main organizer Taiwan Tongzhi Hotline Association to other activist groups and individual marchers. However, on the day of gay march, still a lot of people, including *Shuinanhai* members, didn't put on masks. This doesn't mean the mask tactic is obsolete. It indicates that the social climate has become much more gay-friendly since the beginning of the gay movement. The hybrid practice of the mask tactic and the coming out strategies show how the gay movement is still looking for a best way to present the homosexual subjectivity.

Conclusion

In conclusion, we can no longer look at sport, especially gay and lesbian sport from the pedagogical or medical perspectives. By reading gay and lesbian sport as a gender and political performance, we could see clearly the omnipresence of the matrix of patriarchy, heterosexuality, and nationality, which determine our consciousness and everyday behavior. Through the gender/body politics of gay and lesbian sport, we see the possibility of awakening to the matrix we've been imprisoned in since the day we were born. As the aura of bonding in gay and lesbian sport brings self-recognition and collective identity, gay and lesbian sport groups (as a community) could empower the gay movement and political campaigns, such as the three activities I focus on in this chapter. From holding Lesbian Championship to Rainbow Games, from participating in Gay Games in Sydney to Gay March in Taiwan, gay and lesbian sports groups have

crossed the boundary between sport and movement and opened up a new way of doing the gay movement.

Appendix 1 Pinyin Glossary in Alphabetical Order

- Antonia Chao (趙彥寧)
- Bai Ling Basketball Team (百齡籃球隊)
- Bai Ling San Duo Hua (百齡三朵花)
- Bufen (不分) : a new lesbian identity resisting categories of butch/femme identities
- Chikung (氣功) : breathing technique therapy
- Chu Xuan (楚軒)
- Danjuan BBS (淡江蛋捲廣場站)
- Heixingan Volleyball Team (黑心肝排球隊)
- Hong Guang Badminton Team (虹光羽球隊)
- Hong Ye Baseball Team (紅葉棒球隊)
- Huainuer BBS (酷/異壞女兒站)
- Jingbaodian Badminton Team (勁爆點羽球隊)
- Jin Long Youth Baseball Team (金龍棒球隊)
- Kuer (酷兒)
- Li Zhenghong (李振弘)
- Lin Yihua (林奕華)
- Lin Xianxiou (林賢修)
- Nanrenpo (男人婆) : tomboy, butch
- Nu Pengyou magazine (女朋友)
- Pan Guangdan (潘光但)
- Ren Yao (人妖) : transsexuals, transvestites
- Ren Yao Da Paiqiu (人妖打排球) : Transsexuals Play Volleyball
- Ririxin Newspaper (日日新)
- Sheng Ming Li news website (生命力公益新聞網)
- Shi Jiemei (十姐妹) : ten sisters
- Shuinanhai (水男孩)
- Tongxinglian (同性戀) : homosexual
- Tongzhi (同志) : gay

Tongzhi Yundong (同志運動) : gay movement, gay sports

Wo Men Zhi Jian (我們之間)

Xiaomo (小摩)

xing boshi (性博士) : Doctor Sex

Xiong Hou Basketball Team (熊猴籃球隊)

Ye Guang Basketball Team (夜光籃球隊)

Ye Jiande (葉建德)

yin/xian (隱/現) : concealment/disclosure

Yu Chien-ming (游鑑明)

Yundong (運動) : movement, sports

Zhang Jingsheng (張競生)

Zhuoqiu Tonghaohui (桌球同好會)

Zhonghua (中華) : the Chinese nation, the Chinese people

Zhong Zhaojia (鍾兆佳)

Zhuang Huiqiu (莊慧秋)

Appendix 2
Information of Gay and Lesbian Sports Groups in Taipei Metropolis

	GVB Volleyball	BoBo Volleyball	Heixingan Volleyball (黑心肝)	Bai Ling Basketball (百齡)	Xiong Hou Basketball (熊猴)
founded	1998	2002.12	2003.07	2000.10	2000.08
bulletin board founded	2000.06	2002.12	2003.10.	2001.04	2000.08
location	Taipei	Taipei	Taipei	Taipei	Taipei
members	gay only	gay only	lesbian & gay	gay only	gay only
structure	informal	informal	informal	formal	informal
coach or mentor	no	no	yes	yes	yes
place	school playground	school playground	school playground	nomadic	playground in a park
time	Saturday & Sunday afternoon	Saturday afternoon	Monday evening	Wednesday evening, Saturday afternoon	Saturday morning
participants each time	18~24	30~35	6~12	5~10 (Wed) 20~30 (Sat)	10~40
events participated	Rainbow Games and Lesbian Championship in 2001		Lesbian Championship	Rainbow Games and Lesbian Championship in 2001	

	Ye Guang Basketball (夜光)	Hong Guang Badminton (虹光)	Jinbaodian Badminton (勁爆點)	Zhuoqiu tonghaohui Table Tennis (桌球同好會)
founded	2003.04	2000.12	2001.06	2000.12
bulletin board founded	2003.09	2000.12	2001.06 (yahoo group on WWW not bbs)	2001.09
location	Taipei	Taipei	Taipei	Taipei
members	lesbian only	gay only	lesbian only	gay only
structure	informal	informal	informal	informal
coach or mentor	no	no	no	no
place	nomadic	gym	school gym	indoor gym in a school
time	Wednesday and Friday evening	Saturday evening	Saturday afternoon	Tuesday evening Saturday afternoon
participants each time	10~25	20~22	10	10~15
events participated	Lesbian Championship		Lesbian Championship	

	Shuinanhai (水男孩)	Xiaomo (小摩)
founded	2002.8	2001.11
bulletin board founded	2002.8	2001.10
location	Taipei	Taipei
members	gay only	lesbian only
structure	informal	formal
coach or mentor	no (but some are licensed lifeguards)	yes
place	nomadic	school baseball sandlot or park baseball sandlot
time	Saturday	Sunday
participants each time	20~30	10
events participated	Gay Parade in November, 2003	Gay Games in 2002 & Lesbian Championship

Appendix 3

親愛的同志朋友：

此份問卷是針對這幾年來台灣同志運動社群(gay sports groups)的興起所設計,除了透過問卷來瞭解同志運動社群興起的歷史、社會、文化、經濟的背景外,還想討論不同種類的同志運動團體在運動/打球時的性別操演與認同政治之異同,更想勾勒出同志運動文化(gay sports culture)和同志運動(gay movement)的互動關係。此問卷採質性分析,所以有一些申論的部份,如能詳細填寫更有利於分析研究。此外,此問卷不記本名,可以使用匿名或是網路上的 ID,所有資料除了引用在論文之外絕對保密,請您不必有任何顧慮。

謝謝您的支持與合作!

國立中央大學
英美語文學研究所
蔡國成

基本資料 (除畫底線部份需填寫外, 其它選項只需要方格裡打勾即可)

填問卷人名稱：_____ (可以是匿名,中英文皆可,能在論文裡使用的名字)
 生理性別： 男 女 其他, _____。
 性傾向： Lesbian 女同 Gay 男同 異性戀 還沒決定
 Bisexual 雙性戀 Transgender 跨性別 其他, _____
 年齡： _____ 歲

你所參加的同志運動團體：(可複選)

小摩壘球隊	百齡籃球隊	桌球同好會	同志網球
黑心肝排球	熊猴籃球隊	水男孩	_____
夜光球聚團	GVB	男同撞球	_____
勁爆點	BOBO	虹光羽球隊	_____

問卷 (除畫底線部份需填寫外, 其它選項只需要方格裡打勾即可)

- 你從何時開始參與同志運動團體? 西元 _____ 年 _____ 月
當時的年紀? _____ 歲
- 如何得知球聚的資訊?(可複選)
kkcity 各站台的運動版 Internet 朋友告知 電子報
其他, _____。
- 加入或參與的動機?(可複選)
興趣 交友 打發時間 交 gf/bf 健身 其他, _____。

4. 你多常去同志球聚?
每週 1 次 每週 2 次 每週 3 次或以上 其他, _____。

5. 你有參加過校隊、系隊或運動性社團嗎?
是 否
此題答案若選是, 請繼續回答下個問題 5-a。

5-a. 你在校隊、系隊或運動性社團曾有親身體驗或聽聞歧視同志的行為或話語嗎?
是, _____。 否

6. 同志運動團體和一般的球隊/運動團體有何不同?(可複選)
娛樂性上 肢體動作上 語言上 球場上的互動
其他, _____。

7. 你現在的職業是
學生 上班族 待業 其他, _____。
勾選學生者請前往第 7-a 題, 勾選上班族、待業或其他請前往第 7-b 題。

7-a. 身為學生,你覺得下列那些因素會影響你參加球聚?(可複選)
球聚費用 課業 打工 愛情 家庭 其他, _____。

7-b. 身為上班族、待業或其他,你覺得下列那些因素會影響你參加?
(可複選)
球聚費用 薪水 休假天數 愛情 家庭
其他, _____。

8. 在球聚之外會和球隊裡的人有那些互動?(可複選)
聊天 出遊 烤肉 打牌 KTV 麻將 其他, _____。

9. 參與同志球聚/運動團體是否加強你自己的同志認同?
是 否 其他, _____。

10. 在你有困難時(如經濟,課業,工作,情緒等問題)你會先和球隊裡的人分享嗎?
是 否 其他, _____。

11. 你是否會一直和你參加的同志運動團體保持密切的關係?
是 否 其他, _____。

12. 知道台灣拉拉參加 2002 同志世運會籃球賽嗎?
是 否 其他, _____。

13. 對你來說,下面的幾種認同的重要性分別為何?
不重要 還好 不一定 重要 非常重要

- 【1】生理性別 (男/女)
- 【2】性傾向(同志,雙性戀,跨性別)
- 【3】族群(閩南人,客家人,原住民)
- 【4】國籍(台灣/大陸/美國)
- 【5】宗教(佛教/道教/基督教/回教)
- 【6】年代/年紀(E 世代,F 世代)

若你有覺得重要的認同,但是並未包括在上述六種認同者請回答下個問題 13-a

13-a. 寫出你認為重要但未列於上面的認同?
_____。

14. 你是否想參加國內同志的大型運動會嗎?(如拉子的雷斯盃。)
是 否 其他, _____。
此題答案若選否,請繼續回答下個問題 14-a。

14-a. 不想參加是因為?(可複選)
經濟因素 不想曝光 運動技巧不夠好
其他, _____。

15. 你是否想參加國際上四年一度的同志世運會嗎(Gay Games)?
是 否 其他, _____。
此題答案若選否,請繼續回答下個問題 15-a。

15-a. 不想參加是因為?(可複選)
經濟因素 不想曝光 運動技巧不夠好 代表國家壓力太大
其他, _____。

16. 你覺得同志運動團體(gay sports groups)是否能和同志運動(gay movement)產生關聯?
是 否 其他, _____。

17. 你覺得同志愛運動的習慣可以提供什麼樣的同志形象?(正負面皆可)

_____。

18. 你是否曾被同志運動團體所排擠或查覺有人被排擠?
 是 否 其他, _____。
 此題答案若選是, 請繼續回答下個問題 18-a。

18-a. 你或別人被排擠的原因是? (可複選) 運動技巧能力太好 運動技巧能力太差 長像 個性 職業 sissy 陽剛 太女性化 生理性別 其他, _____。

19. 請以一個形容詞來形容你參加運動團體的感覺? _____。
20. 於下框格裡寫下任何你對同志運動(gay sports)的看法, 也可寫下對本研究
 的看法。

若願意接受更進一步的訪談請於下面空白處留下手機/電話及 e-mail, 謝謝!此資訊絕對保密, 僅供本研究者受訪者聯絡的方式, 約定更進一步訪談的時間及地點, 若有隱私權上的顧慮也可於下面備註格裡填寫(如電話是家用電話, 特定時段才能打、或是手機是和家人共用等等。)

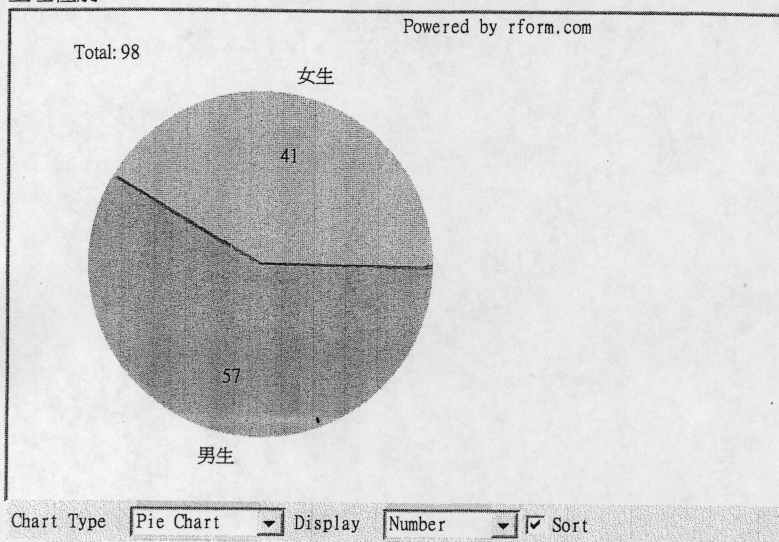
手機/電話 : _____
 電子郵件 : _____

備註 :

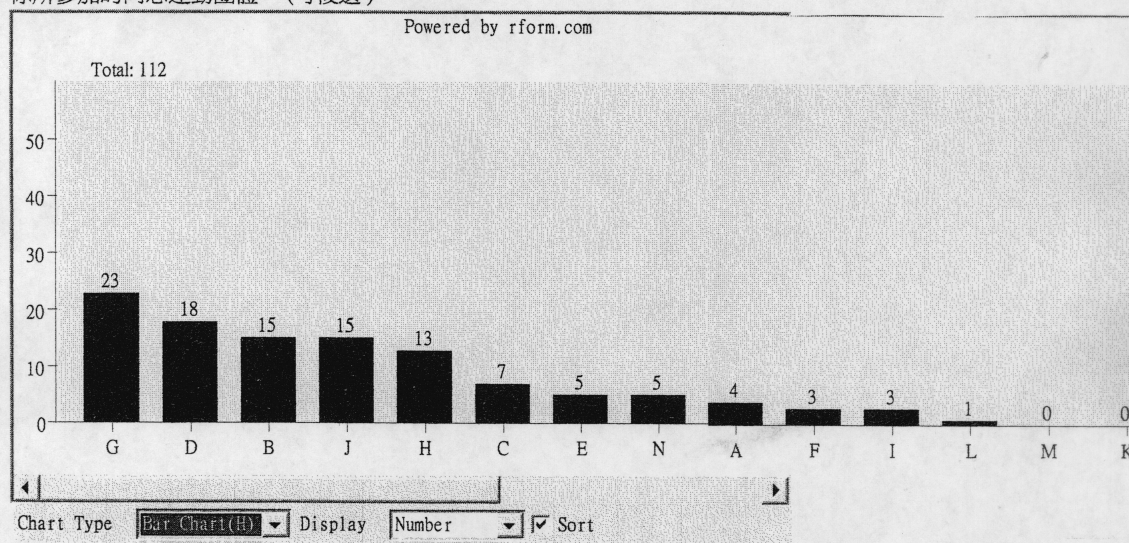
Appendix 4

問卷名稱 - 運動同志與同志運動: 台灣男女同志運動團體的興起

- 1 暱稱:
- 2 電子信箱:
- 3 生理性別:

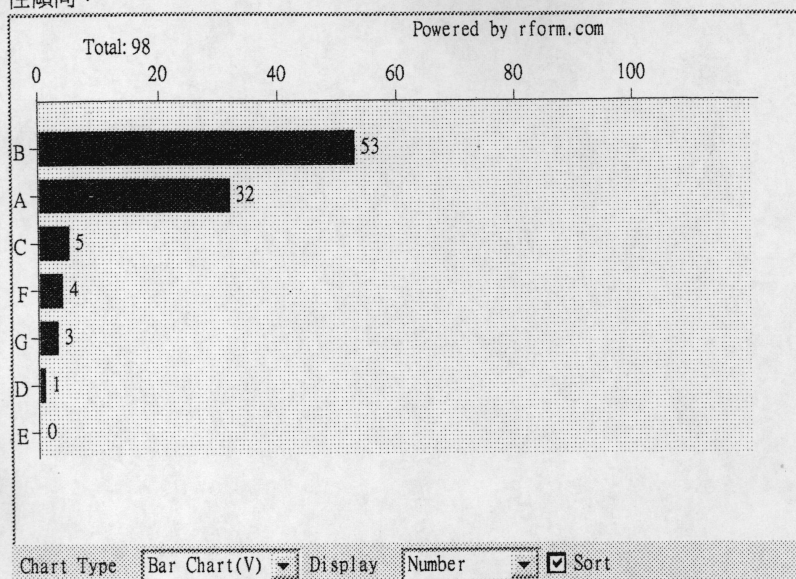


- 4 你所參加的同志運動團體：(可複選)



- | | |
|---------------|--------------------|
| A- 小摩壘球隊 (4) | I- 桌球同好會 (3) |
| B- 黑心肝排球 (15) | J- 水男孩 (15) |
| C- 夜光球聚團 (7) | K- 男同撞球 (0) |
| D- 勁爆點 (18) | L- 虹光羽球隊 (1) |
| E- 百齡籃球隊 (5) | M- 同志網球 (0) |
| F- 熊猴籃球隊 (3) | N- 其它 (5) |
| G- GVB (23) | No Selection (1) |
| H- BOBO (13) | Select 1 item (85) |
| | Select 2 items (9) |
| | Select 3 items (3) |

5 性傾向：



- A- Lesbian女同 (32)
- B- Gay男同 (53)
- C- Bisexual雙性戀 (5)
- D- Transgender跨性別 (1)
- E- 異性戀 (0)
- F- 還沒決定 (4)
- G- 其它 (3)

6 現在年齡：

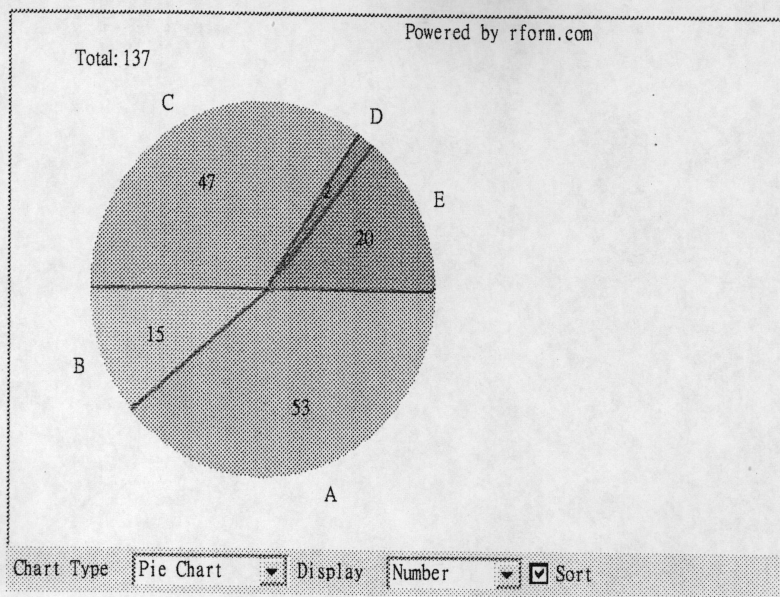
最大	34
最小	17
平均	25.30
總和	2,479

7 你從何時開始參與同志運動團體？

8 當時的年紀？

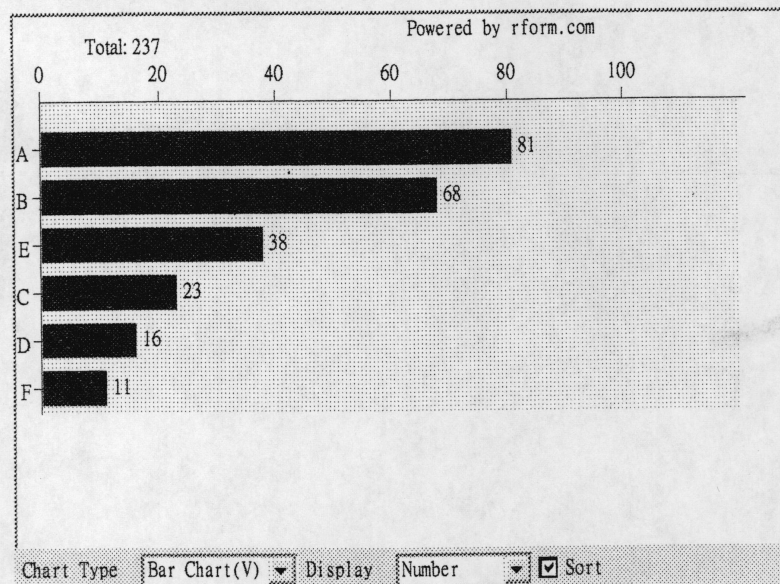
最大	32
最小	15
平均	22.84
總和	2,147

9 如何得知球聚的資訊?(可複選)



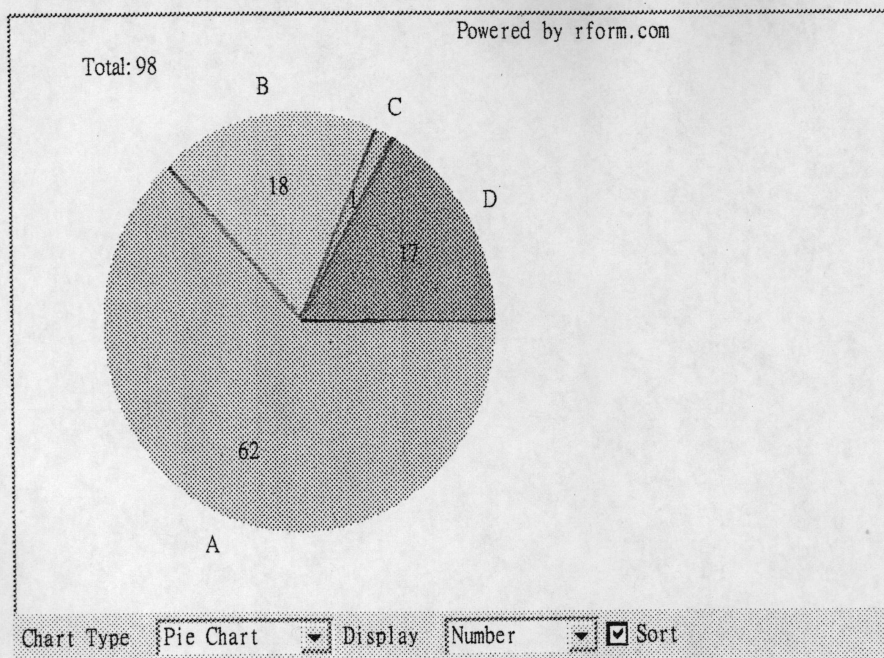
- A- kkcitey各站台的運動版 (53)
 - B- Internet (15)
 - C- 朋友告知 (47)
 - D- 電子報 (2)
 - E- 其他 (20)
- No Selection (1)
 Select 1 item (62) Select 2 items (31)
 Select 3 items (3) Select 4 items (1)
 Select 5 items (0)

10 加入或參與的動機?(可複選)



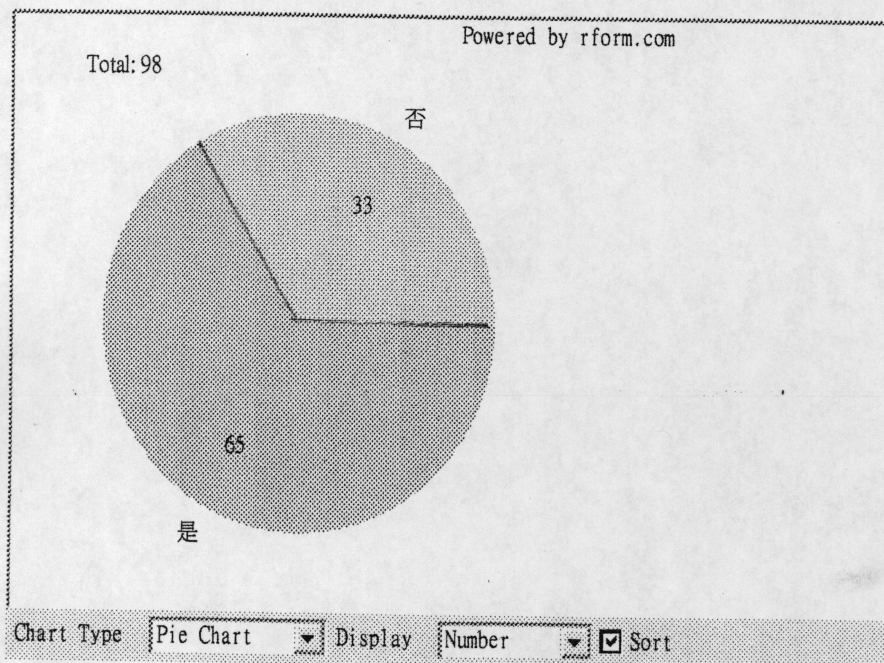
- A- 興趣 (81)
 - B- 交友 (68)
 - C- 打發時間 (23)
 - D- 交gf/bf (16)
 - E- 健身 (38)
 - F- 其他 (11)
- No Selection (0) Select 1 item (21) Select 2 items (37)
 Select 3 items (26) Select 4 items (6)
 Select 5 items (8) Select 6 items (0)

11 你多常去同志球聚?

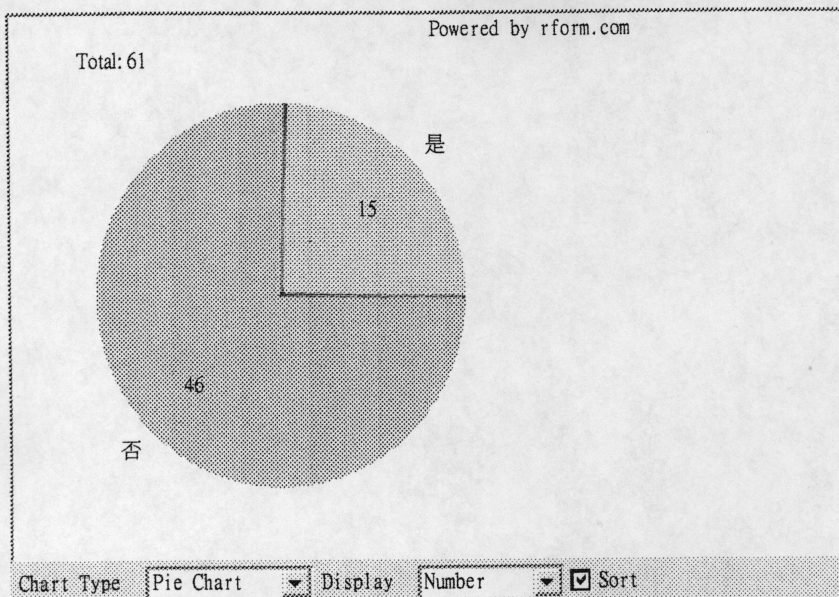


- A- 每週1次 (62)
- B- 每週2次 (18)
- C- 每週3次或以上 (1)
- D- 其他 (17)

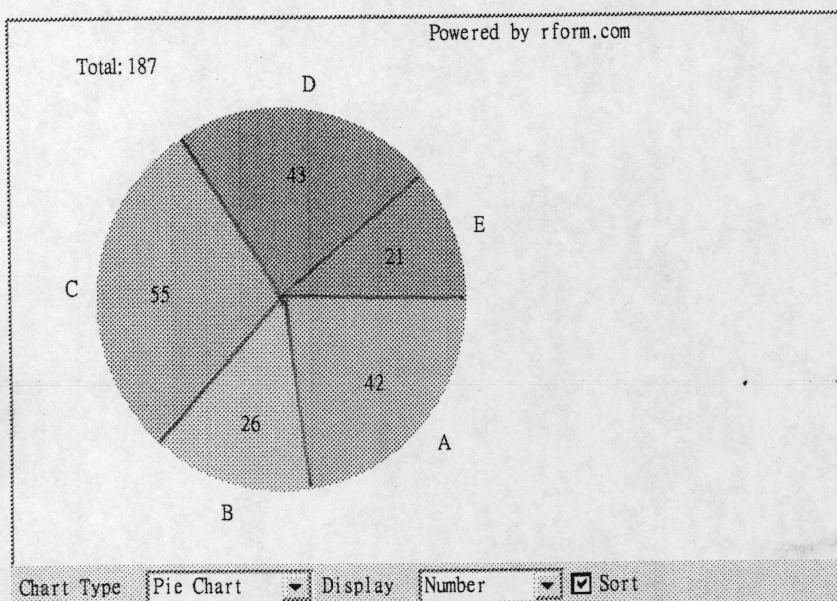
12 你有參加過校隊、系隊或運動性社團嗎?



13 你在校隊、系隊或運動性社團曾有親身體驗或聽聞歧視同志的行為或話語嗎?



14 同志運動團體和一般的球隊/運動團體有何不同? (可複選)



- A- 娛樂性上 (42)
- B- 肢體動作上 (26)
- C- 語言上 (55)
- D- 球場上的互動 (43)
- E- 其它 (21)

No Selection (4)

Select 1 item (39)

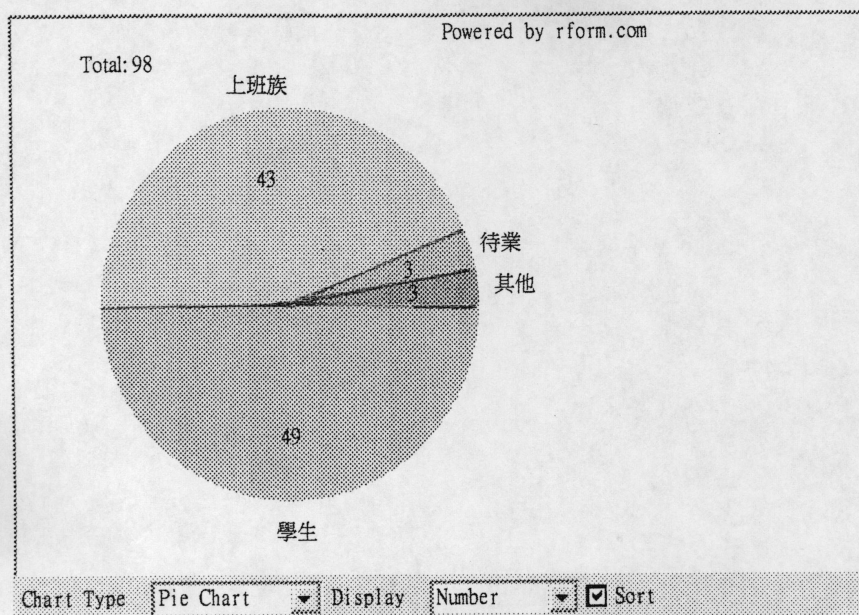
Select 3 items (16)

Select 5 items (0)

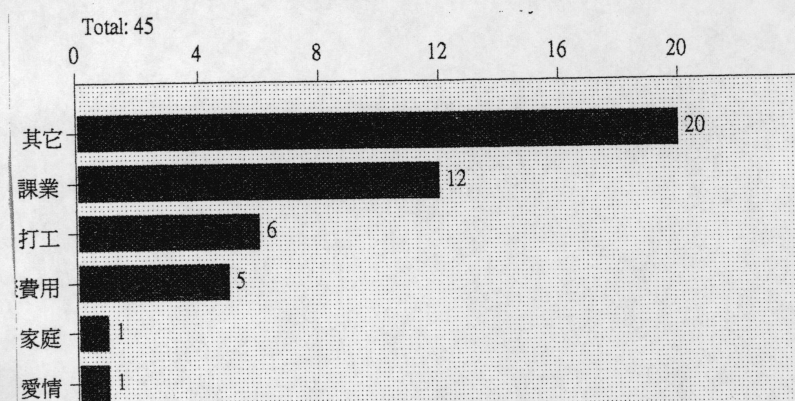
Select 2 items (28)

Select 4 items (11)

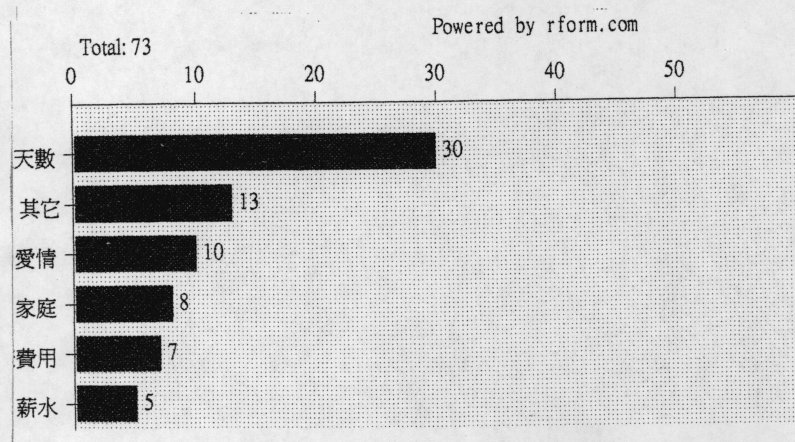
15 你現在的職業是?



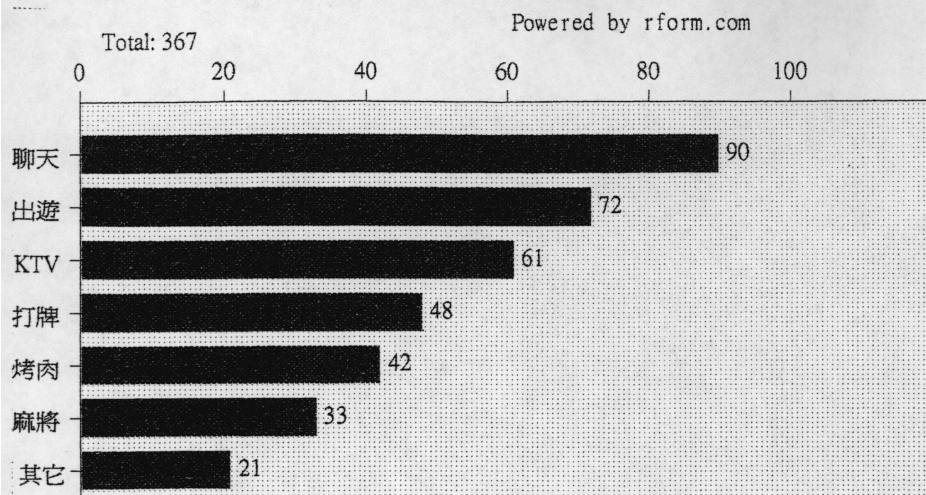
16 身為學生,你覺得下列那些因素會影響你參加球聚?(可複選)



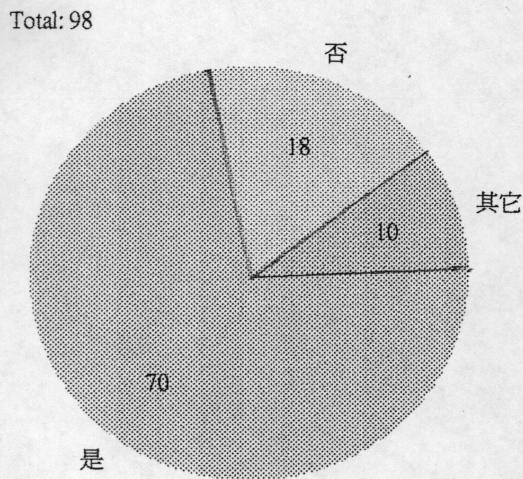
17 身為上班族、待業或其他,你覺得下列那些因素會影響你參加?(可複選)



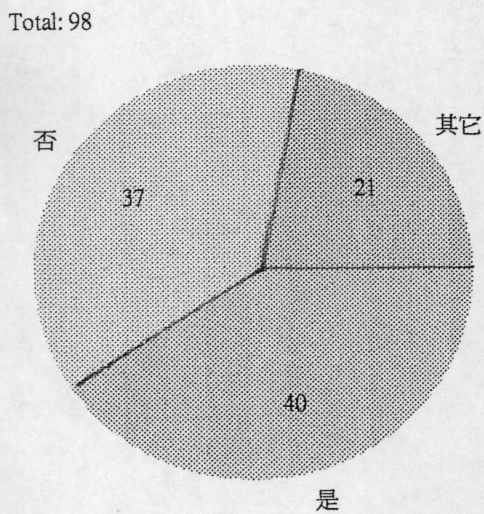
18 在球聚之外會和球隊裡的人有那些互動?(可複選)



19 參與同志球聚/運動團體是否加強你自己的同志認同?

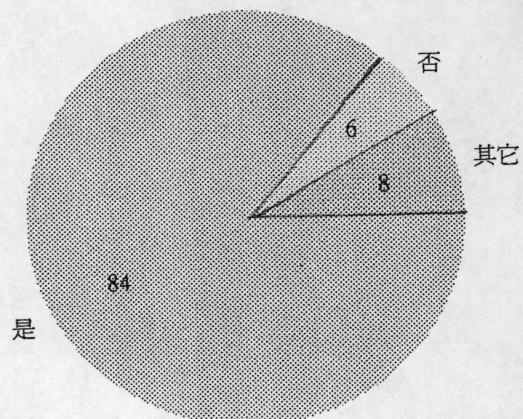


20 在你有困難時(如經濟,課業,工作,情緒等問題)你會先和球隊裡的人分享嗎?



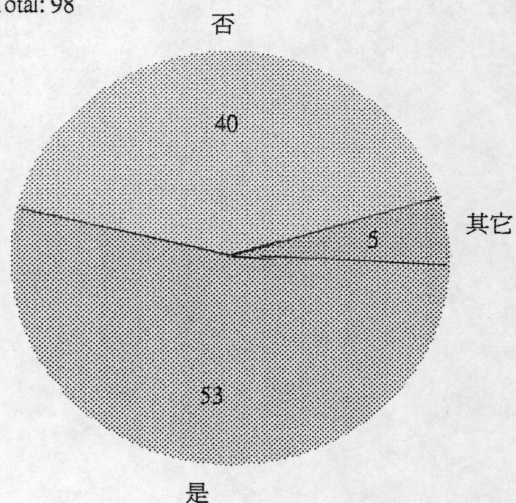
21 你是否會一直和你參加的同志運動團體保持密切的關係?

Total: 98



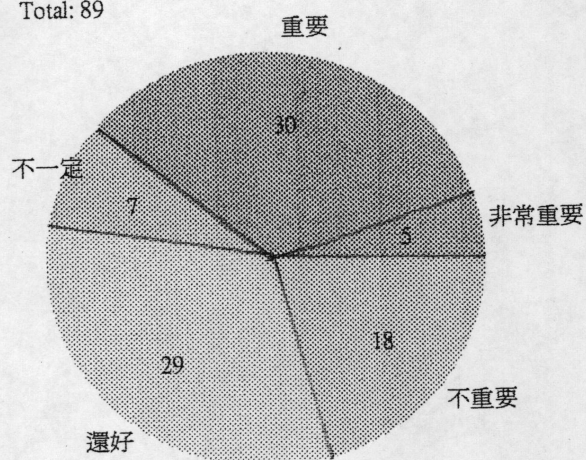
22 知道台灣拉拉參加2002同志世運會籃球賽嗎?

Total: 98



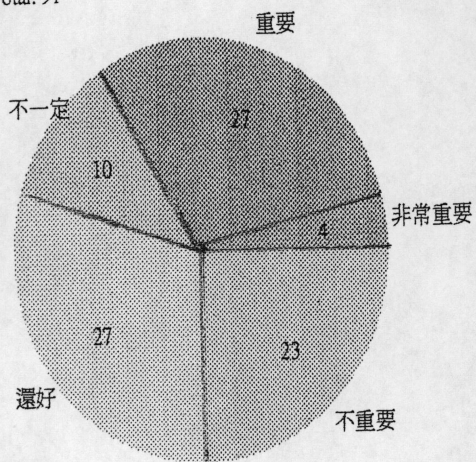
23 對你來說,下面的幾種認同的重要性分別為何? 【1】生理性別 (男/女)

Total: 89



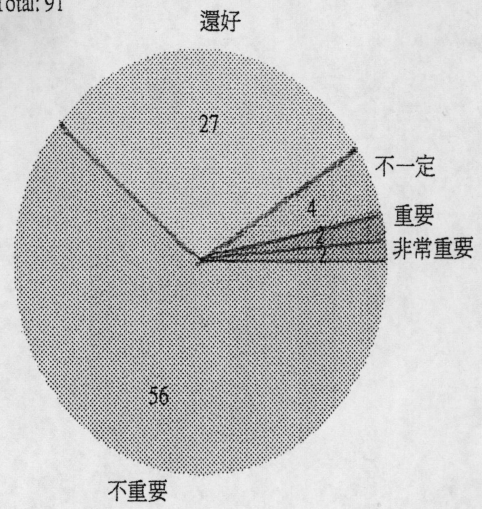
24 【2】性傾向(同志,雙性戀,跨性別)

Total: 91



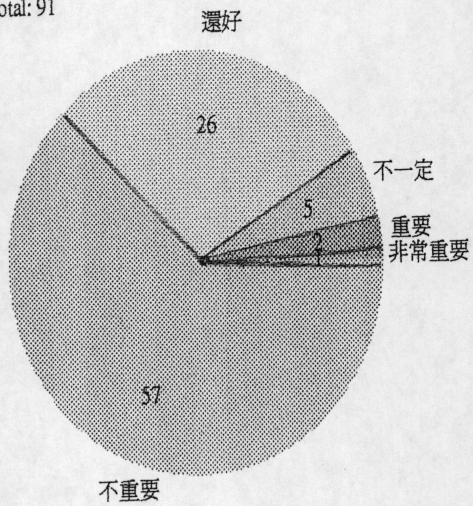
27 【5】宗教(佛教/道教/基督教/回教)

Total: 91



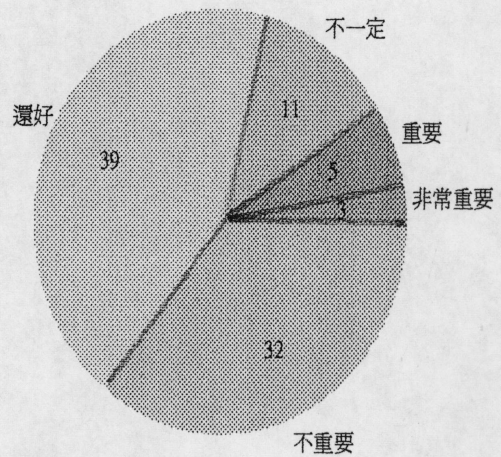
25 【3】族群(閩南人,客家人,原住民)

Total: 91



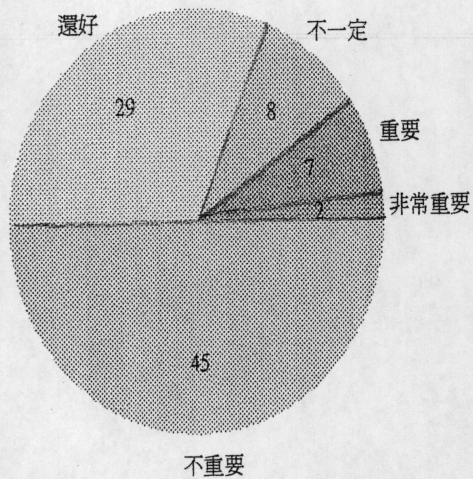
28 【6】年代/年紀(E世代,F世代)

Total: 90



26 【4】國籍(台灣/大陸/美國)

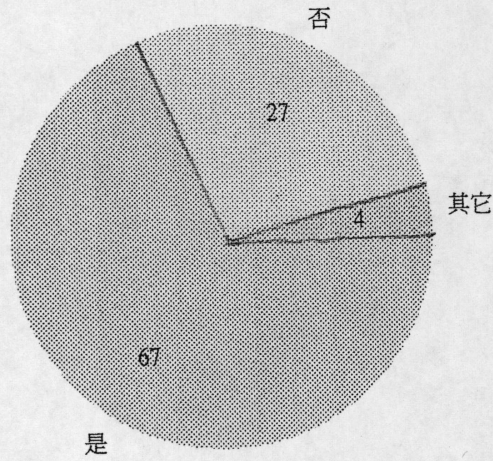
Total: 91



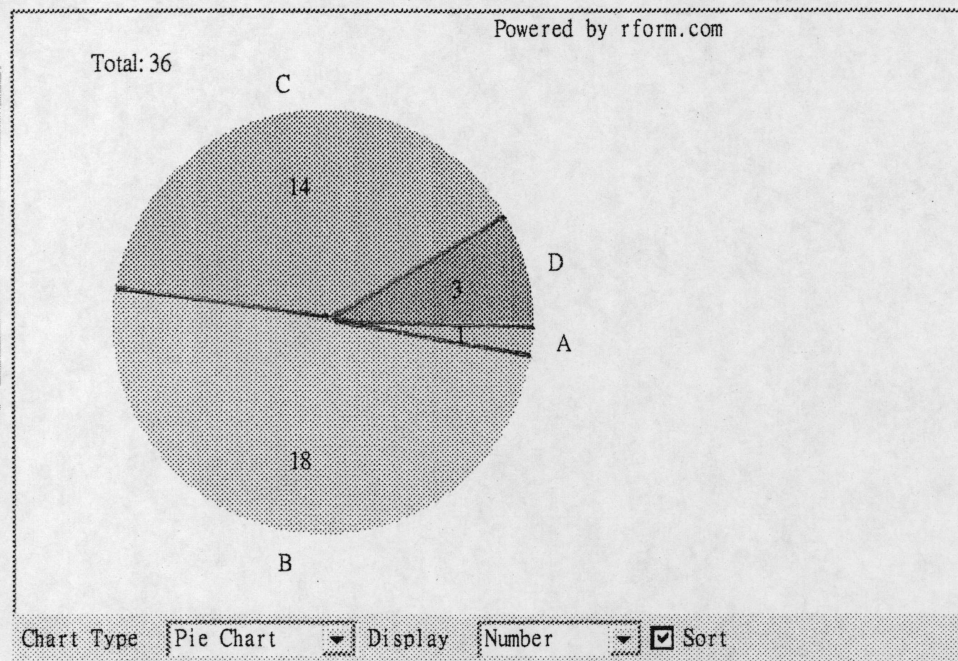
29 寫出你認為重要但未列於上面的認同?

30 你是否想參加國內同志的大型運動會嗎? (如拉子的雷斯盃,彩虹暨雷斯盃運動會。)

Total: 98



31 不想參加是因為?(可複選)



- A- 經濟因素 (1)
- B- 不想曝光 (18)
- C- 運動技巧不夠好 (14)
- D- 其它 (3)

No Selection (71)

Select 1 item (20)

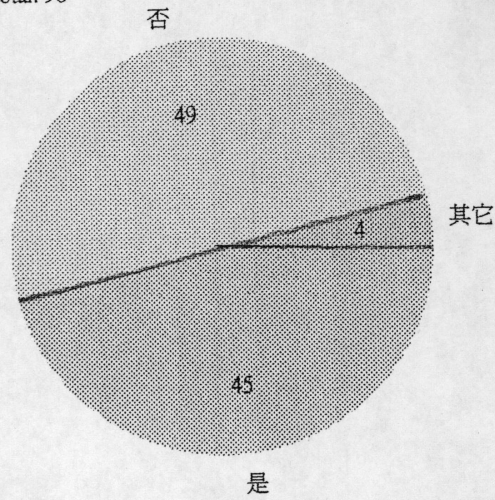
Select 3 items (2)

Select 2 items (5)

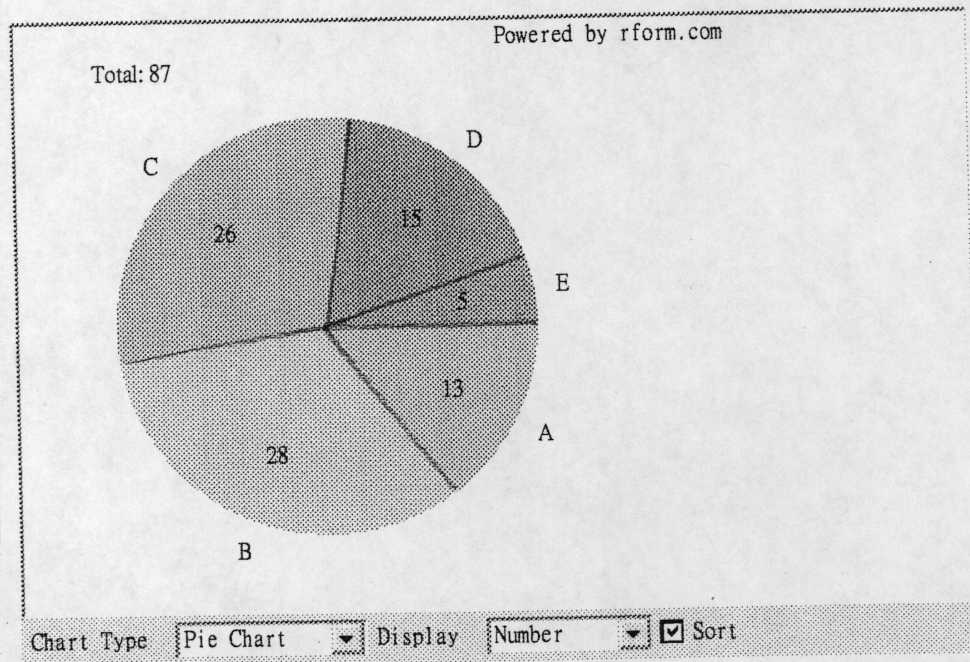
Select 4 items (0)

32 你是否想參加國際上四年一度的同志世運會嗎(Gay Games)?

Total: 98



33 不想參加是因為? (可複選)



- A- 經濟因素 (13)
- B- 不想曝光 (28)
- C- 運動技巧不夠好 (26)
- D- 代表國家壓力太大 (15)
- E- 其它 (5)

No Selection (50)

Select 1 item (22)

Select 3 items (5)

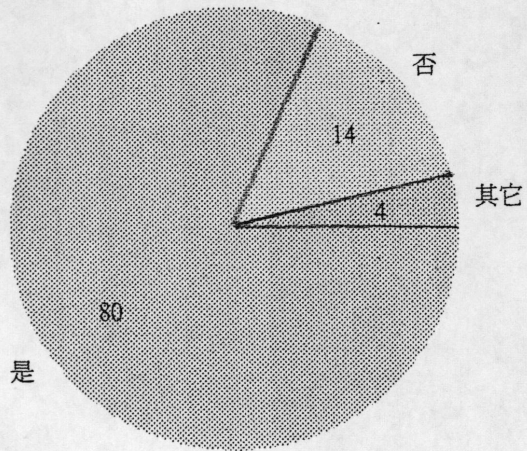
Select 5 items (0)

Select 2 items (17)

Select 4 items (4)

34 你覺得同志運動團體(gay sports groups)是否能和同志運動(gay movement)產生關聯?

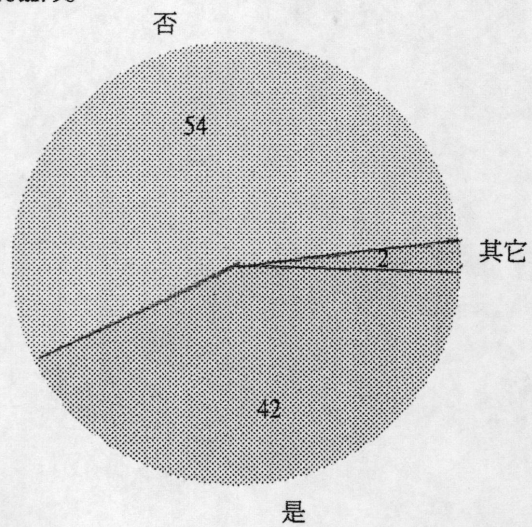
Total: 98



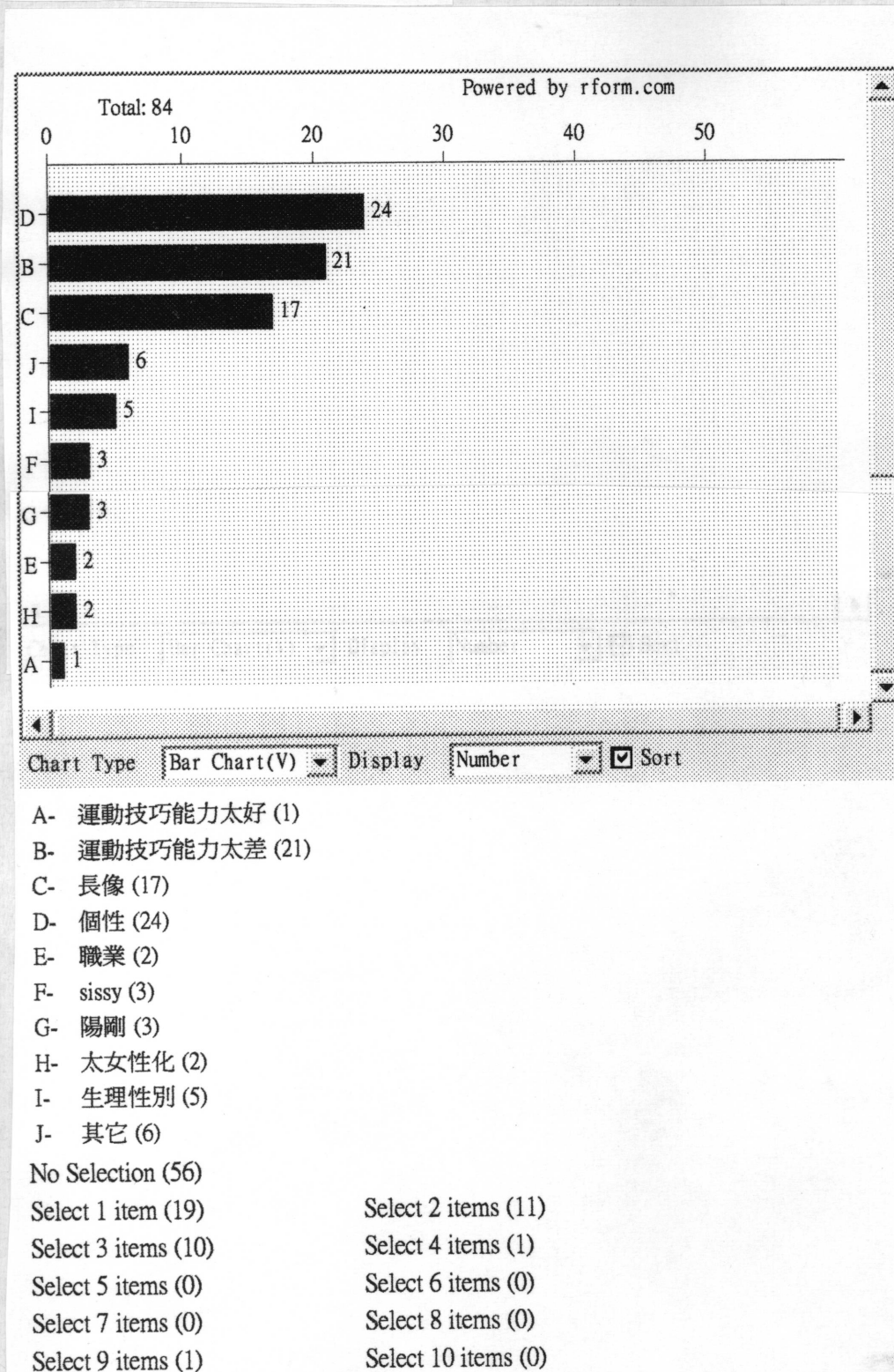
35 你覺得同志愛運動的習慣可以提供什麼樣的同志形象? (正負面皆可)

36 你是否曾被同志運動團體所排擠或查覺有人被排擠?

Total: 98



37 你或別人被排擠的原因是?(可複選)



38 請以一個形容詞來形容你參加運動團體的感覺?

39 於下框格裡寫下任何你對同志運動(gay sports)的看法，也可寫下對本研究看法。

Appendix 5

	Name	Interview date	Age	Sexuality	Occupation	sports groups participated
1	York	April 4, 2003	24	gay	soldier	GVB (2 years)
2	Chris	July 16, 2003	22	gay	solider	GVB (3 years)
3	Boo	July 17, 2003	35	gay	teacher	GVB (2 months)
4	Angus	July 17, 2003	23	gay	student	GVB (3 years)
5	Adam	July 21, 2003	20	gay	student	GVB (1 month)
6	Howard	July 21, 2003	25	gay	student	GVB (3 years)
7	Kay	July 22, 2003	26	gay	working	GVB (5 years)
8	Gary	July 22, 2003	26	gay	working	GVB (3 years)
9	Sam	July 22, 2003	23	gay	soldier	GVB (3 years)
10	Eli	July 24, 2003	26	gay	working	GVB (3 years)
11	Paula	July 29, 2003	24	lesbian	nurse	Xiaomo, Lalainfo
12	Helen	July 29, 2003	23	lesbian	working	Lalainfo
13	Pete	July 30, 2003	20	gay	student	Bobo (1 year)
14	Craig	Aug. 1, 2003	25	gay	student	GVB (3 years)
15	Jane	Sep. 2, 2003	28	lesbian	working	Xiaomo
16	Connie	Sep. 2, 2003	26	lesbian	working	lover of Jane
17	Chad	Oct. 5, 2003	22	gay	student	GVB Bobo (1 year)
18	Betty	Jan. 6, 2004	22	bisexual	student	Heixingan (3 months)
19	Simon	Jan. 9, 2004	26	gay	working	Shuinanhai (1 year)
20	Tony	Jan. 16, 2004	32	gay	working	Bai Ling (2 years)
21	Nicole	May 2, 2004	26	lesbian	working	Xiaomo (4 years) Ye Guang (1 year)

* To protect my informants, all the names are pseudonyms.

Appendix 6

	Pseudonym	Sexuality	Age	Sports Groups Participated	Occupation
1	Nick	Gay	34	GVB	student
2	Owen	Gay	22	GVB, BOBO, Shuinanhai	student
3	Peter	Gay	28	Bai Ling Basketball	unemployed
4	Stan	Gay	34	Xiong Hou Badminton	working professional
5	David	Gay	23	Xiong Hou Basketball	working professional
6	Paddy	Gay	21	BOBO	student
7	Ivy	Lesbian	27	Ye Guang Basketball	student
8	Karen	Lesbian	24	Heixingan Volleyball	student
9	Tim	Gay	20	GVB, BOBO, Zhuoqiu Tonghaohui	student
10	Wayne	Gay	30	Shuinanhai	working professional
11	Joe	Gay	23	BOBO	student
12	Paul	Gay	26	Shuinanhai	working professional
13	Loic	Gay	26	GVB, BOBO	student
14	Thomas	Gay	28	Shuinanhai	working professional
15	Frank	Gay	21	Shuinanhai	student
16	Jon	Gay	28	Shuinanhai	working professional
17	Todd	Gay	26	Shuinanhai	working professional
18	Hugo	Gay	23	Shuinanhai	student
19	Mike	Lesbian	29	Jingbaodian	student
20	Simon	Gay	26	Shuinanhai	working professional

	Name	Sexuality	Age	Sports Groups Participated	Occupation
21	Walter	Gay	32	GVB	working professional
22	Rita	Lesbian	24	Jingbaodian Badminton	student
23	Abraham	Gay	25	Shuinanhai	unemployed
24	Gerry	Gay	23	Shuinanhai	student
25	Vincent	Lesbian	18	Shuinanhai	student
26	Agnes	Bisexual	23	Ye Guang Basketball	working professional
27	Cora	Lesbian	23	Ye Guang Basketball	student
28	Andrew	Gay	17	BOBO	student
29	Ben	Gay	21	Xiong Hou Basketball	working professional
30	Pete	Gay	22	BOBO	student
31	Stu	Gay	22	BOBO	student
32	Alice	Gay	23	Jingbaodian Badminton	student
33	Monica	Lesbian	24	Jingbaodian Badminton	working professional
34	Anne	Lesbian	32	Hsinchu Badminton	student
35	Miranda	Lesbian	21	Jingbaodian Badminton	working professional
36	Ava	flowing sexuality	30	Heixingan volleyball	student
37	Jayce	Lesbian	21	Heixingan volleyball	working professional
38	Ray	Lesbian	28	Heixingan volleyball	working professional
39	Grace	gender neutral	24	Heixingan volleyball	service trade
40	Jessica	Lesbian	25	Heixingan, Jingbaodian	working professional

	Name	Sexuality	Age	Sports Groups Participated	Occupation
41	Moser	undecided	23	Heixingan, Jingbaodian	working professional
42	Gloria	Lesbian	25	Heixingan, Jingbaodian	working professional
43	Alan	Lesbian	27	Heixingan volleyball, BOBO	student
44	Kim	Lesbian	19	Ye Guang Basketball	student
45	Leo	Gay	25	BOBO	student
46	Molly	Lesbian	23	no particular one	working professional
47	Wang	Bisexual	25	Shuinanhai	student
48	Nick	Gay	27	GVB	student
49	Paula	Lesbian	26	Jingbaodian Badminton	student
50	Pamela	Lesbian	20	Taichung Badminton	student
51	Liz	Gay	26	Xiong Hou Basketball	working professional
52	Al	Bisexual	24	Ye Guang Basketball	student
53	Bart	Gay	24	Zhuoqiu Tonghaohui	student
54	Tony	gay (flowing sexuality)	32	Bai Ling Basketball	student
55	Scott	Gay	24	Shuinanhai	student
56	Phoebe	undecided	20	Jingbaodian Badminton	student
57	Kent	Gay	25	Shuinanhai	working professional
58	Arbu	Lesbian	24	Xiaomo, Ye Guang	working professional
59	Maggie	Lesbian	31	Jingbaodian Badminton	working professional
60	Branda	Lesbian	29	Jingbaodian Badminton	working professional

	Name	Sexuality	Age	Sports Groups Participated	Occupation
61	Sara	Lesbian	26	Jingbaodian Badminton	working professional
62	Kim	Lesbian	23	Jingbaodian Badminton	student
63	Lisa	undecided	17	Jingbaodian Badminton	student
64	Jean	Transgender	34	Jingbaodian Badminton	working professional
65	Emily	Lesbian	33	Jingbaodian Badminton	working professional
66	May	Bisexual	22	Heixingan volleyball	student
67	Jessie	Lesbian	33	Jingbaodian Badminton	working professional
68	Olivia	Lesbian	25	Heixingan volleyball	working professional
69	Tina	Lesbian	24	Heixingan volleyball	student
70	Linda	Lesbian	24	Heixingan volleyball	working professional
71	Wendy	undecided	20	Heixingan volleyball	student
72	Becky	Lesbian	26	Heixingan volleyball	working professional
73	Lily	Lesbian	23	Xiaomo	working professional
74	Dennis	Gay	23	BOBO	student
75	Karen	Lesbian	34	Xiaomo, Heixingan volleyball	working professional
76	Gilbert	Gay	30	GVB	working professional
77	Kenny	Gay	31	GVB	working professional
78	Greg	Gay	30	GVB	working professional
79	Papi	Gay	30	GVB	working professional
80	Charles	Gay	20	GVB	student

	Name	Sexuality	Age	Sports Groups Participated	Occupation
81	Eli	Gay	27	GVB	soldier
82	Howard	Gay	24	GVB	student
83	Kay	Gay	27	GVB	working professional
84	Lucky	Gay	22	Zhuoqiu Tonghaohui	student
85	Angus	Gay	24	GVB	student
86	Sam	Gay	25	GVB	student
87	York	Gay	25	GVB	soldier
88	Boo	Gay	26	GVB	working professional
89	Gary	Gay	27	GVB	working professional
90	Craig	Gay	26	GVB	working professional
91	Adam	Gay	21	GVB	student
92	Chris	Gay	24	GVB	student
93	Ben	Bisexual	24	BOBO, Hong Guang Badminton	student
94	Chad	Gay	24	GVB, BOBO	student
95	Justin	Gay	25	Ba Ling Basketball	working professional
96	Jerry	Gay	24	Ba Ling Basketball	student
97	Stan	Gay	32	Ba Ling Basketball	working professional
98	Nicole	Lesbian	26	Xiaomo, Ye Guang Basketball	unemployed

Appendix 7 **Feedback from an Observer**

Watching the game - observations from the sidelines of life

As any fellow comrade will tell you, being gay automatically relegates you to the unenviable ranks in the league of outcasts, both a reject of and rejected by the very society that brought you into this world. Whether merely perceived, as in the case of those closeted and desperately trying to fit in, or actual, in the case of those brave souls who are out in the world, the feeling of exclusion and alienation lurks beneath the surface of our very existence. In addition, the more personal factors of language and cultural barriers makes living in Taiwan as a gay foreigner an even lonelier place. Unfortunately it seems that the only human emotion that matches the strength of such profound isolation and thus having the power to counteract its woes, is the lust for physical human contact. This can temporarily relieve the symptoms but such gross physical activity provides but a brief respite and in the long term leads to chronic frustration and disappointment.

As human beings we totally depend on other human beings for our survival. In fact our very existence depends upon others so it is false and ultimately untenable to sustain the concept of an independent self sufficient person who can live in isolation from his fellow man. Such ostracization, whether self inflicted or imposed by others, runs contrary to the nature of our human society and is particularly prevalent amongst but not exclusive to gays. I was therefore, pleasantly surprised to come across a group of gay young men playing volleyball together on a local university campus.

There are few places where gays gather openly together and for the most part they are bars and clubs where the atmosphere is so thick with carnal desire that it is hard to breathe let alone communicate on a level any higher than the groin. But here are a group of guys who, at least for a while, are focused on something other than checking out the physical attributes of their companions. They have left their imprisoned identities behind, found release from their solitary confinement and have become something greater than themselves. They are a team or even surpassing that, the game itself, an event that

transcends the boundaries that keep them trapped in their own isolated little worlds. Suddenly they belong to something. They feel safe, they feel strong, they feel accepted, they have found refuge. Their own bodies no longer dictate the boundaries of their identity so they can drop their guard and are free to enjoy and explore the collective environment of their newfound home.

It is impossible for physical bodies to ever unite in the way that way that sexual desire so desperately craves. This is true for whatever sexual orientation you happen to find yourself with. One body can never become one with another body and in the process of attempting this impossible union only frustration and further isolation ensue. But here on the sports field a union is taking place before my very eyes. Minds, being formless, are coming together, merging into one entity – the game. But not a bunch of egos engaged in warlike rivalry trying to impress their fellow teammates and defeat their enemies as so often seen in more conventional sporting events. Winning and losing play such a small part here. What is important is the sense of being part of something that allows the burden of self in isolation to dissolve, at least temporarily. Such pure joy radiates from all those who have entered the arena of this transcending alliance which is a delight and privilege simply to behold.

So how do I as a spectator fit in? Am I not still an outsider looking on from the sidelines and in as much not part of this mystical event? Well I guess there are those who enjoy watching porn videos even though they are not part of the action but such an unfortunate analogy contaminates the purity of what I see. On a cold winters night there is nothing better than sitting round a fire provided you know not to get too close and thus burnt. The same goes here. If I focus too closely on any one player in particular it soon becomes just another cruising ground, but if I remain focused on the game, it exudes a heart-warming radiance and for the first time in this alien country, I feel I can really breathe. I have found an oasis in the harsh desert of a world where emotional survival is a constant struggle. It remains to be seen whether this alone is sufficient or whether closer contact with the players when time is called would help or hinder matters. Indeed there may be reluctance from the group as a whole to allow aliens into their home, preferring to limit their

unspoken rules of acceptance. Or maybe the emergence of such a beautiful living entity should simply be observed from a distance. These questions are yet to be answered and are part of the ongoing social development of this extraordinary phenomenon.

Some may say that belonging to any group automatically creates boundaries excluding others but I do not see it that way. What I see is that these guys are breaking through the boundaries of their gay isolation, and have become, and identify with, something greater than themselves. Just watching them as a spectator, whether gay or straight, is an inspiration to break down whatever self-centered boundaries we have made for ourselves, that prevent us exploring our human potential. So for me it is a privilege to simply observe this spiritual (in the true sense of the word) movement and hope that its healing effect will reach beyond the gay community to enrich and empower anyone who encounters it.

AJ

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