Queer Politics and Sexual Modernity in Taiwan

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Introduction

> Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But, like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation. Far from being fixed in some essentialised past, they are subject to the continuous 'play' of **history**, **culture** and **power**.
>
> Stuart Hall[1]

Queer Sexuality: History, Culture, Power

How has male homosexuality been configured within the space of national/state culture in Taiwan since 1949? Under what normative conditions and regulatory regimes of gender and sexuality has the male homosexual body been materialised? Through what discursive means does the individual, interpolated as male homosexual, articulate himself as the desiring subject and enact resistant forms of politics from within that cultural terrain? Finally, what does it mean to be queer in Taiwan? *Queer Politics and Sexual Modernity in Taiwan* seeks to construct a cultural history and politics of sexuality in Taiwan by looking at the interface between queerness and the national/state culture.

By way of introduction, I would first like to ruminate on a particular narrative from contemporary Taiwan, the ramifications of which pertain to the key issues this book sets out to examine. The narrative in question is the opening passage from the novel *Niezi* or *The Sinful Son* (published in 1983 and translated into English as *Crystal Boys* in 1990) by the prolific writer Pai Hsien-yung. The significance of this literary work, aside from being widely hailed as the first modern Chinese novel on a gay theme,[2] can be illuminated in the words of its author. Renowned for his humanism, Pai attempted in an interview to situate this novel as being primarily concerned with the question of homosexual oppression: '*Crystal Boys* depicts homosexual *people* [*tongxinglian de ren*], rather than homosexuality [*tongxinglian*]. There is no

description of homosexuality in it; the characters are a group of people being oppressed.'[3] Later in the interview he remarked that the oppression in question had its cultural specificity: 'There exists no point of reference [with regard to the question of homosexuality] in Chinese literature. And yet I insisted on looking at the question of homosexuality from a Chinese point of view, to write about a world that belongs to the Chinese.'[4]

Set in 1970, with a prologue in which the identity of the narrator as a 'throw away' teenager is revealed, the novel begins with the following depiction of New Park, a gay hangout in Taipei, capital of the Republic of China in Taiwan:

> There are no days in our kingdom, only nights. As soon as the sun comes up, our kingdom goes into hiding, for it is an unlawful nation. We have no government and no constitution, we are neither recognised nor respected by anyone, our citizenry is little more than rabble …[5]

Pai's evocation of day/night imagery — a symbolic dyad through which meanings such as 'licit/illicit', 'disclosure/secrecy', and 'presentable/unpresentable' are played out[6] — renders the social predicament of homosexuals in Taiwan instantly intelligible. Moreover, what is unique and significant about this passage is the unprecedented way in which the question of homosexual oppression is raised and addressed in Taiwan, in contrast to the contemporary dominant discourses of homosexuality in which male homosexuals were invariably objectified and represented as the spectacle of the Other. Remarkably, the milieu of subordination is enunciated by a social collective in chorus; it is articulated from a first-person-plural-speaking subject position, a site of subjective identification, a 'we' with whom the outcast narrator identifies. Indeed, it is this unambiguous homosexual-identified articulatory position that makes *Crystal Boys* the foremost representation of male homosexuality in contemporary Taiwan. So much so that the name of the novel, by the end of the 1980s, became a new signifier for homosexuality in the public discourse.

Significantly, in the wake of the *tongzhi* (literally, 'comrade', denoting approximately lesbian and gay or queer) movement in 1990s Taiwan, more symbolic meanings have accrued to this particular text. In 1995, the Taipei city government, under then Mayor Chen Shu-bian, who went on to become the president of Taiwan between 2000 and 2008, announced it was to undertake an urban re-planning scheme called the Capital's Nucleus Project. Through the rewriting of historical memories, the scheme aimed to dispel and displace the authoritarian ambience of the central government administration district

shaped under martial law, thus embodying Chen's populist slogan to transform Taipei into a 'happy, hopeful city for the citizens'. Included in the plan was the historic site of New Park next to the presidential palace, yet the park's historical significance as Taiwan's most famous gay male cruising ground was totally written out of the collective memories that the plan sought to piece together.[7] To oppose such exclusionary municipal engineering, a coalition of nascent university-based lesbian and gay activist groups was formed under the banner of '*Tongzhi* Space Action Network' (TSAN). Significantly, as the notion of sexual citizenship was enunciated for the first time in the Taiwan public sphere, *Crystal Boys* came to be deployed as a medium of articulation, and became highly politicized during the course of this political contestation.[8] Not only was *Crystal Boys* reclaimed as a writing of gay history for its depiction of the 1970s underground male homosexual prostitution subculture based in New Park, it also became a site of identification where the self-chosen appellation '*tongzhi*' came to signify a new mode of homosexual consciousness. In a petition entitled '*Tongzhi* Looking for *Tongzhi*', TSAN especially evoked the following passage from the novel, using this 'sorrowful' 1970s writing to highlight the social predicament of homosexuals in 1990s Taiwan:

> In *tongzhi*'s kingdom, we no longer are afraid of daylight, are not forced to remain invisible, for it is no longer an unlawful nation:
> we have reasonable distribution of resources from the government,
> we are fully protected by the laws of the country,
> we are recognised and blessed by the multitude,
> we are being respected by History, which also inscribes us …[9]

The resignification of *Crystal Boys* — from a text in which the question of homosexual oppression and its cultural specificity was first addressed in the 1980s to a text through which political identification was made by the emerging *tongzhi* movement in the 1990s — points to a historical and significatory process concerning the forging of sexual identities in contemporary Taiwan. Two sets of crucial questions can be raised here with respect to Pai's textual practices and to the political magnetism exerted by his narrative. Firstly, what kind of identification is performed in the 'we' constructed in Pai's narrative? To the extent that this community is 'imagined', what does it mean to imagine a community that is not merely 'unlawful' but also not 'respected' in that particular society?[10] Further, where does this sense of interdiction come from, given that the law in Taiwan did not (and still does not) prohibit homosexuality *per se*? And how is this denigrated sense of self, this sense of shame, culturally structured and cultivated? Finally, how is one to locate this cultural imaginary in relation to the discursive space of the given nation-state that is itself an imagined community narrativitised in heterogeneous rather than homogeneous time in the postcolonial world?[11]

Secondly, in what sense does the 'we' as *tongzhi*-articulating agents diverge from the un-named 'we' enunciated in *Crystal Boys*? To what extent is the link between the two 'we's established by radical historical rupture or limiting historical continuities between the historical past and present? Further, what is at stake in imagining gay citizenship in relation to the present social/sexual order? If the taking on of the new identity, *tongzhi,* signals a collective rejection of the past of homosexual oppression, to what extent does the call for social recognition fail to challenge the existing social norms by which 'we' are spawned and adjudicated in the first place? Last but not least, how are 'we' as the governed to refigure a progressive sexual politics within such a geopolitical terrain?[12]

In undertaking these two sets of questions, this book employs *Crystal Boys* as a medium of *articulation* to construct a history and politics of male homosexuality in Taiwan. By 'articulation', I draw on the theory and politics of articulation proposed by Stuart Hall, as the following passage by Hall and his colleagues elucidates:

> By 'articulation' we are referring to the process of connecting disparate elements together to form a temporary unity. An 'articulation' is thus the form of the connection that can make a unity of two or more different or distinct elements, under certain conditions. It is a linkage which is not necessary, determined, or absolute and essential for all time; rather, it is a linkage whose conditions of existence or emergence need to be located in the contingencies of circumstance.[13]

Underscoring the contingency of a 'temporary unity' assembled by the cultural practitioner from separate components under established conditions, Hall's praxis of articulation proffers a method that makes sense of the work of culture in its complex situated-ness while making strategic and timely political interventions. Thus, by mapping the cultural imaginaries underlined by the two sets of questions, that is, by elucidating the two modes of homosexual consciousness that are represented *in* and configured *through Crystal Boys* respectively, this book further connects them in order to delineate a trajectory of identity-formation process. This 'temporary unity' is made necessary by a pressing genealogical question that constitutes the core problematic of this study: namely, what does it mean for a nascent *tongzhi* movement to appropriate a novel about male homosexual prostitution in a country where prostitution is outlawed, especially at a historical conjuncture which saw the hegemonic rise of anti-prostitution mainstream feminism in 1990s Taiwan?

As a work of queer cultural studies, this book has a twofold aim: it seeks to elucidate the specificity of the male homosexuality represented in *Crystal Boys*, further exploring the politics of gender and sexuality

that unfolds from the novel's aforementioned political 'moment'. In examining the Taiwanese state culture and the production of sexualities, this project adopts the methodological approach of conjunctural analysis and genealogical investigation. By conjunctural analysis, I allude to Stuart Hall's Gramscian understanding of identity formation as a cultural product whose constitution is always 'specific to a particular historical phase in specific national societies'. Conjunctural analysis thus locates the question of identity formation and its politics within 'the actual, grounded terrain of practices, representations, languages, and customs of any specific historical society'.[14] In particular, it situates the question of identity formation in relation to the working of hegemony, understood as an ongoing historical/political process whereby 'particular social groups struggle in many different ways, including ideologically, to win the consent of other groups and achieve a kind of ascendancy in both thought and practice over them'.[15] By genealogical investigation, I follow Foucault's analysis of bio-power and its operations through multifarious life-affirming modern technologies such as state administration of populations and professional expertise. For Foucault, sexuality is the conduit through which power exercises, as it is deployed through those technologies in disparate domains, a deployment that gives rise to the notion of sex as an imaginary ideal and that endows it with connotative power in signification.[16] In particular, I draw on Judith Butler's Foucaultian critique of sex, gender and desire, which 'refuse[s] to search for the origins of gender, the inner truth of female desire, a genuine or authentic sexual identity that repression has kept from view; rather genealogy investigates the political stakes in designating as an *origin* and *cause* those identity categories that are in fact the *effect* of institutions, practices, discourses with multiple and diffuse points of origin'.[17] Rather than taking the subject of representational or identity politics as given, Butler scrutinizes the normative power of sex and its function as a regulatory ideal which compels the materialisation of the body through reiteration of social conventions.[18] Indeed, her theory of subjection has enabled this book to ask under what normative constraints and conditions gendered sexual subjectivities are produced, further probing the sets of social exclusion that regulatory production entails in specific historical contexts.

Situating the subject of representation within the normative contexts established by national culture and state feminism, *Queer Politics and Sexual Modernity in Taiwan* carves out the complex and variegated configurations of gendered sexual subjectivities, either dominant or resistant. At the same time, by radically historicising these contexts, it also ventures, through a reflexive fashion, a critique of the very culture that produces these gender and sexual identities in the first place. In particular, this contextualisation

and recontextualisation of *Crystal Boys* examines the formation of Taiwanese sexual modernity, understood as a key aspect of nation-building/state-remaking process. Through the detailed analysis of a wide range of primary materials, from the 1950s through to the present, on the media, official, literary, intellectual and feminist discourse of sex, this book proposes a historical thesis that illustrates the deployment of sexuality in Taiwan during the past five decades. In showing the construction of male homosexuality as a term of social exclusion, it makes clear how sexuality comes to be deployed through the state's banning of prostitution, and further demonstrates how such a deployment of sexuality gives rise to a specific segment-line of contemporary Taiwan dominant moral-sexual order that is promulgated both by state qua state and by, since the 1990s, anti-prostitution state feminism. Non-marital sexualities are, this book will argue, subjected and subjugated to the auratic truth of respectability, whose production has shifted from the discursive regime of Cold War nationalist cultural morality to that of gender mainstreaming governance in recent years. By tracing the trajectory of identity formation process via the articulation of *Crystal Boys*, this book highlights the centrality of prostitution in the formation of sexual modernity as it argues for a queer politics that contests state-inspired heteronormativity in Taiwan today.

Having identified this book's problematic, I will sketch out in the following sections of this introduction its historical, methodological and theoretical frameworks. Following Hall's influential take on the question of cultural identity (as quoted in the epigraph of this introduction), I address the question of queerness in Taiwan as a dialectical process pertaining to the 'continual "play" of *history*, *culture* and *power*'. I specify 'the contingencies of circumstance' wherein this study is situated, further describing the exigency of queer life in present-day Taiwan that propels this critical project.[19] Therefore, apart from attending to the geopolitics of sexuality in relation to Taiwaneseness, I will explicate why this project starts with the historicising of male homosexuality and evolves into the critique of mainstream Taiwan feminism. In other words, the remaining sections are to carve out a politics of articulation on which this queer project is predicated.

The Geopolitics of Sexuality and Culture

This book shares a key premise on which current scholarship in the Queer Asia series is predicated.[20] That is, while emphasising the importance of transnational flows of mobile knowledge in shaping new sexual cultures and subjectivities, this new scholarship also challenges the universality of Western

sexual imperialism while insisting upon the particularity of the local with its hybridities and embedded histories. Nowhere is the geopolitics of sexuality more at stake, as far as this book is concerned, than the ways in which Foucaultian historiography of sexuality is appropriated in the construction of modern 'Chinese' homosexuality.

Foucault's famous historical thesis, that the modern homosexual emerged as a 'species' as the result of what he terms 'the perverse implantation' that took place in late nineteenth-century Europe under the new discursive regime of medical/psychiatric science, has been central to the question of how that 'perverse implantation' took shape — and to what effect — in China or the Chinese diaspora through the process of modernisation.[21] Crucially, Foucault strategically employs the dichotomy of sex acts and identity to underscore the modern organisation of sexuality as the discursive effects of new forms of institutional powers; the epistemological shift conveyed through this dichotomy has given rise to some reified and indeed melancholic accounts of sexual modernity in China. Notable among these is Bret Hinsch's construction of a male homosexual tradition in imperial China, one that is broadly based on the fluidity of sexual acts rather than beings or fixed identity. With Hinsch mourning the loss of the 'tolerant' 'Chinese homosexual tradition' to the hegemony of Western medical science,[22] many critics have pointed out that this kind of cultural essentialism is nostalgically propelled by a colonial fantasy that serves to stabilise the East-West dichotomy in a world ineradicably Westernised. Fran Martin, for instance, has acutely marked out Hinsch's melancholic accusation as he deplores contemporary Chinese gays for not being 'Chinese' enough by mimicking Western metropolitan gay identity and lifestyles.[23] In contrast, recent works by Deborah Tze-Lan Sang and Wenqing Kang have both offered nuanced accounts of how *tongxinglian* or *tongxinglian'ai*, the translated term for the sexological category of 'homosexuality', was articulated to and through existing channels of discourse in China in the process of modernisation during the first half of the twentieth century. Highlighting the agency of Chinese intellectuals and translators in their appropriation of Western sexological discourse through the competing discourses of love and sex, they show, through different trajectories, how same-sex desires came to be increasingly stigmatised during the Republican era. Whereas Sang makes the case in *The Emerging Lesbian: Female Same-Sex Desire in Modern China* that it was through the Republican ideology of 'romantic/free choice love' that homosexuality came to be articulated as *tongxing'ai* or 'same-sex love' and offers thereby a somewhat desexualising account, Kang, in *Obsessions: Male Same-Sex Relations in China, 1900–1950,* explores in far more detail how *tongxinglian* signified variably in

relation to the indigenous Chinese terms for male same-sex relations — ones that were constituted historically through class and gender hierarchies — within a supposedly egalitarian context, demonstrating how the construction of male homosexuality as feminised is deeply imbricated within a nation-building process conditioned by semi-colonial modernity.[24]

One must then raise the provocative question that Eve Sedgwick once posed, that is, just 'in *whose* lives is homosexual/heterosexual definition an issue of continuing centrality and difficulty?'[25] This question purports to address the modern definition of 'homosexual' which continues to spring from the overlapping gap between what Sedgwick calls 'the universalising view' (acts) to 'the minoritising view' (identity). For Sedgwick, to privilege either of them or even to dispense with any of them for an anti-homophobic cultural inquiry would 'obscure the present conditions of sexual identity'.[26] It is with this premise that I look into the 'perverse implantation' in the Taiwanese context. Thus, I show in chapters 1 and 2 respectively how *tongxinglian* was deployed via psychological discourse as well as how it was articulated in local terms or epithets designating deviant gender presentations and sexual acts, examining further in chapter 5 how certain sexual acts and identities are produced as 'perverse' within the normative context established by mainstream feminist politics. Hence, this book does not in any way subscribe to the kind of cultural essentialism premised on the reification of the act/identity dichotomy. Far from being a stable point of reference that designates values or ideals, culture, as cultural studies has posited, ought to be understood as a site of discursive constructs, interwoven by structures of narrative competing for meanings to different political ends. Here a set of questions posed by Hall is instructive in considering the ordering force by which a given culture is constituted:

> What were the processes by means of which a dominant cultural order came to be 'preferred'? Who preferred *this* order than that? What were the effects of particular ordering of the cultures of a social formation on the other hierarchised social arrangements? How did the preferred cultural order help to sustain '*definite forms of life*' in particular social formations? How and why did society come to be culturally 'structured' in dominance?[27]

It is only with this understanding of culture that we can ask meaningful questions *for* those interpolated as 'homosexual' and about the historical circumstances which they face today in Taiwan.

The queer politics of Taiwanese scholars Liu Jen-peng and Ding Naifei touches upon the questions Hall raises about cultural order in the Chinese-speaking context. In their influential article 'Reticent poetics, queer politics', which was first published in Chinese in 1998, Liu and Ding call into question

the assertion made by Chou Wah-shan, a Hong Kong academic writer, who has published many books on queer studies in Hong Kong and Taiwan, that Chinese societies are more broad-minded when it comes to homosexuality. Echoing Hinsch's Orientalist view about Chinese culture and Chinese male homosexuality, Chou in his *Post-colonial Tongzhi* (1997) argues that despite the importation and influences of Western homophobia, Chinese culture as a whole is still more tolerant of homosexuality as it is principally organised around the traditional asset of harmony. (Thus, it is argued, the rarity of 'queer-bashing' in the culture). With this tolerant tradition, he further proposes a 'Chinese' paradigm of 'coming out' for gays and lesbians in Chinese-speaking societies, one that is indicatively non-Western in style: 'non-conflictual', 'non-declarative' and 'non-sex centred'.[28] In challenging Chou's claim, Liu and Ding identify a specific kind of 'Chinese' homophobia, one that operates precisely through the rhetoric of tolerance that Chou unreservedly celebrates by tracing this rhetoric to the Confucian aesthetic-ethico-political tradition of 'reticent poetics'. Alluding to Foucault's assertion that the unsaid are the multiple effects of ordering, constitutive of a given discursive field/production, they draw on Taiwanese scholar T'sai Yin-chun's work on reticent poetics in traditional Chinese literature, which argues that reticence is a distinct type of enunciation, whereby subjective affect or intent is indirectly expressed through poetic idioms. Crucially, for this kind of communication to work at all, the articulatory logic of reticence is necessarily predicated upon certain *unsaid* social consensus wherein the indirect expressions deployed by the speakers are *meaningfully* coded. Given Confucianism's role as state philosophy in historic China, reticent articulation came to be deployed by means of 'self-discipline' and 'self-preservation' in sustaining a given social order. Liu and Ding write:

> Self-preservation and self-discipline together would then constitute a two pronged mechanism for maintaining a purportedly orthodox order. Within such a context, 'self-discipline' and 'self-preservation' are no longer mere matters of how one regards and maintains the proper self, but extend to how one must attend to socio-familial and personal-political at large … Those who feel and act in line with the given socio-familial order, in the light of and with proper-official space (government official, teacher, parent, etc.) wield reticence most often in self-discipline. While those who tend toward feelings, acts and words *out of line*, not befitting their place and role in the received order of persons and things are likewise commanded to a self-disciplining … Reticence and indirect speech and ritual acts reinforce the restraining power of such a field, and presume as they impose a *'like' heart* for all players within that game field. This then is how a reigning order (a force field) might be preserved through the

> circulation of reticent forces of self(Other)-discipline and self(Other)-preservation: those bodies occupying the liminal sites of this force-field immediately become shades or ghosts, deprived of the resources for life or action.[29]

Liu and Ding make clear that the concrete materialisation of this dominant premodern cultural force as well as its modern transfigurations, within for instance the space of so-called 'Cultural China' or 'Trans-national China', is a key historical question that remains to be investigated.[30] Through an engaging reading of Du Xiulan's *Ninü* or *The Unfilial Daughter*, an award-winning lesbian popular novel set in 1990s Taiwan, Liu and Ding demonstrate how reticent poetics, as a resilient and powerful cultural force, is woven into daily language in the guise of 'tolerance', 'sympathy' and 'love'; and how its symbolic violence — no less injurious than physical violence — continues to operate as a rhetorical trope through which the class-marked matters of gender and sexuality are represented in contemporary Taiwan. Chou's 'Chinese' coming-out paradigm is thus for Liu and Ding deeply complicit with the dominant order's disciplining of sexualities through precisely the ordered conditions of silence, for it not only fails to challenge the given normative regime whereby lesbians and gays as social abjects are at best patronised and at worst punished, but also entrenches further the centripetal force of a 'like heart' that binds the oppressed to prevailing social sentiments. Crucially, in registering the affective aspect of the 'like heart', Liu and Ding's critique of reticence poetic hints strongly at the resistant mode of feeling structure as one pertaining to queer survival.[31]

Following Liu and Ding's anti-essentialist critique of 'Chinese' homosexuality, this book addresses the crucial question they raise concerning cultural order and the production of queerness by carving out the specific contours of the "'like' heart" in Taiwan. Thus, while bringing into relief the institutional forces by which that "'like' heart", as a dominant feeling structure, is materialised and sustained in the form of moral-sexual order within the space of Taiwan national/state culture, this book also endeavours to give shape to the ongoing queer resistance that contests the heteronormative way of life. Let me now go on to sketch out the body politic in Taiwan, wherein this queering project is set to intervene.

(Homo)Sexuality and the Taiwan Nation-State

This book accentuates the pivotal role that state power plays in the construction of gender and sexuality in Taiwan. This analytic focus is made due to Taiwan's development over the past five decades, which was highly conditioned by Cold

War geopolitics. The South Korean scholar Cho Hee-yeon has characterised the postwar South Korea nation-state as 'authoritarian, developmentalist, statist and anti-communist', and these attributes are fittingly apposite to describe Taiwan, given the similar ways in which both were structurally positioned during the Cold War.[32]

Ceded by Imperial China under the Qing government to Japan after the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895, Taiwan became Japan's first overseas colony. During its fifty years of occupation in Taiwan, Imperial Japan implemented a colonial governance that has been characterised as at once brutally militaristic, in its suppression of anti-colonial revolts, and at the same time pacifying, in its sustained efforts to culturally assimilate and imperialise colonial subjects. Thus, as economic exploitation took place on the island, the colonial regime undertook a modernising project that deeply transformed Taiwanese society as it underwent rapid industrialisation and urbanisation. Crucially, this colonial modernity produced a profound sense of ambivalence on the part of the colonial subjects, who detested colonisation yet desired the disciplinary prosperity and regimented way of civilisation that came with it.[33] After Taiwan was handed back to mainland China in 1945 following Japan's defeat in the Second World War, that sense of colonial ambivalence was soon transformed into nostalgia for the Japanese way of life as the native Taiwanese found themselves faced with the corrupted Chinese nationalist government (KMT). Conflicts between the new mainland rulers and the native Taiwanese soon intensified as the exploitation of local resources for mainland postwar reconstruction led to severe recession in Taiwan. The resentment towards the government eventually erupted in a riot on 28 February 1947 in Taipei, known as the '228 riot', in which more than ten thousand native Taiwanese were executed by the nationalist government. For the next three decades, the KMT government not only categorically denied responsibility for the massacre, but also made the mere mention of it politically taboo. The ethnic divide between the mainlanders and Taiwanese natives deepened further in 1949 when more than 1.5 million mainland refugees retreated with Chiang Kai-shek's nationalist government to Taiwan after Mao Zedong's Communist Party took control of China in the Chinese civil war. For the next few decades the KMT government's suppression of indigenous ethnicities produced an ethnic hierarchy, with mainland Han Chinese on top, Taiwanese Han in the middle and the aboriginal people, stigmatised as 'mountain people', at the bottom.

Vowing to recover the mainland, Chiang made Taipei the temporary capital of China in 1949 and turned the island into 'the base of revival', with the US's tactical endorsement. To continue waging 'the holy war' against the

communist rebels and to ensure political stability, Chiang imposed a decree entitled 'Provisional Articles of Mobilisation against Rebellion' under martial law in 1949. Under this edict, Chiang was able to rule dictatorially for the next twenty-five years, despite his claim to be upholding democracy vis-à-vis Mao's regime. With the imposition of rigid censorship in accordance with the KMT government's right-wing anti-communist orthodoxy, the civil rights granted by the constitution — which came into effect in 1946 towards the end of the Republican era — such as freedom of speech, holding public gatherings and constituting political parties, were highly restricted or even denied. Political and social liberties were further infringed by the authoritarian regime's installation of the special military secret service — the notorious Taiwan Garrison Command — to suppress political dissidence and native Taiwanese consciousness. Throughout the 1950s, which became known as 'the White Terror period', an estimated figure of at least thirty thousand native Taiwanese, largely members of the professional, landed and intellectual classes, were either jailed or secretly executed for political opposition.

Under the aegis of US aid from 1950 to 1965, Chiang's government began to develop the economic edict for the 'revival base'. Thus, after the successful agricultural land reforms carried out during the 1950s, which served to greatly facilitate the flow of capital, Taiwan embarked on another swift industrialising process from the late 1950s onwards, developing an export-driven economy. The tremendous economic growth based on small business enterprises had earned Taiwan a reputation for being 'the World's manufacturing factory' by the 1970s. Yet accompanying this developmentalist model was the conservative cultural nationalism propagandised by the Chiang administration. In order to maintain its claim to represent the 'real' China on a small island that had previously been colonised, Chiang's government had to purge Japanese influences by re-identifying its inhabitants as Chinese subjects. This nation-building scheme was no more obvious than in the imposition of Mandarin as the national language. Japanese was banned from mass communications, while the use of Taiwanese dialects such as *minnanyu* and *hakka* (spoken by the majority of the indigenous population of ethnic Han origin from the Fujian province in south-east China) and the aboriginal languages were severely restricted in public life. Mandarin Chinese was effectively instrumentalised by the KMT government for the inculcation of Chinese national consciousness and Chinese cultural identity.

In his essay 'From Nationalism to Nationalising: Cultural Imagination and State Formation in Post-war Taiwan', Allen Chun investigates the hegemonic process of KMT's nation building with Chinese cultural identity reinforced. For Chun, the nationalisation of Chinese culture in postwar Taiwan is typical

of modern nation-state formation. Since the establishment of the Republic of China, it had always been the nationalist's task to consolidate the boundary of nationhood by inculcating a 'horizontal solidarity', adhering to traditional Confucian ethics against Western imperialism and its perceived materialist culture(s). In the case of postwar Taiwan, this task was made all the more urgent for the KMT's own survival by the threat posed by Mao's Communist regime. However, as Chun argues, the KMT state's attempt to resuscitate traditional Chinese culture, as seen in the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement launched by Chiang Kai-shek in the mid-1960s to counteract the Cultural Revolution, was not so much a return to the irrevocable past as a forward-looking political invention:

> The [KMT] government in effect played an active role (as author) in writing culture (by constructing discourses on tradition, ethnicity, ethical philosophy and moral psychology). It also inculcated these reconstructed notions of tradition (as culture) through the 'normative' machinery of the school, media, family and military in order to construct *disciplinary lifestyles and ritual patterns of behaviour* compatible with the underlying ethos of the State.[34]

Chun also demonstrates the ways in which 'Chinese-ness' (that which was predicated upon the Confucian ethical cultivation of the self) was inculcated in schools in the forging of Chinese national/cultural identity. Ironically, ostensibly purging the Japanese colonial influences in Taiwan, Chiang had to rely on the very disciplinary mechanism of control that Japan modernity had imprinted on Republican China and colonial Taiwan.

With huge financial aid and military support from the US, Chiang's government in exile was able to fend off invasions from mainland China in the early 1950s. The enactment of the Mutual Defence Treaty in 1954 further consolidated the tie between the US and Taiwan, with the immediate effect of establishing two US army bases on the island. Given the US's pivotal role as Taiwan's biggest backer, pro-American ideology prevailed throughout the Cold War era in Taiwan. Following the outbreak of the Vietnam War, the American presence in Taiwan became even stronger, with a huge influx of American GIs visiting the island for 'Rest and Relaxation'. In accommodating the demands from the US government, the KMT government not only loosened its strict regulations around dance halls, but also set up the first official venereal disease clinic in Taipei.[35] Meanwhile, US popular culture also had a profound influence on the emerging youth culture as US cultural products, such as films, fashion and music, were sold to Taiwan as part of 'the American Dream'.

Following Chiang's death in 1975, Chiang Ching-kuo succeeded his father to become leader of the one-party state. Autocratic and anti-communist in character, Chiang Ching-kuo's regime, however, made a decisive move towards the so-called 'indigenisation', which allowed more native-born Taiwanese elites to hold government positions that had been previously monopolised by mainlanders. Yet the one-party regime had increasingly to confront resilient opposition, which resulted in a brisk process of democratisation in the 1980s. Citing 'human rights', political dissidents began to garner public support in their challenge to the KMT's dictatorship and this underground political movement eventually led to the founding of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) — Taiwan's first opposition party — shortly before the abrogation of martial law in 1987.

With Chiang's death in 1988, Lee Teng-hui became the first native-born Taiwanese president of Minnan ethnicity as he undertook the restructuring of the nationhood vis-à-vis China's entry into the global economy in the post–Cold War era. Central to Lee's plan to remake the state was his proposition of 'the shared entity of life' (*shengming gongtongti*), constituting the four ethnic groups. While the arbitration of such categorisation is necessarily premised, as Ning Yin-bin has pointed out, on the privileging of patrilineality, such an ideological construct of spurious entity served as a pretext for Lee's writing of a Taiwanese national identity over and against the one previously constructed under the 'Chiang Dynasty', masking in the process its profoundly Minnan-centric cultural agenda.[36] Crucially this ethnicity-based ideology has come to dominate national electoral politics since the regime change in 2000, when Chen Shu-bian, former mayor of Taipei (1994–1998), standing for the DPP, defeated the split KMT to win the presidential election. Seeing itself as redeeming the 'native' Taiwanese people from the KMT's fifty years of tyrannical rule, Chen's administration embarked on a nation-building project for the next eight years that relentlessly exploited ethnic tensions and, as Kuan-hsing Chen has eloquently demonstrated, the antagonistic 'structures of feeling' determined by US Cold War imperialism and Japanese colonialism for political gain.[37] Under the patriotic rhetoric of '[professing your] Love for Taiwan' (the implied meaning here being hatred for China), Chen's regime implemented a populist democracy, succeeding to a large degree in absorbing the anti-autocratic social forces vented through the social movements that flourished in the early 1990s. At the same time, ostensibly espousing the liberal value of 'human rights', the DPP regime wielded state power to sustain its bourgeois ideal of the national body through the radical exclusion of subaltern subjects such as sex workers and migrant workers from Southeast Asia. Kuan-hsing Chen, drawing on the works of Franz Fanon and Ashis Nandy, has powerfully

argued that the question of decolonisation must not be reduced to nationalist struggle for independence, contending that decolonisation, understood as an ongoing political project, must address all forms of oppression, attending especially to the ones enacted and justified precisely by the nation-state in its quest for sovereignty.[38] Tragically, the Taiwanese nationalism fostered by the DPP has proved to be a statist project that continues internal colonisation across segment lines of class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity and race.

The onset of the 1990s *tongzhi* movement in Taiwan can be seen as a decolonising project that centred on the question of sexuality. Institutional homophobia in Taiwan has since begun to be challenged by lesbian and gay activism. Two years after an unsuccessful campaign for the incorporation of gay rights into the Anti-Discrimination Bill drafted in congress in 1993, lesbian and gay activists, under the banner of the new identity name '*tongzhi*', took to the streets and staged the first gay demonstration in Taiwan. This took place in front of the health department building in Taipei in protest against the publication of Dr. Tu Xingzhe's *Homosexual Epidemiology*, a state-commissioned AIDS research laden with scientific bias and homophobia. In 1996, as mentioned already, the Tongzhi Space Action Network was founded to contest the Taipei city government's new urban planning to de-gay the Taipei New Park. Meanwhile, lesbians and gays also began to confront the violence of state power carried out by the police.[39] In 1999, the police broke into the AG Gym, a gay sauna in Taipei, ordering two customers to pose for a photographer in a position of sexual intercourse in order to forge evidence for prosecution. What previously would have been regarded as no more than the usual raid of a sauna suspected of prostitution was consequently politicised by lesbian and gay activists as a concrete instance of state violence.[40]

The rise of *tongzhi* counterculture in 1990s Taiwan has been surveyed and analysed extensively by Martin in her monograph *Situating Sexualities: Queer Representation in Taiwanese Fiction, Film and Public Culture*.[41] An exemplary work in the emergent field of queer Asian cultural studies, *Situating Sexualities* shows that the development of *tongzhi* culture and the formation of *tongzhi* subjectivity are shaped by the concoction of the global and the local, a 'glocalisation' that is consequent upon the incessant process of cultural resignification conditioned simultaneously by particular local history as well as transnational circuits of knowledge and capital. Analysing disparate modes of queer representation (ranging from the figure of the cosmopolitan gay to that of the unquiet spectre), Martin makes a strong case that the meaning of homosexuality in contemporary Taiwan is inseparably linked to the reproduction of urban space, to the workings of 'Confucian' familial ideology as well as the political contestation of the definition of citizenship in the

public sphere. Significantly, in her detailed movement-wise reading of *tongzhi* literature, Martin demonstrates brilliantly how the *tongzhi* activist strategy of mask-donning counters a local homophobia that operates predominantly through the shaming of deviant sexual subjects. Exploring this Taiwanese praxis of 'coming out', Martin concludes by proposing a theory of '*xianshen*', which renders 'coming out' as making an affective mode of identity politics based on a collective will to psychic reparation through the demand for love rather than on the Nietzschean *ressentiment* that re-inscribes dominant power at the heart of identity claim.

While Fran Martin skilfully uses the literary criticism of *Crystal Boys* and the site of New Park to articulate the shift in the nation-state familial ideology from the 1970s through the 1990s to foreground her study of *tongzhi* subculture (her main focus), her analysis does not deal exhaustively with the construction of homosexuality during the Cold War era. On the subject of the pre-*tognzhi* homosexuality, Wu Jui-yuan's unpublished MA thesis, 'As a "Bad" Son: The Emergence of Modern "Homosexual" in Taiwan, 1970–1990' stood as a groundbreaking work. Following John D'Emilio's argument about capitalism and the formation of gay identity in the West, Wu argues that the industrialising and urbanising process that Taiwan underwent in the 1960s provided the material conditions for the emergence of gay identity in the 1970s. Examining the press coverage of several major homicide cases involving same-sex relations during that period, he shows how sexual perversion came to signify homosexuality, detailing as well the discursive proliferation of male homosexuality sparked off by the public hysteria around AIDS in the 1980s.[42] Similarly, the important work of the cultural anthropologist Antonia Yen-ning Chao has also illuminated the construction of gender and sexuality in Taiwan during the Cold War era. Her ethnography on Taiwanese lesbian bar culture demonstrates that lesbian identity in Taiwan did not emerge until after the lifting of martial law, due to the loosening of state regulations on unconventional social spaces, showing how the nation-building process in the post–martial law era displaces a collective social anxiety by repudiating the social significance of lesbianism and its sexual legitimacy in contemporary Taiwan.[43] Significantly through her inquiry into Cold War sexual politics, she illustrates how sexual perversion (such as sadomasochism) came to be allegorised in homoerotic fiction of the 1950s as the alterity of an anti-communist military regime. In particular, she marks out the profound class bias of the emergent 1990s woman-identified-woman lesbian feminism, which drew on the Cold War rhetoric of progress and civility to repudiate the butch-femme lesbian bar culture (whose non-elite origin is revealed in Chao's ethnography) as dated.[44]

This book differs from the aforementioned literature in two crucial aspects. Firstly, in addition to extending the inquiry into the discursive production of homosexuality into the 1950s and 1960s, it centres on two representational domains — mental hygiene and domestic news production — within the terrain of national culture. Through examining these earlier discourses of male same-sex relations that I have unearthed, I map out the normative culture of sex and gender, wherein the construction of the 'glass clique' (*boli quan*), the epithet by which the imagined community of male homosexuals was widely known in mainstream Taiwan, took place from the 1970s through the 1990s. In analysing medico-moral discourse of the Cold War period, this book reveals how the meaning of male same-sex genital acts and relations took shape with reference to perversion, prostitution and AIDS. Secondly, although scholars have observed that, despite the fact that no law appeared to ban same-sex genital acts, homosexuality was consistently regarded by the state as an affront to so-called 'cultural tradition' and hence made punishable. They have not looked into the very moral regime of 'cultural tradition' to which male homosexuals were subjected. This book tackles this implicit regulation of homosexuality by tracing it to a moral regime called 'virtuous custom' (*shangliang fengsu*) as sustained by the now defunct Police Offence Law. Promulgated in the late Qing dynasty, the law in question was unconstitutionally sustained by the KMT government in Taiwan until 1991, when it was replaced by the Social Order Maintenance Law. This administrative law, which conferred enormous juridical powers on the police, played a pivotal role in shaping national culture in postwar Taiwan. Its regulatory domains encompassed virtually every aspect of public life, ranging from enforcing the playing of the national anthem at film screenings to redressing 'dissolute' mannerisms and 'misdemeanours', from prohibiting 'outlandish' clothes, to all forms of commercial sexual activities, except for a small number of licensed brothels and female prostitutes. Under the purview of the Police Offence Law, which gave the police enormous powers without court procedures, male homosexuals, like unmarried women suspected of prostitution, were invariably treated as sexual suspects and often charged with offences against 'virtuous custom'.

Written with the conviction that the question of homosexuality cannot be isolated from the question of sexuality as a whole in its complex historical configurations, this book endeavours to illustrate, through genealogical critique of the 'virtuous custom' in chapter 3, how and why the state's implicit regulation of male homosexuality must be situated and understood within a wider framework of the KMT's building of the 'Chinese nation' through its forcible maintenance of the 'virtuous custom', a normative context whereby

non-marital sexualities came to be policed by the state *through* its moral rating of the gendered populations, in accordance with its highly contradictory policies on prostitution.

On the basis of this investigation into the policed culture of sex and the state regulation of gender and sexuality, this book further develops a critical project that calls into question the normative condition under which *tongzhi* identity politics, as articulated through *Crystal Boys*, emerged in the supposedly liberalising Taiwan. As I show in chapter 4, the emergent *tongzhi* movement, in its efforts to politicise the novel, elided crucially the historical specificity of the homosexuality represented in the novel, a specificity that concerns precisely, I argue, the issue of male prostitution. Such inattentiveness on the part of the nascent *tongzhi* movement must be further understood, I contend, within a renewed context of an anti-prostitution state culture in the 1990s, one that came to be imbued with gender-equity consciousness, thanks to the hegemonic rise of the so-called Taiwan state feminism. The last two chapters of this book purport to delineate the contours of this new normative context as well as the queer resistance engendered therein.

Queering Gender and Nation-State: *Xing/bie* as 'Queer'

This new normative context can be briefly sketched out through a schematic account of how the term '*xing/bie*' (性/別), a neologism with a slash inserted into '*xingbie*', the Chinese term for 'gender', came to signify a particular form of queer politics that emerged out of the 1990s Taiwan feminist debates on female sexual agency in general and on sex work. Specifically, it names a discursive movement and activism centring on the politics of sexualities, one that critically intervenes in the particular process of gender mainstreaming that is, as the work of Josephine Chuen-juei Ho has elucidated, deeply imbricated within the state-remaking process since the 1990s. In her genealogy on the gendering of the post–martial law Taiwan civil society, Ho traces a hegemonic process whereby the nascent women's movement came to obtain political and moral legitimacy through their involvement with the anti-trafficking campaign. Launched in 1987 by a coalition of Christian groups and women NGOs to rescue aborigine underage girls sold or forced into prostitution, the campaign soon gathered momentum as its humanist cause successfully absorbed discontent across the social spectrum in the post–martial law era. Yet, according to Ho, as the religious groups took hold of the hegemonic lead by shifting the analytic of age oppression to that of gender exploitation, the campaign turned into a moral crusade against prostitution. Thus was formed the anti-prostitution/obscenity bloc aligned with liberal feminists,

aggressively lobbying for a new law that was to become the Law to Suppress Sexual Transaction Involving Children and Juveniles as promulgated in 1995.[45] As Ho points out, the law, initially drafted as the Child Prostitution Prevention Act, was a piece of legislation with the signature of the norm, as it not only stipulates penalties but also contains administrative procedures and preventive measures. Significantly, in showing the bloc's continual intervention in the subsequent amendments of the law to expend its regulatory arms, and in highlighting how the law comes to be deployed as an 'intricate web of social discipline' that stridently regulates sexual conduct within an 'infantalised social space', Ho makes clear that the NGOs' access to state power attests to a crucial new development, whereby the liberal distinction between civil society and state becomes increasingly blurred under the profound influence of global governance. Empowered by the global network, the self-righteous Taiwanese NGOs align themselves with the universalising imperative of child welfare set by the United Nations as they come to harness a decentralising state power to actualise their moral agendas.[46]

One crucial event marks a key moment of the anti-prostitution/obscenity feminist agitation within this new normative context. In 1997, in his bid to build the capital city of Taiwan as the city of 'hope and happiness', Chen Shui-bian abruptly revoked the licence of semi-literate middle-aged women prostitutes, after having been advised by his close feminist allies, who had been recruited to run the newly set-up municipal committee of gender equality. Yet this violent policy provoked resilient resistance on the part of the prostitutes themselves, sparking the inception of the prostitute rights movement.[47] Meanwhile, this event also led to the purging of sexual dissidents within the women's movement itself. As most middle-class feminists endorsing Chen volubly asserted the primacy of 'erotic autonomy' against the practice of commercial sex, a minority of sex radical feminists and queers aligning themselves with the prostitutes was officially expelled from feminism.[48] At the same time, faced with the challenge from the sex radicals, some self-proclaimed 'state feminists' like Lin Fang-mei and Liu Yu-hsiu made it abundantly clear they were only interested in working with Chen's administration on 'gender issues' relating to the family.[49] With housewives placed at the centre of such a women's movement, the goal of state feminism was not only to transform the state into a carer, but also for 'all' women to take over the state and rule the country (starting with mobilising housewives to take part in running local communities before getting into mainstream electoral politics).[50] In a forceful critique of Taiwan state feminism in its formative stage, Ding Naifei acutely observes the state feminists' exclusion of the issue of sexuality and their adherence to domestic morality prescribed

by Confucian doxa of sage-king moral cultivation. Moreover, Ding notes a certain 'reticence' at work in the state feminists' claim to include 'all' women as the subjects of these campaigns, due to their uncritical appropriation of Confucian moralistic doctrine. Such a position rules out those who fail or refuse to assume Confucian familial norms, such as prostitutes and queers.[51]

In challenging the feminist state-in-the-making, Ho's and Ding's politics exemplify the theoretical positionality of *xing/bie* (性/別), which is the Chinese name for the Centre for the Study of Sexualities at National Central University. Coinciding with the founding of the centre in 1995,[52] the term *xing/bie* also made its debut in the special issue entitled 'Queer Nation(s)' (*Seqing guozu*) in the now defunct radical cultural journal *Isle Margins*. In an article entitled 'Surname "Sex" [*xing*], given name "Difference" [*bie*], call me "Queer" [*xie*]', the pseudonymous Xie Zuopai [Queer Leftist] explicates the neologism as follows:

> The sign '*xing/bie*' expeditiously fuses 'gender' [*xingbie*] and 'sex' [*xing*] together. Further, '*xing/bie*' also conveys the notion that there exists 'differences' [*bie*] within 'sex'. That is to say, sex or sexualities are in fact heterogeneous rather than homogeneous; not only are there differences within the realm of sexuality, but there also exists power relations and various kinds of subordination … In addition, '*xing/bie*' also makes indistinct '*xingbie*', the meaning of which denotes there are absolute distinctions/divisions between the two sexes. '*Xing/bie*' destabilises rather than stabilises the distinction between the two sexes. The '/' is therefore made here to intervene in the much-taken-for-granted term *xingbie* so as to seek other potentials, the possibilities of which concern both the politics of *xing* and of *bie* (of social differences).[53]

As such, *xing/bie* functions as a critical conceptual tool which proposes an *anti-essentialist* understanding of gender identity while underscoring at the same time how social divisions come to be produced discursively as *differences* through disparate systems of representation. Further, by accentuating the politics of differences, *xing/bie* politics particularly resists the given national culture whose hegemonic operation tends to homogenise and suppress those internal differences that cut cross the lines of age, race, class, ethnicity, gender and sexuality.

While the political ramifications of the *xing/bie* movement have continued to evolve, given its commitment to empower the subordinated gendered and/or sexual subjects (for instance, the transgender movement that emerged therein),[54] it is of particular significance to point out that, from its inception, the *xing/bie* movement has always aligned itself with 'bad sex', taking up a marginal oppositionality in relation to the regulative phantasm

of the 'good sex' sanctioned by the state apparatuses, including the 'gender-only' politics that later came to be assumed in the form of state feminism. This insistence in 'queering' the Taiwan nation-state through the perverse and the obscene can perhaps be seen in the name of the aforementioned *Isle Margins* special issue, where the English word 'queer' was rendered as *seqing* — a term that designates in its general usage base sexual practices or representation such as prostitution and pornography, so that the Taiwan nation-state, with its emblematic mark of normative heterosexuality, came to be displaced and reclaimed by a 'united nations of *seqing*', whose political identification not only refuses to take sides in the then escalating 'unification or independence' debate but also contests, above all, the deeply engrained 'patriarchal' and 'sex-negative' cultural values upheld by the left and right alike.[55] Thus, in its attempt to recruit the 'queer-cum-*seqing*' citizenry, the editorial of the issue writes:

> Do you find those morally upright gentlemen (*zhengren junzi*) odious? Let us all be queers [as in the senses of 'evil people' and 'crooked people']. The morally righteous gentlemen are the defenders of patriarchy, whereas queer people are the perverse (*yao*) men and women as well as those on the *xing/bie* margins. Queer people or the queer citizenry aspire to the united nations of *seqing*.[56]

In delineating its oblique relation to the normative subjectivity produced and required by the nation-state, and in mobilising the manifold marginalities marked by gender and sexual deviance, the imagined community of the united nations of *seqing* can be understood as advancing a critical utopian gesture that insistently challenges the status quo sustained by moral-sexual dominations.[57] In his brilliant essay 'Queer Marxism in Taiwan', Petrus Liu has underscored the a-statist politics of the *xing/bie*-cum-queer movement as spearheaded by the Centre for the Study of Sexualities and its activist extension, Gender/Sexuality Rights Association, Taiwan. Expounding the movement's non-class reductive materialist politics of sexuality as forcefully contesting liberal governance in Taiwan, Liu also reads state feminism's monopoly of gender knowledge production as the profound effect of the hierarchised division of intellectual labour that stigmatises the movement's anti-normative production of sexual knowledge.[58] Crucially, within the context of the queer cultural imaginaries formed in 1990s Taiwan, it is of particular significance to index the difference between two modes of utopian longing that are driven by discontent with the historical present, one marked by the united nations of *seqing*, the other by the TSAN's articulation of *Crystal Boys*, as discussed earlier in this introduction. Whereas the former's politics of marginality and

difference radically propels resistance to dominant power, the latter appears to gesture toward the politics of inclusion into the nation-state, which perhaps explains why TSAN's resignification of the novel came to be re-appropriated by the DDP presidential campaign in 1996.

The queer politics this book purports to delineate belongs to the critical utopian project opened up by the *xing/bie* movement. In following its call to challenge the heteronormative, this book aims to historicise the ruling positionalities taken up by the morally upright gentlemen and gentlewomen in Taiwan, drawing especially on the works of Liu Jen-peng and Ding Naifei (both affiliated with the Centre for the Study of Sexualities). In their own works, as well as their collaborated project, Liu and Ding are primarily concerned with analysing the formation of modernity and its symbolic violence within the Chinese-speaking historical context. Drawing on Louis Dumount's work on hierarchy, they demonstrate how subjugated agential subjectivities constituted within hierarchical power relations can be represented through a politics of reading that persistently interrogates the limits of dominant aesthetic-ethical values such as reticence, as discussed earlier. In her important study of the late Qing dynasty and early Republican Chinese nationalist discourse of women's rights, Liu makes a strong case showing how the gender equality ideology of that period came to be articulated through a discursive position of the man of virtue imbricated within the tradition of Confucian morality, a subject position designated as the 'sage-king' in Confucian moral philosophy. Liu argues that the 'sage-king' paradigm works as a moral hierarchy predicated upon a *presupposed* totality. In this Dumontian scheme, this pre-given totality subsumes two levels of *binary* relation between the encompassing (the sage-king) and the encompassed (his opposite). On a higher level, there exists a complementary relation between the 'sage-king' and his opposite, as both share the same identity under the presumed totality; yet on a lower level, the 'sage-king' encompasses the other while the latter excludes the former at the same time. In other words, provided that the pre-given totality is not radically called into question, those assuming the sage-king speaking position are capable of acting benevolently towards those perceived as morally inferior. Significantly, the presumed totality is not *all* encompassing because it is necessarily founded upon *foreclosure*. Accordingly, while a given totality can expand its boundaries continually by assimilating differences under its order, it will always exclude others that are beyond its terms of recognition. Thus, this encompassing logic in effect gives rise to another set of hierarchical relations between the encompassed and the foreclosed. Using metaphors drawn from Zhuangzhi's fable 'Penumbra asks the Shadow', Liu further recasts the Dumontian hierarchy in terms of three hierarchised positionalities:

substance (the identity/given totality), shadow (that which is encompassed by that totality), and penumbrae ('the shadows of the shadow', those which are the constitutive outside of the totality).[59] In the case of the late Qing discourse, as the rhetoric of gender equality was welded onto the sage-king paradigm, a new hierarchy differentiating women in accordance with norms of that totality arose at a specific historical juncture where China's wish for modernity was (en)gendered through complex and contradictory identifications with the colonising West. With the category of woman subsumed under the totality of moral perfection, those considered morally questionable, such as prostitutes, those belonging to low social status, such as maid-servants, and those judged to be 'backwards', like women with bound feet, all failed to qualify from entering modern womanhood, thus becoming 'the penumbrae of the shadow of the modern woman who believe in gender quality'.[60]

In a similar vein, Ding's work on 'base femininity' further demonstrates such an exclusionary process effected through gender modernisation. In a trenchant critique of contemporary Taiwan dominant state feminism's disavowal of sex workers' agency and its reticence over the abuse of migrant domestic workers in the private sphere, Ding analyses this particular classist positioning as structured by a profound sense of gendered shame that is animated by the cultural memory of 'bondmaid-concubine' (*beiqie*), a base figure sold to provide in-house sex and domestic services in 'traditional' Chinese society. Through examining the representation of that particular figure in feminist socio-anthropological as well as fictional discourses, Ding underscores how the figure's base status, symbolically feared as polluting, precludes her from being *fully* integrated into the supposedly egalitarian societies even after the abolition of bond-servitude in twentieth-century Hong Kong and Taiwan. Significantly, through interrogating the delimited figurations of the bondmaid-concubine's agential subjectivity in feminist imaginaries, Ding observes insightfully that the repression of caste-like social hierarchy in modern egalitarian ideology produces a particular structure of feeling on the part of middle-class professional women assuming the 'woman-of-respectable family' (*liangjia funü*) subject position: the baseness embodied in the figure of 'bondmaid-concubine' is transformed into an individualising sense of gendered sexual shame around modern sex and domestic work. Inattentive to their own becoming, vis-à-vis the bondmaid-concubine trajectory in the course of modernisation, Taiwan state feminists project that sense of shame onto those choosing sex and/or domestic work over other respectable professions and in so doing compel them to inhabit the symbolic position of base femininity.[61]

Liu's and Ding's works provide a useful model showing how gendered sexual subjectivities are historically produced in socio-symbolic terms. More importantly, they carve out a queer positionality designated through the figure of penumbrae, one from which to critique the socio-symbolic order and its presumed gendered/sexual totality. Drawing on this line of historicising arguments, as well as advancing the anti-normative politics of *xing/bie*, this book's genealogical analysis hopes to elucidate the makings of two governing and gendered subject positions and the moral-sexual order to which they give rise. I term 'sage-king' the regulatory regime of 'virtuous custom' formed under the KMT administration during the Cold War, while designating as 'sage-queen' the seemingly liberal yet deeply disciplinary regime of 'sexual autonomy' espoused by state feminism. In marking out the symbolic dimension of these reigning positionalities as well as their ideological and affective bases, and in tracking the hegemonic process whereby the sage-queen feminist subject emerged from the shadow of the sage-king nationalist subject as the new moral authority, this book delineates the historical construct of normative national heterosexuality and its makeover of late in Taiwan, revealing in particular the formation of a sexual modernity within a particular melancholic state fostered by state feminism. By demonstrating the centrality of prostitution in the formation of gendered sexual modernity, this book hopes to make a valuable contribution to the scholarship on Chinese gendered modernities.[62]

Chapter Outlines

This book has six chapters. Each looks at the deployment of sexuality in different domains. Chapter 1, 'Mental Hygiene and the Regime of Sexuality: The Case of *The Man Who Escapes Marriage*', shows how the category of 'homosexuality' came to be produced through the institutional discourse of mental hygiene in the 1960s and 1970s. Following the Foucaultian genealogy of modern sexuality, which reveals it to be a medico-scientific construct, I propose to render the term 'sexuality' — the translation of which into the Chinese language has proven to be rather elusive to date — as *xingxinli* (性心理), literally, the 'psycho-sexual', a term that has now been valorised as part of everyday language in the Chinese-speaking context, due to the pervasive psychologisation of sex that Foucault famously identifies. My rendition of 'sexuality' as *xingxinli* is a strategic effort to make legible the quotidian term of *xinginli* as the discursive product of the knowledge/power complex, while tracking at the same time the apparatus of *xingxinli* as it was formed through the disciplinary practice of mental hygiene inculcated by experts within the

emerging 'psy' industry. I show how psychologists and doctors moralised through pathologising deviant sexual behaviour while underscoring how sexual perversion, understood as that which deviates from the teleology of reproductive heterogenitality, came to be articulated through the generic term of *pi*, the Chinese term for 'obsession'. Further, it is within this normative culture of sex established by the apparatus of *xingxinli* where I situate and read *The Man Who Escapes Marriage* (1976), Taiwan's first *tongxinglian* or 'homosexual' popular novel by the romance fiction writer Guang Tai. As an act of homosexual writing enabled, to a large extent, by the American Psychiatric Association's 1973 decision to depathologise homosexuality as mental illness, *The Man* represents, I argue, a limiting case whereby the legitimation of homosexual desire is made through the author's appeal to the virtue of moral rectitude.

Chapter 2, 'Prostitution, Perversion and AIDS: The Secrets of the Glass Clique', looks into the construction of male homosexuality as social deviance from the 1950s to the 1980s. Examining the journalistic representation of male same-sex relations, this chapter analyses the disparate regimes of knowledge — including police administration, psychiatry and epidemiology — that produce the male homosexuals as a 'species', one which came to be known by the local epithet of the 'glass clique' from the 1970s onwards. Significantly, whereas the mental hygiene discourse contains little reference to local male homosexuals, this chapter shows that male same-sex relations, made visible through the press's condemnation of the underground male prostitution subculture, fell increasingly under the regime of *xingxinli*, as journalists began to adopt the psychiatric style of reasoning to pathologise same-sex relations and genital acts. Meanwhile, through analysing the press's coverage of police raids, I show how the 'glass clique' came to be equated with prostitution, with all male homosexuals being policed by the state as prostitutes. Such an equation of male homosexuality with prostitution continued to figure in the eroto/homophobic discourse of AIDS as the 'glass clique' came to be identified as a disposable population, the deadly contagious source that posed a grave threat to the health of the nation.

Chapter 3, 'State Power, Prostitution and Sexual Order: Towards a Genealogical Critique of "Virtuous Custom"', further puts the state's policing of the male homosexuals in context by considering the policed culture of sex under the regulatory regime of 'virtuous custom' as sustained by the now defunct Police Offence Law between the 1950s and 1990s. It looks at the construction of the so-called 'virtuous custom' as a key site of normative national life at the height of the Cold War, when forceful state interventions were made to curb the drastic expansion of the sex industry

precipitated by Taiwan's rapid industrialisation. Examining the official and public discourses of sex, as well as the state administration of prostitution, this chapter delineates the transformation of the political economy of sex at that specific conjuncture. Specifically, it analyses the ways in which Chiang Kai-shek's regime tactically deployed the now defunct Police Offence Law and how the government's highly contradictory prostitution policies gave rise to the disciplinary regime of 'virtuous custom'. This chapter argues that 'virtuous custom' is an ideological construct predicated upon the Confucian sage-king moral hierarchy, demonstrating how it operates as a norm of sex through which moral ratings are made, with those working in the sex industry, especially women, being disciplined, punished and categorised as the shameful class. A social-sexual order premised on 'sage-king' police/civil-servant/student-nationalist citizen subject position thus came to be effectively installed through the state's policing of the gendered prostitute subject. Finally, this genealogical critique concludes by elucidating its historical significance for the political present. By looking at mainstream feminism's intervention in legal reforms in the 1990s, this chapter shows how the regulatory regime of 'virtuous custom' is expanded due to the rise of the 'sage-queen' feminist morality. In so doing, it foregrounds the new normative context to be dealt with in details in chapter 5 and 6.

Chapter 4, 'From Glass Clique to *Tongzhi* Nation: *Crystal Boys*, Identity Formation and Politics of Sexual Shame', serves as the book's linchpin: while offering a historicised reading of the novel based within the context mapped out in the previous chapters, it also proposes a politics of reading that links this seminal 'gay' novel to contemporary feminist politics. Beginning with an account of how the novel was made a homosexual signifier in the 1980s, it proceeds to read the novel against its humanist grain. In particular, this chapter demonstrates that the novel represents a particular sense of male homosexual shame, one that is not only linked to prostitution but also configured through the discursive positionality of base femininity formed in postwar Taiwan. As the novel was taken up as a signifier in the new *tongzhi* politics, its legacy as the historic representation of the 'glass clique' was, this chapter shows, left out entirely, with the particular 'state-affect' of gendered sexual shame linked to prostitution being displaced by the emerging *tongzhi* movement through its political praxis of 'coming out'. Such a regulatory exclusion cannot be understood without taking into account the new normative context ordained by anti-prostitution feminism, which has come to encompass the hegemonic positionality of respectable femininity.

The remaining chapters continue to engage that sense of gendered sexual shame represented in *Crystal Boys* by taking on the new normative condition

established by state feminism since the mid-1990s, with each centring on the praxes of two key feminist intellectual figures respectively. I use the discourse of Liu Yu-hsiu, Taiwan state feminism's leading theoretician, and that of Hwang Shuling, a vocal anti-prostitution/obscenity feminist sociologist, as the loci of my tactical intervention in order to elucidate the discursive positionality of respectable femininity that both encompass, and interrogate the seemingly liberal and yet deeply moralistic gender politics that is enabled through such a subject position. As close allies and often collaborators, Liu and Hwang played a key role in the ascendancy of state feminism, producing a field of normative feminist knowledge backing the anti-prostitution/obscenity bloc, which in turn accrued symbolic weight to their subject positions as influential figures in the recent gender mainstreaming process. In other words, while Liu's and Hwang's feminist praxes entail a varying degree of individual agency on their parts, it is the way in which they are caught up within a wider institutional setting of shifting power relations, and the way in which they position themselves — vis-à-vis the state, the 'virtuous' gentlemen and other 'base' sexual subjects such as queers and prostitutes — within the historically specific symbolic order, that I am interested in analysing.

Chapter 5, 'Modernising Gender, Civilising Sex: State Feminism and Perverse Imagination', examines Liu Yu-hsiu's feminist welfare state building project as it interrogates the gender totality in Liu's feminist cultural imaginary and the symbolic violence it exerts. In particular, I draw out the libidinal politics integral to Liu's state-remaking enterprise as I examine how she employs feminist psychoanalytic language to endow the middle-class housewife — the prototype subject of state feminism in Liu's imaginary — with a healthy, normal feminine sexuality, one that compels the housewife to conduct family, community and ultimately government affairs. Reading Liu's psychoanalytically mediated academic writings and social criticisms as the historical product of 1990s feminist and *xing/bie* politics, I tease out the class contradiction inherent in welfare state feminist imaginary while showing how the imaginary in question is founded on the radical repudiation of a social negativity attributed to the emergent queer and prostitute rights movements. Liu's modernising project of gender equality, I argue, upholds heterosexual monogamy as the feminist ideal, seeking as it does to purge all the masculine ills including perversion and promiscuity. Crucially, the normalising impulse of this modernising project is made starkly clear in Liu's rendition of the postmodern condition, with queers and prostitutes being made to embody the iniquitous perversity of postmodern desire that threatens to collapse the civilisational order of gender equity that state feminism tries to bring about.

As queers and prostitutes come to be figured as the death drive in Liu's cultural imaginary, I show how Liu, assuming the position of the feminist ego ideal, deploys the stigma of sex as the very weapon to defend her world of respectability, and how queers and prostitutes, like the Lacanian real, impinge on the symbolic order that Liu ordains as they thwart her desire to civilise sex.

Chapter 6, 'Mourning the Monogamous Ideal: Anti-Prostitution Feminism, Conjugal Sentimentality and the Formation of Melancholic Sexual Modernity', purports to depict a feeling culture, more specifically, a melancholic state fostered by state feminism as well as the subversion it engenders. It focuses on the analysis of a dominant form of female sentimentality that animates the hegemonic rise of anti-prostitution/obscenity feminist public sphere since the mid-1990s, showing how this affective mode, attached to conjugal intimacy, sustains as it propels a liberal form of state governance that intensifies the regulation of sexualities in present-day Taiwan. Through examining the work of Hwang Shuling, this chapter looks at how the culture of prostitution is configured through the problematic of traffic in women in her sociological imagination. I argue that Hwang's figuration of the structure of 'compulsory heterosexual male desire' takes conjugal intimacy as given, showing how her own subjectivity is imbricated in that very figuration, which is structured through the compulsion to repeat the position of what Ding Naifei calls 'wife-in-monogamy'. The content of this feminist attachment to the form of conjugal/romantic love is further investigated through my analysis of *The Youthhood Tainted by Sex: Stories of Ten Teenage Girls Doing Sex Work* (2003), a pedagogical book, compiled by the Women Rescue Foundation under Hwang's supervision, that aims to propagandise the Law to Suppress Sexual Transaction Involving Children and Juveniles. In showing this book as the product of biopower, I illuminate how gender-equality-minded feminists like Hwang herself, in their attempt to redeem the 'problem' teenage girl from her hapless fall, massively sentimentalise her by projecting onto her a pristine feminine sexuality. Crucially, I demonstrate that such a self-sentimentalising gesture on the part of a mainstream feminism also instantiates, through the act of mourning, a fantasy time-space of modern high femininity that admits no subaltern aspirations.

Through tracking the welfare state imaginary as well as the feminist redemptive project to rewrite sex through state power, I show that a deep feminist melancholia inheres in the political unconscious of the dominant women's movement. Faced with the proliferation of non-conjugal intimacies precipitated in part by new technologies, mainstream feminism clings tenaciously to an essentialised feminine subject position as she mourns the loss of the monogamous ideal. Drawing on the work of Judith Butler, I contend

that the feminist doxa of 'sexual autonomy' and 'gender equity', which have come to be rapidly institutionalised in recent years, is constituted through melancholic foreclosure. Finally, by exploring the ethics of sexual happiness, I contest the melancholic sexuality modernity fostered by this intimate public sphere, while calling for a queer politics that accedes to that which is beyond the feminist 'good' in order to sabotage the happily-ever-after.

In the Epilogue, I bring up the three figures central to this book, namely, the male homosexual, the prostitute, and the state feminist, so as to retrace their criss-crossed trajectories during the modernising process that I have depicted in the preceding chapters. Situating the recent enunciation of *tongzhi* citizenship within this geopolitical template, I call for a politics of sexual dissidence to contest Taiwan's melancholic sexual modernity.

Note on Translation

Unless otherwise noted, all the translations in this book are mine. The Pinyin system of romanisation is used throughout. However, commonly accepted spellings such as 'Chiang Kai-shek' and 'Taipei' have been retained. In addition, I have also adopted the spellings of the names used by the authors themselves (such as Pai Hsien-yung and Liu Jen-peng).

Notes

Introduction

1. (Hall 1990: 225, emphasis added).
2. A popular novel entitled *The Man Who Escapes Marriage* (1976) by Guang Tai is in fact Taiwan's first 'homosexual' or *tongxinglian* novel. I discuss this popular novel as the product of psychiatric discourse in chapter 1.
3. (Pai 1995: 457, emphasis added). This interview first appeared in the Chinese edition of *Playboy* magazine in July, 1988 and was reprinted in Pai (1995).
4. (Pai 1995: 462).
5. (Pai 1990: 17).
6. (Chao 1997a: 59)
7. For an ethnographic study of New Park as a gay space, see (Lai 2005).
8. For a concise documentation of this event, see (Xie 1999), (Martin 2003: 73–101).
9. (Tongzhi Space Action Network 1996). Later in that year, during the first free democratic presidential election in the post–martial law Taiwan, this petition also appeared as a political pamphlet endorsed by the opposition party candidate Peng Minmin, an advocate of Taiwanese independence.
10. I allude here to the notion of 'imagined community' made by (Anderson 1991).
11. (Chatterjee 2004: 4–8).
12. My problematisation of the new identity *tongzhi* here is hugely indebted to Judith Butler's critique of 'woman' as the valorised term for the subject of feminism. See (Butler 1990).
13. (du Gay et al. 1997: 3).
14. (Hall 1992 [1980]: 15–47).
15. (Hall 1996: 441–440).
16. (Foucault 1990 [1976]).
17. (Butler 1990: viii–ix).
18. (Butler 1993).
19. (du Gay et al. 1997: 3).
20. On this new scholarship, see (Martin 2003), (Jackson and Sullivan 2001), (Berry et al. 2003), (Martin et al. 2008), (Leung 2008).
21. In his *History of Sexuality: Volume I*, Foucault argues that '[h]omosexuality appeared as one of the forms of sexuality when it transposed from the practice of sodomy onto

a kind of interior androgyny, a hermaphrodism of the soul. The sodomite had been a temporary aberration; the homosexual was now a species' (Foucault 1990 [1976]: 43–44).

22. (Hinsch 1992).
23. Liu and Ding (2005: 38–39) made a similar point in their eloquent critique of the self-Orientalising tendency taken by many who work on gender and sexuality studies in the field of China studies/Sinology.
24. See (Sang 2003: 99–126), (Kang 2009).
25. (Sedgwick 1990: 40, emphasis added).
26. (Sedgwick, 1990: 44).
27. (Hall 1992 [1980]: 27, emphasis added).
28. (Chou, cited in Liu and Ding 2005: 30).
29. (Liu and Ding 2005: 35, emphasis added).
30. The term 'Cultural China', introduced by the neo-Confucian scholar Tu Wei-ming in 1991, became popular in the 1990s. It refers to the cultural world inhabited by the ethnic Chinese communities located in and outside the geopolitical spaces such as mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore as well as by other non-ethnic Chinese-identified intellectuals who interact closely with that particular culture (Tu 1991). Critics such as Allen Chun (1999: 117) and Kuan-hsing Chen (1998: 15–19) have pointed out that the term, conceived as a new cultural identity in response to Western cultural imperialism, reiterates and expands the very logic of imperialist practices against which it seeks to counter. Mayfair Yang (1999: 7) in an anthology on women public cultures in Chinese societies introduces the term 'Trans-national China' to designate the geographical extension of Chinese culture that cuts through the borders of China, Hong Kong and Taiwan.
31. Similarly, the American queer artist/AIDS activist Gregg Bordowitz, drawing on Raymond Williams's notion of 'structures of feeling', has underscored the queer structure of feeling as dialectically produced through domination and proposed it as 'an articulation of presence forged through resistance to heterosexist society' (Bordowitz 2004: 49). On the notion of 'structures of feeling', see Williams (1985: 132).
32. See (Cho 2000: 408).
33. On Japanese colonialism and the construction of cultural identity, see (Ching 2001).
34. (Chun 1994: 54, emphasis added).
35. For a non-scholarly account of this social history, see (Ke 1991).
36. See (Ho et al. 2005: 17). On Taiwanese nationalism, see (Chen [Kuan-hsing] 2000), (Jiang 1998), (Taiwaner 1996).
37. (Chen 2002a, 2002b).
38. (Chen 1995).
39. For an incisive analysis of the 1990s *tongzhi* movement and activism in Taiwan, see (Ni 1997).
40. For an in-depth report of this important incident, see (Dior and Mojian 1999).
41. See (Martin 2003).
42. See (Wu 1998).
43. (Chao 1996, 2000a).
44. (Chao 1998, 2000b). Crucially, Chao's work challenges the reified account of Taiwan lesbian feminism offered by Deborah Tze-Lan Sang in her *The Emerging Lesbian: Female Same-Sex Desire in Modern China*. Tracing the representation of lesbianism in modern Chinese literature, *The Emerging Lesbian* ends its study with a discussion of lesbian identity politics in 1990s Taiwan. Heavily influenced by Lillian Federman's *Odd Girls*

and Twilight Lovers: A History of Lesbian Life in Twentieth-Century America (which is dismissive of the working class butch dyke bar culture), Sang constructs a lesbian literary history that is premised on the woman-identifying-woman lesbian continuum, with the linear historical progression culminating in 1990s Taiwan lesbian feminism. Even though she registers lesbian discontents within a women's movement led by heterosexual feminists, feminism as the emblem of high modernity in post–martial law Taiwan is everywhere presumed but nowhere questioned. Consequently, feminist dissents over the women's movement's subscription of domestic sexual morality are glossed over and entirely left out in Sang's account of 1990s feminist politics. See (Sang 2003: 225–274).

45. It is significant to note that this law came into effect only a few months before the TSAN's politicisation of *Crystal Boys* in its articulation of sexual citizenship in 1995.
46. See (Ho 2005a, 2005b, 2007, 2008).
47. Having battled for nearly two years, the prostitutes finally won a two-year grace period. For documentation of this important political contestation and the pro-prostitute rights feminist perspectives, see *Working Papers in Gender/Sexuality Studies* nos. 1 & 2, special issue on 'Sex Work: Prostitutes' Rights in Perspective'.
48. Three senior lesbian employees were sacked from the Awakening Foundation, Taiwan's leading feminist organisation founded in 1987, for their active support of prostitutes fighting for their right to sex work. In their protest over the Foundation's sacking of these lesbian employees, a number of feminists, including Josephine Ho, also withdrew their memberships from the Foundation. These lesbian feminist scholars/activists later founded a group called 'Queer n' Class', which later became the Gender/Sexuality Rights Association, one of Taiwan's most radical advocates on sex rights. For a historical account of how the Awakening Foundation transformed itself from a once progressive women's organisation which supported the underprivileged to a middle-class-based feminist organisation, see (Wang et al. 1998).
49. (Lin 1998).
50. On the preliminary statement on the notion of state feminism proposed by Liu Yu-hsiu, see (Li and Hu 1996: 23).
51. (Ding 2000: 315).
52. It is crucial to note that the founding of the centre followed the expulsion of Ho from the Taiwan Feminist Scholars' Association (founded in 1993). The nascent academic feminist culture ex-communicated Ho for her outspokenness that affirmed female sexual agency and its transformative power — a pro-sex position that Ho forcibly articulates in her *Gallant Woman: Feminism and Sexual Emancipation* (1994), making it clear that the feminist notion of sexual autonomy did not include sexual emancipation. On this feminist act of sexual exclusion, see (Ho 2007: 129–130), (Ning 2001).
53. (Xie Zuopai 1995: 43).
54. For instance, while adhering largely to the theoretical and political underpinnings of *xing/bie* as highlighted by Xie Zuopai in 1995, the centre has slightly modified its problematisation of gender binarism by marking out the newly emergent subject position of the transgender. See http://sex.ncu.edu.tw/history/history.htm, accessed 15 January 2009.
55. (Editorials 1995: 3–4).
56. Editorials to the 'Queer Nation(s)' special issue of *Isle Margins*.
57. On the concept of 'critical utopia' in relation to Anglo-American queer politics, see (Berlant 1998), (Muñoz 2009).

58. (Liu 2007). Significantly, while highlighting the politics of cultural translation and transnational flows of knowledge conditioned by postcoloniality, critics commenting on Taiwan's appropriation of the Anglo-American 'queer' — whether it is rendered as '*kuer*' (the literal translation of 'queer' that is slightly inflected with the connotation of 'being cool') or '*guaitai*' (weirdo) — have largely elided this crucial, a-statist aspect of Taiwan queer politics. See (Martin 2003), (Lim 2008).
59. (Liu 2000: 1–72).
60. (JP Liu 2001: 77).
61. (Ding 2002a: 135–168). See also (Ding 2002b).
62. On this literature see (Evans 1997), (Hershatter 1997), (Rofel 1999, 2007).

Chapter 1

1. (Foucault 1990 [1976]: 77–102).
2. (Foucault 1990 [1976]: 154).
3. (Foucault 1992 [1984]: 3).
4. (Davidson 1990a: 102–120).
5. (Davidson 1990b: 316).
6. (Dikötter 1995: 69).
7. (Dikötter 1995: 139–140).
8. See (Kang 2009: 19–39).
9. (Dikötter 1995: 143, emphasis added).
10. On 'normalisation', see (Foucault 1991 [1977]: 177–184).
11. It should be pointed out here that the word *xing* 性 as 'sex' is entirely a modern usage. Traditionally, *xing* 性 is used in Chinese philosophical discourse to signify 'human nature' and it is not until early twentieth century that it began to refer to 'sex'.
12. Incidentally, Foucault's increasing influence in contemporary Taiwanese queer studies has given rise to the urgency of a proper translation for the term 'sexuality'. In redressing the Chinese translation of Foucault's *History of Sexuality* (*Xingyishi shi*, trans. Shangheng, Taipei: Guiguan, 1990) whereby the term 'sexuality' is erroneously translated as *xingyishi* or 'sexual consciousness' throughout the book, the Taiwanese queer scholar Chu Wei-cheng has coined a new compound *xingxiang* 性相 as the translation for 'sexuality', with the suffixed word *xiang* 相 denoting 'a state of being'. See (Chu 1998b: 55, n14).
13. According to Zhang Jingyuan's *Psychoanalysis in China: Literary Transformations, 1919–1949*, *xinli* only entered Chinese usage as a modern neologism around the turn of the twentieth century during which Western psychology began to be introduced to China and, although there had existed for centuries in traditional Confucian idealist philosophy the categories of *xin* 心 [mind] and *li* 理 [reason], they were rarely used together (Zhang 1992: 37). Just as the dissemination of Western medical and biological sciences in early twentieth-century China gave rise to the modern notion of *shengli* 生理 as the biological style of representing the body, there was established the notion of *xinli* 心理 as the result of the institutionalisation of the 'psy' disciplines such as psychology and psychiatry.

    Let me just give an example here to illustrate my point about *xingxinli*. Following the arrest of a sex criminal who committed a rape murder, the *United Daily* published an article on 31 March 1989, with a headline that read, 'The hidden concern for parents and society — children's abnormal *xingxinli*'. Attributing sexual perversion to the cause of sex crimes, the journalist Zeng Qingyan cautioned concerned parents to look out

for the early signs of perversion in their children, with a psychiatrist and a university professor in educational psychology being interviewed on the matter. 'Abnormal sexual behaviour includes,' Professor Huang Jianho pointed out, 'abnormal sexual desires, licentious behaviour, abnormal masturbation, homosexuality, exhibitionism, sadism, masochism, voyeurism, fetishism etc.' (Zeng 1989).

14. The discipline of mental hygiene, originating in nineteenth-century psychiatry, became institutionalised in the US in the early twentieth century and has been bound up with the promotion of community health in its subsequent developments. Seeing mental disorder as consequent upon individuals' maladjustment to their environments, mental hygienists advocated the prevention of mental illness by placing particular emphasis on child education. On the history of mental hygiene, see (Richardson 1989). Significantly, influenced as it was by Freudian ideas of the psychosexual development in childhood, mental hygiene, or 'the science and art of the right living', as the American mental hygienist Dr. Milton Harrington (1933: 360) affirms it, has massively sanitised Freud's radical discovery of the unconsciousness by preserving its normalising elements of Freudian theory. See below for how this kind of sanitisation operates within the Taiwanese context.
15. While Bao's list of publication might look impressive, none of his work qualifies as academic, even though *Pathological Psychology* was used as a university textbook. First, his works are usually repetitive, with many identical passages appearing in different books many times. Second, even though Bao often cites (or indeed mis-cites) Havelock Ellis or Freud 'the Master of Psychoanalysis', he never gives exact references.
16. See (Bao 1964, 1966).
17. See Bao's preface to the sixth edition to his *Youth Mental Hygiene* reprinted in 1969.
18. (Bao 1969: preface).
19. (Bao 1962: 4).
20. (Bao 1962: 365). I address further this kind of 'sage-king' speaking and governing position in chapter 3.
21. (Bao 1962: 336).
22. On the medical construction of onanism as an 'evil habit' that endangers the health of the national body in Republican China, see (Dikötter 1995: 165–179).
23. (Bao 1962: 371).
24. (Bao 1962: 371).
25. (Cobb 2007: 450). In his essay 'Lonely', Cobb draws on Hannah Arendt and Walter Benjamin to offer a trenchant critique of dominant bourgeois coupledom. Although Cobb makes it clear he is not so much concerned with self-eroticism as modes of singlehood, his rendition of 'forced intimacy', constituted under the authoritarian regime that Arendt critiques, is very suggestive in the normative context discussed here. In chapter 6, I examine another normative context of 'forced intimacy' established by anti-prostitution feminism in contemporary Taiwan.
26. The other three categories are the pseudo type (which is attributed to the single-sex environments where the homosexual object choice is made as the substitute for that of the heterosexual), the 'double' type (his term for bisexuality) and the prostitution type (whereby the male homosexual acts as a woman prostitute). This formulation is initially proposed in *Youth Psychology* (Bao 1957: 100–101) and expanded later in *Pathological Psychology* (Bao 1962: 373–384).
27. (Bao 1962: 373–384).
28. (Bao 1957: 101).

29. (Bao 1962: 412, emphasis added).
30. (Zeitlin, cited in Kang 2009: 29).
31. (Zeitlin, cited in Kang 2009: 30).
32. (Zeitlin, cited in Kang 2009: 30).
33. Zeitlin notes in passing that homosexuality represents a special case here and she believes that 'the emphasis is on a category of people or a mode of behaviour rather than a particular person ... [because] an obsession with a particular person, regardless of gender, is generally not interpreted as obsession but as *qing* [sentiment]' (Zeitlin 1993: 243).
34. (Zeitlin, cited in Kang 2009: 30).
35. (Kang 2009: 154 n136).
36. (Unschuld, cited in Zeitlin 1993: 62).
37. (Wang, cited in *Dictionary of Etymology* 1990).
38. (*Chinese Encyclopaedic Dictionary* 1976).
39. (Pu 1943: 3.316, emphasis added).
40. Tense in Chinese is not indicated by adjectives but instead by adverbial function words, including time words.
41. See chapter 2 for the signification of *pi* within the domain of news production.
42. (Bao 1962: 412).
43. (Lewes 1988: 184).
44. (Lewes 1988: 208). See also Abelove (1993) for an excellent account of Freud's resistance to the conservative appropriation of his theory of homosexuality in the US.
45. (Qi 1964: 388).
46. (Qi 1964: 390).
47. In his essay 'Tearooms and sympathy, or the epistemology of the water closet', Edelman situates this particular issue of *Life* within the discursive framework of homosexual representation in the Walter Jenkins scandal in the same year (Edelman 1993: 556). Walter Jenkins, chief advisor to the American President Lyndon Johnson, was arrested for having sex with a man in a Y.M.C.A restroom near the White House in 1964.
48. A slightly different version of this interview also appeared in the *New Life Daily* (Qin 1965). On the commercialisation of sex in Taiwanese culture, see chapter 3 of this book.
49. (Jin 1965: 6–8).
50. (Jin 1965: 7).
51. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the Zhiwen Publisher translated and published a number of Freud's major works including *Totem and Taboo* (1968), *Fragment of an Analysis of a Case of Hysteria ('Dora')* (1968), *The Psychopathology of Every Day Life* (1968), *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1971). For a study on Freud and Chinese/Taiwanese modernity, see (Liu 2001). It is also of interest here to note that Pan Guangdan's translation of Havelock Ellis's *Psychology of Sex: A Manual for Students* (1933), first published in 1946 in China, was re-published in Taiwan by several publishers during this time. Because of the Kuomintang government's ban on the publication of any material authored by those living in Communist China, the Taiwanese publishers got away with it by leaving out Pan's name as the translator. Significantly, the Taiwanese editions also omitted Pan's essay, 'Examples of homosexuality in Chinese historical documents', which was appended to the original version published in China. See *Xing Xinlixue* (Taipei: Diyi wenhuashe, 1970); *Xing xinlixue* (Taipei: Xianrenzhang chubanshe, 1972). See Kang (2009: 52–59) for a study of Pan's key role in the introduction of sexology in China.

52. (Davidson 1987).
53. (Weeks 1986: 71–73). Needless to say, Freud's *Three Essays* has also inspired much of queer theory's anti-normative thought. See for instance (Bersani 1986); (de Lauretis 1994).
54. (Zeng 1971a: 1–2, emphasis added).
55. Crucially, gender identity is a key issue for Zeng's medical gaze and this is where Zeng's naming of the psychoanalytic concept of the 'phallic' stage — whereby the dissolution of the Oedipus complex gives rise to the constitution of sexual difference — as the 'sex-bud' comes in. In Zeng's formulation, the assumption of gendered identity is coterminous with the onset or 'budding' of heterosexualised desire. In another article titled 'The psychology of sex in youth' contributed to *Youth Adult Psychology*, an anthology published by the Chinese Mental Hygiene Association, Zeng uses the analogy of a growing plant to account for infantile psychosexual development, with the last and mature stage being figured as the blooming of heterogenitality. Like Xiao, Zeng cautions parents to be extra vigilant to ensure that children assume the correct gender norms at the 'sex-bud' stage (Zeng 1969: 41).
56. Zeng makes no indication as to where the cases come from.
57. (Zeng 1971b: 215–216).
58. (Zeng 1971b: 220).
59. (Zeng 1971b: 223).
60. I borrow the term 'idiosyncratic sexuality' from the Taiwanese queer critic Ning Yin-bin (1997), who draws on Freud to propose a theory of sexual emancipation. Significantly, 'sexuality' is translated here by Ning as *xingpi*. This neologism bespeaks the conscious appropriation of the term *pi* in a renewed context of 1990s Taiwan queer politics.
61. See (Chu 2005) for a concise survey on the history of Taiwan *tongzhi* literature.
62. (Wu 1998: 69). These 'diagnoses' were all included in the novel's third edition published in June 1976.
63. (Wu 1998: 70).
64. Guang Tai became the first person to come out as 'gay' in Taiwan in the early 1980s, when he volunteered to help the health authority desperate to reach the homosexual population. See chapter 2.
65. See (Guang 1976).
66. (Guang 1990 [1976]: 9).
67. (Huang 1990 [1976]: 10).
68. (Huang 1990 [1976]: 11).
69. (Wu 1998: 68).
70. It is of significance to note that in Andi's revelation of the underground gay bar culture, he divides the punters into two groups, with one described as 'just for fun' [English original] and the other as 'commercial' [English original] (Guang 1990 [1976]: 43). The latter is represented as the fallen lot, whose pursuit of materialistic fulfilments Andi strongly disapproves of (50).
71. (Guang 1990 [1976]: 67).
72. It is actually the Declaration of Independence: 'Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.'
73. (Guang 1990 [1976]: 127–128).
74. See chapter 6 on my critique of Taiwan mainstream feminism's (false) promise of happiness.
75. (Guang 1990 [1976]: 158).
76. (Guang 1990: 167).

77. (Guang 1990 [1976]: 199, emphasis added).
78. (Guang 1990 [1976]: 67). Andi's guilt-ridden conscience is shown most clearly when he gives in to the temptation of having the last gay sex before his wedding day by arranging to meet a money boy. Significantly, as this immoral transaction is made to be witnessed by Andi's good mate He Yufang, the narrative is thus able to have Andi introspectively bearing his 'greasy soul' naked, not just to him himself but through the eyes of an astonished member of normal society (142).
79. See (Guang 1990 [1976]: 241–269).
80. (Sedgwick 1993b: 154–164).
81. Wu (1998: 68) makes a similar observation.
82. (Jiang 1990 [1976]: 244–245).
83. (Chen 1995: 259–262).
84. See (Ke 1990 [1976]: 246–249), (Xiao 1990 [1976]: 254–258).
85. (Ke 1990 [1976]: 249, emphasis added).
86. (Butler 1993: 2–3).
87. (Wu 1990 [1976]: 262, emphasis added).
88. (Wu 1990 [1976]: 262).
89. See Foucault (1990 [1976], 1991 [1977]).
90. This article was later included in the novel as Guang Tai's postlude.
91. (Guang 1976, emphasis added).
92. (Guang 1990: 266).
93. Guang Tai's sexual moralism was brought into sharp relief in his involvement in early AIDS prevention. See chapter 2.
94. (Liu and Ding 2005).

Chapter 2

1. The idiomatic expression 'cut-sleeve', which designates male-to-male genital relations, is derived from the famous love story between the Han Emperor Ai (27–1 B.C.) and Dong Xian, his beloved subject. The emperor was in bed sleeping with Dong Xian stretched out across the sleeve of his garment. Not wanting to disturb his beloved when rising, the emperor chose instead to cut his sleeve. See (Hinsch 1992: 53).
2. (Hu 1985: 67).
3. (Zeitlin, cited in Kang 2009: 33–34).
4. (Kang 2009: 34).
5. (Kang 2009: 38).
6. (Kang 2009: 38).
7. Antonia Yen-ning Chao is the first local scholar to unearth this trial. See (Chao 1997b).
8. See (*United Daily* 1951a).
9. (*Evening Independent* 1951a).
10. (*Evening Independent* 1951b).
11. On the logic of 'neither, nor', see (Butler 1993: 93–119).
12. (Yang 1961).
13. (Liao 1962: 7).
14. See the report entitled, 'Teddy boy steals money from a male prostitute after having paid him a visit' (*United Daily* 1951b). This is the earliest record I have unearthed that suggests the existence of male prostitution in the Wanhua district.
15. (Kang 2009: 37).
16. (*Detective News* 1962, emphasis added).

17. (*United Daily* 1959).
18. (*Public Daily* 1971a).
19. Kang (2009: 29) has also noted that historically, the expression 'having the "obsession for the cut sleeve"' tends to be reserved for those playing the active role in the male same-sex relation.
20. (Liang 1971).
21. (Liang 1971).
22. (Liang 1971, emphasis added).
23. (Foucault 1990 [1976]: 43).
24. (Hinsch 1992: 89).
25. (Hinsch 1992: 89). Hinsch sees the codification of the chicken form of *jijian* in the Qing's Criminal Laws as 'an implicit condemnation of homosexuality' (89). On the study of the Qing's sodomy code, see (Sommer 2000: 114–165).
26. Seen from the morphology of the word, the word appears to be made on the basis of *nan* or 'man'. Whereas the character 'man' is constituted by a field (above) and strength (below), the word *ji* substitutes *nü* or 'woman' for the strength constituent in *nan*. As this word is said not to be found in the ancient and official dictionaries and therefore a neologism, the signification of the word itself — its morphology as well as the substitution of the feminine for strength — would allow more interpretations than 'a man being taken as a woman'. Because Yuan Mei's definition of the word has been made authoritative, and indeed is what one finds in the contemporary dictionaries, and because the usage 'man being taken as woman' (*jiangnan zunü*) was, according to Wenqing Kang (2009: 19–20), also prevalent in the discourse of male same-sex relations in China during the first half of the twentieth century, I will for the time being exploit Yuan Mei's definition of the word.
27. (Merck 1998: 228).
28. For the detailed description of the news reports of these two homicide cases, see (Wu 1998: 59–63). My analysis of both cases below is indebted to Wu's research.
29. (*Evening Independent* 1974).
30. (Chen 1975).
31. (Zeng 1975).
32. The stigmatisation of *tongxinglian* as a serious mental disorder by the press, as seen in the Cha and the Liao cases, appears to have prompted protests from Guang Tai in *The Man Who Escapes Marriage*:

> Gay[s] [English original] are generally regarded as ill-reputed because they are more likely to be involved in scandals. But how can you guarantee that heterosexuals are scandal-free? During the past three decades, homicides involving homosexuality occurred only two or three times. By comparison, how many homicide cases involving heterosexuality, big or small, have occurred? (Guang 1990 [1976]: 132).

33. (Xu 1974).
34. (Chen and Du 1974).
35. (Chen and Du 1974).
36. (Du 1975).
37. (Du 1975).
38. See Foucault (1990 [1976]: 17–73).
39. Although they are called 'restaurants', these places were in reality run like bars. Because the government stopped licensing the bar business in 1968, obtaining a

restaurant licence became an alternative option. See chapter 3 for the state regulation of the leisure/pleasure businesses in national culture.

40. See chapter 1 for Bao's view on homosexuality.
41. See (*Evening Independent* 1978). It turns out that these recommendations are also taken from Bao's *Pathological Psychology*.
42. See (Zeng 1975). An article from the *Women Magazine* published in 1977 further illustrates the concurrence of the deployment of homosexuality and the imagining of the 'glass clique' as the assemblage of the individuals thus specified. See (Zhang 1977: 47).
43. The number of cases in this study has gone from twenty-seven to thirty-five by the time the study was published in September 1980.
44. (Ong and Ye 1979).
45. (Wen 1971: 147).
46. (Wen 1978a). Commenting on Wen's spare section on homosexuality in his *Love and Sex*, Wu Jui-yuan faults Wen for his reticence and expresses his utter disbelief at his use of two charts on the same page, entitled 'Homosexuality is an aberrant way' and 'Indulging in masturbation is an aberrant way' respectively, as shorthand for this subject (Wu 1998: 72, 78). Wen's juxtaposition of homosexuality and masturbation is highly significant however, for as a historical product of the deployment of *xingxinli* discussed in chapter 1, it renders these two modes of sexual orientation, understood phenomenologically, as *addiction*, as that which gives rise to an array of deviant behaviour by which heteronormative sociality is defined.
47. (Wen 1978b).
48. (Wu 1998: 74).
49. (Wen 1980: 90).
50. (Wen 1980: 84, emphasis added). The degree of femininity/effeminacy is gauged in Wen's study with reference to the following characteristic features: 1) 'the external appearance' (such as '[wearing] neuter dress' for instance); 2 'social interests and activities' ('no or little participation in sports' for example; 3) 'sexual role played in homosexual love affairs'; 4) the assessment of the personality make-up assessed by a psychological test based on the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory.
51. (Wen 1980: 90).
52. (Wen 1980: 87–89).
53. In a published transcription of a speech Wen gave in 1981 called 'Inside the Glass Clique: Homosexuality and Its Treatments', he even goes so far as to give the male homosexuals a physiology:

> Their physical developments are normal, but they appear to look slimmer than normal men: some are born that way while others make it so. With regard to the characteristic of their appearance, they habitually purse their lips and even go so far as to stroke their hair like a woman in coquetry [*saoshou nongzi*]. (Wen 1982: 42)

It is of particular interest to note that after the publication of this monograph on male homosexuality in 1980, Wen began to supervise and fund a team researching female homosexuality among adolescents at a reform school in central Taiwan. The study, entitled 'A study of situational homosexuality in adolescents in institutions', was presented at the annual conference of Taiwanese Psychiatric Association in 1983 and became the first study of its kind in Taiwan. It found 8.1% of girls at the school had homosexual tendencies. Believing this figure to be rather high, the reform school

authority changed its administrative policy, according to a special report from the *People's Livelihood Daily*, by rearranging student living accommodation (increasing the minimum number of beds per bedroom from two to three) and by segregating those found to exhibit homosexual tendencies. See (Pan 1983).

54. (Ong and Ye 1979).
55. (Li 1981: 96). Published in *the 45th Anniversary of the Central Police College Special Publication* in 1981, Li's article, entitled 'How to outlaw homosexuals-male prostitutes', is a rare source whereby the policing technology of male homosexuals is revealed. I provide a close reading of this article in chapter 3.
56. (Li 1980).
57. The second half of this report basically copies the second half of the *Evening Independent* report 21 June 1978 as discussed in the previous section.
58. 'Misdemeanour', as codified in the Police Offence Law, was what the homosexuals were punished for, the report revealed. Three to five days of detention would be given to those who committed the offence for the first time while the repeat offender would be given seven-day detention. 'Unless they are the incorrigible kind, there are very few people who have been detained more than twice', Li explains (Li 1981). The 'misdemeanour' offence will be examined in chapter 3.
59. The bracket is used here in the original Chinese text. Here homosexuals and male prostitutes appear to be made synonymous.
60. (Lin 1981).
61. (Lin 1981).
62. (*Central Daily* 1983).
63. (*United Daily* 1983).
64. (*China Times* 1983).
65. (*Taiwan Times* 1983).
66. (Qin 1983). This type of framing in which an insider experience/story is deployed to testify of the presupposed perverse nature of the underground male homosexual culture is a common practice in the representation of the glass clique in the early 1980s. See for example (Chen 1983).
67. See (*United Daily* 1984), (*Central Daily* 1984).
68. I borrow the term 'erotophobia' from (Patton 1986).
69. See (Yang 1983).
70. See (*National Evening News* 1983).
71. (*Chinese Daily* 1985a). Incidentally, the *China Times* reported that the health authority had granted the medical school of National Taiwan University a pioneering AIDS research project which was to send out 'strictly trained' and 'good-looking' male students to search in the gay hangouts for the first AIDS patient. See (*China Times* 1985a).
72. (*Chinese Daily* 1985b, emphasis added).
73. (*Chinese Daily* 1985b, bracket original).
74. (*China Times* 1985b).
75. The Chinese text says 'male prostitutes', not 'male prostitution'.
76. (Gao 1985).
77. See (Patton 1986, 1990) for the genealogical critique of AIDS epidemiology.
78. The news reports of the exchange of words between the author Guang Tai and Guo Youzeng, then head of the Epidemiology Control Section of the Health Department, can illustrate how the glass clique as a population was imagined. Desperate to know the members of the glass clique, Guo managed to get in touch with Guang Tai, who came out as a 'no. 0' homosexual in the immediate aftermath of 'first AIDS case' in Taiwan

and became the first public homosexual figure in Taiwan. In their phone conversation, Guang Tai first cleared up the rumour that he had said the male homosexual population was 100,000, a figure which shocked many, including Guo himself. The population of male homosexuals in Taipei, Guang Tai told Guo, should be around 10,000. A few days after their phone conversations, Guang Tai paid a visit to Guo, a meeting which was described by Guang Tai as 'a close encounter of the third kind'. In that meeting, Guo was reported to ask Guang Tai some 'sensitive' questions such as the modes of sexual behaviour practised by the members of the glass clique. See (Li 1985a), (*Chinese Daily* 1985b). Also of interest is an estimate figure of male population that the health authority came up with a year later. Relying on a source of an anonymous male homosexual, the health authority was reported to be relieved that the male homosexual population in Taipei could not be more than 5,000. See (*Chinese Daily* 1986). The responses provoked by these estimates indicate the Taiwanese government's ethical failure to govern in the face of a looming epidemic that affected the community most vulnerable to the virus.

79. See chapter 3 for the operation of the Police Offence Law.
80. (Ye 1985).
81. (Yang 1985).
82. (*People's Livelihood Daily* 1985).
83. (Jin 1985).
84. (Li 1985a).
85. (Li 1985b).
86. (Jiang 1986).
87. (*Taiwan New Life Daily* 1986).
88. (*Evening Independent* 1986).
89. For news reports on the sex trade culture of the 'Black Street', see (Liu 1985), (*United Daily* 1985), (Chen and Mei 1986), (Lin 1987).
90. (Chen and Mei 1986).
91. (Chen and Mei 1986).
92. See (Patton 2002: 27–113).
93. The expression 'jumping out of the fiery pit' in Chinese means leaving behind the prostitution business.
94. (Ma 1989).
95. (Patton 2002: 27–113).
96. See Foucault (1997 [1969]: 51–58).

Chapter 3

1. (Chiang 1964: 106).
2. (Foucault 2001 [1988]: 409–10).
3. (Warner 1993: xiii).
4. (Li 1979: 24).
5. According to the police scholar Zeng Jifeng (1988: 5), because the Police Offence Law was promulgated before the implementation of the constitution in 1947, it ought to have been made invalid.
6. 'The Police Offence Law' in (Lin 1989: 813–820).
7. (Wang 1958: 242).
8. Chiang Kai-shek founded the Central Police Officer College in Nanking, China, in 1936, serving as its principal for the following twelve years while he was also the leader of the Republican government in China. The college was reconstituted in Taiwan in 1955.

9. (Chiang, cited in Mei 1951: 4).
10. (Chiang, cited in Feng 1958:6). The term *guomin,* compounded by 'state' (*guo*) and 'people or citizen' (*min*), literally means 'the people of the state'. According to the historian Shen Sung-chiao (2002), the term's modern valence as a specific mode of political subjectivity is imbricated within the process of state-building since the late Qing period, a process that is heavily conditioned by both Japanese and Western colonialism. Although the term has been translated as 'citizen' or 'citizenship', the construction of *guomin*, especially within the context of postwar Taiwan that I address in this book, has been heavily under the sway of statist agendas and has thus never achieved the autonomy of 'citizenship' as construed in the libertarian tradition. I retain the linguistic specificity of the term here to highlight the agency of the state in its production of the national subject.
11. (Chiang 1964: 149).
12. (Liu 2000: 1–72).
13. In the 1999 amendment of the Criminal Law, this legal category was deleted and replaced by the phrase 'man and woman'. See my Conclusion for the ramifications of this legal change.
14. The Council of Grand Justices of the Judicial Yuan, Interpretation no. 718 (delivered in 1932), cited in (Liu and Shi 1994: 579).
15. (Hershatter 1997: 204).
16. (Lin 1997: 108–110).
17. (*Taiwan Police Administration* 1946, cited in Lin 1997: 111).
18. (Lin 1997: 111–112). As the result of this police operation, 1,704 women prostitutes were arrested and nearly 10,000 hostesses forced to change their job title to waitress. See (Lin 1997: 111–112).
19. (Lin 1997: 112).
20. See (Deputy Reporter 1955b). This particular institution was abolished in 1992. There is no academic study on this 'open secret' that has been kept in Taiwan for the last four decades. According to a *China Times* special report of 'the military paradise', Chiang's government only allowed military officers of high ranks to bring their spouses with them to Taiwan and all the soldiers were forced to leave their spouses in China. 'The military paradise' was therefore set up to compensate for the soldiers' sexual requirements (*China Times* 1995). For a non-scholarly account of 'the military paradise', see (Ke 1991: 72–78).
21. On these regulations pertaining to public canteen and public tea room businesses, see (Wang 1958: 273–275).
22. The so-called 'certain type of businesses' was in actual fact police jargon rather than a legal term. It referred to a wide range of businesses licensed and controlled by local police within the purview of the Taiwan provincial government's many regulatory procedures for businesses deemed as posing potential danger to social order.
23. The codes in operation here were item 11 of article 54 (disobeying government regulations of commerce and business, which could lead to temporary or permanent shutting down of any business) and item 1 of article 64 (misdemeanour).
24. (Yao 1949: 15).
25. (Huang 1949: 9).
26. (Huang 1949: 9).
27. (Hershatter 1997: 181–241).
28. 'Women Prostitutes Administrative Procedures for the Local Governments in the Province of Taiwan' in (Wang 1969: 195–196).

29. (Foucault 2001: 409). Foucault's genealogical inquiry into the reason of state and Western modernity underscores the 'police' as a new form of governmentality that aims to foster the life force of the population.
30. Of particular significance here is the fact that only two Women's Training Centres (one in Taipei, the other in Tainan [south Taiwan]) were actually set up following the promulgation of the licensing procedure in 1956. The scarcity of welfare institutions to reform prostitutes was also addressed by many within the police, including Qin Gong, a regular contributor to *Police and People Gazette*. Qin criticises his government for making available a meagre budget for programmes to assist prostitutes to reform: 'how could the government leave the extremely important task of setting up philanthropic institutions such as women's education centres to the private sector?' (Qin 1958: 6) This particular women institution was criticised in the mid-1960s for its poor management, with the large number of prostitutes escaping from it (Lü 1976: 41).
31. This practice amounts to surveillance which enables the police to inspect anyone at any place at any time. I thank human rights lawyer Ken Chiu for bringing this practice to my attention during a private conversation.
32. (Zhang Yide 1960: 9).
33. (Zhang Wenjun 1960: 8).
34. (Zhang Wenjun 1960: 8).
35. See below for the licensing of the dance hall business.
36. (Wang 1969: 119).
37. According to *A Study on the Problems of Offences against Morale in Taiwan* published by Centre for Crime Prevention Studies, Judicial Yuan (hereafter referred to as CCPSJY), between 1962 and 1966, the number of coffee houses increased by 129% while that of bars increased by 93%. Meanwhile, the number of registered hostesses in 1966 was 2.25 times more than in 1962 (CCPSJY 1967: 15–16).
38. (Chen and Zhu 1987: 107).
39. (O'Hara 1973: 270).
40. In her essay 'Sexual revolution: A marxist perspective on one hundred years of American history of sexualities', Josephine Chuen-rei Ho (1997) proposes two heuristic notions of 'forces of erotic production' and 'relations of erotic production' to analyse sexual transformation in culture and society. The analysis that follows is indebted to her formulation.
41. (Zhang 1962: 10–11).
42. (CCPSJY 1967: 131–147).
43. (Ke 1991).
44. Upon the request of the US government, Taiwan set up its first medical institution specialising in the prevention and treatment of venereal diseases in 1969 (Chen 1992).
45. (Zhong 1988: 73).
46. That the leisure business/sex industry was seen by the KMT government as the pillar of the flourishing tourism economy can be shown by a *National Evening News* editorial entitled 'A social activity with an educational purpose'. Reporting that the Taipei police authority was about to summon those in the PTB such as hotels, dance halls, night clubs, wine houses, tea rooms, bars and [licensed] brothels to attend a series of public lectures on 'The Honour of Nation and its Security', 'Social and Public Order', 'Social Progress and Development', the newspaper lauds the authority, arguing that the nation's image in the international community could be greatly enhanced through the education of those in the front line of the tourism industry (*National Evening News* 1965).

47. (*Great Chinese Evening News* 1968).
48. (Liu 1973: 13).
49. Licensed prostitutes in the Beitou red light district were regulated in accordance with an administrative procedure specially made for this hot-spring resort near Taipei in 1951. Licensed prostitutes could not ply their trade in the brothels which accommodated them only but were 'delivered' upon request to hotels (Deputy Reporter 1955a). This special institution was abolished in 1979.
50. (*China Evening News* 1969).
51. (Huang and Wu 1971).
52. (Hong 1973: 34–35).
53. (*China Times* 1971).
54. (Chen 1968).
55. (*National Evening News* 1969).
56. (Hong 1973).
57. Strip shows would often be staged in the middle of film screening in the cinema, see (Cui 1968).
58. (*Evening Independent* 1966).
59. Dancers were prohibited from wearing bikini swimwear, showing breasts and buttocks in their naked display and acting out any sexually suggestive performance. With regard to the decor of tea rooms and coffee houses, standardised lighting no less than five watt light bulbs per $5m^2$; only one single switch allowed; no screen or other object allowed to block off vision; small rooms cannot be built within; staff bedrooms should be segregated; couches no more than 110cm above the ground, arm chair no more than 75cm (CCPSJY 1967: 21–26).
60. (CCPSJY 1967: 178–182). See the Conclusion for mainstream feminists' attempt to zone sex in 1990s Taiwan.
61. (He 1968).
62. (*Taiwan Daily* 1968a).
63. See for instance (*Evening Independent* 1971b).
64. (Chiang, cited in Wang 1969: 190).
65. (Yu 1972: 23–26).
66. (*Business Daily* 1968).
67. (Xu 1972). In retrospect, the anti-prostitution rationale codified in the Regulatory Procedures for Prohibiting Youth from Accessing the Premises That Impair Physical and Mental Health (1970) can be seen as foregrounding the successive legislations (the Child Welfare Act [1973], the Juvenile Welfare Act [1989], the Law to Suppress Sexual Transaction Involving Children and Juveniles [1995], the Child and Juvenile Welfare Act [2003]), which gradually intensify, with the redefinition of youth from age twenty to eighteen, the regulation of youth conduct *through* banning commercial sex and pornography.
68. The civil servant population constituted a class of its own under the wing of the KMT government, which rewarded the loyalty of its employees with 'welfare' schemes: not only were those working in the public sector (primary and secondary schools, police and military) exempted from paying income taxes, they were also provided with a pension scheme paying 18% interest, a rate unavailable to the rest of the population. (While the KMT government started to phase out the 18% interest rate policy in 1995, the civil servant population continues to have income tax exemption, despite the growing public demands for social justice in recent years.) *Importantly, they were further prohibited from marrying prostitutes and ex-prostitutes who were qualified as 'women*

of respectable families' under the definition given by the judicial system. On the last point, see (Peng 1968: 12).

69. (Lo, cited in Yu 1972: 22, emphasis added).
70. C.f. Foucault (1990 [1976]: 23–26).
71. See for instance (Lin 1974).
72. See (Liu and Shi 1994: 595–598).
73. On the press's mild criticism of the police's practice of hotel room inspection, see (*Business Daily* 1969; *United Daily* 1969).
74. (Chen 1971: 22).
75. (*United Daily* 1968).
76. (Weiyan 1968).
77. (*National Evening News* 1968).
78. (*Central Daily* 1968).
79. (Decai 1970).
80. Diverse modes of sexual misbehaviour such as 'three men and one woman sleeping in one bed', 'loitering at night with aphrodisiacs', 'men hiring prostitutes stripping at table to accompany them drinking', 'waitresses accompanying customers drinking in ordinary restaurant' had been outlawed as 'misdemeanour', according to Xie Ruizhi (1979: 19–20), former principal of the Central Police Officer College. In addition, other sources reveal the code had also been used to punish female prostitute suspects (Mu 1974) as well as male (homosexual) prostitute suspects.
81. (*Evening Independent* 1971a).
82. (*National Evening News* 1970a).
83. (*China Times* 1971).
84. See (*Evening Independent* 1968a, 1968b, 1968c).
85. See (*Taiwan Daily* 1968b, 1968c).
86. (Fan 1968).
87. (Yu 1972: 42). As this new regulation did not undergo any further revision after 1973, this effectively means that licensed brothels will become extinct in years to come.
88. (*China Times* 1971). On the human geography of this particular road and its significance in relation to the formation of sexual subjectivities and nation-building since postwar Taiwan, see (Yin 2000).
89. See (*China Times* 1971; *Evening Independent* 1971a, 1971b, 1973).
90. (Liu 1973: 15).
91. On this new regulation, see Ding (1994: 172–174).
92. See (Yang 1961, Liao 1962, Hu 1985: 67).
93. See (*United Daily* 1951; *Public Daily* 1971).
94. See (*Evening Independent* 1978).
95. (Xu 1979: 87).
96. (Li 1981: 96).
97. See chapter 2.
98. According to article 6 of the Police Offence Law, the police could punish any police offending act performed within the last three months.
99. (Li 1981: 96, emphasis added).
100. In his article, 'On the illegitimacy of homosexuality,' Meng Weishi, lecturer of the Central Police Officer College, points out that, apart from 'misdemeanour' as codified in the Police Offence Law, none of the existing laws could be cited to punish homosexuals. Asserting that homosexuality will become a huge social problem in the future, Meng calls on legislators to amend the Criminal Law and to enlist codes that

make homosexual acts punishable in the bill of the Social Order Maintenance Law (which was to replace the Police Offence Law, see below). See (Meng 1983).

101. (Li 1981: 96).
102. (Li 1981: 96).
103. (Xie 1982).
104. (Lin 1979).
105. (Gui 1991).
106. 'The Social Order Maintenance Law', in (Liu and Shi 1994: 1277–1287).
107. (Dept. of Criminal Affair, Judicial Yuan 1993: 331–332).
108. (Ho 2005a, 2005b).
109. (Liang 1998).
110. (Liang 1998).
111. A practising lawyer and the founder of the Women Rescue Foundation, Shen was, according to Josephine Ho (2005a, 2005b), heavily involved in the drafting of the Law to Suppress Sexual Transaction Involving Children and Juveniles. See chapter 6 for the operation of this law in the context of state feminist feeling culture.
112. (Shen 1990: 63, emphasis added).
113. (*United Evening*, 15 January, cited in Ding and Liu 1999: 440).
114. In addition, the penalty for offence against public indecency (article 234) has also been increased from detention to maximum one-year imprisonment in the 1999 revised criminal law. Importantly, the revised article also introduced a penalty of maximum two-year imprisonment for those who intend to profit by making others perform indecent acts in public. Finally, with regard to article 235, forms of pornographic representation are no longer confined to writing, drawing or photography, but now extend to all forms of audio-visual representation mediated through mass communication.
115. The parliament passed a special procedure to allow the existing licensed brothels to ply their trade legally. As I have mentioned earlier, because the government had stopped issuing licenses to brothels and made the licences non-inheritable and non-transferable since 1973, licensed brothels will be become extinct in a few years in Taiwan.
116. (Ding and Liu 1999: 441).
117. Here I am employing the notions of citationality and gender performativity as expounded by Judith Butler (1993).
118. (PPADSI 2004).
119. (Huang 2004).
120. 'Daughter of Formosa' is the title of the Garden of Hope's latest model girl award.
121. (Liu and Hwang 2004).
122. (Hwang 1996: 141).
123. (Hwang 1996: 142).
124. See chapter 5 for my analysis of Liu Yu-hsiu's formulation of the 'whore stigma'.
125. (Ding 2002b: 446).
126. (Ho 2005a, 2005b).
127. (Liu 1997c).
128. The rationale in this policing of space is reminiscent of the KMT government's 1966 regulatory specification of the tea room/coffee house décor.
129. This is exactly what happens in Sweden. See the prostitute right activist Petra Ostergren's account of the current legal situation in Sweden in Xia (2000: 193–202).
130. The sage-queen appears to be more liberal in her attitude towards homosexuality than the sage-king. For instance, Liu Yu-hsiu (1997c) uses the example of the Swedish

mainstream sex education's promotion of gay rights to advance her argument that the Swedish form of egalitarian, non-transactional form of gender justice is the most progressive type of modernity to be willed for.

131. For a comprehensive documentation of what came to be known as the Zoophilia Webpage Incidence, see (Ho 2006).
132. On 25 August 2003, the Taiwanese customs confiscated a thousand certified and sealed soft core magazines that the bookstore imported from Hong Kong. In the following year, the bookstore was prosecuted for the dissemination of obscene publications under the Criminal Law (article 235). Despite the sustained protests against the trial, Lai Zhengzhe, the owner of the bookstore, was still found guilty. On the statement of the incidence, see http://anti-censorship.twfriend.org/1202.html, accessed 17 June 2010. Failing the appeal, Lai went on in 2005 to petition the Grand Justices to interpret the constitution. While upholding the verdict, the Grand Justices however delivered an interpretation in 2006 that recognises, for the first time in legal history in Taiwan, sexual minorities' rights to freedoms of speech. Meanwhile a coalition of anti-censorship groups was set up to campaign for the abolishment of article 235 of the Criminal Law. See http://zh.wikipedia.org/zh/%E6%99%B6%E6%99%B6%E6%9B%B8%E5%BA%AB, accessed 17 June 2010.
133. Under the punitive and surveillance apparatus established by the nexus of the existing anti-sleaze laws and the AIDS Prevention Act (promulgated in 1990), male homosexuals and prostitutes, treated as the contagious sexual Other, were obliged and often forced to have their blood tested. For a trenchant critique of the act, see Ding (1995).
134. The AG Gym, as I have mentioned already in the introductory chapter, was raided on suspicion of prostitution. See Introduction, note 40. On the early morning of 17 January 2004, the police raided a residential apartment in Taipei, in which a 'Home Party', a privately run gay rave party that accommodates sex on the premise, had taken place. Ninety two gay men were arrested and the press and the broadcasting media, answering the police's call, immediately arrived and were allowed in the scene under investigation. What ensued was a moral hysteria unprecedented in Taiwan's history of AIDS. For a detailed study of this incidence and the emergence of gay rave subculture in Taiwan, see (Hong 2007).

Chapter 4

1. (Pai 1990: 86).
2. (Hall 1988: 44).
3. For the study of modernist literary movement, see (Chang 1993).
4. These include 'Lunar Dream' (1960), 'Youth' (1961), 'Lonely Seventeen' (1961). They were collected and published in (Pai 1989).
5. Introduced to China in the late 1970s, Pai's work was quickly canonised in mainland China in the 1980s. Pai's popularity among the mainland Chinese scholars is reflected in the publication of a number of academic studies on his works carried out by the mainland scholars. See (Yuan 1991), (Wang 1994), (Liu 1995, 2007). On the critique of this canonization process, see (Chu 1998a).
6. This dedication does not appear in English translation. See (Pai 1983).
7. See book blurb in (Pai 1983).
8. (Ying 1983).
9. See chapter 2 for the press's coverage of this police raid.

10. Because these young men were represented as effeminate and because the host culture emerged from the sex industry that I have surveyed in chapter 3, I have chosen to use the term 'host(esse)s'.
11. (Zhang 1983: 98).
12. (Zhang 1983: 99).
13. (Zhang 1983: 99).
14. See (Chen 1985) on the documentation of this round-table discussion.
15. (*National Evening News* 1985).
16. (Zuge 1985: 27).
17. (Pai 1986: 46).
18. (Gao 1986a). The casting of Little Jade, the daringly effeminate and camp character, was also of interest. When asked why this role was played by a girl, the director replied:

> If we really employ an effeminate boy to play Little Jade, the film will probably have a bad influence on the audience. Further, using an effeminate boy would probably put the other actors under pressure as it might make them feel that a 'real *sinful son*' was on stage. Hence, we use a cross-dressed girl in the part. The effect should be pretty much the same. (*People's Livelihood Daily* 1986a)

The effect can be pretty much the same only when one assumes gender performance as securely predicated on the biologism of sex.

19. (Gao 1986b).
20. (Gao 1986b).
21. (*Taiwan Daily* 1986).
22. (*People's Livelihood Daily* 1986b).
23. (*National Evening News* 1986). These sensational wordings no doubt derived from the press's representation of the glass clique, as examined in chapter 2.
24. (*Taiwan Times* 1986).
25. (*Chinese Daily* 1988).
26. (Wu 1987: 53–55).
27. Peng Huaizhen, a religious Christian sociologist, is the author of *Homosexuality, Suicide and Mental Illness* (1982) and *Love and Sex in Homosexuals* (1987). Wu Jui-yuang (1998: 96–98) has shown the key role that Peng played in the deployment of *xinxingli* in the field of social work during the 1980s, highlighting his dissemination of the Bieberian paradigm of homosexual aetiology as well as the heterosexism that underlined his compassionate zeal to redeem homosexuals.
28. (Dept of Health, Administrative Yuan 1990).
29. (Yuan 1984a: 20).
30. (Pai 1995: 458).
31. (Pai 1995: 459).
32. (Pai 1995: 459–460).
33. (Brown, cited in Butler 1997a: 136).
34. Such a normative reading of the novel is virtually endemic. See for example (Long 1984), (He 1989), (Cai 1983), (Yuan 1991), (Liu 1995), (Wu 1987), (Yuan 1984b), (Xie 1983), (Chen 2003) and (Zeng 2003).
35. (Long 1984: 55).
36. (Pai 1990: 271–272).
37. (Yeh 1995: 76).

38. (Yeh 1995: 73).
39. (Yeh 1995: 75).
40. Drawing on psychoanalytic theory, Chang Hsiao-hung (1998: 189) interprets this sense of shame as the product of moral masochism. My reading of this particular sense of shame differs significantly from hers in that it attends to its historical and cultural specificity.
41. (Pai 1990: 53).
42. (Pai 1990: 59), (Sedgwick 1993a: 5).
43. (Pai 1990: 270–271).
44. (Sedgwick 1993a: 5).
45. (Sedgwick 1993a: 5).
46. (Sedgwick 1993a: 12).
47. (Pai 1990: 271).
48. See the Introduction for my rendition of Ding's work on base femininity (Ding 2002a; 2002b). I employ here as well the notion of citationality and the assumption of sex as expounded by Judith Butler (1993: 93–119).
49. (Pai 1990: 50).
50. (Ding 2002a: 140). On the study of Taiwanese 'small-daughters-in-law', see (Zeng 1998).
51. For a preliminary study of this particular state campaign, see (You 2000).
52. See for instance (*Central Daily* 1959).
53. This is my calculation based on the figures from (Centre for Crime Prevention Studies, Judicial Yuan [CCPSJY] 1967: 123, 167, 194–195).
54. I thank Fran Martin for reminding me that norms can fail.
55. (Pai 1990: 58).
56. The last quote is Fran Martin's. I thank her for reminding me how A-qing's agential subjectivity as 'evil son' is rendered culturally intelligible through the gendered positionality of base femininity.
57. In order to bring into relief the cultural specificity of homosexual oppression, I have chosen to modify Howard Goldblatt's translation of the novel wherever necessary, using the 1992 Chinese edition of the novel. I shall put his translation in the footnotes.
58. (Pai 1992: 19; Pai 1990: 30). Goldblatt's translation: 'college students from good families'.
59. (Pai 1990: 30).
60. (Pai 1990: 187).
61. (Pai 1992: 225). The reference *Baogong* in the Chinese original does not appear in Goldblatt's translation.
62. Goldblatt's translation: '"You must be the fuckee, not fucker," he commented.' (188).
63. (Pai 1992: 188; Pai 1990: 227).
64. Carole-Ann Tyler (1991: 37) has pointed out that the homophobic taunt 'What are you, a fag?' is parallel to the misogynistic sentence, 'What are you, a woman?'
65. (Pai 1990: 190).
66. The psychic mechanism necessary to the operation of the law in the production of guilt can be best illuminated by the Belgian gay theorist Guy Hocquenghem. Observing how the modern Western penal system is supported by psychiatry in the repression of homosexuality, Hocquenghem remarks:

> If repression is to be effective, the culprit must realise that it is necessary. The Law of the Father is vital to the fulfilment of the institutional laws. There is no justice unless the accused has a guilty conscience. (Hocquenghem 1993: 73)

67. (Pai 1992: 221).
68. (Pai 1990: 351).
69. (Foucault 2000: 361).
70. (Pai 1990: 283).
71. (Miller 1992: 15).
72. (Butler 1993: 3).
73. Goldblatt's translation: 'Crystal boy' (Pai 1990: 285).
74. Goldblatt's translation: 'Little queer' (Pai 1990: 285).
75. (Pai 1992: 284–285; Pai 1990: 353–355).
76. (Butler 1993: 226).
77. (Butler 1997: 36).
78. The story is featured in an interview of Ta-K by Hu Yiyun (pseudonym of the journalist Zhang Yali of the tabloid magazine *Jadeite*) in his *Looking through the Secrets of the Glass Clique*, a book published amidst the moral panic triggered by the advent of AIDS in Taiwan in the mid-1980s.
79. (Hu 1987: 67, emphasis added).
80. (Hu 1987: 67).
81. It is of interest here to note that while Ta-K despises those who prostitute themselves, Ta-K does not refrain from talking about his own experience of 'being kept' (*bei bao*) several times in Japan while he was running his bar business:

> [According to Ta-K], being kept by someone is different from prostituting oneself. 'Being kept' is like 'a woman of respectable family', which means that you lead a domestic life in accordance with the house rule for a period of time. Of course, the length of the period is a matter of prior arrangement. (Hu 1987: 70)

Interestingly, even though the meaning of being kept is predicated upon becoming a 'woman of respectable family', under certain established conditions, the contrast between the praxis of 'being kept' and that of 'prostituting oneself' continues to subtend the hierarchised distinction between 'woman of respectable family' and 'prostitute'.

82. (Sedgwick 1993b: 147). Sedgwick uses this expression to denote the physical act of individuals inhabiting a given geographical space whose meaning is discursively produced.
83. The song is based on Little Jade's re-modification of the children's song 'Two Little Tigers' (Pai 1990: 290).
84. (Yeh 1998: 80–84).
85. (Pai 1990: 101).
86. (The Society for the Study of Male Homosexuality of National Taiwan University 1994). The founding of the society inaugurated a trend for forming gay and/or lesbian societies on other university campuses.
87. (Gay Chat 1994: 8).
88. (Gay Chat 1994: 8).
89. (Huo 1993: 11–27).
90. (Lin 1993: 43–50).
91. (Wan 1993: 91–100).
92. (Ma 1994b: 147–168).
93. (Ma 1994a: 52).

94. (Ma 1994a: 55). Such exclusion of the promiscuous homosexuals through hierarchisation has been pointed out by Xie Peijuan. In her study of the cruising culture in New Park, Xie observes that members of *Gay Chat* (whom she interviewed) look down upon those frequenting the park, arguing that the university gay male students, in their attempt to be seen as 'normal', replicate the sexual norm by which gays are adjudicated by the heterosexual society. See (Xie 1999: 79–82).
95. (Ma 1994a: 56).
96. (Ma 1994a: 69).
97. The promulgation of the Regulatory Procedures Prohibiting Youth from Accessing the Premises That Impair Physical and Mental Health in Cold War national culture is a case in point. See chapter 3.
98. (Chao 2000c: 244).
99. Chao (1997c: 111–135) has observed how the mass media operates as the Other vis-à-vis which *tongzhi* subjectivity came to be formed through the tactic of masking. On the 'coming-out' problematic, see (Chu 1998: 35–62), (Martin 2003: 187–251), (Liu and Ding 2005).
100. Activist Ni Jiazhen (1997: 63) sees the media's positive response to these events as its representing the subject of homosexuality as a 'cultural phenomenon' to be tolerated in a society increasingly celebrating cultural pluralism in the post–martial law era.
101. (Chang 1996: 9). This essay has been translated into English, see (Chang 1998).
102. (Chang 1996: 11).
103. Here desire is being construed in terms of what Eve Sedgwick has proposed for the contradictory construction of homosexuality in modern Western culture, whereby the question of homosexuality is conceived of as an issue that pertains only to the homosexual minority and yet at the same time affects all people regardless of their sexuality. See (Sedgwick 1990: 83–86).
104. (Chang 1998: 289, emphasis). See also (Chang 1996: 12). The last sentence of the quote, which is omitted in the English translation of the article, is my own translation.
105. (Chang 1996: 15, 20).
106. (Chang 1996: 21).
107. (Chang 1996: 12).
108. (Chang 1996: 22).
109. (Chang 1995a).
110. (Chang 1995b: 6–7).
111. For a useful anthology of the polemics around this book, see Ho (1996).
112. (Chang, quoted in Gong 2000: 222).
113. I thank Fran Martin for making me clarify this argument.
114. I want to make it very clear that Chang's position of 'erotic autonomy', formed in the mid-1990s, that I critique here is not the same as the one that later came to be upheld and institutionalised by anti-prostitution state feminism which I critique in chapters 5 and 6. Unlike the latter, Chang has consistently supported the ongoing queer activism in contesting state power.
115. (Ho 2005a).
116. According to article 18 of the Law, children or youths arrested for prostitution or suspected of engaging in prostitution would be given a two-year 'special education' under the act. See 'The Law to Suppress Sexual Transaction Involving Children and Juveniles', http://www.ecpat.org.tw/english/surpress.pdf, accessed 30 July 2009.
117. (Liu and Ding 1999: 438–443).
118. See for instance (Chi 1997: 130–163), (Wang 1996: 195–218).

119. See for instance (Wang 1999).
120. See (Zhuang 2002), (Xu 1999).
121. For a fine analysis of the TV remake of *Crystal Boys*, see (Lee 2003).
122. For an excellent review and critique of Zeng's book, see (Yeh 2005). The book went on to the second printing within a few months of its publication. I thank Liu Jen-peng for pointing this out to me.
123. (Zeng 2003: 41).
124. (Zeng 2003: 200).
125. (Zeng 2003: 202).
126. (Chu 1998b: 50–51).
127. (Chu 1998b: 58).
128. (Chu 2000: 115–151).
129. Significantly, state feminists and mainstream women's groups issued a strong statement to oppose the march. See (COSWAS 2000: 36–38).

Chapter 5

1. (Liu 1998a).
2. See (The Third National Women Conference Purple Action Manifesto 1998).
3. On the theoretical statement of the sexual emancipation, see (Ning 1997).
4. (Liu 1998a).
5. (Cho 2000).
6. For an acute analysis of the structure of feelings on the part of professional women in 1980s Taiwan New Woman fiction, see (Ding 2005), (Ho 1994b).
7. For a feminist take on the myth of 'three-generations-under-one-roof' traditional family, see (Hu 2004).
8. See (Ho 2005a, 2005b) for an excellent historical analysis of the hegemonic process whereby this particular law came into formation and continues to evolve.
9. See chapter 3 for the analysis of the 1999 amendment of the criminal code.
10. This sentence is taken from the title of the third volume of an anthology made in memory of Peng Wanru. See (Hu et al. 1997).
11. Liu uses the expression 'Philosophy Queen' (English original) in an important interview that has been regarded as a theoretical statement on Taiwan state feminism. See (Li and Hu 1996: 23). For a trenchant critique of the figure of 'Philosophy Queen', see (Ding 2000).
12. (Liu 2004a).
13. (Liu 1997a). My discussion below will be based on Liu's English version of her 1997 essay, which appears as the second chapter in her book, *The Oedipal Myth: Sophocles, Freud, Pasolini* (1999a). The English version contains a more detailed elaboration on femininity.
14. (Liu 2002a).
15. (Liu 1997a: 41).
16. (Foucault 1990 [1976]: 36).
17. (Liu 2002b: 2–3).
18. (Liu 1999b: 83–84).
19. (Liu 1999b: 84).
20. (Liu 1996a).
21. (Liu 1997d).
22. (Editorials 2001).

23. See (Ding 2002a). Similarly, Wuo Young-ie has made a powerful case study that domestic migrant workers in Taiwan, deprived of time and space of their own and constantly under surveillance in their employers' residences, are exploited not even by the modern contractual capitalist system but rather by the premodern caste servitude renewed by contemporary Han Chinese ethno-centrism. While marking out that state feminism eschews addressing the key problem of the lack of state financial resource to sustain its welfare programme, Wuo draws on Ding's work to argue that upper-middle-class women in the 1990s, upon hiring domestic workers to take their place in serving their parent-in-laws, are effectively elevated to and 'remain indefinitely stuck in' the ruling position that was once occupied by their mothers-in-law within the traditional Chinese patriarchal household. The bourgeois ideal of gender egalitarianism in contractual marriage, Wu argues, is to a large extent advanced at the expense of servitude-like domestic labour in contemporary Taiwan. See (Wuo 2007).
24. (Liu 1999b: 82).
25. See chapter 1 for the analysis of the sexual norm as inculcated by mental hygienists.
26. (Liu 2002b: 3).
27. (Ho 2005a, 2005b).
28. (Li and Hu 1996: 22).
29. (Ho 1994a).
30. (Gu 1997).
31. (Hwang 1997: iii).
32. (Liu 1999a: 137).
33. (Liu 1997a, 1999a).
34. (Liu 1999a: 135).
35. (Warner 1990: 200).
36. (Liu 1999a: 119).
37. Here what Liu opposes is clearly the lifting of the repression of infantile polymorphous perversity that is effected by the paternal phallus.
38. (Liu 1999a: 136).
39. (Liu 1999a: 147).
40. (Butler 1990: 137).
41. (Butler 1993).
42. For an excellent discussion of the question of ethics in this debate within the psychoanalytic context, see (Merck 1993).
43. (Liu 1999a: 148).
44. (Liu 1999a: 148–149).
45. (Edelman 2004: 25, emphasis original).
46. (Freud 1985 [1930]).
47. (Liu 1999a: 148).
48. (Lacan, quoted in Liu 1997a: 78).
49. Here Liu's assumption is that women do not seek change because they have a stronger 'sense of reality'. Crucially since this stronger 'sense of reality' is not construed to be mediated by the reality principle, it appears to be devoid of desire.
50. (Liu 1999a: 154).
51. (Liu 1999a: 155).
52. (Liu 1999a: 155). How can power be converted into the drive? While Liu does not explain this formulation in theoretical terms, it makes sense to read this drive as the sublimated social force that drives the subject of feminism to do good to herself and to others (like her).

53. (Liu 1997a: 81). This caution appears in the Chinese version of the essay. It is instructive here to recall a remark that Liu made in the context of arguing for Scandinavian welfare state. She said:

> In the postmartial law era, after the removal of the highly repressive patriarchal government, a new situation comes about where people (men) [bracket original] all busy themselves vying for and grabbing power. Ordinary men's aggression, *along with the aggression that more and more women obtain through counteracting and imitating men*, leads to vicious competition between the two sexes and between human beings, which then leads to the perpetual exploitation of the Nature. This aggression is undoubtedly the root of disorder which Taiwanese society must try to resolve. (Liu 1997b: 52, emphasis added)

Read through the prism of her power-drive conversion scheme, this large number of masculine-identified women (such as gallant women, prostitute rights and butch lesbians) are thus regarded as perverse subjects to be reformed.

54. (Liu 1999a: 156).
55. (Liu 1999a: 157).
56. (Rose 1986: 7).
57. (Liu 1995a: 10). Here this 'hearing the call of Life' should be understood as the working of the ideological interpellation, as theorised by Althusser (1971), in the production of gendered subjectivity.
58. (Liu 1995).
59. (Liu 1999a: 155).
60. (Liu 1997a: 76). See also Liu (1996b: 15).
61. The following account of Lacan on sexual relationship follows Dylan Evans's lucid exposition (Evans 1996: 181).
62. (Ragland 2001: 113).
63. (Ragland 2001: 101).
64. (Liu 2002a).
65. In his critique of Liu's article under discussion here, queer critic Ning Yin-bin (Ka Weibo) reads Liu's articulation of postmodern desire as a highly conservative response to the era of globalisation and the challenges that new technologies pose for modern life intimacy and sociality, suggesting how mainstream feminism turns in the domain of cultural politics to defend the existing social order (Ning 2001). Indeed, writing in another article on the subject of women's rights under globalisation, she appears to be a total techno-phobe, as she goes so far to assert that new audio-visual media technologies that rely on the scopic drive are essentially masculine and aggressive and as such are incompatible with female biology which is predisposed to the tactile and olfactory functions (Liu 2004b).
66. (Liu 2002a: 54).
67. In actual fact, Liu herself acknowledges this point in the essay discussed above (Liu 1999a: 108).
68. (Liu 2002b: 43).
69. Once the presupposition of the 'basic need' is removed, the working-class man becomes for Liu immediately morally suspect. As she says in *the White Paper on Women Policy*, because women continued to be massively commodified within the free market, 'the wide population of the working class men cannot enjoy the normal relation between the sexes' (Liu 2004a).

70. (Liu 2002a: 52).
71. (Freud 1991a [1917]: 365).
72. (Copjec 1994: 214).
73. (Liu 2002a: 58). See (Chen 2000) for the portrait photos of the Betel Nut Beauties. For a pioneering work discussing the sexual agency and professionalism of the beauties and lap-dancers, see (Ho 2000, 2003).
74. (Fink 1995: 110, emphasis added).
75. See (Freud 1990 [1913]). Interestingly, as Bruce Fink points out, the primal father is the only man who can have a true sexual relation with a woman (Fink 1995: 111). His pleasure is totally unmediated through fantasy and comes solely from his woman partner, who is taken as a whole entity.
76. (Copjec 1994: 12, emphasis added).
77. (Liu 2002a: 53).
78. (Copjec 1994: 154–156).
79. (Liu 2002c).
80. (Ka 2002).
81. (Liu 2002c).
82. (Liu 2002c).
83. This quote appears to be Lacan's rendition of the Sadeian pervert and I have the translation from (Lacan 1992: 202).
84. (Liu 2002c, emphasis added).
85. (Fink 1997: 128).
86. (Liu 2002c).
87. (Freud, quoted in Liu 1999a: 127).
88. (Lacan, quoted in Žižek 1991: 168).
89. See (Edelman 2004: 85–86) and (Merck 1993: 262).
90. (Lacan, quoted in Edelman 2004: 85).
91. (Lacan 1992: 202).
92. Bruce Fink has reminded us that the demarcation of infantile psychosexual development into various stages stems from *parental concerns* over infantile perversions (Fink 1997: 226).
93. (Liu 2002a: 62).
94. See (Hwang 1996).
95. (Liu 2002a: 63).
96. (Liu 2002a: 60).
97. (Wang and Wang 2000: 22, emphasis added).
98. I use 'ours' here to mark out my own speaking position and political identification.
99. For the obituary of Guan Xiou Qin, see (COSWAS 2007). See (Edelman 2004) for the figuration of the queer as the death drive in the Anglo-American context.
100. See (Ding 2002a, 2002b).
101. (Liu 1998b).
102. (Liu 1998b).
103. (Žižek 1991: 168).
104. (Berlant 1997: 175).
105. *The Crocodile's Journal*, published in 1994 in Taiwan, became an instant lesbian classic and its widespread influence can be seen in the Taiwanese lesbian community's adoption of *Lazi*, the name of the novel's narrator, as a new identity-name for themselves, shortly after the publication of the novel. The novel is woven through two different narratives in a loosely dialogical relation, with one by Lazi on her torturous love relations of

her college days, and the other on the story of a comic crocodile, a newly discovered and endangered species that has been read as an allegory for the emergent lesbian community in 1990s Taiwan. 'The circle of normal hearts' that I allude to here is from Lazi's fifth journal, where she ponders her profound alienation as a woman-loving abject from the normal society:

> My family have always been around me, but no matter how they have loved me, they have never been able to save me, [our] natures do not fit [with each others'], I never let them approach my heart, and throw to them a fake [me] that is closer to their imagination. They hold that puppet-body that I have thrown them and dance a graceful dance, that [puppet] is a negative image projected onto the finely calculated central point of the average radius of human imagination … While I dissolve and disperse in the infinite distance, my life wall is being excruciatingly peeled off, far off away from that circle of normal hearts within which 90% of humanity are squeezed (Qiu 1994: 137, cited in and translated by Liu and Ding 1999: 20)

In their movement-wise, contextualised reading of the novel, Liu and Ding (2007) have brilliantly demonstrated the source of the embodied pain of the Tomboy-identified Lazi as coming not only from homophobic society, but also from the ascendency of the woman-identified-woman lesbian movement of 1990s Taiwan, which construes as it rejects the butch lesbian's masculinity as the insidious effects of patriarchal oppression. For other important discussions of the novel, see (Martin 2003: 215–236); (Sang 2003: 255–274).

Chapter 6

1. (Berlant 1997).
2. (Hwang 1998, emphasis added).
3. Here I borrow liberally from Berlant's theorisation of the affective form of optimism. See (Berlant 2008a: 33). My critique of conjugal happiness in this chapter is deeply indebted to Sara Ahmed's recent book, *The Promise of Happiess* (2010).
4. (McMahon 1995).
5. (Ding 2007, 2009).
6. (Povinelli 2002: 230).
7. See also (Povinelli 2006).
8. (Liu 1998a).
9. (Kipnis 1998: 291–300).
10. Liu's paper, entitled 'The mechanism of postmodern desire: Sex industry, postmodern discourse and late capitalism', is analysed in chapter 5.
11. (Hwang 2003a: 95–96).
12. (Hwang 2003a: 97–98, emphasis added). In his book *Sex Work and Modernity*, Ning Yin-bin (2004) argues that high professionalism and alienation as required by the service industry are deeply rooted in the dynamics of late modernity. Rebuking the prevalent anti-prostitution feminist argument (advanced notably by feminist philosophers like Carole Pateman) that singles out sex work as the exemplary case of self-alienation in late capitalism, Ning employs the Goffmanian interpretative framework to consider the issue of self-presentation at the work place from aspects of 'the labour process', 'the division of public/private sphere', 'the rationalisation of modern organisation', 'the modern self', and 'discipline and surveillance'. For Ning, the various techniques

that sex workers deploy at work to maintain their autonomy (to ensure anonymity, for instance) are nothing more, nor less, than the strategies commonly used by the modern self in his or her routine negotiations with the disciplinary organisation of work.

13. (Hwang 2003a: 99, emphasis added).
14. (Hwang 2003a: 126).
15. See (Ding 2007).
16. (Hwang 2003a: 126).
17. See (Boudieu 1998).
18. (Gong 2001).
19. (Zhu 2008: 96).
20. Liu Yu-hsiu's 'The mechanism of postmodern desire', examined in chapter 5, was presented in this conference.
21. For an English and academic version of this essay, see (Hwang and Bedford 2004).
22. The idea of the redemptive project of sex is taken from Leo Bersani's classic essay 'Is the rectum a grave?' In that piece of psychoanalytically mediated critique of Anglo-American AIDS cultural politics, Bersani argues that moral panic surrounding AIDS stems from the profound aversion to sex in the phallo-centric culture because the masochistic kind of jouissance produced in the loci of the vagina and the anus (with never-ending yet self-destructive orgasms attributed to the iconic figures of the diseased Victorican prostitute and the promiscuous gay man respectively) has the psychic effect of shattering the phallicised ego. Thus for Bersani, any political project or knowledge production (be it anti-porn feminism or leftist sex radicals) that seeks to salvage sex or elevate it from its baseness has the conservative effects of reconsolidating sexual dominations premised on the phallic politico-economy. See (Bersani 1987).
23. (Hwang 2002: 67).
24. (Hwang 2002: 73).
25. (Hwang 2002: 72).
26. (Hwang 2002: 73).
27. The Law to Suppress Sexual Transaction Involving Children and Juveniles, http://www.ecpat.org.tw/english/surpress.pdf, accessed 30 July 2009.
28. The book is published by PsyGarden, a publisher specialising in psychological well-being and holism within the emerging 'happiness' industry in Taiwan. For the cultural studies take on the global trend of the 'happiness cultural industry', see (Ahmed 2010: 1–12).
29. In her study of sentimentality in US women's public culture, Lauren Berlant (2008: 4) proposes to read femininity as a genre to underscore the affective dimension that has been elided in the theory of gender performativity (as formulated by Judith Butler).
30. Lin presented this case study in the 'Taiwan Teenage Girls, Sex Market and the Study of Punters' conference.
31. I borrow this phrase from Lee Edelman. See (Edelman 2004: 67–109).
32. My formulation of the good here is drawn from Lacan's (1992) ethics of psychoanalysis. See below for more discussion on the Lacanian ethics.
33. I mark out Yinghua's holistic and naturalist lifestyle here because the 'free love' she loves practising in the wild, in stark contrast to those teenage girls tainted and perverted by commercial sex, is naturalised as unpolluted. This signification of 'sexual autonomy' is the pastoralising project that the book itself embodies.
34. (Yinghua 2003: 19–21).
35. (Zhu 2008: 96).
36. (Hwang 2003b: 24).

37. (Wang 2003: 7).
38. (Women Rescue Foundation and Yinghua 2003: 34).
39. (Women Rescue Foundation and Yinghua 2003: 37).
40. (Women Rescue Foundation and Yinghua 2003: 71).
41. (Hwang 2003b: 26).
42. (Berlant 1997: 70).
43. (Women Rescue Foundation and Yinghua 2003: 157–176).
44. (Women Rescue Foundation and Yinghua 2003: 175).
45. (Lin 2003: 190).
46. (Lin 2003: 190).
47. (Hwang 2003b: 25).
48. (Women Rescue Foundation and Yinghua 2003, book blurb).
49. (Hwang 2003b: 25).
50. See article 4 of the Law to Suppress Sexual Transaction Involving Children and Juveniles, http://www.ecpat.org.tw/english/surpress.pdf, accessed 30 July 2009. Here a series of questions raised by Lauren Berlant, ones regarding the entanglement of modern governance (in the Foucaultian sense) and feeling politics, reminds us to pause and think twice when faced with compassionate humanism. She writes,

    > Does a scene involve one person's suffering or a population's? What kinds of exemplication are involved when a scene of compassion circulates in order to organise a public response, whether aesthetic, economic or political? When we want to rescue x, are we thinking of rescuing everyone like x, or is it a singular case that we see? When a multitude is symbolised by an individual case, how can we keep from being overwhelmed by the necessary scale that an ethical response would take? (Berlant 2004: 6)

    In stipulating the anti-prostitution content of gender equity education, the Law to Suppress Sexual Transaction Involving Children and Juveniles, as a historical product of anti-trafficking campaign, imposes a censorship by eliminating the marked differences among those conducting sex work and by, therefore, ensuring that their stories have the same miserable ending. At the same time, it is important to point out that this law also presupposes a universal feeling of compassion on the part of the general public. This structure of feeling is so hegemonic (has it been so highly conditioned as to produce the knee-jerk reaction?), that it can dispense entirely with the ethical duties required to be undertaken. This is why Girl Y's base life serves as the baseline of the life trajectories of the other ten case studies in *The Youthhood.*
51. (Berlant 2002: 106).
52. (Ding 2002a).
53. (Shen 2003: 11).
54. (Shen 2003: 12–13).
55. On teenage girl sexual agency and the professionalisation of sex work, see (Ho 2000, 2003).
56. See (COSWAS 2000: 11).
57. http://gsrat.net/news/newsclipDetail.php?ncdata_id=3046, accessed 24 January 2009.
58. I borrow the term 'hegemonic comfort' from (Berlant 1998: 287).
59. (COSWAS 2000: 98).
60. (Hwang 2003b: 25).

61. (Lacan 1992: 237).
62. Recent years have seen the popularisation of the expression 'sexual happiness' in public discourse in Taiwan. Used by experts and educators in the inculcation of normative sexuality, *xingfu*, homonymous with the term for 'happiness', is a neologism that accentuates erotic welfare as a key aspect in attaining happiness.
63. I borrow this term from (Povinelli 2006: 21).
64. According to Matthew Sommer's study of sexual regulation in late imperial China, the legal term *cong liang* or 'to follow the good', broadly used in early imperial Qing to designate the promotion of the 'unfree/debased' servitude status to the 'free/commoner' status, had by the late eighteenth century come to take on a moral connotation referring to women quitting prostitution (Sommer 2000: 235–236). I thank Ding Naifei for drawing my attention to the term's historicity.
65. (Lacan 1992: 216).
66. (Lacan 1992: 229).
67. (Lacan 1992: 229–230).
68. (Edelman 2007: 471).
69. (Ding 2009).
70. See (Brown 1995).
71. (Brown 1995).
72. (Brown 2002).
73. (Lacan, quoted in Fink 1995: 101).
74. Judith Williamson, in a brilliant essay analysing dominant AIDS cultural narratives, points out that the genres of the sentimental (which arouses sympathy) and the gothic (which incites fear) belong to the same feeling structure that can be traced back to the encounter with the Sublime in Romanticism. As such, they are the two major cultural narratives through which AIDS discourse is structured, constituting a sort of *gesundes Volksempfinden* formed vis-à-vis the spectacle of AIDS. See (Williamson 1989).
75. (Liu 1997d: 93).
76. (Freud 1991b [1917]: 252).
77. (Brown 2003).
78. See chapter 5 for Liu's vilification of queer and prostitute activists. In an newspaper article entitled 'Jouissance Taiwan?!', Hwang severely criticises the Taipei City government for wasting taxpayers' money by subsiding the International Sex Workers' Festival (organised by the Collective of Sex Workers and Supporters [COSWAS]) as she also expresses her profound fear that the international image of Taiwan will continue to be tainted by its infamy as a paradise of sex tourism. See (Hwang 2004).
79. (Liu 2002a: 60).
80. (Ding 2000: 305).
81. See (Butler 1990).
82. (Butler 1997: 138).
83. (Butler 1997: 140).
84. (Butler 1997: 196).
85. See http://www.goh.org.tw/20th/main.html, accessed 12 August 2009.
86. (Bersani 1987: 22). For Bersani, what 'the general public' (an ideological construct interpellated through moral panic about AIDS) cannot tolerate and therefore has to fend off, is the 'self-shattering' jouissance sought by base figures such as the woman prostitute and the promiscuous gay man. Bersani's theorising of base sexuality is highly suggestive for the Taiwanese context under consideration here. As this kind of masochistic sex that disorientates from the teleology of reproductive heterosexuality

challenges the benevolent patriarchal nation-state imbued with gender equity consciousnesses, it is what the regulatory continuum of 'virtuous custom' and 'sexual autonomy' has repudiated since postwar Taiwan.

87. (Cobb 2007: 450).
88. By 'minor happiness', I take a cue from the song 'Happiness' written by COSWAS. Beautifully sung by the ex-licensed prostitute Li Jun of COSWAS, the song conveys the sentiment of subaltern pain while calling into question the notion of happiness as hegemonic comfort:

> If you ask me what happiness is,
> I do not know what to say.
> Were I born with a silver spoon,
> I couldn't complain enough about having a good life.
>
> If you ask me what life is,
> I do not know how to answer.
> Since I am not a daughter of respectable family,
> From whence can I find happiness?
>
> Ah, I am the Everlasting Flower that grows in the wild.
> Happiness is the candlelight that flickers in the wind,
> Something that we should guard with our palms.
> Ah I am the Everlasting Flower that grows in the wild.
> Life is the dim light in the dark night
> That leads us to march forwards.
>
> Even though I am looked down upon by others for doing this
> I take on this job to support my family like others
> So what's shameful about it?
> Red lights, narrow alleys and crossroads, I walk silently and alone
> Alas, to earn the livelihood for the whole family.
> Alas, that is my life …

See http://coswas.org/04civilian/soundmovie/451, accessed 5 November 2009.

89. See (Edelman 2004).
90. See (Laplanche 1976).

Epilogue

1. Sara Amed, 'Sitting Apart: Wilfulness as a Style of Politics', keynote speech given at 'Dissident Sexual Citizenship: Queer Postcolonial Belonging', University of Sussex, Brighton, 10–11 June 2010.
2. The exploration of the cultural politics of AIDS in Taiwan is the next book project that I am working on.
3. '2009 Taiwan LGBT Pride', http://www.twpride.info/, accessed 23 June 2010. The English version of the pride theme statement is used here with some corrections and modifications based on the Chinese version.
4. See (Martin 2003: 187–251).
5. I am here drawing on Sara Ahmed's phenomenological mediation on Freud's theory of desire and identification, whereby the affect of love is suggestively reformulated as 'toward-ness'. See (Ahmed 2004: 122–143).

6. See (Ho 2009).
7. See (Duggan 2004). On the trenchant critique of the sexual norm, see also (Warner 1999), (Halberstam 2005).
8. See (Love 2007b: 146).
9. This politics of refusal has been advanced by Liu Jenpeng, Ding Naifei and Amie Parry (2007) in their *Penumbrae Query Shadow: Queer Reading Tactics*.
10. (Chen 2010: 224–245).
11. (Chen 2010: 237–245).

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