QUEER POLITICS AND SEXUAL MODERNITY IN TAIWAN

Hans Tao-Ming Huang
Queer Politics
and
Sexual Modernity
in Taiwan
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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

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. 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.’

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 ...

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 — 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. 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. 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 …

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? 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 narrativised in heterogeneous rather than homogeneous time in the postcolonial world?
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 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 aural 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. 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. 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 decries 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’. 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
Introduction

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. 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. 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. 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. 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.

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*. 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. 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. 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.
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 centre 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. 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.

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. 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. 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. 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). 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. 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.

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. 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. 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 Dumont’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 penumbræ (‘the shadows of the shadow’, those which are the constitutive outside of the totality).\textsuperscript{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 penumbræ of the shadow of the modern woman who believe in gender quality’.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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).
This chapter accounts for the construction of male homosexuality from the 1950s through the 1970s by tracking ways in which male same-sex relations and genital acts are configured in psychological discourse integral to the apparatus of sexuality. By ‘apparatus of sexuality’, I follow Foucault by construing sexuality as a discursive product of institutional knowledge and disciplinary power. Through examining scientific discourses and fictional representation, I aim to delineate a normative culture of sex wherein male same-sex relations and genital acts came to be psychologised as sexual perversion. I begin by making the case for formulating the apparatus of sexuality as that of xingxinli or ‘the psycho-sexual’, to show how a normative context came to be established through the mental hygiene movement in the 1960s and 1970s. Specifically, I read The Man Who Escapes Marriage (1976), Taiwan’s first tongxinglian or ‘homosexual’ popular novel by Guang Tai, as a particular product of this context.

Sexuality as Xingxinli 性心理

In The History of Sexuality, Volume I, Foucault employs the genealogical method to investigate the construction of sex in Western society since the eighteenth century, showing how sex is the product of a modern form of disciplinary power that aims to foster the life force of the middle class and to cultivate ‘useful’ populations through state governance. Importantly, while opposing what he terms the ‘repressive hypothesis’, Foucault does not so much deny the repressive aspect of power that uses law and sovereignty to suppress sex as emphasise how power is exercised through sets of governing technologies that are predicated upon regimes of truth, such that power is deeply saturated within the social fabric. Thus the nineteenth century saw
a proliferation of discourse about sex, with emerging medical disciplines producing ever-increasing knowledge about what we have now come to know as human sexuality. This discursive production of knowledge through the sexualisation and problematisation of the bodies of women, children and men was a tactical operation — a process that Foucault calls ‘the deployment of sexuality’, producing, in effect, four types of personages who emerged in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Europe: namely the hysteric woman, the masturbating child, the Malthusian couple and the perverse adult. The attributes by which each of these figures are characterised represent the discursive products of what Foucault calls the technologies of sex: tactics, methods and strategies being invented and put into operation around and apropos of sex for social control. Thus, far from being something which power seeks to nullify by way of repression, sexuality, as a discursive product of human sciences, represents for Foucault the very instrument of power’s subjugation of the human body and it is the deployment of this sexuality that gives rise to the notion of ‘sex’ as both a fictive ideal and regulatory norm.1

The distinction made by Foucault between ‘sexuality’ and ‘sex’ (that is, his use of the radical historicisation of the former to denaturalise the contemporary status of the latter as both a ‘unique signifier’ and ‘universal signified’ is,2 of course, tactical, for the category of ‘sex’ long predated ‘sexuality’.3 In an essay entitled ‘Sex and the Emergence of Sexuality’, the Foucaultian historian Arnold Davidson makes the case that the category of ‘sexuality’ was a discursive product constituted by what he calls ‘the psychiatric style of reasoning’ in the nineteenth century, in contrast to ‘the anatomical style of reasoning’, which previously had been the conceptual paradigm by which the category of ‘sex’ was configured. Comparing visual representations of ‘sex’ in renaissance paintings and illustrations from psychiatric texts in the nineteenth century, Davidson convincingly demonstrates how meanings are engendered differently in these representations in accordance with the anatomical gaze and the psychiatric gaze respectively: whereas in the case of the former, it is by morphological distinction and reproductive organs that the body comes to be perceived as sexed, in the case of the latter, it is endowed with something distinct from the biological, something pertaining to sensations, arousal, and pleasure.4 In another essay titled, ‘Closing Up the Corpses: Diseases of Sexuality and the Emergence of the Psychiatric Style of Reasoning’, Davidson shows how the emergence of the concept of ‘sexual instinct’ in the nineteenth century made it possible for physical diseases to be allocated to a psychological realm independent of anatomical organs and how sexual ‘perversions’ came to stand for sexual dysfunctions.5 Rephrasing Davidson’s account of sexuality within the Foucaultian tactical reversal of
sexuality and sex, one could say that it is the deployment of that psychiatric style of reasoning that gives rise to our contemporary notion of sex.

As Western medical and human sciences were being introduced into China in the course of the early twentieth century, a new form of rationality, which signalled modernity for Chinese intellectuals, also began to take hold in Chinese culture. This modernising process in China has been studied by Frank Dikötter in his *Sex, Culture and Modernity in China: Medical Science and the Construction of Sexual Identity in the Early Republican China*. It is astonishing to note that in this manifestly Foucault-influenced book (with chapters studying the medical discourse of hysteria, masturbation and population for instance), the notion of sexuality is reduced merely to a matter of sexual preference or orientation. Dikötter argues that because the modernising Chinese elite were committed to a traditional association of sex with procreation, the European notion of ‘sexuality’ which gave rise to the idea of ‘sexual preference’ as an individual choice and the right to self-expression never made an impact in China: ‘no term for or conception of “sexuality” appeared in twentieth-century China’. Thus, for instance, when observing the discourse of *tongxinglian* or ‘homosexuality’ in the Republican era, Dikötter argues that despite being interpreted widely as a ‘mental disease’ and ‘inversion’, ‘homosexuality’ (a term which he uses interchangeably with ‘sodomy’) continued to be conceptualised by modernising intellectuals as ‘an acquired “filthy habit”’, rather than as a ‘radically different type of sexual preference’.

Dikötter’s error lies in his failure to recognise that the interpretation of *tongxinglian* as a ‘mental disease’ is precisely the psychiatric style of reasoning specific to the modern notion of ‘sexuality’, even if ‘homosexuality’ continued to be conceptualised in traditional Chinese terms. The grafting of that psychiatric style of reasoning onto the traditional Chinese style of reasoning as an attempt to make sense of *tongxinglian* is precisely what needs to be examined. In this regard, Wenqing Kang’s study on the sexological discourse in Republican China has offered a more complicated picture than Dikötter’s Eurocentric account. In his *Obsession: Male Same-Sex Relations in China, 1990–1950*, Kang shows that the translation of modern sexology in Republican China was mediated in the main by two indigenous generic terms of *pi* (obsession) and *renyao* (human chimera or freak), through which premodern male same-sex relations were conceptualised. Tracking the cultural histories of these terms, Kang importantly underscores the contradictory ways in which the meaning of premodern male same-sex relations was engendered, both as a form of sexual behaviour (signified by *pi*) that was at once practised by a certain group of people and yet universally attributed to human nature at the same time, and as a form of gender behaviour (signified by *renyao*) that emasculated as
it imposed an impossible double bind on the person engaging in the passive role in a male same-sex relation. This contradictory conceptualisation of male same-sex relations, Kang argues, subtends to the contradiction inherent in the Western conceptualisation of homosexuality, a thesis ventured by Eve Sedgwick in her seminal *Epistemology of the Closet*, providing a facilitation for the suturing of sexology in modern Chinese culture.\(^8\) I shall return to Kang’s work on *pi* later in this chapter, while in chapter 2 I will also be drawing on his work on *renyao* to examine closely its modern configurations in Taiwan.

In any case, Dikötter can only wish away this task by saying that the notion of ‘sexuality’ never appeared in twentieth-century China. His reduction of ‘sexuality’ to ‘sexual variations’ can be seen in the following passage where he lauds European sexological discourse:

> Ignoring the possibility of exclusive homosexuality, solidly linking sex to procreation, the conception of heterogenitality as a natural desire was also conducive to silence about *sexual variations* [in China]. In Europe, the publication of *Psychopathia Sexualis* in 1886 brought instant fame to Richard von Krafft-Ebing. An invention of case studies of so-called ‘sexual perversions’, his work was based on concepts of genetic predisposition current in his time. The psychiatrisation of perverse pleasures, according to Michel Foucault’s history of sexuality, became vital in the detailed description and regulation of individual life. *This impressive repertoire of anomalies, perversions and deformed sexualities constructed by psychiatrists and sex researchers in Europe envisaged the social subject as a site of individualised desires, and expressed the possibility that pleasure could be an end in itself. Such a possibility was not envisaged by modernising elites in China.*\(^9\)

Dikötter clearly mistakes effect for cause here: the social subject as a site of individualised desires was not envisaged by psychiatrists and sex researchers. Rather, the normalising effect *produced* by the sexological/psychiatric discourse (whereby desires were actively compared, carefully differentiated and analytically hierarchised through exclusion and homogenisation) stimulated the individualising process.\(^10\)

Regarding Dikötter’s assertion that ‘no term for or conception of “sexuality” appeared in twentieth-century China’, it should be noted that while the Chinese word *xing* 性 is generally taken as the standard translation for ‘sex’ in English,\(^11\) it is true that there remains to this day no standard translation in Chinese that corresponds exactly to the English term ‘sexuality’.\(^12\) I want to suggest in this chapter that ‘sexuality’ has in fact a mundane name in Chinese, a name that scarcely crosses people’s minds as to what the concept of ‘sexuality’ has come to figure in modern Chinese language. Its name is *xingxinli* 性心理, a compound which consists of *xing* 性 [sex] and *xinli* 心理
Mental Hygiene and the Regime of Sexuality

[ mind/psyche ] which might then be translated back into English roughly as ‘the psycho-sexual’ (without its theoretical overtone). This chapter will trace the initial establishment of the apparatus of xingxinli in Taiwan national culture to the mental hygiene movement during the 1960s and 1970s. In examining the discourse of mental hygiene, I seek to elucidate the logic of abnormality by which homosexuality is configured alongside other types of sexual perversion. This analytic attention is meant to mark out the contour of hetero-genitality in such a normative culture of sex.

Disciplining the Body: Mental Hygiene Movement and the Diseases of Sexuality

Beginning in the mid-1950s, a distinctive style of reasoning addressing the issues of individual and social health began to take shape in public discourse in Taiwan. Under the banner of ‘mental hygiene movement’, members of the Chinese Mental Hygiene Association (founded in China in 1936 and reconstituted in Taiwan in 1955) including psychologists, educators, psychiatrists and sociologists, began to deploy the language of mental hygiene to tackle new ‘social problems’ in a rapidly industrialising society. Emotional instability, family discord, juvenile delinquency and urban crime all derived from the fact, it was argued, that modern people did not have sufficient knowledge about the maintenance of mental health. To sustain a healthy and normal life and, more importantly, to maintain a peaceful and harmonious society, it was essential, the experts contended, that children and young people be taught mental hygiene so that they knew how to behave properly and normally. Parents and teachers were encouraged to acquire such knowledge so they could train the young efficiently and scientifically in accordance with social norms. In essence, the discourse of mental hygiene speaks the language of normality and conformity. With every aspect of behaviour described in psychological terms, the subject of sex was no exception. It was through the inculcation of psychology within the mental hygiene movement that the apparatus of xingxinli or ‘sexuality’ was established during the Cold War period in Taiwan.

The educator Bao Jiacong was the most prominent and influential figure in the 1960s mental health movement. A self-made psychologist and professor in the Psychology Department at National Zhengzhi University in Taipei, Bao was the author of a number of books on mental hygiene, including Youth Mental Hygiene (1957), Teenage Problem (1959), Pathological Psychology (1962), Mental Health (1963), School Mental Hygiene (1964) and How to Discipline Students (1964). With the establishment of the ‘Mental Hygiene Centre’ in
the Disciplinary Education Committee of the Ministry of Education in 1963, Bao became a key figure in training teachers on the subject of mental hygiene pedagogy and wrote a number of case studies on juvenile delinquency for the centre. In addition to these publications, he was very active in public life, frequently giving radio talks and speeches to students and soldiers.

In the preface to the sixth edition of his *Youth Mental Hygiene* reprinted in 1969, Bao describes his ‘missionary passion’ for spreading the gospel of mental hygiene to the public because the ultimate aim of practising mental hygiene is to:

> help the world and save the multitude ... [the knowledge of mental hygiene] enables people to understand themselves so that they know how to save themselves. It enables one to use ways to overcome [obstacles], compensate for [what cannot be attained in social reality], redirect [attention], or sublimate [desires] when one is behaving abnormally.

This passage spells out clearly the raison d’être of the mental hygiene movement. Construed as a powerful social medicine, the practice of mental hygiene not only enjoins every individual to *know* him or herself but also ensures that self-knowledge be a knowledge about normality. Of course, in order to know whether one is behaving normally enough, one needs to have knowledge about what constitutes abnormality. And this is what Bao sets out to do in his *Pathological Psychology* (1962), a book of nearly one thousand pages, containing more than eight hundred examples illustrating the range of pathological behaviour (with many of these examples taken from American magazines like *Reader’s Digest, News Week,* and *Personal Romances*). Significantly, Bao chooses *bingtai* (pathological) rather than *biantai* (perversion) for the title of his book. He argues that the latter, as used in common parlance, suggests a state of being that has already been fundamentally perverted and is for that reason seen as incurable, whereas the former assumes a diseased physical state that is always treatable if discovered early. Moreover, this distinction between the *bingtai* and *biantai* is socially useful, because, Bao reasons, it allows ordinary people to take a more sympathetic and compassionate attitude towards those who suffer from mental illness, rather than merely condemning them as perverts. This kind of compassionate social attitude, Bao argues, would definitely help those who are mentally ill to seek medical help.

Such an attitude shows how normality works through the rhetoric of compassion, as strategies specifically devised to redress abnormality are not only deemed as benevolent but also welcomed, it is argued, by the ‘mentally ill’ themselves: ‘If we can talk to them and understand them a bit more, they will be genuinely grateful to you without telling you’.
Bao lists four categories of diseases within the realm of sex: shouyin (literally, hand-sex or masturbation), tongxinglian (homosexuality), xingquehan (sexual deficiency) and xingguaipi (quirky sexual habits). While Bao construes the third category, which includes impotence and frigidity, as merely ‘demerit’, I shall demonstrate that it is the logic of compulsion by which the other three categories are structured and made distinct.

First of all, hand-sex is the problematic category that, as Bao puts it, ‘falls on the borderline between normal and abnormal’. By the time Bao wrote this book, Western medicine no longer regarded onanism as a practice that would lead to neurasthenia and, indeed, Bao himself cites some medical findings (such as the Kinsey Report) to repudiate popular beliefs such as yi di jing, shi di xie or ‘a drop of semen equates ten drops of blood’, in arguing that ‘hand-sex’ produces no harmful effects on the body. Nevertheless, hand-sex can, without care, Bao argues, easily become an inveterate habit if not careful: Sexual gratification should include the gaining of pleasures for the body and the mind. ‘Hand-sex’ can only release temporary carnal demands, but psychologically, one cannot but feel regret for it is not real after all. Because of this slight flaw, one would feel inconsolable and distressed. But precisely because of this unfulfilled feeling, one is likely to repeat the same mistake again and again and end up overdoing it. For those who do it too much it becomes a habit, and they must have a low sense of self-esteem because of this doomed failure. Therefore, they become melancholic and love to spend time on their own, which would impede normal social life ... [Thus] more than half of the joy of life is in this way deprived. In addition, this kind of anomalous development comes quite close to the pathological and it can really be said to prefigure mental illness.

This passage can perhaps explain why ‘masturbation’ came to be signified as ziwei or ‘self consolation’ in the Chinese language, a euphemism which did not enter public discourse until the early 1970s in Taiwan but which has now become standard. While this euphemism appears to erase the sexual immorality of the yin in the compound shouyin or ‘hand-sex’, masturbation is still treated, patronisingly, as a poor substitute for heterosexual coitus rather than a self-fulfilling pleasure in itself. Significantly, insofar as individuals who ‘indulge’ in hand-sex are denigrated as ‘escapists’, self-eroticism is figured as detrimental to hetero-sociality. Given Bao’s circular and tautological logic, the minor form of sociality constituted by mutual group hand-sex is of course unthinkable in that culture of, to borrow Michael Cobb’s term, ‘forced intimacy’.

Meanwhile, Bao’s formulation of homosexuality and other ‘quirky sexual habits’ hinges on this kind of logic as well. Of the four categories of male homosexual, the self-indulgent type represents the most serious one.
consists of the ‘promiscuous’ and ‘self-deceiving’ homosexuals who become totally addicted to sex due to already having had too much hand-sex. In this case, endocrine injection is suggested in order to balance the internal secretions of those deemed untreatable by psychological therapy. Significantly, this logic of compulsion receives its fullest expression in Bao’s rendition of xingguai\text{pi} or ‘quirky sexual habits’, namely sexual perversions as classified in sexology and psychiatry, such as kuiship\text{pi} (voyeurism), baiwupi (fetishism), lotip\text{pi} (exhibitionism), niuedai\text{pi} (sadomasochism). It is of paramount importance that Bao uses the generic term \text{pi} to designate sexual practices that deviate from the norm of hetero-genitality. In the brief introduction to this section on these eight types of abnormal sexual behaviour, Bao explains:

‘Sex’ is itself a form of desire, and it is entirely healthy to have this kind of desire. However, when one represses this kind of desire and does not seek to compensate [for what one represses] properly at the same time, when one cannot be gratified because of all the restrictions imposed by the external world or when one cannot release [the sexual tensions] because of the internal factors (which then will result in a conflictual mind because of the maladjustment to the external world), a transmutation of sexual desire will then occur and do damage to the balance of health, thus giving rise to all kinds of abnormal quirky habits. The eight types of \text{pi} [habit] listed here are meant to show that they belong to the quirky kind of behaviour which perches on the borderline between the normal and abnormal: depending on the degree to which they manifest themselves, they can be temporary improper behaviour or become pathological when seriously developed.

Bao’s postulation of a healthy and normal sexual life is a typical deployment of sexuality whereby the repressive hypothesis is used as a ruse to formulate any type of desire whose manifestations deviate from the pre-given norm, for it presumes a state of equilibrium brought about by the repression of desire and its ‘proper’ compensations. It also presupposes at the same time that sexual desires are always insatiable and that sexual gratification cannot be achieved because of social constraints. With contradicting assumptions in operation, a range of diseased sexualities is thus produced.

**The Performative of Pi**

In his *Obsession: Male Same-Sex Relations in China, 1990–1950*, Wenqing Kang traces the cultural history of \text{pi} and argues that it was through this generic term that the sexological category of homosexuality came to be articulated during the period he surveys. Highlighting that the etymology of \text{pi} carries the pathological condition connoting ‘habit’ or ‘addiction’, Kang draws on
the work of Judith Zeitlin to account for the term’s historical configurations, with its ever-elusive and wide-ranging semantic aspects manifesting in the following renditions: ‘addition, compulsion, passion, mania, fondness for, weakness for, love of, fanatical devotion, craving, idiosyncrasy, fetishism, and even hobby’. According to Zeitlin, the discourse of *pi* begins with the documentation of nonconformity in the fifth century, developing into connoisseurship and object collecting in the late Tang dynasty and finally turning into the late Ming craze in the sixteenth century as a fashionable practice for the literati. The late Ming discourses of new virtues such as ‘sentiment, madness, folly, and lunacy’ transform the hitherto moral suspicion of obsessive collecting into a prevailing cultural trend. Such objects of obsession became conventionalised by the Ming dynasty: in addition to objects such as ‘calligraphy, painting, rock, flowers, games, and cleanliness’, there is also *nanse* (male beauty) and this was when ‘cut-sleeve’, the classic expression for male same-sex relation, became welded to *pi*. Significantly, Kang underscores the paradox of *pi* pinpointed by Zeitlin: while connoting ‘a pathological fondness for something’, *pi* was at the same time construed as ‘individual proclivities inherent in all human nature’. I would like to supplement Kang’s fine argument by drawing closer attention to the etymology of the term, which he mentions only briefly, and to mark out its performative force when grafted onto the apparatus of *xingxinli*. The term *pi* has a root that signifies illness, one that has to do originally with indigestion. Its etiology, according to Zeitlin, has been recorded in various traditional medical books. For example, in *Bencao Jin* [The Classic Materia Medica] of the second century, *pi* is taken as ‘one of the most important kinds of serious illness’, according to Paul Unschuld. Further, in a chapter on the medical treatment of *pi* from *Waitai mifang* (The Secret Prescriptions of the Outer Tower) by Wang Shou of the Tang dynasty (618–907 A.D.), *pi* is construed as a kind of illness caused by indigestion: ‘if digestion stops, the stomach cannot function properly. If one then drinks fluid, it will stop from trickling and will not disperse. If it further meets cold qi (energy), it will accumulate to form a *pi*. A *pi* is what inclines to one side between two ribs and sometimes hurts’. Another ancient medical book, *Chaoshi binyuan* (The Chao Etymology), offers a slightly different explanation of *pi* as that which relates to ‘undigested elements of food asided in the stomach as the result of sedimentation and accumulation’. As a residue and pathological blockage in the human body, *pi* was to be metaphorised to connote that which is formed and sedimented over time. As such, it later comes to allude to ‘habit’ or ‘obsession’. Furthermore, the location of this blockage is also already inscribed in the other constituent of the word *辟*, which signifies
‘off-centre’ or ‘marginal’. This ‘off-centre-ness’ gives the particular obsession or addiction a different hue for its peculiarity and non-conformity. The fact that the practice of male homosexuality is conventionalised as pi is highly significant, for it points to a specific kind of sexual practice conceptualised within this discursive framework. When, for instance, Pu Songling (1640–1715), the author of Liaozhi’s Records of the Strange, attributes the ‘cut-sleeve pi’ to the hero of a tale about a fox-boy, the sentence reads: ‘Heshen has always had (suyou) cut-sleeve pi.’ The word su (always) that comes before you (have), or the perfect tense inscribed in this enunciation, is discursively induced and remanded by pi as the latter has a primal signification of something which is sedimented over time and which then comes to appear in a residual form. The performative force of pi lies in the act’s history and sedimentation, that is, in its being repetitively performed. Once grafted onto pi, ‘cut-sleeve’ becomes that which is not only ‘possessed’ by the person as a preference for a certain sexual practice, but a preference with a specific temporality.

Now, it is with this linguistic specificity and cultural convention that pi comes to operate as a generic term within the apparatus of sexuality in contemporary Taiwan: pi becomes psychologised. Pi’s root of illness now represents mental illness, or, more precisely, diseased sexuality, while its constituent, ‘off-centred-ness’, comes to signify that which deviates from the norm of hetero-genitality. Pi is attributed to diverse modes of deviant sexual practices typified by their deep-rootedness. More specifically, within the framework of a disciplinary knowledge such as mental hygiene, pi becomes configured as the inveterate habit of individuals who have no willpower: pi is an addiction over which one does not have control. Crucially, for Bao, the turning away from the norm of hetero-genitality, putatively out of sexual frustration or sense of inferiority, also gives rise to the kind of mentality called ‘giving-up-upon-themselves’ (zibao ziqi, an idiomatic expression in Chinese), one that manifests itself in the self-indulgent act of pursuing ‘unreal’ sexual gratification. While Bao’s etiological accounts of different types of sexual deviation vary in details, the discursivity of pi determines their unity in structure as habits that are inveterately and compulsively performed. In chapter 2, I will look closely at how pi is deployed within the domain of news production, further underscoring how it operates within the normative regime of xingxinli.

**Gender Identity and Normative Psycho-sexual Development**

Thanks to the publication of Irving Bieber’s influential monograph *Homosexuality: A Psychiatric Study of Male Homosexuals* in 1962 in the US, the
Freudian etiology of homosexuality, discussed also briefly by Bao Jiacong in his *Pathological Psychology*,[42] began to be amplified in Taiwan in the mid-1960s. According to Kenneth Lewes’s study of the psychoanalytic theory of male homosexuality, Bieber and his team’s ten-year study of 106 male homosexual patients was warmly received by the American psychiatric/psychoanalytic community, with many regarding it approvingly as ‘the much-awaited confirmation of psychoanalytic ideas’. Bieber’s monograph argues that parental roles and attitudes are decisive to the development of homosexuality in boys, claiming that ‘close-binding-intimate mothers’ and ‘detached/rejecting’ fathers are responsible for impeding/impairing their sons’ normal heterosexual development. It also confirms the stereotype of the ‘sissy’ or effeminate boy who grows up to become homosexual.[44]

Two articles with the Bieberian theme were translated into Chinese and appeared in the popular medical science magazine *Popular Medicine* in 1964 and 1965 respectively. The first article is an interview from the American journal *Science Digest*, which features the American neurologist and psychoanalyst Cornelia B. Wilbur. Significantly, the translator briefs the Taiwanese readers with the following sentences: ‘How do those men and women who have *tongxinglian pi* (homosexual pi) get infected with that kind of bad habit? How can they be treated?’[45] In the article, Wilbur faithfully reiterates Bieber’s findings while showing that Bieber’s model can be applied to female homosexuals as well.[46] The second article is from *Life* magazine on 26 June 1964, a groundbreaking issue which ‘entered thousands of middle-class homes across the country, with a photo essay offering a spectacular view of what is called “the secret world” of homosexuality in America’, according to Lee Edelman.[47] The translated article only includes the ‘scientific’ section written by Ernest Havemann. It epitomises some of the most influential accounts of homosexuality — Kinsey’s shocking empirical findings, Freud’s Da Vinci paradigm of male homosexuality and, especially, the American Freudian family romance orchestrated by Bieber — which were to dominate the discourse of male homosexuality in Taiwan during the next two decades.

In the meantime, a psychiatric voice began to emerge within the mental health movement in Taiwan. A few American-trained Chinese psychiatrists returned to Taiwan around this period and quickly established their platforms in public life. Crucially, whereas Bao’s psychology focuses on youth, this psychiatric voice made a decisive move to problematise children’s bodies. It was in disseminating knowledge about normative psycho-sexual development that the psychiatrists began to inculcate norms of sex and gender.

An interview from *Hygiene Magazine* in 1965 featuring Dr. Xiao Yanyao, a mental hygiene specialist and US practitioner, typically used the ruses
of secrecy and heightened moral concerns over youths amidst the rapid commercialisation of sex in 1960s Taiwan to deploy normative xingxinli. Speaking with ‘motherly concern’, Xiao accounts for the causes of abnormal xingxinli as it manifests itself in youth behaviour, which ultimately leads to the impairment of conjugal happiness, while stressing the importance of early prevention through proper parental care. Of particular significance here is the pedagogy of sex she prescribes. Essentially, the rules are: 1) the cardinal principle of conjugal harmony and loving family; 2) children over the age of five should neither sleep nor take showers with family members of the opposite sex; 3) the adoption of the ‘softly softly’ approach when disciplining children; 4) while ‘hand-sex’ in moderation is not in itself pathological, parents should refrain from scolding their children lest they are overwhelmed by a sense of guilt.

At issue here are the specifically devised tactics for the governing of children. The second recommendation, as Xiao makes clear, is made to prevent what could give rise to sissy boys or mannish girls when they come to identify with the wrong gender, a misidentification that ‘sometimes even leads to the tragedy of becoming homosexual’. Secondly, this ‘softly softly’ approach of governing children has the general effect of reconsolidating the institutional power wielded by the mental hygiene expert: for who else is to judge whether a parental act is too harsh or too soft, whether the mother is too domineering or the father too detached? Lastly, the idea of ‘hand-sex-in-moderation’, considered from the parental perspective, can only imply that surveillance be put into operation, with children caught in the act providing precisely the occasion for further inculcation of ‘correct’ knowledge about sex.

A key development of the psychiatric deployment of xingxinli in Taiwan was the publication of Freud’s Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality, along with his four other essays including “Civilised” Sexual Morality and Modern Nervous Illness’, in 1971 in Taiwan. Freud’s articulation of the theory of sexuality in the Three Essays is a controversial matter, praised by many for its radical nature and criticised by others for its conservatism. Arnold Davidson, for instance, has argued that the whole traditional psychiatric/sexological notion of ‘perversion’ laden with moralism is called into question by Freud, and that in showing the perverse nature of all sexual desires (as the sexual instinct is argued to be without a given aim for any sexual object) Freud fundamentally challenged the very notion of normality. On the other hand, as Jeffery Weeks has pointed out, in seeing homosexuality as a certain arrest of sexual development, Freud in the end re-inscribes the very doctrine of
heteronormativity that he sets out to undermine. Of paramount significance is the Taiwanese rendition of *Three Essays*, advertised as ‘the uttermost treasure of abnormal psychologists’ on the blurb, sandwiched by a preface and an appendix article titled ‘On sexual deviation’, both by the Harvard-trained psychiatrist Zeng Wenxin, who also supervised the translation. Crucially, this was a gesture specifically made not only to ‘sanitise’, so to speak, Freud’s radical insights, but also to convince Taiwanese readers of the importance of psychiatric interventions against sexual perversion. Underscoring Freud’s etiological account of perversion and of normative psycho-sexual development, Zeng makes clear the use of Freudian theory in his preface:

> Not only can we understand right away [from Freud’s accounts] that there is not much difference between so-called sexual perversions and normality after all, but also can we find the ways to treat sexual perversions at the same time ... Psychoanalytical theory mainly aims to construe how the libido undergoes the stages of ‘oral’, ‘anal’, ‘sex-bud’ (xinglei), ‘homosexual’ and ‘heterosexual’ within the development of personality. On the one hand, it explains the phenomenon of infantile sexuality; on the other hand, it also elucidates whether one grows up to be normal depends on whether the development of personality is successfully carried out.

What is evident here is Zeng’s attempt to adhere to a sexual norm or ideal, even if the latter has been shown by Freud to be not only unjustified but also morally untenable. And the only way Zeng can occupy this moral high ground is by pathologising abnormal ‘psycho-sexual’ development as a personality disorder. It is this will to normalcy that structures Zeng’s ‘On sexual deviation’.

Zeng begins this appendix essay by reinstating the norm of reproductive heterogenitality. In order to fortify the notion of normative psycho-sexual development, he goes so far as to cite ethological experiments on ducks and guinea pigs to emphasise the importance of early experience in moulding proper human behaviour. He then moves on to look into categories of sexual perversion including ‘homosexuality’, ‘transvestitism’, exhibitionism’ and ‘sado-masochism’ by supplying each with a psychiatric case history. Of particular concern here is Zeng’s Bieberian case of male homosexuality. In this case, the patient grows up alone with his mother in the absence of his father. The young patient is said to miss his father dearly, waiting by the door for him to come home. In the meantime, the mother, concerned as she is with the boy’s safety, never allows her son to play ‘masculine’ games with
other boys. Moreover, thinking the boy is still very young, she often takes showers with him, changing her clothes in front of her son while telling him off at the same time for looking at her. It is the mother’s seductive and controlling manner, her excessive love for the boy and her interference with his masculine identification, Zeng explains, that gives rise to the development of homosexuality in this boy. Curiously enough, the process of masculine identification appears to operate in a different mode when we compare the above case with Zeng’s rendition of a male exhibitionist. In his account of exhibitionism, Zeng speaks of a male athlete being arrested by the police for exposing his genitals to girls in the street. It turns out that this man was ill-treated by his mother and continually mocked by his elder sisters in his childhood. Lacking ‘male confidence’, the man tried his best to become an athlete and army officer in the hope of compensating for a masculinity presumed to be impaired. In the final analysis, Zeng says, the man acts in this way because ‘by exhibiting his penis to scare off girls, he can prove to himself that he is a man; on the other hand, by threatening and taking revenge on women, he can release the discontent of having been mistreated by his mother and sisters’. Here it appears that a man is able to affirm his gender identity by exhibiting his penis: masculinity appears to be a biological endowment marked by the male organ, which totally contradicts Zeng’s formulation of the sissy boy.

To conclude his essay, Zeng assures readers that medical practice is now sufficiently advanced to treat sexual deviations with satisfactory results, arguing that successful treatments hinge on the doctor’s subtle manipulation of shame:

> When treating sexual perverts, one should on the one hand help them to be rid of an unnecessary sense of shame so that they can look into their problem seriously, but at the same time, one should in a proper way maintain the patients’ unease with themselves so as to sustain their desires to be cured. Otherwise, the treatment is likely to fail halfway through.

So a double bind is placed on the pervert, a logic similar to the psychiatric advice about the masturbating child as discussed earlier. On the one hand, he or she must retain some sense of dignity in order to recognise their perversion (that is, we are all somewhat perverse by nature). On the other hand, he or she must continue to suffer, a state that involves the dissolution of their dignity in order to recognise that they need a cure (that is, you must conform to the prevailing norm of reproductive heterosexuality by renouncing your own ‘idiosyncratic sexuality’). Ironically, the sense of shame, forcibly sustained
by the medical establishment in its safeguarding the given sexual-moral order, is precisely what Freud attacks in “Civilised” sexual morality and modern nervous illness’.

‘Am I Normal (Enough)?: The Man Who Escapes Marriage

It is this normative context established by the mental hygiene movement that gave rise to The Man Who Escapes Marriage (1976), Taiwan’s first so-called tongxinglian or ‘homosexual’ novel. Although scanty fictional representations on male homosexuality existed in the 1960s and 1970s,61 The Man was the first work of this kind that drew wider public attention. A direct product of the apparatus of xingxinli, the novel was framed and consumed in the aftermath of the American Psychiatric Association’s decision to remove homosexuality from its list of mental disorders in 1973.

According to Wu Jui-yuan’s research, The Man Who Escapes Marriage was first partially serialised in the China Times at the beginning of 1976 and was published in April that year by the China Times Publisher. With the serialisation receiving a huge but mixed reader response (vitriolic diatribes, confessions from other ‘homosexuals’ sharing their torments, as well as inquiries about homosexuality), the newspaper then invited five doctors, including urologist Jiang Wanxuan, psychiatrists Ke Yonghe and Xiao Yanyao, psychologist Wu Yingzhang, and gynaecologist Chen Anjun, to give their views on the subject of homosexuality by serialising their ‘diagnoses’ between 13 and 17 April 1976.62 Although the claim, made by Guang Tai himself, that ‘The Man Who Escapes Marriage is seen by many as the [Taiwanese] male homosexuals’ “Bible”, is somewhat self-aggrandising, the popularity of this novel cannot be underestimated. There is no question that the novel has been a best-seller over the last two decades, with more than 100,000 copies sold by 1988 and reprinted in 1995 in the wake of the tongzhi movement.63

That The Man is the direct product of psychiatric discourse can be most clearly seen in Guang Tai’s use of a reader’s letter as the preface for the novel. In his preface, Guang Tai, a faithful Christian who had not disclosed his homosexuality at the time and who had spent time researching his novel in the Psychology Department of National Taiwan University, explains that this reader’s letter not only made him feel warmly appreciated but also represented for him a ‘defence and reply’ for writing a novel about a taboo subject in the first place. The reader Huang Sitang begins his letter by expressing his admiration for Guang Tai’s courage in depicting such a subject in a society wherein ‘Homo’ [English original] are seen as ‘evil’. Society should change its hostile attitude towards homosexuals and try to understand their problems, Huang argues,
because their sexuality is involuntary: ‘Who would want to be born as Gay [English original]? And who would willingly run away from God’s best and most beautiful gift to mankind, that is, marriage?’

Huang then goes on to explain why society should change its attitude towards male homosexuals:

> People often see Homo [English original] as a kind of psychiatric disease (Psychosis) [sic, English original]. In fact, it is not Psychosis; it is merely a kind of problem for sexual orientation (Sexodeviation) [sic, English original]. Homo is no different from normal people in their personality, mental conditions or intelligence ... The only difference lies in the sexual aim. From the view point of psychology, these people are arrested in the Homo Stage [English original], unable to move into Hetero Stage [English original] in their psychosexual development. This arrested (delay) [sic, English original] situation is often caused by circumstantial factors. Therefore, it is a social problem. We should not see it as taboo. On the contrary, we should try to understand it and to prevent it from happening. Once it happens, we should search for ways to solve it, rather than treating it [homosexuality] like epilepsy, pushing patients into a corner in making them live their lives without daylight.

Contradictory as it sounds, this passage, reminiscent of Bao Jiacong’s formulation of pathological psychology, encapsulates the entire ethos of the mental hygiene movement in its benevolent will to cure the not-nearly normal. By taking this reader’s letter as his own defence for writing such a book, Guang Tai makes clear his espousal of psychiatric knowledge and his re-deployment of it in pleading for social acceptance of male homosexuals.

Narrated by the homosexual-identified, middle-class protagonist Yan Andi, the novel tells of how he succumbs to family pressures by getting married. Seeing himself as the ‘incorrigible’ type of homosexual, and yet trying to come to terms with normality, Andi embarks on a marriage of convenience with a young girl (Zheng Zhouyao) made pregnant by a married friend (Yao Yingtian) with whom Andi is deeply in love. After a boy is born to carry Andi’s family name, the marriage soon breaks up as Andi refuses, despite being a faithful Christian, to perform his conjugal duty, and the story ends with divorce.

Due to the author’s intention to promote ‘sympathy for and understanding of male homosexuality’, The Man reads rather like a social reportage. In addition to its depiction of Taipei’s underground gay bar culture in the 1970s and the harsh social reality that compels the narrator to lead a normal life, the novel is woven with narratives that seek to ‘update’ the general public’s social knowledge about that peculiar form of desire that had long been deemed perverse and pathological. Two examples from the
novel suffice to show the world’s changing attitudes towards homosexuality. First, when Yingtian expresses his disbelief that Andi’s church would accept his homosexuality, Andi replies:

It’s difficult to say. As society changes, the teachings of our church change too. For instance, contraception is forbidden in the Old Testament. But now, the church has been instrumental in promoting population policy. Recently, the Vatican authority issued a statement, saying that Roman Catholicism decries all forms of extra-marital sexual behaviour. But regarding those untreatable homosexuals, [the statement goes], people should treat them with understanding and judge them with care.71

Later, when showing his liberal straight male colleague He Yufang, with whom Andi has a flirtatious relationship, around a gay bar, Andi tells him of the latest medical attitude towards homosexuality:

These days, people including psychologists and psychiatrists no longer see Gay [English original] as pathological. Everyone regards homosexuality as a normal kind of expression for human feelings. It is by no means regarded as evil. Therefore, with the exception of those countries behind the Iron Curtain, Gay Bar[s] [English original] exists in every democratic country.

But our society is still more conservative. Gays [English original] cannot be too open, right? [The friend asks]

But this generation is not the same anymore. People of this generation now know how to search for happiness; they know they are living their lives for themselves, not for others. The American Constitution [sic] has clearly stated that people have the freedom to look for happiness.72 Don’t you overlook the meaning contained in this small passage; it will give you a whole totally different view on life.73

Given the indelible presence of US cultural hegemony in Taiwan, Guang Tai’s evocation of the US Constitution is tactically useful, except that he does not perceive the irony that if such a utopian promise had been realised, ‘homosexuality’ would not have been pathologised in America in the first place.74

As if Andi’s words were not authoritative enough, Guang Tai sets a scene later in the novel for a psychiatrist to lay out the medical view of homosexuality. Two sessions on the couch are arranged for Andi in a ‘mental hygiene clinic’ whereby he is given a ‘Freudian’ style of hypnotic analysis by the psychiatrist.75 Here, Bieber’s Freudian family romance is fully dramatised: Andi does not like his soldier-father, wondering often as a child why he cannot have his mother to himself. After his father passed away when he was
nine, Andi became even more closely bound to his mother, objecting to her dating other men. By the end of the first analysis, the psychiatrist delivers the following diagnosis:

You were confused about male and female gender roles as a kid. You never got love from your father. On top of that, you lived for a long time with your mother. Undeniably, apart from loving you, she also punished you when you did something wrong. Thus, because you are afraid of your mother, you therefore stayed away from women when you grew up. This is because you think women are domineering and authoritarian, and you hate them for that.\(^76\)

In the second session, after having listened to the story of Andi’s adolescence and his sexual disgust at the thought of having sex with women, the psychiatrist terminates his analysis with this diagnosis:

You are fine. You are not aggressive and do not suffer from depression or anxiety. Religion also gives you a perfect personality. Homosexuality is not a psychiatric disease anymore. You only have gender identity disorder, that’s all … You don’t let your homosexuality disrupt your personal relationships. I have known a few dangerous cases. These people think of sex all the time when they take the bus or go to the toilet for instance. They’ve even thought of having sex with me as a result of transference.\(^77\)

Here the figure of the sex-obsessed, ‘dangerous’ homosexual is set up to contrast the good Christian gay that is Andi, even as the latter fails from time to time to resist the temptation of having casual sex.\(^78\) Significantly, the psychiatric view represented here is reiterated later not only by Guang Tai himself in his postlude to the novel but also by all five medical experts who comment on the novel.\(^79\) What appears to be psychiatric practice’s normalisation of homosexuality needs be closely re-examined.

In her essay ‘How to bring your kids up gay’, Sedgwick importantly points out that after homosexuality was depathologised by the American Psychiatric Association in 1974, a new diagnostic category called ‘Gender Identity Disorder of Childhood’ surreptitiously appears in the American Psychiatric Association’s new edition of *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual* (DSM-III) of 1980. Sedgwick sees this new diagnostic category, designed especially to pathologise the effeminate boy, as the psychiatric institution’s policing and regulation of sexuality through re-naturalisation of gender identity in the aftermath of the 1974 decision.\(^80\) In Taiwan, doctors and psychiatrists appeared to have already anticipated that move in 1976. Apart from Wu Yingzhang (whose argument for the normalisation of homosexuality
will be discussed on its own shortly), all the other medical experts tackle the question of homosexuality from the viewpoint of normative gender identity/identification while emphasising prevention through early parental intervention. While urologist Jiang Wanxuan argues that the decline of traditional patriarchy in an industrialising society like Taiwan gives rise to the figure of the ‘weak father’ which in turn gives rise to the increasing number of homosexuals in recent years, the gynaecologist Chen Anjun urges mothers to prioritise their family duties and avoid working full-time before their children reach the age of four. In their contributions, psychiatrists Ke Yonghe and Xiao Yanyao both take up the issue of normative psycho-sexual development in children, emphasising in particular the psychic consequences of the dissolution of the Oedipus complex in the assumption of normative masculine and feminine gender identity. Significantly, even though his article is entitled ‘[Homosexuality is] not to be regarded as abnormal behaviour’, Dr. Ke, a new authority in Taiwan on clinical psychotherapy, asserts the primacy of heterosexuality as the normal way of life:

Although psychiatry no longer regards homosexual behaviour as one of the perverse kinds, and although some societies have given homosexuality legitimate status, it is after all not the major mode of human man-woman relation. Therefore, parents should still take up the responsibility to educate children, making them choose heterosexual relationships over that of the homosexual when they grow up. To achieve this end, parents should try to make efforts to be good models in playing their gender roles so that children can properly identify with them. In the meantime, they should encourage children to learn from their playmates how to play their gender roles and give children names, clothes and demands that fit their gender identity. It is the psychologist’s view that one is born as either female or male, and yet it takes a long period of learning and training to cultivate femininity and masculinity.

The de-pathologisation of homosexuality in psychiatric practice is here displaced through the disciplining of gender identity. Moreover, while Ke’s articulation of gender might make him sound like a social constructionist, such a formulation is in fact biological essentialism in disguise, for it takes anatomical difference as given. He invokes the traditional notion of biological sex, one which operates as a norm by which the body is regulated. Here it is instructive to read Ke’s biological essentialism in the light of Judith Butler’s Foucaultian formulation of sex:

‘Sex’ not only functions as a norm but is part of a regulatory practice that produces the bodies it governs, that is, the whole regulatory force
is made clear as a kind of productive power, the power to produce — demarcate, circulate, differentiate — the bodies it controls. Thus ‘sex’ is a regulatory ideal whose materialisation is compelled, and this materialisation takes place (or fails to take place) through certain highly regulated practices. In other words, ‘sex’ is an ideal construct which is forcibly materialised through time. It is not a simple fact or static condition of a body, but a process whereby regulatory norms materialise ‘sex’ and achieve this materialisation through a forcible reiteration of those norms.86

Ke’s prescription of parental governance, whereby children must be given proper names, clothes and demands that fit their gender identity, should be taken as the normalising process whereby the body is materialised in accordance with the ‘regulatory ideal of sex’. Further, this normative regime of sex is disciplinary in nature. Ke makes it clear that it takes ‘learning’ and ‘training’ to achieve ‘successful’ cultivation of gender roles. By ‘successful’, Ke can only mean that homosexuals, male and female alike, are failed men and women under the imperative of compulsory heterosexuality and that punishment should be imposed upon them as part of a training scheme to rectify their behaviour.

In contrast to these normative views, Wu Yingzhang’s contribution represents a progressive argument that was never heard within the mental hygiene discourse. In his article, ‘Homosexuality and heterosexuality’, Wu draws on the American Psychiatric Association’s 1973 decision and Kinsey’s study of homosexual behaviour to make the case that homosexuality is itself perfectly normal provided that no other deviant behaviour or psychological problems are involved. Crucially he calls into question the damaging effects that social labels such as ‘problem student’ and ‘homosexual’ have while underscoring the fact that because of the deeply ingrained social prejudices homosexuals are more prone to mental illnesses. Yet there is a limit in his idea of ‘the normal homosexual’. This occurs when he cites an American psychiatrist’s view in favour of depathologising homosexuality from within the heated debate on the 1973 decision. Contending that deviant behaviour is manifest in heterosexual people as well, this psychiatrist (no name/source is given here) argues:

Many homosexuals, male and female alike, apart from their different sexual orientation, have strong sense of honor, and are equally responsible, trustworthy, emotionally stable, and mature. They adjust to life very well.87
Wu then asks, ‘when normal homosexuals, like normal heterosexuals, can make a contribution to society, why cannot society give them an equal chance?’\textsuperscript{88} However legitimate this may sound, heterosexuality is still here posited as the norm by which homosexuals are measured. In his formulation, homosexuals are argued to be ‘normal’ insofar as they can contribute to ‘normal’ society. But it is precisely the cultivation of the useful body by means of corrective training, as Foucault’s work amply demonstrates,\textsuperscript{89} that is aimed for by modern society in its imposition of a normative regime whereby disciplinary practices such as psychiatry come to operate.

Significantly, Guang Tai also deploys this rhetoric in pleading for the social acceptance of homosexuals. In his article ‘Why I wrote The Man Who Escapes Marriage’, which first appeared in the \textit{China Times}, 9 April 1976,\textsuperscript{90} Guang Tai argues that precisely because male homosexuals do not have family burdens, ‘they spend more time on their careers, contributing their talents and intelligence in all walks of life to society’. Deploying the familiar attributes of Chinese nationalism, he says:

\begin{quote}
Our society is harmonious, our culture is profound, our nation [\textit{minzu}] is broad-minded. Unlike other countries, we do not discriminate against a person because of his sexual orientation. The standard by which we judge a person should be placed on his character — whether he is honest, responsible, industrious, and obedient.\textsuperscript{91}
\end{quote}

While the last attribute, ‘obedient’, is replaced by ‘righteous’ and ‘pure’ in the postlude,\textsuperscript{92} Guang Tai’s plea can be registered as his attempt to employ dominant cultural and religious morality (Confucian or Christian alike) to displace the sexualisation effected by the apparatus of \textit{xingxinli}. Yet such an attempt is offset at the same time by his own espousal of psychiatric knowledge, just as his cheerful depiction of the ‘gay’ lifestyle is often marred by his unwavering faith in the elated virtue of monogamous coupledom.\textsuperscript{93} Further, the rhetoric of ‘harmony’ and the virtue of ‘tolerance’ need to be called into question. As critics Liu Jen-peng and Ding Naifei have demonstrated, such rhetorical devices carry with them the symbolic weight drawn from the Chinese aesthetic convention of ‘reticence’, which works to sustain, given the presupposition of a totality without discontents, the definite forms of heteronormative life.\textsuperscript{94}

\section*{Conclusion}

In this chapter, I have used the analysis of the discourse of sex within the mental hygiene movement in the 1960s and 1970s in Taiwan to reformulate the
Foucaultian notion of ‘sexuality’ as *xingxinli*. I demonstrate that it is through the deployment of *xingxinli* that the body, particular that of the youth, comes to be materialised in accordance with certain gender and sexual norms, marking out in the process how sexual perversions are conceptualised through the generic term *pi* as a specific form of compulsion. Sexuality, construed as the product of the psychiatric style of reasoning, individualises, and it is through the inculcation of normative psycho-sexual development whereby perverse personalities such as the masturbating child and the homosexual are produced. Guang Tai’s *The Man Who Escapes Marriage* is a product of this normative culture of sex through and through. Its inscription, within the apparatus of *xingxinli*, not so much represents what Foucault calls ‘reverse discourse’ as operates largely within its regulatory terms.
This chapter examines the representation of male homosexuality in national newspapers from the 1950s through to the 1980s. Following the previous chapter’s investigation into the apparatus of *xingxinli* or ‘sexuality’, this one describes a process whereby this apparatus came to be installed within the domain of news production. As mental hygiene experts continued to inculcate normative knowledge about *xingxinli* or ‘sexuality’ throughout the 1960s and 1970s, journalists began to apply their theories of abnormal psychology to deviant individuals such as male prostitutes and to crimes involving same-sex relations and genital acts. In particular, I pay specific attention to the terms and linguistic conventions through which male same-sex relations and genital acts are figured, showing how traditional Chinese expressions, such as *renyao* (human chimera or freak) and the ‘cut-sleeve *pi*’ (the cut-sleeve obsession), came to be signified in the press. As these terms were grafted onto the privileged psychiatric term of *tongxinglian* (homosexual/homosexuality) within the apparatus of *xingxinli*, male homosexuals, subject to state regulation of social morals and medico-moral discourse of AIDS, also became increasingly targeted, designated by the local epithet of *boli quan* or ‘glass clique’.

**Renyao: Neither Man nor Woman**

You could not talk about things like that [same-sex affairs] in public [in those days]. Two guys I know of once got beaten up in the name of ‘*renyao*’ (human-spectre or freak) and ‘*tuzi*’ (rabbit), because they got so carried away with themselves as to flirt openly in a restaurant.

Ta K, owner of the first gay bar in Taiwan, on gay life in the late 1960s

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2

Prostitution, Perversion and AIDS

The Secrets of the ‘Glass Clique’
The stigmatisation of individuals engaging in non-heteronormative relations, sexual practices and gender presentations can be seen in the journalistic discourse of *renyao*, which literally means ‘human monster’ or ‘freak’. The history of this term in premodern China and its pejorative usage during the Republican era have been traced by Judith Zeitlin and Wenqing Kang respectively. Denoting originally ‘human physical anomaly’, ‘*renyao*’ was construed as inauspicious ‘portents’ in classic records, where it also took on the gendered meaning of ‘impersonator’. During the late Ming period, the term came be attributed to persons transgressing patriarchal gender and sexual norms. Kang shows that in Republican China the term came to refer to a wide range of deviant gendered sexual subjects who were deemed as posing a threat to the given social and political order, including, among others, ‘cross dressers’, ‘Peking opera *dan* actors’, ‘male prostitutes’ and ‘any men who behaved and dressed in a feminine fashion and had sex with other men’. In particular, Kang underscores the contradiction inherent in the Republican discourse of *renyao*:

On the one hand, *renyao*, men who had sex with other men, were considered to be male, and to the extent that they were considered to be male, they had transgressed existing sexual and gender norm. On the other hand, because of their transgression, they were viewed as having lost their masculinity, and thus becoming women.

Like Kang’s argument about *pi* discussed in the previous chapter, this contradictory rendition of *renyao* corresponds to the inconsistency of gender separatism and gender transitivity that Eve Sedgwick discerns in her deconstruction of the modern homo/heterosexual definition, facilitating the introduction of Western sexology in modernising China. As we will see below, the Republican usage of *renyao* has a strong historical resonance in Taiwan.

The modern usage of *renyao* in Taiwan can be seen in the famous trial of ‘Zeng Qiuhuang the *Renyao*’ in 1951. Zeng, who had been jailed for fraud in 1948, was re-convicted in 1951. Zeng appealed in the Taipei high court against the three-year imprisonment and additional two-year forced labour to which he had been sentenced. What should have been an ordinary criminal case turned into a forensic spectacle due to the defendant’s ambiguous sexual/gender identity, leading to the description of him as *renyao*. Before the trial began, Zeng’s arrival at the Taipei prison already caused a stir due to the rumour around Zeng’s being ‘neither-man-nor-woman’ (*bunan-bunü*) and it was only after a ‘meticulous inspection’ that Zeng was detained in the male prison. Meanwhile, the *Evening Independent* began its report of the trial by briefing the readers that the so-called *renyao* means not ‘three-headed chimera
with six arms’ but refers rather to someone with ‘an artificial and affected manner’ (niuni zuotai). Yet it is the ‘enigma’ of Zeng’s sexual identity that the report seizes upon in its dramatisation of the climactic court scene whereby, after being interrogated by the judge, Zeng revealed that he had been a father of five children in 1946 and that as a woman he married a railway employee. When the verdict was delivered four days later, the same newspaper again described Zeng’s affected manner in its depiction of his reaction to the ‘ever-enlarging’ crowd ‘who have come to “adore” the extraordinary figure of renyao’. He was reported to be pleased with the success of his appeal.

Zeng’s court appearances were turned into spectacle and tagged with the epithet renyao, simply because his behaviour appeared unmanly. The attention paid to his morphology (including his slim body and androgynous attire) and the detailed descriptions given to his every gesture in court (‘eyes rolling’, ‘pursed cute little lips’) all serve to signify an overt effeminacy. Further, the key to the meaning of renyao and its modern articulatory logic lies in the idiomatic expression bunan bunü, literally ‘neither-man-nor-woman’. This idiom consists of four characters, bu (not), nan (man, male), bu (not) nü (female, woman). It signals the logic of repudiation exercised within a binary framework in which the subject is enjoined to assume either this or that position. In this case it effectively means that within the given symbolic order one assumes either a masculine or feminine position. Failure to approximate and appropriate the position is manifested in the symptomatic expression of ‘neither ... nor’. This disarticulation of subject positioning is tantamount to abjection. Neither this nor that, neither man nor woman, ren becomes the spectralised, ghostly renyao.

In the early 1960s, the epithet renyao was applied to a group of male prostitutes working in the Sanshui (Three-River) Street area in Taipei’s Wanhua red light district. Running a headline ‘Appalling, filthy, base despicable … the Sanshui Street’s male prostitutes’, the Detective News (predecessor of the China Times) reported:

In the Sanshui street, in addition to a group of unlicensed [woman] prostitutes plying their trade in the shadow of small alleys at night, there is also another group of deformed and abnormal figures hanging around. These people are like base and cheap prostitutes … [except that] they are all real ‘men’. One may have heard of this despicable kind of people from time to time in the past, but this lot are different: they formed an impudent clique, backed allegedly by a well-known and very influential guy in Taipei … Even those who have lived in Taipei for more than a decade would probably not know that there is such a dirty place right on their doorstep! But this is true. Every evening at seven o’clock sharp, they would appear in
women’s clothes, checking their faces in the mirrors in their powder compacts and behaving in a way that is no different from women … [A] local resident said what a bad influence they would be on the kids here when they see men dressed up in women’s clothes, [looking] freaky (yao) and grotesque, importuning in public! He said he would rather have ten thousand illicit woman prostitutes than one of those foul-smelling shameless things.12

The report questions why such an ugly business was allowed to exist over the past five years despite tip-offs, hinting that police corruption was responsible for the negligence. A year later, the Formosa Journal also exposed a group of male prostitutes in a reportage entitled ‘The filthy business in Taipei’s Sanshui Street’:

[There] looms a group of chimeras in the dark. They look neither like men, nor like women … Our [Chinese] Mainlander fellowmen call these chimeras by the name of ‘xianggong’ while our Taiwanese countrymen refer to them as ‘ka-ah’ [as pronounced in the Hokkien dialect].13

The male prostitution culture in this area can perhaps be traced back to early 1950s, possibly even earlier.14 While these reports do not use the term renyao, the male prostitutes are signified through the term yao (freak), either looking ‘grotesque and deformed’, or simply named as guaiwu (monster). Of significance here are the two terms mentioned in the second article. According to Kang, the term ‘xianggong’, originally referring to cross-dressed Peking Opera dan actors, later became an epithet, interchangeable with ‘renyao’ during the Republican period, for male prostitute (because of the culture of male prostitution which had developed around the Peking Opera since the Qing period).15 On the other hand, the Taiwanese term ‘ka-ah’, as pronounced in the local Hokkien dialect spoken by people of Minnan ethnicity, refers to ‘buttock’. While this dialect term rarely appeared in print discourse, its sodomatic imagery was fully conveyed by another local term boli or ‘glass’, a 1960 gangster slang term referring to the ‘buttock’, and the term ‘glass clique’ (boli quan) for the imagined homosexual community was to gain currency in the press from the mid-1970s onwards.

Another report from the Detective News is also of interest here. On 13 October 1962, Chen Zhushun, a well-known male prostitute based in the same district, was charged by the police with drug dealing. Underneath a photo of Chen, the caption, which reads ‘Chen Zhushun, the chimera drug dealer’, is placed right next to the headline, ‘Looking like a woman but is male in fact; turned out to be a drug dealer: Having “husbands” already and still wants more’. The newspaper reports:
[According] to the police investigation, the reason why Chen Zhushun’s gender identity is not marked in the suspect list is because although it is absolutely clear that he belongs to the male sex biologically (shengli shang), he leads an extremely feminine way of life (shenghuo shang). With both Huang Jinfai and Huang Bingxiang [charged with the same offence] as his ‘husbands’ and with whom he cohabits in the evening, Chen wears make-up, long hair, and flowery shirts, making ‘boyfriends’ in the red light district every afternoon...16

Chen is named a ‘chimera drug dealer’ not because of the drug offence that he is charged with, but because of his unconventional lifestyle. Chen is reproached not only for his promiscuity but also for deviating from the masculine subject-position that he is enjoined to assume. Of significance here is the juxtaposition of the two adverbs shengli shang (speaking in terms of biology) and shenghuo shang (speaking in terms of the way he leads his life) in signifying Chen’s deviation. What I want to highlight is that Chen’s feminine behaviour is not psychologised here at all. As with the spectacle of Zeng Qiuhuang the renyao and with the exposés of the emergence of the subculture of the cross-dressed male prostitute, the spectralisation of Chen is evoked by reference to his morphological shape rather than to his psychological being and none of these males named as renyao are endowed with a xingxinli or ‘sexuality’.

Apart from the Sanshui Street, New Park in Taipei also has become known for fostering male prostitution since the late 1950s. A brief report from the United Daily called for the installation of street lamps as well as police patrols in New Park as the latter had been turned into ‘a male prostitute brothel’.17 Meanwhile, the following report, entitled ‘New Park haunted by shadowy renyao’, depicts the culture of male prostitution in the park in far more detail. Because this early journalistic representation is central to my contextualised reading of Crystal Boys in chapter 4, I shall cite it at length:

The phenomenon of ‘renyao’ in New Park has become rampant yet again. Every evening, these ‘renyao’, wearing clothes unsuited in style to either man or woman, hang around near the museum and the concert platform areas. They give the eye to anyone they see, behaving in a neither-man-nor-woman manner. Truly disgusting! It is said those with the ‘cut-sleeve pi’ all come here to trade and the price ranges from thirty to fifty NT Dollars a go. Although the police have undertaken a mopping-up operation to smash them, they still have difficulty in rooting them out completely because these ‘renyao’ always split into strategic groups at critical moments, which makes it difficult for the police to be effective. According to one police officer stationed in this area, the youngsters who take up the ‘renyao’ business are, by and large, runaway kids. When hanging out in the park, they quite often are encouraged and cajoled
by those who are into this kind of stuff and the iniquitous habit is thus developed with the passage of time. A few years ago, the police once arrested an outlaw who specialised in using ‘renyao’ to make money and to extort money from others, and this person was also the leader of this particular ‘ring’. This chap was later sent to be punished and disciplined in the outer island, which nearly caused the ‘organisation’ to collapse. New Park was quiet for a while after this. The authorities have been developing tourism of late and they have spent lots of money renovating New Park. As the result, New Park has become one of Taipei’s top leisure places. The police should really try to eradicate this reprehensible kind of ‘ailment’ once and for all lest it give foreign tourists a bad impression.18

As the Taiwanese government began to promote its tourism industry at the height of the Cold War period (see chapter 3), the nation, trying to build a pristine image, also seemed to be ‘haunted’ by those grotesque abjects audaciously making their presence felt in public space. Of interest here is the signification of the term ‘pi’ in the report’s account of renyao. We learn how the youngsters were perverted by those with the ‘cut-sleeve pi’ and how, to the effect of pi’s performative power as discussed in the previous chapter, an inveterate habit — whatever that ‘bad’ habit was, be it cross-dressing, anal sex, fellatio or using these to support oneself — was acquired in the course of time.

While those with the cut-sleeve pi appear to designate those supposedly playing the active role,19 once a man with ‘cut-sleeve pi’ encounters a ‘normal’ man, he can only be effeminised and demonised. A few days after the Public Daily’s report of renyao haunting New Park, the same newspaper reported a man called Zhang Zhenshou ‘with “cut-sleeve pi” and perverse mentality’ harassing a young man who turned out to be a police officer in plain clothes. Grotesque and yet coquettish at the same time, Zhang was described as a man-eater who preyed on the young officer. Apart from this representation of a man with ‘cut-sleeve pi’ as an effeminised predator, this incident represents an interesting case in which the psychiatric term tongxinglian — new to the domain of domestic news production — is used in conjunction with ‘cut-sleeve pi’ to signify same-sex genital relations/activities. To begin with, this report was conjoined with another about a middle-aged man convicted of crimes of adultery and abduction, with both reports placed under a headline which reads ‘Two good-for-nothing middle-aged men: One has “cut-sleeve pi”, trying to perform an indecent act with a police officer by mistake; the other is a dengtuzi, abducting and committing adultery with a married woman’. Interestingly, two classical Chinese expressions, namely ‘cut-sleeve pi’ and ‘dengtuzi’, a classical Chinese expression for womaniser, are employed in juxtaposition to characterise the two wrongdoers. Here the expression wuliao
or ‘good-for-nothing’ appears to be a common moral reproach for male sexual misconduct in general. But unlike his counterpart, described as dengtuzi or ‘libertine’, Zhang’s ‘cut-sleeve pi’ is psychologised as it is welded onto the psychiatric term tongxinglian. Of particular importance here is that Zhang’s ‘cut-sleeve pi’ is characterised by the expression zhuangao tongxinglian. As the phrase zhuangao means ‘into doing something/specialising in (doing) something’, the articulation of zhuangao tongxinglian can be said to be that which is compelled by the performative force of pi. Finally, with cut-sleeve pi being welded on to tongxinglian, which is construed as biantai xinli or ‘perverse mentality’, Zhang is now not so much a ‘good-for-nothing’ with a peculiar sexual habit as a pervert endowed with an abnormal sexuality.

Psychologising Renyao and the Cut-Sleeve Pi

In the early 1970s, three major news scandals dealing with same-sex genital relations or milieux catalysed the deployment of homosexuality in the press. These included the Evening Independent’s exposé of women workers’ homosexual affairs in a factory dormitory in the Kaohsiung manufacturing export district in south Taiwan (1972), the Cha family homicide case (1974) and the ‘Mad Killer’ Liao Xianzhong case (1975). With the term ‘tongxinglian’ now being deployed as the privileged signifier in reports of these incidents, same-sex genital relations began to be re-formulated in medical terms.

On 29 October 1971, the Evening Independent produced a sensationalised account of events in a women’s dormitory in south Taiwan’s Kaohsiung manufacturing export district. Because of the dormitory’s strict policy of admitting no male visitors, the newspaper revealed, more than two thousand female workers could not find the ‘proper outlet’ for their love, thus giving rise to widespread female homosexuality in that single-sex environment and to frequent rumours about ‘older women workers falling for younger women workers’. In the immediate aftermath of the dormitory scandal, a special report entitled ‘Aspects of homosexuality’ was serialised in the same newspaper between 5 and 7 November. Lauding the local governing body’s swift enactment of a new dormitory policy welcoming male visitors, the journalist Liang Raozong urged the authorities governing other industrial districts to take the problem of homosexuality seriously lest its practice became a widespread social trend.

This special report describes homosexuality as ‘the most common and yet the most incomprehensible kind’ of sexual perversion in every society. Citing a doctor called He Fei, described as ‘one of the few experts specialised in the field of sexology in Taiwan’, it claims that homosexuality is caused by nurture
as much as by nature. However, He Fei argues that new scientific research in endocrinology shows that ‘incorrigible’ homosexuals are biologically pre-disposed. An imbalance of internal secretions is argued to impede the physical differentiation between the two sexes at puberty, with the sissy boy and the boyish girl being taken as examples of ‘ambiguity’ in the process of sexual differentiation. Interestingly enough, the report suggests that this biological failure could ‘gradually spread to the psychological domain’, thus implanting the ‘seed’ of homosexuality.21 Although we are never told precisely how the biological process of sexual differentiation could ‘spread to the psychological domain’, the article’s articulation of the notion of xing daocuo or ‘sexual inversion’ gives some indication:

The modes of sexual behaviour in homosexual men and women are different. With a few exceptions where mutual masturbation is occasionally used, most men adopt ‘chicken sex’ (jijian or ‘sodomy’) in the practice of homosexuality whereby the anus is used as the substitute for the female genital and penetration occurs. This kind of abnormal sexual practice would sometimes lead to an undesirable consequence, namely, ‘sexual inversion’. The so-called ‘sexual inversion’ refers to these men who willingly play the feminine role and who, despite their male genitals, belong psychologically to the opposite sex. As for female homosexuality, it is a rather different story. Because of anatomical disposition, it is physiologically impossible for penetration to take place between two women. Therefore, with regard to female homosexuality, even though there is a psychological distinction between man and woman, the sexual relation between women is totally ‘equal’ ...22

At issue in this masculinist formulation of sexual inversion is not merely ‘a certain way of inverting the masculine and the feminine in oneself’ as the psychology of sex is employed to explain those who appear to look ‘neither-man-nor-woman’,23 but also the specific way in which the notion of sexual inversion is articulated through a particular sexual practice that is sodomy. To fully underscore this masculinist rendition of sexual inversion and its heterosexist logic, one needs to look into the specific way in which sodomitical sex is signified through jijian, literally ‘chicken lewdness’.

According to Bret Hinsch’s study, this expression made its first appearance as the first derogatory term for male-to-male genital acts in the popular literature of the Tang Dynasty (618–907 AD). This expression, as it is used now, consists of two characters: ji (chicken) and jian (sexual impropriety). Hinsch notes, however, that the first character ji was not always written in that way. The Qing philologist Yuan Mei (1716–1798), according to Hinsch, points out that ‘chicken’ used in this compound is incorrect. Instead, the original
character, also pronounced as *ji*, depicted a field above a woman [compare the character of ‘man’ (男) and ‘woman’ (女), with *ji* (雉), and denoted ‘man being like a woman’]. Clearly this definition implies one man assuming a receptive sexual role. Hinsch argues that the transmutation of the way in which *jijian* is written, that is from 女姦 to 雞姦, was more than just a careless error, for ‘chicken lewdness’ is a reference to a belief that domesticated fowls [sic] commonly engage in homosexual intercourse. The incorrect form of *jijian*, which seems to have gained currency in Tang and Song, makes a similar unfavourable association between animal sexuality and homosexuality.

I want to dwell for a while on the implication of this sodomitical expression being written in two different forms and of Hinsch’s observation with regard to that. Yuan Mei’s explanation for the other character, pronounced also as *ji* (chicken), should be interpreted as ‘man being taken as woman’ (jiangnan zunü) rather than ‘man being like a woman’ as rendered in Hinsch’s translation. Yuan Mei’s text is important, not least because the authoritative Chinese dictionary *Hanyu dazidian* cites him as the source for ‘the man being taken as woman’ form of *ji* 雞, a word which is not much used nowadays. Yuan Mei points out that *ji* written in ‘chicken’ form is wrong, and should be corrected to ‘man being taken as woman’. But to this day it is still in the chicken form that the sodomitical expression is best known. What is intriguing here is not so much which character is right or wrong as the fact that both characters share the same pronunciation. It is more than a coincidence that they are both pronounced as *ji*. It is highly significant that when a character denoting ‘man being taken as a woman’ is introduced, one is given the character ‘chicken’ as the reference for its pronunciation. Moreover, the way this character is pronounced as *ji* seems purely arbitrary because this word does not belong in the category of words made by Chinese philology, one whose pronunciation is determined or at least affected by the word’s ideogrammatic constituents. Which is to say, the word is neither pronounced as *tian*, if we were to follow its constituent ‘field’, nor as *nü*, if we were to follow the other ‘female’ constituent. Instead, it is made to be enunciated as (what is known to be the pronunciation for) ‘chicken’.

The vernacular proliferation of the ‘chicken’ form of *jijian* seems to be more than just a condemnation of a type of sexual practice as barbaric or inhuman, as Hinsch suggests. For the genesis of ‘chicken lewdness’ is more than just an expression coined in a pre-industrialised agricultural society where domesticated fowl was easily seen mating. It has less to do with the type of sexual objects than with the position in which this sex is performed. ‘Chicken’ sex is performed in the rear-entry coital position assumed by the rooster, a sexual position also known in human terms as coitus *a tergo*, which
is known in Chinese as *zou houting* or ‘going to the back yard’. So, what does it mean to have a certain phonetic sound that fuses the image of ‘a man being taken as a woman’ with the image of coitus *a tergo* in the signification of sodomitical sex in the Chinese language? Is it not purposely and arbitrarily made to conjure up both images at the same time in the signifying process of sodomitical sex? Although *jijian* continues to be written in the ‘incorrect form’ in contemporary public discourse in Taiwan, the image of ‘man being taken as woman’ appears to be ever-present in the signification of sodomitical sex as amply shown in the way the *Evening Independent* article makes sense of *jijian*: ‘chicken sex’ is not only assimilated with penile-vagina penetration whereby the anus is conflated with the vagina — an equation which, as Mandy Merck once pointed out, ‘effectively denies the very existence of the woman’s anus and the possibility of its own erotic deployment’ — but is also signified, vis-à-vis the imagining of lesbian sex as non-penetrative and ‘equal’, as that which emasculates the so-called passive partner.27 This masculinist formulation of ‘sexual inversion’ will later find its fullest expression in the journalistic discourse of the ‘glass clique’ to be examined shortly.

The deployment of homosexuality in the press was advanced further in the mid-1970s in newspaper articles about the Cha family homicide case and the Mad Killer Liao Xianzhong case. The crimes were doubly sensationalised because of the homosexual milieux, seen most clearly in the way in which the traditional expression ‘cut-sleeve’ was re-signified in the reports of these homicide cases.28

On 27 April 1974, Cha Mingjie, twenty-six, son of a wealthy businessman who ran a private high school, was found dead, along with four of his family members, in his father’s opulent mansion in suburban Taipei. The police investigation held the press enthralled for a week until a suspect, Peng Bichen, a close friend of Cha, was arrested and charged with the murder of all five. What intrigued the press was the fact that Peng and Cha, as the police revealed, had been involved in a homosexual relationship. While it was believed that the homicide was caused by Peng’s greed for Cha’s money, the press sensationalised it by focusing on Peng and Cha’s homosexual relation, as a headline from the *Evening Independent* shows:

Getting tired of his old ‘boudoir buddy’ (*guiyou*), [Peng] wields the knife to cut the sleeve and all for the sake of money.29

Here the famous bedroom scenario, from which the classical expression ‘cut-sleeve’ is derived, is re-staged. While the setting is feminised by the use of the word ‘boudoir’, the act of sleeve-cutting, which originally represented a loving relation, is re-signified as a murderous act performed to cut off what is
imaged to be a hideous same-sex genital relation. Cha was widely construed to be the victim of his own ‘cut-sleeve pi’ because of his self-indulgence and persistence in pursuing a homosexual relation unwanted by Peng.

The Liao Xianzhong ‘Mad Killer’ case erupted less than a year after the Cha family homicide case. In February 1975, taking revenge on seven older men who had allegedly ‘corrupted’ him, Liao, a young man from the rural south Taiwan, killed one and injured the other six in the vicinity of New Park in Taipei. Again, the expression ‘cut-sleeve’ is conjured up, as in the headline ‘Did that knife cut the sleeve in this murder case?’ Although Liao was found guilty of the crime, he was seen less as a victimiser than a victim who had committed homicide to cut off/out ‘the unspeakable kind of pi’ that had been passed on to him by older men in New Park. Both homicide cases prompted several special news reports tackling the subject of homosexuality. Medical views featured extensively in the reports. For instance, the Central Daily’s report titled ‘Homosexuality may end up in tragedy’ interviews urologist Jiang Wanxuan and psychiatrist Ke Yunghe (whose commentaries on The Man Who Escapes Marriage are analysed in chapter 1). While Jiang recommends sex-change surgery for those playing the feminine role in the homosexual relation, Ke formulates the question of homosexuality in terms of normative psychosexual development as discussed in the previous chapter and speaks of the tragic consequences for those refusing medical help. As the reporter puts it:

If a homosexual has already indulged himself in [same-sex genital relations] and regards it as a kind of secret pleasure, he naturally would not want to seek help from doctors. This makes it difficult to obtain reliable statistics about the number of homosexuals. But more importantly, according to the doctor’s analysis, in a situation whereby two homosexuals are involved with one another in secrecy, once one party awakens and withdraws, the other party would not just let it go. The latter would threaten the withdrawing party by all means at any cost in order to stay together. Quite a few tragedies have occurred under these circumstances.

The Cha family homicide case is deployed to testify the truth of same-sex genital relations as inherently dangerous. This formulation about the nature of homosexual relations was later to become the recurring paradigm in journalistic discourse on homosexuality.

Meanwhile, the expression ‘cut-sleeve pi’ was being refigured through psychiatric styles of discourse, as most clearly illustrated in the Evening Independent’s special report titled ‘The ancient and modern spectacle of tongxinglian; Ways of saying “the unspeakable” differ in China and the West’. ‘Two men engaging in abnormal sexual relations,’ the report explains, ‘is what
is called *tongxinglian* ... which is also known in our ancient expression as “cut-sleeve *pi*.” The report reveals that those with ‘cut-sleeve *pi*’ had formed a small ‘society’ in Taipei, noting where and how these people cruise for trade and, to crown it all, how they compete to win the hearts of the famous ‘Three Golden Ladies’. To underline *tongxinglian* as a perversion, the report provides this following local example. Significantly, it is the male prostitutes that are pathologised first:

In the past, the police have arrested a few male prostitutes who provide pleasure for those with cut-sleeve *pi* in some red light districts in Taipei. It has been understood that these people got into the business, not for the sake of making money, but purely out of ‘interest’. This is what we call ‘perverse mentality’.34

Whereas the male prostitutes, also known as *renyao*, were previously characterised by their ‘neither-man-nor-woman’ behaviour, in these accounts it is their perverse state of mind that defines them. And while it is their ‘profession’ that got them into trouble with the police in the first place, they are being pathologised here, strangely enough, for not being interested in money: it is their ‘interest/hobby’ (read: *pi*) that is pathologised in characterising their subjectivity.

After seeking recourse to Freud’s Da Vinci paradigm to explain how this peculiar ‘interest’/*pi* comes about, the report informs the readers, wrongly, that homosexual practice, construed as that which is against ‘virtuous custom’, is prohibited by law in Taiwan. Thus, ‘those with this particular kind of *pi*’, it explains, ‘can only do it furtively’. Reminding the readers of the tragedy of the Cha family homicide case, the special report concludes by stressing again the danger of homosexuality as a serious mental illness while establishing the intrinsic link between sexual perversion and crime:

[The] Cha family homicide case was caused by homosexuality. We can see why homosexuality is by no means a normal way to gratify sexual needs. Because homosexuals can do things in a clandestine way, it goes without saying that they would be psychologically repressed. But since their psyche seeks to be liberated from repression, crimes are thus committed once the repressed ‘break out’.35

It is only by imposing the double injunctions of secrecy and repression (the latter because of the former) that the practice of cut-sleeve *pi* is described as inherently dangerous.

Psychological discussions were provided again in the same newspaper’s special report about the Mad Killer Liao a few months later. Invoking several other sex crimes committed around that same period (including a
rape-homicide case and the Cha family homicide case), the report, titled ‘Rectifying xingxinli; Dissipating the mystery about sex’, takes Liao’s case as a primary example of sexual perversion and of the danger it poses for society. Again, the ruse of ‘repression’ is actively at work here in the construction of sexual perversion:

Liao’s case reveals that the trouble is rooted in ‘sexual perversion’. Although Liao is a killer in this homicide case, he is also a victim in the whole development of this event. This case is caused by the sexual perversion of homosexuality. Because of the perversion of Liao’s xingxinli, this young man’s mental state becomes generally repressed. Eventually, this [state of repression] drives him completely mad, with the result of him taking revenge on others by committing the crime of homicide.36

This hypothesis applies not only to homosexuality but to other forms of sexual perversion as well. While the report makes a distinction between ‘innocuous’ kinds of sexual perversion, such as voyeurism and exhibitionism, and ‘harmful’ kinds, such as fetishism (exemplified here by a rape crime case whereby the woman victim’s body is fetishised), the distinction is only deployed in order to collapse them, since innocuous or not, the sexual pervert, after being repressed for a long period of time, will become even more mentally perverse and will end up committing outrageous crimes.37 Young people’s curiosity about sex, the report goes on to argue, is the culprit that gives rise to sexual perversion and its development, and the best way to disperse the mist and mystery around the subject of sex is the implementation of sex education. This incitement to discourse, that is, the calling for the pedagogy of sex, is enacted or rather, justified, by the report’s deployment of the ‘repressive hypothesis’, whose mechanism as a ploy in the process of ‘perverse implantation’ is amply demonstrated by Foucault.38

The deployment of xingxinli in the press can be seen in another incident, where a business catering for homosexual customers was exposed to the ‘general public’. On 21 June 1978, under the headline, ‘Men serving as hostesses, utterly aberrant (bulunbulei); Looking into their minds, this can only be perversion; With tongxinglian rampant, family and society cannot be excused from doing nothing’, the Evening Independent reported that the police were conducting an investigation into two restaurants in Taipei hiring ‘effeminate men as hosts to accompany men drinking’.39 Briefing readers that this kind of business is a novelty invented to satisfy the needs of ‘those particular kind of people with an abnormal mentality’, the report then turns to the mental hygiene expert Bao Jiacong (as discussed in chapter 1) for his expertise. Bao explains that although effeminate men can be found in every
society, it becomes a serious social problem when these individuals openly provide commercial services. He then proceeds to pathologise the effeminate man, ‘known also as “rabbit” by epithet’, by offering the aetiological accounts of homosexuality, drawn from his *Pathological Psychology.* Expressing concern that the ‘perverse’ trend of homosexuality is becoming widespread, the report turns to a senior police officer for advice. Crucially, using the Cha and the Mad Killer Liao cases as evidence, this police officer reiterates the idea of homosexuals as dangerous individuals preying on the young, as he calls for more legal intervention, giving, in addition, several specific recommendations with respect to the prevention of homosexuality.

Here we see that again it is the body of the effeminate male prostitute that is pathologised: to the effect of the report’s deployment of homosexuality, ‘rabbits’ now become ‘homosexuals’. However, just as *tongxinglian* is construed by Bao as that which ‘causes’ the ‘rabbit’ in the first place, the identity *tongxinglian* appears to be associated with commercial sex once the epithet ‘rabbit’ is made to be its referent. Crucially, this report can be seen as heralding a new discursive phenomenon whereby male homosexuals came to be figured as prostitutes throughout the 1980s in the press’s construction of the ‘glass clique’.

The use of the epithet ‘glass’ to collectively identify individuals engaging in male-to-male genital relations in public discourse coincides, significantly, with the discussion of homosexuality in a 1975 *China Times* special report on the Mad Killer Liao case, which first deployed the expression *boli quan* or ‘the glass clique’ to refer to a ‘congregation of sexual perverts engaging in homosexual activities in New Park in Taipei’. Due to news reports of the intensified policing of homosexual activities in New Park in the early 1980s, the term ‘the glass clique’ had, by the mid-1980s, established itself as a cultural image for the imagined *tongxinglian* community. Beginning in 1985, with the advent of the AIDS epidemic in Taiwan, the public’s imaginings of ‘the glass clique’ ran wild, as the moral panic about AIDS triggered an unprecedented proliferation of discourse about homosexuality. For the next decade ‘the glass clique’ was to become deeply ingrained in the public imagination whereby homosexuality and AIDS were rendered mutually referential. The remaining sections of this chapter will show how the imagery of ‘the glass clique’ was developed in Taiwanese culture throughout the 1980s.

**Imagining ‘the Glass Clique’**

As night fell, a young man paced up and down in a corner of New Park in Taipei. He was soon approached by another man who began to chat him up. As the time approached for the conversation to come
to an end, the latter blurted out: ‘What number are you?’ ‘Number 1, and you?’ replied the former. ‘I am Number 0’. Consequently, this pair made up of a one and a zero disappear, hand-in-hand, into a hotel right next to the park.

A couple of years ago, a man was hit by a car and taken to a hospital by an ambulance. When a doctor undressed this man, who was anaesthetised for surgery, he was utterly stunned and left speechless by what he saw: the man wore women’s underwear and lingerie and his body gave off a delicate fragrance of perfume. The doctor did not know what to make of it but the police officer who came to investigate the accident understood what was going on right away.

A special report in the People’s Livelihood Daily, 26 November 1979, opens with the above scenes before naming the actors in this drama: ‘seen as immoral and perverse, these homosexuals can only socialise with one another in a secretive way. Their community is called “the glass clique”’. A recent case study of twenty-seven homosexuals by the psychiatrist Wen Jung-Kwang,43 the newspaper reveals, would help society to understand more about the members of this clandestine clique. The above drama is thus re-described with a reference to a psychiatrist. Only by replacing the perplexed surgeon with a knowing psychiatrist does the reader become connected with the report’s titillating headline, ‘Dr. Wen’s “Male Homosexuals Case Study” strips bare “the Glass Clique”’.44

Wen plays an important role in the deployment of xingxinli in Taiwan and his contribution to the mental hygiene movement can be seen in his publications in the 1970s. His translation of Freud’s Dora was published in the same year as Freud’s Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality by the same publisher in 1971. In his note appended to the Chinese edition of Dora: An Analysis of A Case of Hysteria (which comes with a preface written by his colleague Zeng Wenxing, whose repackaging of the Three Essays has been discussed in chapter 1), Wen lauds Freud’s discovery of the unconscious, urging the readers to value Freud’s contribution to the theory of human sexuality:

Sexuality is one of the main focal points in Freudian theory. All forms of sexual manifestation, including homosexuality, should be treated seriously. It is only with an objective attitude towards sex that sexual problems can be solved.45

With this particular interest on the subject of homosexuality, Wen wrote an unpublished thesis titled, ‘Social attitudes towards homosexuality’ for the College of Medicine, National Taiwan University in 1973. This thesis is included as a reference in Wen’s monograph on male homosexuality published in 1980. However, his public life did not begin until the late 1970s, when he began to
inculcate normative psycho-sexual development in his column ‘Love and sex’ in the *China Times*, leading to the publication of his first book *Love and Sex* in 1978.\(^{46}\) a year which also saw the publication of his *How to Talk to Children about Sex*.\(^{47}\) Finally in 1980, Wen compiled and published the Chinese edition of the American psychiatrist JF Oliven’s *Clinical Sexuality: A Manual for the Physician and the Profession* (third edition), a manual of pathological forms of sexuality.

So what is the truth of ‘the glass clique’ revealed by Wen’s case study? Published in English as ‘Male homosexuals in Taiwan: A clinical study of 35 cases’ in the *Journal of Formosan Medical Association* in September 1980, Wen’s monograph was the very first psychiatric study of male homosexuality in Taiwan.\(^{48}\) In essence, it is an enactment of psychoanalytic theory of male homosexuality, as its author adamantly states,\(^ {49}\) or to be more precise, a Taiwanese confirmation of Irving Bieber’s findings in his 1962 monograph *Homosexuality: A Psychiatric Study of Male Homosexuals*. The Bieberian theory of male homosexuality, as I have shown in the previous chapter, had already been popular among the mental hygienists and the psychiatric community in Taiwan since the late 1960s. It structures what Wen claims to be his major findings. First of all, his verification of the stereotype of the ‘sissy’ boys who grow up to become homosexual: twenty-five subjects (71.4\%) in this study are reported to have been called ‘sissy’ during their childhood and early adolescence and twenty-eight subjects (80\%) are diagnosed as effeminate in their current behaviour, with twelve classified as ‘overtly feminine’ and sixteen as ‘subclinically feminine since they manifest little or no overt effeminate external appearance’.\(^{50}\) Secondly, failed masculine identification is attributed to an unresolved Oedipal complex or its negative outcome. Highlighting his finding that more than half of his subjects are the youngest sons in their families, Wen extrapolates that ‘a “close-binding” mother-son relationship’ appears to be a determinant factor in the development of Chinese homosexuality, as ‘the youngest son may be overprotected by and most intimate with his mother in middle-sized or large families in Chinese culture’.\(^ {51}\) Thirdly, parental discord and ‘extreme or contradictory parental discipline’ are argued to play a crucial role in the causation of male homosexuality. All these assumptions operate in Wen’s detailed account of a case in which the patient is successfully treated after receiving 104 sessions of psychotherapy.\(^ {52}\)

Wen’s findings are duly represented by the *People’s Daily* special report. Stripped bare, ‘the glass clique’ is revealed as an assemblage of sissies with their feminine psyches trapped in male bodies. (Re)presented as case studies, members of the imagined ‘glass clique’/community are endowed with a personality typified by their effeminacy and the pathological forms of psycho-sexual development that give rise to it.\(^ {53}\)
With the development of homosexuality in boys being attributed to their improper upbringing, it is implied in Wen’s study that homosexuals themselves are not to be blamed for their sexual orientation. However, when homosexuality becomes a practice, a certain stylisation of life, it is frowned upon. The report ends with this passage:

Wen Rung-Kwang points out that some homosexuals’ lifestyles are quite depraved and that promiscuity is extremely common among them. The advice he gives to homosexuals is, ‘if you cannot change your homosexual tendency, at least you can change your promiscuous way of life’.54

Wen’s remarks bring us back to the first scene in the ‘glass clique’ drama staged above. The scenario is narrated in such a way that the two men seem pre-ordained to ‘disappear, hand-in-hand, into a hotel right next to the park’. Of particular interest here is that the spectacle of gay sex is conjured up through the deployment of the local gay language of ‘no. 1’ and ‘no. 0’, which designate ‘top’ and ‘bottom’ respectively. As we shall see, the signification of ‘no. 1’ and ‘no. 0’ is not only central to the construction of the ‘glass clique’ in the press, but also points to the meaning of gay sex in Taiwanese culture.

The Equation of the ‘Glass Clique’ with Prostitution

The beginning of the 1980s saw several major police clean-up operations taking place in New Park to root out what was perceived to be the homosexual culture of prostitution. According to Li Jinzhen, the chief police officer stationed near New Park, it was the then prime minster Sun Yunxuan who ordered the police authority to conduct clean-up operations in New Park at that time:

The Prime Minster read an article in an American magazine reporting: ‘If you men are looking for excitement, please then go to New Park in Taipei, Taiwan. It is Taiwan’s male prostitute supply centre’. As [what was reported in] the article seriously contravened public morality, the Prime Minster personally issued an administrative order, demanding that the Taipei police authority root out the problem completely.55

A number of news reports about policing activities in New Park appeared at this time. Significantly, they made little distinction between so-called male prostitutes and homosexuals. In other words, all male homosexuals were seen and represented as prostitutes.
A special report from the *United Daily* on 23 April 1980 is of particular interest. Entitled ‘Police clean up cut-sleeve *pi’*, the report states that nearly sixty ‘physically and mentally perverted’ male homosexuals had been arrested and punished by the police in New Park in less than a month. It cites the police as saying:

[A]part from New Park, homosexual male prostitutes are also scattered around the Youth Park, the Red Chamber cinema, and the Longshan district … As the police understand it, there used to be only a few homosexuals plying their trade individually … But given their recent increase in numbers, they divide the market into different regions within which they ply their trade as a group.

Significantly, the reporter went into the police station especially to conduct an interview with those homosexuals who had been detained by the police, ‘discovering’ the following nine points which were construed as the ‘psychology’ of these nine homosexuals whose ages range between fifteen and forty-eight:

1) They have got used to it already;
2) They feel very ‘happy’;
3) They do it purely out of interest, not a natural inclination/proclivity (*pixing*) nor a habit;
4) They do it out of curiosity to console; ‘the emptiness of the soul’;
5) They only do it occasionally; nothing professional;
6) They always have an impulse to give a hug to people of the same sex;
7) They have given in to it already;
8) They are looking for excitement;
9) They have no way other than continuing to ply their trade wherever possible, in order to pay for the treatment of venereal diseases.56

There are several points to be made here. First of all, what the reporter claims to have found out about the psychology of the male homosexual is nothing other than the projection of the reporter’s own presumptions. Secondly, once again the discursivity of the term *pi* informs this journalistic formulation of homosexual psychology: involuntary addiction and the compulsion to repeat the homosexual act. Finally, as point five suggests, these men are all perceived to be prostitutes.57

The prostitution culture in New Park is most clearly characterised in a *Taiwan Daily* report, which was serialised between 12 and 14 September 1981. Police officer Li Jinzhen is quoted in this report, titled ‘The elegy of homosexuals’, claiming that over a hundred male homosexuals had been
detained by the police between February and April of that year.\textsuperscript{58} Described by the newspaper as being very experienced in policing ‘homosexuals (male prostitutes)’,\textsuperscript{59} Li explains that they fall into three categories:

1) Secretive code no. 0: this kind of man lets other men treat him like a woman, and they usually charge from 600 to 800 NT dollars. Those who play no. 0 are usually young men with delicate features and a fine appearance.

2) Secretive code no. 1: these men in the homosexual circle play ‘man’ and are willing to pay.

3) Secretive code no. 10: in the homosexual circle, this type of man plays double roles. They can be men but are also willing to act/serve (chongdang) as ‘women’. They first play with one another, and then see who invites whom, and the one who is invited gets paid between 200 to 400 NT dollars. This type of homosexual is in the majority.

These people who use different secretive codes have their own characteristics. For instance, those who hold a book, a handbag or newspaper, looking effeminate often serve/act as no. 0. Those men who are older and over forty often play no. 1. However, the role they play can only be settled after the price is negotiated.

Before plying their trade, they would observe each other for a while. Gradually moving closer one another, they gesture with hands to show their secretive code. If one shows a no. 0 and the other shows no. 1, then they get together right away. They then would go to a hotel or go back to one or other’s place to do further negotiating. On the other hand, if you get two no. 0 or two no. 1, then of course things would not happen.\textsuperscript{60}

What does the word ‘prostitute’ mean here when it refers to those who are willing to pay (as in the case of those categorised as no. 1) or those who do not necessarily charge (as in the case of those categorised as no. 10)? It is clear that in Li’s formulation all homosexuals are prostitutes.

This equation of the ‘glass clique’ with prostitution is most clearly articulated in the final section of the \textit{Taiwan Daily}’s special report. Having lauded the police efforts to root out homosexual prostitution culture (predominantly in New Park, but also in certain ‘restaurants’ said to be running ‘covert business’ (bianxiang yingye) for and by the ‘glass clique’ at that time), the article nevertheless expresses reservations about the possibility of completely rooting out homosexual prostitution:

Basically, there are always going to be some who are into that kind of tongxinglian business who will find it absolutely impossible to resist that quirky pi. They continue to come up with all kinds of new tricks, which only makes things difficult for the police.\textsuperscript{61}
Here the ‘cut-sleeve pi’ is not only said to be quirky but also refigured as an inveterate habit associated with the practice of prostitution.

It is of particular significance that male prostitutes/homosexuals are classified and conceived of with reference to the language of ‘1’ and ‘0’. As both reports about the ‘glass clique’s culture of prostitution indicate, the digital figures of ‘1’ and ‘0’ are specifically gendered as the masculine and the feminine respectively. Further, because this gendering is made with reference to the sexual roles/positions assumed within male-to-male genital relations, the pairing of ‘1’ and ‘0’, it turns out, conjures up what is taken to be the prototype of male homosexual practice, that is, jijian or ‘chicken sex’. Signified ideogrammatically, the phallic sign of ‘1’ comes to stand for the penis, with ‘0’ being figured as its receptive orifice, the anus. However, because ‘0’ is gendered and particularised as the feminine, it also comes to be figured as the displaced vagina. With this displacement at work, the male homosexual/prostitutes numbered as ‘0’ are thus construed to be men being taken as women in coitus a tergo. The language of ‘1’ and ‘0’ as signified in the press thus appears to again invoke that lost signifier of jijian as ‘man being taken as woman’.

The press coverage of the police raid and the closure of Golden Peacock in Taipei in April 1983 can best show how the homosexual community was, by then, identified with prostitution. A cursory look at the news headlines about this police operation will suffice:

- Golden Peacock, the headquarters of homosexual prostitution business, raided; Young men serve as ‘renyao’, accompanying men by drinking and sleeping with them; Nine people were either arrested or detained.62
- The Glass Clique call them [those serving in the restaurant] ‘xianggong’ pleasures provided purely by and for men. Homosexuals ply their trade in restaurant eight people detained, two charged.63
- Men serving as hostesses in ‘Golden Peacock’; ‘Cut-Sleeves’ take to it like ducks to water!64
- Southern wind [nanfeng] blowing over the city of Taipei; When the night falls they sing the song ‘Going to the Back Yard’; Golden Peacock restaurant running a covert business hiring men as hostesses, nine renyao were arrested at the scene.65

Virtually all the epithets applied to the male homosexual, such as renyao, xianggong, cut-sleeve, ‘glass clique’, appear in the headlines cited above. Evoking the traditional Chinese expression nanfeng or ‘male trend’, the Taiwan Times even goes so far as to deploy the expression ‘singing the song
of going to the back yard’ to allude to the assumed mode of sexual practice, *jijian* or ‘chicken sex’. The Golden Peacock incident prompted the *China Times* to conjure up the notorious image of the ‘glass clique’ as a hotbed of crime in the early 1980s. Under the headline ‘The pathological state of the “glass clique” has become even worse and the “cut-sleeve pi” trend must be stopped’, the article especially illuminates the perversity of the ‘glass clique’ by interviewing an ex-member who had left the circle for good after being robbed by a pick-up. Describing himself as a ‘re-awakened homosexual’, this man reveals the trade culture of the ‘glass clique’ based in the Red Chamber Cinema (in the vicinity of New Park): ‘In there, if people like each other, they can then go on somewhere else to do business.’ Whereas in the previous decade, the nature of sexual perversion had been argued to be intrinsic to crime, this article suggests that the prostitution culture of the ‘glass clique’ makes it even more perverse. After the Golden Peacock, another two gay restaurants/bars — the *Dahan Club* and the *Tang* Street Wine Bar — were also raided and closed down by the police in April 1984. The image of the ‘glass clique’ as a cesspool of promiscuous homosexuals desperate for trade had by the mid-1980s been firmly established.

**The Homosexualisation of AIDS**

If in the early 1980s the intensified policing of what was perceived to be the activities of male prostitutes turned those engaging in male-to-male genital relations into a distinct social group, imagined as the ‘glass clique’, it was the ‘erotohomophobic’ discourse of AIDS, which began to proliferate from the mid-1980s onwards, that transformed that particular group into a distinct homosexual population.

News reports about of the ‘plague of the twentieth century’ emerged sporadically in Taiwan around 1983 after an epidemic that had been known in the US since 1981 as GRID (Gay Related Immune-Deficiency) was renamed Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome. In reporting this epidemic in the US in particular, the press in Taiwan did not fail to mention the relation between AIDS and male homosexuality. For instance, in a report about the arrest of five male homosexuals/prostitutes in New Park, the *Evening Independent* was quick to cite the ‘gay plague’ in America, warning those members of the ‘glass clique’ what might happen to them. Likewise, an editorial in the *National Evening News* specifically warned of the possible ‘invasion of AIDS’ in Taiwan, highlighting in particular the epidemic’s relation to male homosexuals.

After the first case of AIDS in Taiwan was found in an American male tourist at the end of 1984, the island was confronted with the inevitability
of ‘the localisation of the AIDS epidemic’. On 5 July 1985, the *Chinese Daily* reported that ‘given that the epidemic is mainly transmitted through male homosexual behaviour’, the Taiwanese health authority was considering conducting a census of ‘the male homosexual population in Taiwan’ in order to predict the impact the epidemic. However, the authority acknowledged the difficulty of implementing such a task for two reasons: first, it would be very difficult, given the stigma of homosexuality in Taiwan, for people to admit to being homosexual to researchers; second, the researchers would themselves be in danger of ‘being trapped in and corrupted by the clique’.71 With regard to how the epidemic would affect Taiwan, Guo Youzeng, then head of the Epidemiology Control of the Health Department, is reported as speculating:

> AIDS is most likely to get to this country when a male homosexual in our country gets infected with the disease [sic] by foreigners. If the sexual behaviour of the Taiwanese male homosexual is professional/commercial, then the epidemic will spread fast; on the other hand, the epidemic should spread more slowly if they practice monogamy rather than promiscuity.72

This report ends with Xu Ziqiu, former head of the Health Department, calling for the police authority to strictly outlaw the ‘rabbits (professional male homosexuals) in order to pre-empt the spread of AIDS’.73 This formulation of the male prostitute as the infectious body disseminating the incurable ‘disease’ was further elaborated when Taiwan’s so-called ‘first AIDS case’ (a homosexual businessman testing HIV positive) was officially announced on 29 August 1985. Highlighting the promiscuity of this businessman, who was said to have had sexual encounters with no fewer than a thousand men of various nationalities in the previous ten years, the health authority urged male homosexuals to come forward for blood tests. In addition, after an emergency meeting, the health authority made two decisions: 1) to thoroughly investigate high-risk groups such as homosexuals, haemophiliacs, intravenous drug users; 2) to request the police authority to reinforce the outlawing of ‘the professional type of homosexual’.74

On the same day, a special report in the *National Evening News* entitled ‘Wiping out the vehicle of AIDS; Records of male prostitutes to be urgently compiled by police for follow-up’, suggests that the government’s response to the discovery of the ‘first AIDS case’ was to highlight the danger of the male prostitute as the ‘vehicle of AIDS’:

> This kind of disease [sic] is transmitted by ‘tongxinglian’ or ‘male prostitutes’. The problem of ‘tongxinglian’ and ‘male prostitution’ has never been really taken seriously in a conservative society like
ours …. However, the discovery of the first AIDS case has made the administration of ‘tongxinglian’ and ‘male prostitution’ ever so urgent …. The police have designed a standard form, requesting all police stations in the country to fill out the name, age, occupation, residential address of the tongxinglian and ‘male prostitutes’ arrested in the past as well as the places frequented by these people. The survey will be done by mid September and be handed to the health authority for the purpose of follow-up …. While tongxinglian has existed in our country for many years and has not been easy to root out, the intersection of tongxinglian and prostitution is the conduit for the disease [sic] into the community. Accordingly, how to plug this gap and track them down and quarantine them is an urgent task for the government. While the police cannot outlaw the glass clique as there is no law to which the police can seek recourse, they can nonetheless arrest male prostitutes in accordance with the Police Offence Law, charging those who intend to make profit from prostitution through the Criminal Law. In so doing, the police can destroy male prostitutes[75] and block all the conduits through which the vehicle of the disease travels. Male prostitutes differ from the ‘midnight cowboys’ in that they provide services for men, not just women. Therefore it is highly likely that they will become the vehicle of the disease between homosexuals and non-homosexuals …. [B]ecause homosexuals are so secretive and extremely mistrustful of others who do not belong to their group, it makes it difficult, if not impossible, for the police to infiltrate the clique. For the time being, it seems the police can start by concentrating on those places where homosexuals gather to conduct their investigation. In the meantime, they should call on the homosexuals to save themselves by going for blood tests. And homosexuals themselves should avoid having sex with other homosexuals …[76]

There are a number of crucial points to be made about these reports on government AIDS prevention schemes that called for the policing and outlawing of male prostitutes. As the report makes clear, it was the perceived public health crisis triggered by the advent of AIDS epidemic in Taiwan that turned the problem of tongxinglian and ‘male prostitute’ into one which needed to be urgently addressed by the authorities. Acting in accordance with AIDS epidemiology, which had been ‘homosexualised’,[77] the Taiwanese government marked out a particular population at which its prevention initiatives were directed, a population constitutive not of the ready-made categories such as age, gender, ethnicity, marital status or occupation found on the census form, but of individuals engaging in male-to-male genital relations. But who were they and where were they to be found? With the imagined community of the glass clique being the obvious answer, the police were called upon to provide the records of those arrested in the past.[78]
Of particular significance here is the distinction made between ‘tongxinglian/homosexual’ and ‘male prostitute’. Whereas the male homosexual and the male prostitute were seen and, as I have shown in the previous section, represented as interchangeable or even identical categories in the early 1980s, they appear now as two separate categories, with the overlap being configured as the male homosexual prostitute. Given that homosexuality per se, as the *National Evening News* report informs its readers, was not outlawed in Taiwan, the police could only arrest and outlaw those male (homosexuals) who prostituted themselves, even if the Police Offence Law to which the police sought recourse does not contain any article that specifically outlaws males who prostitute themselves.79 The new distinction between male homosexual and male homosexual prostitute made here by the health authority, as well as by the *National Evening News*, only serves to attest to the equation of homosexuality with prostitution prior to the advent of the AIDS epidemic in Taiwan. Moreover, it is important to underline that this new distinction is articulated with reference to the differentiation between the practice of monogamy and that of promiscuity, with the latter being the preserve of the male homosexual prostitute. In other words, what appears to be the de-prostitutionalisation of male homosexuality by the government’s attempt to pre-empt the spread of AIDS in effect produces two types of male homosexuals — the male homosexual versus the male homosexual prostitute — classified in accordance with the practice of promiscuity. This new division of the monogamous male homosexual and the promiscuous male homosexual prostitute, as we shall see below, was imbricated within the erotophobic and homophobic discourse of AIDS — a discourse I shall refer to as erotohomophobic — which began to proliferate after the official confirmation of the ‘first AIDS case’ in Taiwan.

**AIDS as ‘Love to Die’**

The erotohomophobic nature of public discourse about AIDS can be most clearly seen in the Chinese naming of the epidemic. Up to the time of the official confirmation of the ‘first AIDS case’, the epidemic had been referred to either as *houtian mianyibucuan zhenghouqun* in Chinese, which is a direct translation of ‘Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome’, or simply as ‘AIDS’ in English. Then *aisi*, as the transliteration of ‘AIDS’, was adopted and quickly became a standard usage. The two characters chosen for this transliterated term are *ai*, meaning ‘love’ (used both as noun and verb in Chinese) and *si* 死, meaning ‘death/die’. The Chinese short-hand for the ‘Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome’ turns out to be an illness signified as ‘[driven by] love
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to the point of self-destruction’ or ‘fatal love’. It was not until 1988 that the second character in the transliteration was gradually replaced by the character 

zi (滋, meaning moist/moisten; nourishment/nourish). While AIDS as ‘ai zi 愛滋’ may seem less morally condemnatory than AIDS as ‘aisi 愛死’, I shall argue that they both signify eroto-homophobically in the discourse of AIDS.

A National Evening News article titled ‘On the notion of homosexual chastity’ which appeared in the aftermath of ‘the first AIDS case’ exemplifies just how AIDS as aisi was signified. Invoking the recent death of Rock Hudson, the author Ye Yumo wonders whether Hudson ‘loved [the practice of] tongxinglian so much that he died for it’. Ye then goes on to explain why he wants to bring up the question of homosexual chastity:

Personally, I have nothing against homosexuality. I even find that many homosexuals’ personalities are quite mild and gentle. But, I am strongly opposed to their promiscuous behaviour. Take Rock Hudson for example, he got infected with AIDS [sic] because of his promiscuity. Taiwan’s first AIDS case, according to the news reports, was exactly the same. Given that this patient infected with AIDS admitted having had sex with more or less a thousand people of different nationalities, it must be the case that these promiscuous homosexuals love [ai] sex so much that they [are willing to] die [si] for it [aisi AIDS]... The notion of chastity is most valued in heterosexual love. Homosexuals should adopt this attitude too. Instead of being never satisfied, always wanting to move on to someone new and have sex with anyone they like! Although homosexuality can be a pre-disposed psychological tendency that is beyond their control, homosexuals should at least learn the true meaning of ‘love’, the moderation of their sexual desire and the perfect practice of life.80

Ye’s articulation of homosexuality and his advocacy of homosexual chastity in particular are representative of the mainstream view of homosexuality in the erotohomophobic discourse of AIDS during the 1980s. Although homosexuality continued to be denounced by many as immoral and deviant, the view that homosexuality is not a mental illness began to be articulated by some experts in the mid-1980s. A health authority officer, dismayed at the gay community’s indifference to the authority’s call to come forward for blood tests, was reported to be sincere in saying that ‘homosexuality is just another kind of sexual behaviour and is not abnormal’ in the hope of winning the trust of the gay community.81 Similarly, in a public panel on the particular subject of homosexuality held in the immediate aftermath of the discovery of the ‘first AIDS case’, the psychiatrist Wen Rung-Kwang changed his previous view about homosexuality and was reported to describe it as a matter of ‘sexual preference’.82 Yet, while the experts expressed the view that homosexuality was not a diseased sexuality, they by no means endorsed it as a practice. This
apparent tolerance was most aptly characterised by a remark urologist Jiang Wanxuan was reported to have made in another public forum on the subject of homosexuality: ‘do not encourage it, do not discriminate against it either’.83

Jiang was the most articulate doctor in the erotohomophobic discourse of AIDS. In an interview in the People’s Livelihood Daily on 4 September 1985, he remarked: ‘although homosexuality is not pathological, homosexuals should at least establish the notion of loyalty/fidelity and seek to adopt the model of monogamy like husband and wife’.84 A couple of days later in the same newspaper, in response to the huge social interest in the ‘glass clique’ aroused by AIDS, he argued that AIDS was both a ‘lesson’ and an ‘opportunity’ for society. On the one hand, it enables the general public to get to know the clique better; on the other hand, ‘the glass clique should also take this chance to adjust their lifestyle to the social norms’.85 His moralism is best illustrated in an article written for the China Times’, ‘Commentaries on ten of the most important international news events in 1985’, serialised in January 1986. Surveying the global epidemiology of AIDS, the article, entitled ‘The terrifying disease of aisi’, is fraught with scare-mongering rhetoric such as ‘AIDS patients are destined to die in solitary and in loneliness’. Contending that the more promiscuous one is, the more likely one is to be ‘infected with AIDS [sic]’, Jiang argues that the one and only way to stop AIDS from spreading in Taiwan and elsewhere in the world is that:

Everyone in the world renounces the liberated kind of sexual lifestyle, discarding the misleading notion of sexual revolution, and re-affirming the meaning of traditional family. If everyone can do so, the ravaging of the aisi [AIDS] disease could even turn out to be a blessing to human civilisation.86

Chillingly, the contingency of AIDS was thus made to serve as an occasion to assert the primacy of the monogamous ideal upon which civilisation is predicated.

AIDS as Aizi 愛滋

The news about Taiwan’s first patient diagnosed with AIDS was announced on 27 February 1986, only three days before his death. When this man (identified as a Malaysian-born Chinese named Li) was described as a former frequenter of New Park,87 the ‘glass clique’ again became the focus of press attention. In the aftermath of Li’s death, the then parliamentary member Lin Yongrui addressed an inquiry in the parliament on 14 March, urging the government to police New Park to protect youngsters studying in its vicinity from being corrupted by the members of the clique. Lin’s inquiry prompted the Evening
Independent to publish a special report featuring New Park and its culture of prostitution. Of particular interest here is the headline of the report — ‘Male homosexuals gathering in New Park, a cesspool of iniquity; Pheasants flying everywhere when the night falls’.88 The term ‘pheasant’ is an epithet for the unlicensed women prostitutes (sichang) plying their trade on the streets.

The figuration of the ‘glass clique’ as a cesspool nourishing the ‘aisi [AIDS] disease’ can best be seen in a Taiwan Times special report whereby two male journalists went undercover to investigate the infamous ‘Black Street’ of Banqiao (near Taipei), a second-run movie theatre frequented by male homosexuals.89 Entitled ‘The cesspool of the glass den, a sink of iniquity where the Aisi disease spreads easily’, the report begins by describing how dirty and unhygienic the cinema is before playing with the new name of AIDS as aizi (love-infestation):

Because the environment in the ‘Black Street’ is so unhygienic, lots of people in the clique coming here are also afraid that the cinema might be where the aizi disease is. Maybe the place is infested (zi) because of [the] ‘love’ [ai] … Many youngsters dressed up in trendy clothes have been seen recently frequenting this place. It is worrying that these youngsters will be trapped in this cesspool of the glass kingdom. In addition, given the unhygienic conditions in the ‘Black Street’, one wonders if any unimaginable disease will be transmitted there. In order to understand how these youngsters behave in the ‘Black Street’, your reporters especially ventured into ‘the glass den’ for investigation.

Having witnessed the spectacle of live exotic sex (‘a pair of “glasses” engaging in the sex act as if they were on heat’ and ‘youngsters panting like women in the arms of the middle-aged men’), one of the reporters suddenly realised that he was being preyed upon by a dozen people. Luckily, he was able to find his partner quickly as he hid in a corner to ‘regain his composure’ from the shock. Hastily making their way out, they left behind them ‘a bunch of glasses making noises doing it’.90 The report ends with this passage:

The hygienic conditions in the ‘Black Street’ are intolerable, and yet those ‘glasses’ lurking with the filth see this place as their paradise and do whatever they like there. Such an environment is filthy enough to nourish/moisten any transmitted disease. The authorities should really do something about it!91

By leaving out entirely the specific routes of HIV transmission, and by misconstruing the virus as a waterborne pathogen, the report represents the ‘glass den’ as a ‘gay tropic’, as it is inflected with ruses and tropes of tropical medicine, which, as Cindy Patton points out in her analysis of dominant
epistemes of global AIDS policy, is a historical product embedded in Western colonial discourse. Typically, the tropical-medicine thought-style spatialises as it hierarchises a given social space, constructing therefore a ‘there’ where the diseased bodies are, that is, an elsewhere (the ‘glass den’, in this case) that poses threats to the presumed health of the people residing ‘here’, that is, the private and domestic space of the bourgeois family. Further, while immunity is construed as a question of proximity to the diseased primitive, this thought-style however generates at the same time a colonial fantasy on the part of the colonising subject that acquires immunity in advance.92 In this case, the fantasy is secured through the male reporters’ conviction that their heterosexuality, construed as the civilised practice of sexual and mental hygiene, can guarantee their safety, despite having travelled to a place infested with ‘any disease imaginable’.

The fantasy of AIDS overflowing from the breeding ground of the ‘glass clique’ is fully enacted in a special report from the Liberty Times. The report, entitled ‘The game of 0 and 1 overshadowed by aizi [AIDS]; With the glass shattered, the clique members look for fresh pastures’, describes how members of the ‘glass clique’, fearing for their life, were ready to ‘run away from the “fiery pit” (taochu huokeng) and to turn over a new leaf’.93 Noting that the prosperity of the gay scene has withered since the advent of AIDS, the report says that members of the ‘glass clique’ have become very suspicious of one another, so much so that they find it difficult to ‘ply their trade’ with people they know lest they get infected. Thus:

> Because it rarely happens that new people get introduced into this clique and because there is a shortage of supply, members of the glass clique have to find a way to deal with their irrepressible sexual urges. Under these circumstances, leaving the clique and searching for new ‘life’ becomes increasingly popular among them … But those who make their exit from this highly polluted clique might be already infected with the AIDS virus. Carrying on the way they used to be, these virus carriers [sic] then appear where ‘normal people live’. Given that cases of sodomy [jijian or ‘chicken sex’] are often heard of these days, the possibility that homosexuals will attack innocent boys or teenagers to satisfy their desire has increased. The authorities should really spend some time studying how male homosexual ‘help themselves’ in the age of the epidemic. If those who leave the clique are left on their own to expand their territory, the consequence would be truly beyond imagination.94

In contrast to the fantasy about the gay tropic examined earlier, the report here speaks mainly through the logic of epidemiology, which, first and foremost, sees the pathogen that is the homosexual body as a vector that moves
outwards and multi-directionally, thus creating performatively a time-space for the epidemic via tracking movements of the diseased bodies.\textsuperscript{95} Sexually irrepressible and always on the look for ‘fresh meat’, the homosexual body is the vector of infectious desires as well as the reservoir of diseases. As such, it becomes a public space itself, in the sense that state surveillance and cordons sanitaires are called for to safeguard the endangered general public.

**Conclusion**

Several key features emerged from this analysis of the deployment of male homosexuality in the press during the Cold War era. Firstly, male same-sex relations and genital acts, designated by the epithets of modern or premodern origins, signify through a language game that is both masculinist and paternalist, and are invariably adjudicated in accordance with the grid of gender and sexual norms in national culture. Thus while *renyao’s* deviant gender presentations and sexual practices attracted vitriolic attacks, those with the ‘cut-sleeve *pi*’ came to be pathologised within the apparatus of *xingxinli*. With aberrant sexuality being endowed with limitless etiological power to signify the irregular, the deranged and the dangerous,\textsuperscript{96} the male homosexual came to be represented as a pervert, ‘driven’, to borrow Foucault’s words, ‘by the sombre madness of sex’. Secondly, as the denomination of the ‘glass clique’ gained currency in journalistic discourse from the mid-1970s onwards, gay sex became the object of homophobic fascination, with the gay sexual vernacular of ‘no. 1’ and ‘no. 0’ being construed entirely in phallo-centric terms. Further, thanks to the news coverage of extensive police raids in New Park and the gay premises, gay sex came to be identified with prostitution, a construction which continues to figure in the erotohomophobic discourse of AIDS. Crucially, this analysis entails a process of stigmatisation mediated through prostitution and AIDS, and it is precisely this process that compelled gay people in Taiwan to adopt the self-affirmative appellation of ‘*tongzhi*’ in the 1990s.
3

State Power, Prostitution and Sexual Order

Towards a Genealogical Critique of ‘Virtuous Custom’

It is necessary to establish the police force before the building of the nation.

Chiang Kai-shek

What kind of political techniques, what technology of government, has been put to work and used and developed in the general framework of the reason of the state in order to make of the individual a significant element for the state?

Michael Foucault

Queers do a kind of practical social reflection just in finding ways of being queers … Because the logic of the sexual order is so deeply embedded by now in an indescribably wide range of social institutions, and is embedded in the most standard accounts of the world, queer struggles aim not just at toleration or equal status but at challenging those institutions and accounts.

Michael Warner

The Police Offence Law and the Sage-King State

This chapter concerns the state regulation of sexualities and the formation of gendered subjectivities in postwar Taiwan. It considers, by way of genealogical investigation, the policed culture of sex under the regulatory regime of ‘virtuous custom’ (shanliang fengsu) as sustained by the now defunct Police Offence Law. By analysing the police and journalistic discourse of sex between the 1950s and 1980s, it traces the process whereby a particular segment-line of contemporary Taiwan dominant social/sexual order came to be established through the state’s banning of prostitution. As this genealogical project is motivated by an immediate political concern for the historical present, this chapter will conclude by showing how the regulatory regime
of ‘virtuous custom’ has greatly expanded since the 1990s due to the rise of anti-prostitution state feminism. While the ascendancy of this feminist public culture will be examined in detail in chapters 5 and 6, I offer here a preliminary critique of state feminist politics by looking at its intervention in legal reforms in light of the genealogy traced above.

The Police Offence Law, modelled on prewar Japanese Police Offence Law, was promulgated originally by the Qing government in 1906. Finalised after an overhaul in 1943, it remained unconstitutionally sustained by the Kuomintang (KMT) government in Taiwan until 1991 when it was abrogated and replaced by the Social Order Maintenance Law. This administrative law, which enabled the state to actively intervene in the course of social formations, played a pivotal role in nation-building in postwar Taiwan. Its regulatory realms encompassed virtually every aspect of public and, as this chapter will show, private life. It conferred on the police the prerogative to discipline and punish the deviant individual: interrogation, jurisdiction, adjudication, and the execution of punishment were all to be carried out within the police station. While the offender’s true intent in the alleged crime did not preclude punishment, the police also had discretionary powers to impose harsher punishment on ‘habitual’ offenders. Penalties included confiscation, forced labour, admonition, detention of up to fourteen days or a fine as well as the shutting down of a business either temporarily or permanently.

To legitimise the operation of the Police Offence Law in Taiwan, the KMT government promulgated in 1953 the Police Law, enlisting ‘redressing the customs’ (zhengsu), among others, as part of police administration. While ‘redressing the customs’ included getting rid of ‘backward’ social practices such as foot-binding and breast-binding, it was the political management of sex that constituted the most significant part of this particular domain of police administration. Thus, in the name of maintaining ‘virtuous custom’, the police not only had the mission of rectifying individual sexual misconduct but also the task of administering the leisure/pleasure businesses associated with fostering sexual immorality in general and prostitution in particular in accordance with the Police Offence Law.

Of particular interest and significance here is the role assigned to the police by the architect of the modern police apparatus in China and Taiwan, Chiang Kai-shek, that of moral guardian of the population. Maintaining that ‘the aim of police administration is the practising of “the government of benevolence (renzheng)”’, Chiang upholds that the essential task of the police is to reform society and to ‘enable all the people to become good national citizens (guomin)’. To undertake such a task, the police must, as Chiang expounds in an admonitory speech he gave to students of the Central Police
College, excel in their moral cultivation and assume the three governing positions of ‘parent’, ‘teacher’ and ‘king’ (zuozhiqin, zuozhishi, zuozhijun), with the last one construed as the agent of law:

We have to first govern the people as their parents and teachers in guiding, teaching and disciplining them. It is only when you cannot govern them as their parents and teachers that you have to seek recourse to the law. Therefore everybody must know that we should try our best to ensure that people do not offend the law. Try our best to make people listen to our admonishments and to be loved and cherished by us.\(^\text{11}\)

Here Chiang evokes the cultivation of a morally superior man — known as a man of noble character (junzi) — predicated upon what is generally called, within the Confucian tradition practised by the intelligentsia, the ‘sage-king’ (shengwang) paradigm. Schematically, the sage-king paradigm pertains to the art of government formulated in a widening series of spheres, typified by the Confucian expression, ‘to cultivate the self, to regulate the household/family, to manage/rule the country, to pacify the world’, with ‘sage-king’ being the impeccable moral subject. While every human being can in theory become a sage-king, the possibility of becoming or assuming the sage-king subject position is, as Liu Jen-peng has noted, in practice necessarily predetermined by one’s social status. In her important study of the late Qing and early Republican discourse of women’s rights, Liu employs the Dumontian notion of hierarchy and demonstrates how such a discourse pertaining to the modern notion of ‘equality’ came to be articulated through the ‘sage-king’ moral hierarchy, one that presupposes a pre-given totality naturalised in accordance with existing political/social relations such as the king/subject, father/son, husband/wife. Within this hierarchy, the morally inferior are proposed as contrary or subordinate to the morally superior and yet are entirely encompassed by the latter. 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 the morally inferior.\(^\text{12}\) This chapter will show how the guomin subject-position came into formation through the KMT government’s forcible production of ‘virtuous custom’ premised on the sage-king moral hierarchy.

Before embarking on this investigation, it is essential to first look at the differences between the two main laws pertaining to the regulation of prostitution, namely, the Criminal Law and the Police Offence Law. Article 231 of the Criminal Law did not (and still does not) prohibit individuals from prostituting themselves. Rather, it outlawed those who made profits by encouraging and facilitating others to perform illicit sexual acts (categorised in
juridical terms as ‘carnal relations’ (jianyin), designating extra-marital penis-vagina penetrative sex, and ‘indecency’ (weixie), designating any sexual act other than ‘carnal relations’ such as same-sex genital relations). Of particular significance here is that, up to 1999, there existed in article 231 a legal category of women called ‘woman of respectable family’ (liangjia funü):13

The so-called ‘woman of respectable family’ is not to be judged by her family background. Rather she is to be defined in accordance with whether she is accustomed to immoral sexual behaviour. If a prostitute has stopped plying her trade, she then can be called ‘woman of respectable family’. On the other hand, if an illicit prostitute is prostituting herself, she cannot be said to be ‘woman of respectable family’.14

This legal definition was clearly predicated upon the traditional distinction between virtuous woman and prostitute. Gail Hershatter has pointed out that although the Qing government did not prohibit prostitution explicitly, its criminal codes attempted to segregate the despised castes (including prostitutes, actors and singers) from respectable families by forbidding ‘civil and military officials from taking prostitutes as wives or concubines’.15 While the caste distinction seemed to have been eradicated from the Criminal Law made in the Republican era, the rule in accordance with which women were figured in legal terms became ‘whether one is now accustomed to immoral sexual behaviour’ (with the immorality being equated here with the practice of prostitution). The apparent logic in this legislation is that the prostitute population would diminish and eventually disappear provided that women of respectable families could be prevented from becoming prostitutes. On the other hand, the meaning of ‘woman of respectable family’ as given by juridical interpretation appears to include all ex-prostitutes. Thus, an individual running a brothel would not be prosecuted under the criminal law provided that his/her employee(s) could be proven to have been ‘accustomed to immoral sexual behaviour’.

Article 64 of the Police Offence Law, on the other hand, outlawed the prostitute, the pimp (item 3) and the client (item 4). It should be noted that the illicit sexual act performed by the prostitute was defined in this article as jiansu, a compound which consists of ‘illicit sexual relations’ (jian) and ‘sleep with someone’ (su). In practice, the term had always been made to operate as a synonym of ‘carnal relations’ as defined in the Criminal Law. This meant that the Police Offence Law prohibited only heterosexual prostitution. However, male homosexual prostitution was, this chapter will show, also outlawed under ‘virtuous custom’.
To License or Not? Prostitution Policies in the 1950s

According to the historian Lin Hongxun, the prostitution culture in Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period was constituted with the cultural traditions of the Han Chinese and the Japanese. In both traditions women prostitutes were placed in a hierarchy which distinguished between those educated prostitutes (the courtesan in the Han Chinese system; the geisha in the Japanese system), who entertained the gentry with their artistic skills (such as playing musical instruments and reciting poems), and those illiterate ones who solely provided the service of sexual intercourse. Under the Japanese government’s licensing policy, all the courtesan/geisha houses and brothels were able to ply their trade in the authorised red light districts. However, from about 1930 onwards, the Han Chinese courtesan house culture was gradually taken over in cities like Taipei by modern leisure businesses such as salon-style coffee houses and dance halls. Fashionable and popular, these new leisure businesses also gave rise to the new profession of ‘hostess’. By the end of the Japanese colonial period, the hostess culture had become a new social phenomenon and hostesses could be found in all the leisure businesses, ranging from traditional wine houses and tea rooms to modern coffee houses and dance halls. In the meantime, Lin observes, the transformation of the leisure businesses had little impact upon the illiterate class of prostitutes and the name changji or ‘prostitute’ became more and more attached to them.16

Although it was not until the promulgation of the Police Law in 1953 that the task of ‘redressing customary behaviour’ was formally assigned to police administration, the police authority in Taiwan had already undertaken this task in the immediate aftermath of Taiwan’s return to China in 1945, attempting to purge five decades (1895–1945) of Japanese colonial influence on the island. Reasoning that ‘our Taiwanese countrymen were allowed under the Japanese occupation to wallow in immorality which must be rectified’,17 the new Chinese Nationalist government launched an island-wide police operation in 1946. This task of ‘redressing customary behaviour’, according to Lin, consisted of four aspects, including ‘1) outlawing hostesses; 2) rooting-out prostitutes completely; 3) banning dancing; 4) doing away with superstition’.18 Needless to say, this decolonising schema influenced the regulation of prostitution and female sexuality. In retrospect, it can be seen that this particular operation constituted the paradigm by which national identity in postwar Taiwan was formed.

While Chiang’s exiled government in Taiwan continued to uphold the policy of banning licensed prostitution, it also tacitly acknowledged the sexual needs of its army. Hence, in 1949 the KMT government ran a pilot scheme,
setting up an institution called ‘certain type of wine house’ (tezhong jiujiu) which was, in actual fact, a covert kind of licensed prostitution business. While food and drink was available, sexual intercourse with a ‘certain type of hostess’ (tezhong shiyingshen) could be arranged and performed in the small rooms inside the wine house. The special type of hostesses were in fact a metamorphosed kind of legal prostitute, directly governed by the local police. This pilot scheme was reviewed in 1950 after the KMT government signed the 1949 UN convention banning human trafficking and forced female prostitution.19 After a heated debate, the government decided to go ahead with the scheme. It was not until 1956, when the government finally came to terms with licensing prostitution and decided to re-license brothels, that this particular institution was abolished. However, it must be pointed out that around 1950, in its attempt to solve the problem of the sexual needs of the conscripted and professional army population, the KMT government began to set up brothels — what came to be known as ‘military paradise’ (junzhong leyuan) — within military institutions all over Taiwan and the outer islands.20

In September 1949, all existing local leisure businesses, such as wine houses and tea rooms, were ordered by the government to be renamed ‘public canteens’ or ‘public tea rooms’. In addition, a new standard was imposed on new public canteens and tea rooms, with interior decoration being required to be as ‘plain’, ‘simple’, ‘orderly’ and ‘clean’ as possible. Most importantly, all hostesses were to be renamed ‘waitresses’: they were forbidden to accompany customers ‘drinking and singing’, while indecent and dissolute behaviour was absolutely prohibited.21 Like ‘the certain type of wine house’, public canteens and tea rooms, together with many other businesses including hotels, were designated ‘certain type of businesses’ (tezhong yinye).22 Hostesses/waitresses of such establishments were required to have regular health check-ups in order to obtain work permits from the police. Once they had these, they were obliged to continue having regular check-ups. If they were found to have contracted venereal disease, their work permit would be temporarily revoked until they had been successfully treated. Uniforms were also required (blue in winter and white in summer). If waitresses were found to be behaving in an indecent or dissolute manner, the police could punish them, as well as their employers, in accordance with the Police Offence Law.23 Implicit in this regulation was the presumption that women working in these businesses were prostitutes.

Police observers in the early 1950s were generally of the opinion that the government should license prostitution. Broadly speaking, the police discourse on the subject of prostitution is predicated upon a political rationality that makes the distinction between two modes of governmental action, one negative, the other positive. The former, construed as bringing
about a temporary solution to the problem, tends to seek recourse to the law, whereas the latter, figured as getting to the root of the problem, leans towards welfare policies. For instance, police observer Yao Jishao argued that such a policy would enable the police to manage prostitutes, bringing them under control and gradually reducing the number of prostitutes by persuading them to ‘gain respectability’ (congliang). Meanwhile, he maintained that the government should try to raise money to build factories in order to encourage prostitutes into respectable employment.24 Another observer, Huang Yue, made his case for licensed prostitution by pointing out the impracticality of the positive approach. Firstly, welfare policies, such as providing prostitutes with job training, education or financial relief, could not be implemented without first obtaining precise statistics of the prostitute population, Huang suggested, yet obtaining such figures was difficult, if not impossible, for with prostitution being illegal, how could one expect prostitutes to come to the government asking for help? Moreover,

In the province of Taiwan, apart from the typical kind of prostitute, wine house/tea room hostesses and even those lower class bondmaids cooking for the rich are all known to prostitute themselves for living. Tempted by money, these women often do not hesitate to sell their bodies and souls. With regard to these women, difficulties arise when one identifies them as prostitutes in order to rescue and help them out. However, one simply cannot adopt the laissez-faire attitude in dealing with these women who ply their trade in a covert way, because the harm they cause to ‘social morality and the people’s health’ is no less than that caused by typical illicit prostitutes.25

Secondly, the government simply could not afford to pay the bill. Besides, given that the existence of prostitution was unavoidable as ‘society has not reached the ideal stage whereby every man has a job and every woman has a husband’, Huang maintained that licensed prostitution remained the only realistic option for the government, adding that it not only had the benefit of reducing sex crimes such as rape but also of ‘protecting the health of guomin by stopping the spread of venereal diseases’.26

There are three points to be made concerning Huang’s advocacy of licensed prostitution. Firstly, Huang rightly identifies the inherent contradiction within the positive mode of state intervention: any welfare policy for women prostitutes is doomed to failure from the outset if prostitution remains outlawed, yet the state’s maintenance of virtuous custom is predicated upon the rooting-out of prostitution. Despite this, Huang’s own stance on prostitution hinges upon this very contradiction which ambivalently
construes the woman prostitute as at once victim (of sexual exploitation and therefore in need of rescue) and victimiser (of society), a dual figure whose construction Hershatter has traced in the context of Republican China. This explains why he would only go so far as to call for licensed prostitution rather than decriminalisation of sex work. Secondly, his formulation of the utopia which licensed prostitution helps sustain is indicatively heterosexist and statist: marriage is paramount and women’s sexuality must be sanctioned by the state. Thirdly, by virtue of her contagious body and depraved soul, the women prostitute, even if licensed, is posited as guomin’s sexual Other.

After a decade of outright banning of prostitution, the KMT government finally adopted the licensing policy in 1955, thus promulgating a regulation that prescribed the following four administrative procedures for local authorities:

1) rooting out illicit prostitutes completely: illicit prostitutes, once arrested, should be checked for venereal diseases.
2) registering and managing: police were to be the authority in the matter of licensed brothels.
3) rescuing (those forced into prostitution) and guiding the licensed prostitutes to regain respectability (by getting married).
4) retaining and reforming: local governments should encourage the private sector to institute women’s training/reform centres.

These procedures, consisting of both the negative and positive modes of state intervention, represent what Foucault calls ‘the marginalistic integration of individuals in the state’s utility’. As political technology of gendered/classed individuals, they aimed to reform prostitutes as either useful housewives or productive labourers for a rapidly industrialising society.

The reinstatement of the police outlawing illicit prostitution (Procedure 1) prompted the publication of two articles on the police offence of illicit prostitution in the Police and People Gazette in 1960. Written with the intention of providing general guidance for the police handling of illicit prostitutes, the articles, authored by the police officers Zhang Yide and Zhang Wenjun respectively, reveal the police epistemology of the deviant female individual as well as the techniques employed to discipline and punish her. To begin with, when conducting ‘unannounced inspection’ (linjian), the police should be alert if an unmarried couple is found sleeping in the same room:

After interrogation, if one believes that they are not good friends or that there is a significant age difference between them, or that the woman is a bar girl, wine-house woman, that she works as waitress in a tearoom, or coffee house, or that she has a police record of plying her trade in the past, even if she categorically denies that she is prostituting herself, she should be seen as a prime suspect.
This passage makes clear, once again, that women in the leisure/pleasure businesses are regarded by the police as illicit prostitutes. It also suggests that once a woman becomes a police offender, that identity will be hers forever. In addition, it demonstrates a normative opposition to cross-generation relationships and casual sex. With regard to the latter in particular, Zhang Wenjun, in his attempt to differentiate ‘living illicitly as husband and wife’ (pinju) from sexual encounters, argued that a non-married woman supported by male patrons can qualify as a prostitute if she intends to profit from her relationship with a man and if she ‘does not have the intent to “choose [carefully] the man she serves”’ (zeren er shi).33

With regard to adjudication, both authors maintained that the police must exercise their power with extreme care and discretion in order to be ‘just and reasonable’:

Although most of those who get involved in the pleasure businesses are the slothful kind who abandon themselves to vice, there are also some who are forced into doing it by difficult circumstances. Therefore, before a verdict is delivered, the police officer ... should thoroughly investigate the offender’s family background/upbringing, personality, motivation for becoming a prostitute, her manner toward the police, whether she expresses regret and whether she’s a repeat offender. With regard to penalties, I reckon one should avoid a financial penalty as much as possible. This is because it is difficult to teach her a lesson by giving her a fine ... Those who do not have evil nature can be given an admonition as punishment. On the other hand, those who have a bad attitude or who are repeat offenders should be given an austere punishment by doubling the length of detention. In so doing, the police officers can retain their dignity and the offender can be given a chance to repent for what she’s done. Thus education can result from punishment.34

There are two points to be made here. First, the severity of penalty is graduated according to the offender’s personality, aptitude and attitude — attributes which cannot be known without observation and verification. It follows that the police offender’s sexual history will come to determine her ‘nature’ (and consequently the severity of punishment imposed on her). Secondly, the ‘sage-king’ style of benevolence and moral hierarchy is, in Zhang’s formulation, built into the economy of justice delivered within the purview of the Police Offence Law. The police officer’s assumption of the morally superior subject-speaking position makes it possible for him to act benevolently towards the prostitute when punishing her. Meanwhile, the prostitute is expected to be ashamed of her sexual misconduct, a sense of shame which sustains the patriarchal sexual order that the police help buttress. However, this style of benevolent justice
meets its limitations when the prostitute refuses to play the game. And the only way for the police officer to save face confronted by a prostitute ‘with a bad attitude’ (refusal to be patronised, perhaps?) is, as Zhang made clear, to impose a severe penalty in order to teach her a lesson. The education of the woman prostitute indeed resides in punishment.

The above discussion on the police’s outlawing and handling of illicit prostitutes shows how a woman prostitute is made subject to the patriarchal sexual order sustained by the Police Offence Law. However, in order to mark out her subjugation within the national culture in postwar Taiwan, one must further situate her trade within the general economy of the sex market. Regulated and administered by the police/state, this market consisted not only of licensed brothels but also leisure/pleasure businesses including hotels, wine houses and tea rooms and, since 1958, dance halls. Taiwan’s capitalist economy began to take off in the late 1950s, and the early 1960s saw a sudden explosion of leisure/pleasure businesses including the sex industry. So powerful was its influence from the mid-1960s onwards that, in order to prevent society from being inundated by commercial sex, the KMT government was compelled to undertake a series of reform programmes.

The Burgeoning of the Sex Industry in the 1960s

In 1962, the KMT government promulgated the ‘Regulatory Procedures for Particular Businesses in the Province of Taiwan’, which enlisted nine categories of businesses, including wine houses/bars/tea rooms/coffee houses (category three), to be governed by local police. What was loosely referred to in the 1950s within police administration as a ‘certain type of business’ was now formally regulated as a ‘particular type of business’ (PTB). While legalising the profession of hostess, the regulation also made clear that category three businesses, along with hotels of category two, were strictly prohibited from running the ‘prostitution/sex business’ (yinye).

Of particular interest and significance here is the emergence of and sharp increase in the number of coffee house and bar establishments within a leisure/pleasure business previously dominated by traditional establishments from the Japanese colonial period such as wine houses and tea rooms. Two important historical factors brought about this transformation of the sex market in Taiwan in the 1960s. Prior to 1950 Taiwan was mainly an agrarian society. But under the KMT government’s economic policy, known as ‘cultivating industry on the basis of agriculture, using industry to develop agriculture’, Taiwan quickly became an industrial country, with the total output value of industry outnumbering that of agriculture in 1963. This speedy industrialising
process in turn gave rise to rapid urbanisation. Between 1947 and 1966, the total population in Taipei virtually quadrupled as did that of Kaohsiung in south Taiwan. The huge influx of a young employable population into Taiwan’s largest cities presented an invaluable opportunity for the leisure/pleasure businesses which grew within the expanding capitalist system. The sharp rise of the coffee house subculture in cities like Taipei was a case in point. Similar to the traditional tea room in its function but with a trendy feel, the coffee house — nicknamed ‘pitch-dark coffee house’ — catered for the fast-growing population of lower-middle-class young males. Its great appeal resided in the unconventional interior decor designed to create more ‘privacy’ within public space: small booths, high-backed seats, large potted plants, dim lighting. The proliferation of the coffee house establishment also created many job opportunities for (mostly) working-class women, who could earn four to five times more as coffee house hostesses than as factory workers.

On the other hand, the increase in bars was directly linked to the American contingent in Taiwan and the state’s (tacit) promotion of (sex) tourism during the Cold War era. Following the enactment of the Mutual Defence Treaty in 1954, two US army bases were founded in Taiwan and the bar business was spawned to cater for the American military population. In fact, the American contingent also gave rise to the dance hall/club business, which had been banned by the KMT government up to 1958. The biggest impact of American pressure on the leisure/pleasure businesses in Taiwan occurred at the height of the Vietnam War when the ‘Rest and Relaxation Centre’ was founded by the US government in Taipei in 1965: roughly 200,000 GIs took leave in Taiwan between 1965–1970 while another 200,000 were received by the centre between 1970 and 1971. If every GI spent US$5,000 of his US$12,000 annual salary in Taiwan, it was once speculated, the influx of American GIs between 1970 and 1971 alone would have had brought into Taiwan US$1 billion. While this estimated figure may not be reliable, it is indisputable that Taiwan’s sex industry became even more prosperous with the influx of the American capital during the Vietnam war. Significantly, after the departure of the Americans came a new influx of Japanese sex tourists in the early 1970s.

The rapid growth of legal leisure/pleasure businesses in this period, however, was only half the story. A host of new establishments in the leisure/pleasure businesses arose, ones that were registered by law as of ‘ordinary type’ but skewed from their original purposes. Either as hybridised forms of category three PTB or as newly formed businesses, these new establishments proliferated all over Taiwan, particularly in urban areas. They include:
1) ‘Tea-and-Only-Tea’ cafés: the name ‘tea-and-only-tea’ was coined originally to distinguish both from the ‘pitch-black’ coffee house and from the ‘yellow’ tea room (a colour which signifies locally the obscene and lasciviousness). However, the establishment, enormously popular among young people, had by the late 1960s been identified by the authorities as sleazy.47

2) Bathhouses and saunas:48 these establishments appeared to be the covert version of the licensed prostitution in the Beitou area — a hot-spring tourist resort in suburban Taipei, offering the so-called ‘mandarin duck water-frolics bath’ service.49

3) Osteopathic/massage parlours: these establishments ‘perverted’ the conventional massage service, offering instead ‘sexual therapy’.50

4) Tourist guide agencies and craft shops: in some instances, customers purchasing items of a certain value or more were allowed to leave with one of the shop attendants.51

5) Wine bars: because the KMT government stopped licensing category three PTB from 1968 onwards (see below), wine bar businesses began to proliferate particularly during the Vietnam War.52

6) Catering businesses such as restaurants: any catering businesses using their staff as hostesses would become illegal. So-called ‘Restaurants without Kitchens’ was a thriving business in Taipei in the early 1970s.53

7) Underground dance hall/night clubs: as young people were priced out of the market due to the high licence fees imposed on legal dance halls/night clubs, it became economically attractive for PTB and non-PTB to diversify into this business.54

8) Apartment rooms for sex: a non-registered hotel whose primary purpose was the provision of rooms for sex trade. This was due to the rapid transformation of the urban landscape in cities like Taipei.55

9) Tourist barber shops: luxuriously decorated salons designed to attract Japanese tourists, offering the additional massage service in a private space (often leading to sex).56

Despite their diverse nature, the commodity all these businesses had in common was the provision, in one form or another, of sex. In addition, cinemas and theatres (also regulated as category one of PTB) across Taiwan (especially in the countryside and small towns) introduced a new form of entertainment, erotic dancing, in order to maintain a competitive edge over television, introduced in the 1960s.57 By the mid-1960s, the erotic cultures stimulated by this burgeoning sex industry was flourishing to such an extent
that the national culture predicated upon the Confucian sage-king morality was perceived to be under siege, thus prompting Chiang’s government to implement a series of social reform programmes to police the crisis.

**Defending Society from the Tidal Wave of Sex**

As 1966 began, a new era of sexual control dawned in Taiwan. The press was excited about the new year’s prospects as the government introduced new policing guidelines aiming at tightening control over sex businesses. ‘If we are brave enough to face the reality,’ the *Evening Independent* reminded its readers in an editorial, ‘we would be shocked to realise the extent to which this poisoned yellow tide has already risen in recent years’:

> Obscene strip shows are everywhere ... any performance, if not spiced up with a bit of yellow, would not appeal to the audience ... In the cities, the number of night clubs, dance halls, wine houses, ‘pitch-black’ coffee houses are increasing rapidly day by day ... In particular, the greatest development of all sex trade businesses in recent years has been the ‘pitch-black’ coffee house ... There is a new pitch-black coffee house every few yards in Taipei ... Every type of immoral behaviour and shameless deed detrimental to virtuous custom is publicly performed under the cover of darkness in those tiny rooms. Countless young men and women who are not mature enough to withstand temptation ... are being depraved by this type of sex-trade place. What is even more serious and worrying is that this type of place often attracts women of respectable families or runaway teddy girls, encouraging them onto the slippery slope ..."58

The new police guidelines included a ‘three-strikes-and-you-are-out’ penalty scheme made in accordance with the PTB regulations and the Police Offence Law, imposing in addition a strict dress and performance code and a decor code for tea rooms and coffee houses.59 More state interventions ensued the following year, which saw the revision of the 1962 PTB regulation. Of particular significance here are two regulatory changes. Firstly, a minimum age for women staff of eighteen and a requirement for those between the ages of eighteen and twenty to obtain permission from their guardians or husbands to work as hostesses were introduced, thus making it more difficult for teenage girls to work legally in pleasure/leisure businesses. Secondly, no new category three PTB were allowed within a distance of a two-hundred metre radius of schools, hospitals, temples, churches, convents and residential areas. This represents the state’s first systematic attempt in postwar Taiwan to zone sex out of the sight of respectable institutions.60
At the end of 1967 an important incident occurred, the discursive effects of which were to deepen the perceived crisis of national culture. An article entitled ‘Rest and recuperation for America’s fighting men’, featuring a photo of two Taiwanese women accompanying an American GI taking a bath in hotel in the Beitou red light district, appeared in the 22 December 1967 issue of the US *Time* magazine. Although the services provided in Beitou were no secret, the nation was nonetheless shocked by this revelation. Expressing moral outrage, the press saw this exposure to the world of Beitou prostitution culture as shaming a nation predicated upon Confucian propriety and morality. Responding to public moral outcry, the police managed to track down Yu Ruiqing, one of the women prostitutes in the photo, and charged her with offending public decency under the Criminal Law. They were able to track Yu down because she was a licensed prostitute. Most importantly, what she had done was completely legal and the judge disallowed the case. But throughout the late 1960 and early 1970s, the *Time* picture event continued to be cited by the press as evidence of national shame.

In the immediate aftermath of the *Time* scandal, Chiang Kai-shek presided over the Sixth Annual Meeting of National Security held on 9 January 1968, laying down guidelines for social reform which aimed to ‘get rid of the decadent trend affecting guomin, reinforce spiritual mobilisation and cultivate invisible form of military power’. Of the eight points mapped out in these guidelines, six pertained to the call for a lawful and ordered society in general, outlawing sexual immorality in particular, with the other two relating to the promotion of legitimate entertainment and the establishment of modern moral guidelines for the daily life conduct of guomin. Significantly, these guidelines were taken by the government as constituting an important part of its Cultural Renaissance Movement, a national campaign launched in 1966 to counteract Mao Zedong’s Cultural Revolution which aimed at ‘revitalising’ the Confucian ethic, namely, the moral tradition of the sage-king.

These guidelines led to yet more regulatory changes. While stopping the licensing of category three PTB (along with brothels and dance hall/night clubs), the government also decided to regulate the non-PTB as PTB by thoroughly inspecting all the leisure/pleasure businesses premises. Further, in addition to revising the criminal law to deter the inundation of pornography with stiffer penalties, it also attempted to ban government employees (including the military, civil servants and school teachers) and the youth population from patronising the leisure/pleasure businesses, thus promulgating the ‘Regulatory Procedures Prohibiting Civil Servants from Loitering and Gambling’ and the ‘Regulatory Procedures Prohibiting Youth from Accessing the Premises That Impair Physical and Mental Health’ in 1968.
and 1970 respectively.\textsuperscript{65} The former introduced a disciplinary penalty scheme to punish those frequenting immoral public spaces,\textsuperscript{66} whereas the latter, which forbade students and youths under the age of twenty to set foot in sex businesses, included a naming and shaming penalty for those parents who were negligent of their duties.\textsuperscript{67} Significantly, the implementation of both sets of procedures can be seen as the KMT government’s endeavour to further regulate the private lives of the two populations over which it had most direct control, that is, the civil servant and the student populations. As such, it had the general effect of not only reinstating the moralistic injunction that sex was neither for fun nor for leisure but also stratifying the citizenry into moral and immoral populations, with those in sex businesses being further stigmatised.\textsuperscript{68}

To carry out these new measures, Lo Yangbian, the newly appointed head of the police authority, issued an internal note to his subordinates, attempting to ‘give a strict definition to the police’s task in enforcing the moral order’:

\begin{quote}
This refers to blocking the inundation of sex in society. In other words, with regard to sex which occurs outside society such as family and marital sex, it is not within the police’s remit to regulate this.\textsuperscript{69}
\end{quote}

I have tried to preserve the flavour of Lo’s remark in my translation, for his articulation of the kind of sex that needs to be policed is at once peculiar and specific. It is peculiar in that ‘society’ in this formulation appears to be a distinct entity demarcated from the institutions of family and marriage it encompasses. And yet it is specific in that it designates the type of sex performed beyond the boundary of family and marriage as that which must be outlawed. In other words, non-marital sex and non-familial sexuality must be strictly regulated for the greater good of the virtuous/sage-king guomin population,\textsuperscript{70} even when they are performed in non-public domains such as hotel rooms or private residences.

Over the years, by exercising ‘unannounced inspection’, the police could enter any hotel rooms on the grounds of suppressing sex trade. It was in the 1960s and 1970s, when so many heterosexual couples were woken up, usually at some unearthly hour in the morning, to be questioned about the nature of their relationship, that the policing of hotel rooms became huge public concern. Whether the police had the right to disregard personal privacy and, indeed, whether the hotel room constituted itself a public space was always a contentious issue. Nonetheless, when rights to privacy were raised in order to question such policing, the real issue was side-stepped. Liberals asserted that the intimate conduct of unmarried young couples in hotel rooms should not be conflated with sleaze. Provided they did not have sex in public — on the street or in the park — young couples should be left alone in hotel rooms, \textit{unless},
liberals conceded, the woman turned out to be an unlicensed prostitute. But this opposition to prostitution was the key issue in government policy. Debates over whether hotel rooms belonged to ‘public space’ were only meaningful in terms of legal prosecutions for ‘public indecency’. And yet because the criminal offence of ‘public indecency’ was not so much about places accessible to the public as about the degree to which the behaviour in question was visible, hotel room inspection was not directed at public indecency but rather at prostitution. Laborious attempts to draw the line between the public and private were futile as there was no privacy in the face of the Police Offence Law as far as sex was concerned. This was especially true in the case of women in the pleasure/leisure businesses. A police officer once proposed in a special forum on the policing technology of sex, published in the Police Torchlight magazine, that because some hostesses thought it was safer to take their customers home or to hotels rather than to have sex in their workplace, the police should take the opportunity of conducting a census, finding out where hostesses lived in order to raid their homes. The policing of sex, in actual fact, turned into a witch hunt.

The intensified police operation of the late 1960s and early 1970s, ostensibly to defend society from the inundation of sex, led to increased surveillance over erotic practices in public spaces. Under this new regime of police control, students canoodling in the ‘tea-and-only-tea’ cafés, hostesses kissing American GI’s returning to Vietnam good-bye, ‘nurses’ wearing no underwear giving massages to customers in osteopathic parlours, as well as people watching licentious performances or pornography, were all punished by the police and given penalties that varied from a fine to a seven-day detention for offending virtuous custom. The Public Daily even published a photo of a police operation rehearsal whereby ‘obscene facial expression’ shown by a coffee house hostess and her patron was outlawed. Of particular significance here is the police citation of 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) of the Police Offence Law. With their connotative power, both codes served as the most expedient tool for the political management of space and sex.

The press played a crucial role in the incitement of public fear of commercial sex. Figuring commercial sex in terms of disease such as ‘cancer’, ‘tumour’, ‘epidemic’, or as a natural disaster like ‘flood’ or ‘tidal wave’, it constantly urged the government to take the inundation of commercial sex more seriously, calling on the police to further curtail the sex businesses. Indeed, in an authoritarian state where freedom of speech
was highly restricted, the domain of sexual morality remained the one area where the press was uncharacteristically critical of government actions. This is most clearly illustrated by the press response to the government’s hesitation in abolishing licensed brothels and to its incompetence in dealing with the ‘restaurants without kitchens’ which mushroomed in downtown Taipei during this period.

In the first case, the press exposed the contradiction that lay at the heart of the government’s policy on prostitution: vowing to outlaw any immoral activities, the government nevertheless continued to allow licensed brothels to exist. The *Evening Independent*, for instance, challenged in several editorials the rationale that sought to justify the existence of licensed prostitution. The institution of licensed prostitution, the paper argued, not only failed to curb the rampanty of illicit prostitution (which was its original purpose) but also implicitly helped promote the incorrect notion of ‘[people these days] laughing at the poor rather than at prostitutes’, a traditional Chinese idiom (used here by the rising middle class) for lamenting the decline of sexual morality. Abolishing licensed prostitution was the least the government could do, the paper maintained, to prevent the tidal wave of sex from overwhelming society.84 Similarly, the *Taiwan Daily* argued in two editorials that licensed prostitution, by virtue of its legal existence, not only washed away the sense of shame necessary to the cultivation of respectability but also gave rise to more illicit prostitutes.85 Interestingly, while the government did come up with various welfare proposals, such as setting up introduction agencies to assist licensed prostitutes to get married, they could not even convince themselves that such proposals would work. ‘What if those prostitutes, unable to get rid of their bad habits in such a short time, take advantage of the introduction agency and use it to continue to ply their trade?’, an official was reported to have expressed as a doubt.86 According to the same report, another reason that deterred the government from abolishing licensed prostitution was that the government would have to abolish the institution of ‘military paradise’, which would mean the abolition of a welfare policy, in operation for the previous two decades, for its military population. In the end, the government got around this difficult question by amending in 1973 its regulation for licensed prostitution: while the licensing of new brothels was frozen, the existing licences were made non-transferable, non-amendable, and non-inheritable.87

In the second case, the press forcefully expressed disbelief and anger that the government should turn a blind eye to such an extraordinary phenomenon: two hundred ‘restaurants without kitchens’ emerged in the Zhongshan North Road (where most established international tourist hotels in the 1970s were situated) within the space of two years.88 It blamed the government for leaving
loopholes in its regulatory policies, such that evil businessmen could make ludicrous profits out of selling sex, holding the Construction Bureau of the Taipei city government (which was the governing body for licensing non-PTB) and the police authority (which has the duty to inspect any business suspected of selling sex) accountable for negligence and lack of co-ordination.89

Such a criticism did, however, point to a new development in the sex market in the early 1970s. While the police considered the closing down of nearly one third of category three PTB by 1973 quite a remarkable achievement, they were also forced to acknowledge the fact that society continued to be plagued by sex, as a host of ordinary businesses — as mentioned in the previous section — had covertly ‘metamorphosed’ and taken over the sex market previously dominated by category three businesses.90 Indeed, the government’s tougher stance on category three PTB was counter-productive in that it drove most of the sex businesses underground. Even though several sets of new regulations, such as the standard of equipment for catering businesses (for instance, the size of the kitchen),91 were introduced in 1974, sex businesses continued to develop under such names as ‘health centres’ and ‘beauty parlours’. Taiwanese society, as it continued to industrialise through the 1970s and 1980s, never stopped being inundated by commercial sex.

**The Implicit Regulation of Male Homosexuality**

The equation of male homosexuality with prostitution that I have shown in chapter 2 needs to be situated in the context of Taiwan in the 1960s and 1970s. In a patriarchal society deeply preoccupied with the issue of female prostitution, the practice of male (homosexual) prostitution had long remained marginal in the public discourse in postwar Taiwan. As I have shown in chapter 2, the subculture of male (homosexual) prostitution can be traced back to the early 1950s, when a group of (cross-dressed) male (homosexual) prostitutes, known as renyao, plied their trade in ‘low class’ tea rooms in Three River Street of the Wanhua red light district.92 In addition, we know that New Park in Taipei was reputed to be a ‘male brothel’ that was ‘haunted’ by the renyao.93 Significantly, even though the Police Offence Law did not contain any explicit code banning male (homosexual) prostitution, ample evidence indicates that male prostitutes were subject to police control. For instance, when two Taipei gay bars were raided in 1978 and exposed as ‘hiring effeminate men to accompany men drinking, just like hostesses’,94 the incident led the criminologist Xu Shenxi to identify the emergence of what he called ‘the glass house (male prostitution)’ [bracket original] as one of the latest metamorphosed forms of the sex trade businesses.95
In chapter 2, I examined the *Taiwan Daily*’s interview of police officer Li Jinzhen about his experience in policing the ‘homosexuals-male prostitutes’ in New Park. Li’s revelation to the paper is based on his article ‘How to outlaw homosexuals-male prostitutes [hyphen in original]’ published in the *45th Anniversary of the Central Police College Special Publication* in 1981. Here I want to take a closer look at how he conducted the raids. To begin with, Li makes a distinction in the article between nanchang or ‘male prostitute’ and renyao:

[B]ecause the renyao dress up as woman, one can easily recognise their appearance and grotesque mannerism. Further renyao all hang out in restaurants or certain public spaces. It is not difficult to entrap them. Apart from their lack of masculinity due to their damaged biological condition which affects the way they walk, male prostitutes are not easily recognisable. In addition, there exist in this clique several types of male prostitutes who use different secretive codes. Unless one is familiar with this clique or knows the insiders, it is not easy to entrap them.96

By the late 1970s and early 1980s, renyao increasingly became a term in public discourse for transgender or transsexuals, even though in many instances, homosexuals continued to be described as renyao. As prostitutes, homosexuals differ from renyao in that the former are not easily recognisable by appearance, even if Li maintains that one can still tell their identity from their emasculated behaviour caused by their having been sodomised. After unsuccessful raids in New Park, Li eventually recognised the secretive codes of ‘no. 0’, ‘no. 1’ and ‘no. 10’ as used by the clique,97 and then briefed his subordinates before embarking on the next police operation:

Because it is not easy to find actual instances of weixie [indecency or indecent acts] or jiansu [carnal relations + sleeping with] behaviour in the park, and because it would not be legal for the police to entice male prostitutes to accompany them to private residences or hotels to wait for a pre-arranged police raid (even if it were legal, I doubt many of our officers would be prepared to do it), I want to reiterate our procedures in making arrests and getting convictions. Firstly, you must always conduct operations in pairs. When one of you succeeds in striking up a conversation with a male prostitute, the other must observe and follow from a distance. When chatting them up, you must pretend that you are actually going to do it. You should ask the other party if they are experienced and try to get examples, locations and dates, of this jiansu behaviour. Once you have an answer, then set off for the hotel or residency with the prostitute. As soon as you step out of the park, pretend to be intimate and close and then grab him by the belt and reveal who you are and arrest him with the help of your partner before taking
him back to the police station. When you are there, record all the *jiansu* details performed in the last three months\(^9\) to which he had previously admitted before passing sentence.\(^9\)

Here, same-sex genital relations are taken as *jiansu* or ‘carnal relations’, even if those homosexuals-prostitutes who were arrested are often charged with ‘misdemeanour’ (item 1 of article 64 of the Police Offence Law): just as that particular item was often cited to punish female prostitute suspects, it was equally convenient to punish the male homosexual.\(^10\) Indeed, while homosexuality appeared to be absent from juridical codes in Taiwan, it was implicitly regulated as prostitution by the police state.

Li then offers an account of his own experience in arresting an effeminate young man. When asked whether he was experienced, the young man said: ‘I am very experienced. I went to a hotel with an American guy only two days ago and got NT$600 dollars for that.’\(^10\) As they left the park, Li asked the young man to walk in front of him. Li explains why:

I made him walk in front of me, lest the police got suspicious. But my real intention was that, had I walked in front of him, he might have run away after realising my identity through observing [from behind] the way I walk.\(^10\)

Given what Li has said earlier about male prostitute’s effeminate mannerisms, his real purpose for wanting to walk ‘behind’ the young man could be his unconscious fear of being ‘taken as woman’ and sodomised from behind.

Thanks to the wide press coverage of a series of police raids on male homosexual activities in New Park in the early 1980s, the practice of male homosexuality became widely understood by the general public as a mode of prostitution, even if it was figured as an act of sex without payment, as the following passage from a news report shows:

According to the police investigation, there are two types of *tongxinglian* [homosexual/homosexuality]. One looks for love while the other for excitement. Trading for the former costs nothing. It’s purely about emotion while for the latter they first talk about how much it costs. But both are abnormal behaviour; they belong to serious psychological perversion.\(^10\)

The peculiar way in which *tongxinglian* or ‘homosexuality/homosexual’ is figured by the police suggests two things: 1) *tongxinglian* must be an oxymoron, for homosexuality is emotional rather than sexual; 2) should it be sexual, it must be purchased. Given Taiwan’s commercial sex culture, it is perhaps not surprising that mainstream society could not envision sex without payment.
The Social Order Maintenance Law

Public disquiet about the Police Offence Law began to emerge in the late 1970s. In the wake of increasing human rights agitation, liberals and legal scholars began to criticise the law from the viewpoint of jurisprudence, pointing out its dated/obscure regulatory codes and unevenly graduated penalties, the excessive para-judicial power it conferred on the police, and above all, its unconstitutional status. The KMT government did not respond to this growing criticism until 1979 when a political crisis was caused by its severing of diplomatic ties with the US. As a political gesture to signal its willingness to reform, the government announced that it would replace it with a new law called ‘the Social Order Maintenance Law’. Nevertheless, it was not until 1991 that the Police Offence Law was finally abolished.

The regulatory regime of ‘virtuous custom’ as sustained now by the Social Order Maintenance Law continues to outlaw commercial sex: pimping, procuring, and soliciting remain strictly prohibited (article 80 and 81). Importantly, while the law decriminalises the client, it decrees that prostitutes who offend the law three times within a year be sent to reform institutions for a period of between six and twelve months (article 80). Of particular significance are the modes of sexual act by which prostitution is defined in item 1 of article 81, which prohibits ‘a person having illicit sexual relations (jian) or sleeping with someone (su) for the purpose of gain’. Here, the compound jiansu as previously codified in the Police Offence Law is modified, with the words ‘illicit sexual relations’ (jian) and ‘sleeping with someone’ (su) separated by a comma (item 1, article 80). An interpretation offered by the juridical authority in reply to a question raised by a magistrates’ court (newly set up under the Social Order Maintenance Law) as to whether item 1 of article 80 was applicable to homosexual prostitution (apparently homosexuals had already been arrested and charged by the police) or to heterosexual prostitution involving non-penis-vaginal penetrative sex, should illuminate the meaning of this modification and its operation:

The objective in implementing the Social Order Maintenance Law is to sustain public order and to ensure the security of society. Therefore one should take this objective into account when interpreting the law. Even if the behaviour of accompanying-sleeping (peisu) for the purpose of gain is not aimed at having carnal relations (jianyin), to the extent that such behaviour stems from illegitimate aims (such as sodomy or indecent acts), it is obvious that such behaviour is detrimental to virtuous custom and public order: hence it is necessary to punish it. Accordingly, whether the behaviour of accompanying-sleeping for the purpose of gain occurs between the members of
the same sex or members of the opposite sex not engaging in carnal relations (jianyin), to the extent that the behaviour in question is compelled by the illegitimate purpose detrimental to virtuous custom, it constitutes itself an offence against item 1 of article 80. On the other hand, if accompanying-sleeping has a legitimate purpose and is not detrimental to virtuous custom, then the law would not be applicable.

The term su thus comes to be figured as a euphemism for ‘having sex’. Although the juridical authority does not provide us with any example of what constitutes a legitimate act of ‘accompanying-sleeping’, it is clear that commercial sex, regardless of sexual object and aim, is illegitimate and hence must be outlawed so that the sexual order predicated upon the sage-king patriarchal family can be maintained. The only people who do not have to justify their act of ‘accompany-sleeping’ are those in marital relationships. All others — particularly non-married women and male homosexuals — must justify their private behaviour when it involves sleeping with someone. Through this tacit operation of the term su, all forms of non-marital sexual behaviour and erotic practices, including same-sex genital relations, continue to be policed, however implicitly, through the control of prostitution and the presumption of guilt in the post–Police Offence Law era in Taiwan.

**Conclusion: The Rise of the Sage-Queen Sexual Morality**

In this chapter, I have sketched out a historical process whereby a dominant sexual order premised on the Confucian sage-king morality came to be established in postwar Taiwan through the workings of state power. By examining the official and journalistic discourse of sex, I have demonstrated that the disciplinary regime of ‘virtuous custom’ as sustained by the Police Offence Law operated as a norm of sex the boundary of which was secured through the policing of commercial sex and non-familial/marital sexualities. In particular, I have shown how the making of the sage-king nationalist/guomin subject-position was deeply imbricated within the KMT government’s forcible production of ‘virtuous custom’. Within such a gender/sexuality system, unmarried women and other marginal sexual minorities, such as transgenders and male homosexuals, came to be treated as sexual suspects and policed as prostitutes: female sexuality and male homosexuality have both been historically regulated by the state through its banning of prostitution in postwar Taiwan. A progressive sexual and gender politics must therefore challenge the social/sexual order based upon the state’s maintenance of ‘virtuous custom’. Significantly, the political imperative to contest ‘virtuous custom’ is made all the more urgent as its regulatory regime has greatly expanded in recent years...
due to the rise of anti-obscenity/prostitution state feminism. Aligning with Josephine Ho’s and Ding Naifei’s critiques of mainstream feminist politics, which I have discussed in the introduction to this book, I intend to show here how a certain kind of gender politics as enacted by the state feminists, which seeks to transcend non-familial sexuality, is deeply complicit with the nation-state in buttressing the heteronormative regime of ‘virtuous custom’, and I shall do this by looking at the state feminists’ campaigns to amend the Social Order Maintenance Law and the Criminal Law.

In 1998, several women’s NGOs, including the Women Rescue Foundation, the Garden of Hope Foundation (both played an instrumental role in giving birth to the Law to Suppress Sexual Transaction Involving Children and Juveniles in 1995, according to Josephine Ho’s genealogical study of the gendering of civil society in the post–martial law era), the Taipei Women’s Rights Association and the Taiwan Feminist Scholars’ Association, proposed to a cross-party coalition of women legislators a bill to amend the Social Order Maintenance Law. The bill purported to criminalise the (male) client who patronises the (woman) prostitute. These women’s NGOs argued that the current regulation was discriminatory because it punished only the prostitute, not the client. Not only should the client be criminalised but also be given a heavier penalty than the prostitute. Apart from ‘naming and shaming’ the client, the women groups also demanded that the (male) client be given mandatory sex education about gender equality and be checked for venereal diseases. However, punishment for those who were not married, they added, could be reduced. Lighter penalties such as admonition should also be given to first-time offender prostitutes. Furthermore, the bill not only called for greater punishment of pimps and sex business owners but also the penalising of landlords of places where prostitution took place. Finally, heavier penalties would be given to those commercial places found to be in the vicinity of kindergartens, nurseries and all types of schools within a five-hundred-metre radius.

The social/sexual order as envisioned in this bill ‘with a feminine and tender touch’, as the state feminist Liu Yu-hsiu reportedly put it, is no different from the existing one maintained by the sage-king state, except that it is even more punitive and puritanical. The feminists’ outrage at the discriminatory stance of the law against women prostitutes did not lead them to radically question the justice of the law which penalised the prostitute in the first place: instead, they wanted the client to be penalised as well. In addition, the client should be re-educated to learn how to behave like a gentleman who treats women politely. Interestingly, it is in the state feminists’ benevolence and lenience towards the novice woman prostitute and the unmarried adult male
client that the heterosexist and sage-king style of benevolent justice (delivered previously by the police officer under the Police Offence Law) is replicated. In the case of the novice woman prostitute, the state feminist appears to be saying, ‘OK, I’ll just tell you off this time for the sake of our sisterhood, but if you don’t try to better yourself and offend again, expect harsher punishment next time.’ In the case of the unmarried client, the state feminist re-imposes, however tacitly, the norm of marital sex to the regulatory neglect of non-familial sexual suspects such as unmarried women who patronise men and the wide range of sexual practices offered in the sex industry.

Paradoxically, while mainstream feminists were proposing a bill for a new social order that would keep prostitutes/hostesses out of sight so that ‘their children’ could be brought up in a more respectable environment (sex is further zoned out in their proposal [within a five-hundred-metre radius] than in the 1967 revision of the PTB regulation [within a two-hundred-metre radius]), they were at the same time lobbying parliament to delete the category of ‘woman of respectable family’ from the Criminal Law. With this legal category in operation, those sex business owners employing not first-time prostitutes had long been exempted from criminal prosecution. Thus, it is no surprise that the anti-prostitution feminists wanted this legal category to be abrogated, for it was not only a product of patriarchal thinking which, they argued, divided women into the virtuous (women of respectable families) and the non-virtuous (prostitutes) but also encouraged the development of the sex industry wherein women were conceived as universally victimised. However, there lies a paradox at the heart of this anti-sex feminist argument and this can be seen in a revealing slip made by liberal feminist Shen Meizhen in her influential *Victimised Women Prostitutes and Prostitution Policies in Taiwan* (1990). Campaigning for the abolition of the category of ‘a woman of respectable family’, Shen wrote, in a section of her book depicting the sex businesses in 1980 Taiwan and the harm it caused to society, that ‘[these days] Taiwan is inundated with sex barbershops, so much so that makes it very difficult for the paternal elders of respectable families to find a place to have a simple haircut’. Here, despite her avowal to eliminate the sexual difference between women, Shen identifies herself completely as a ‘woman of respectable family’ and with the feminine virtue ordained by the sage-king patriarch.

To the delight of the anti-prostitution feminists, the category of ‘women of respectable families’ was legally deleted on 14 January 1999, ‘a victory for women’s groups’, as a newspaper headline exclaims. The revised article 231 replaced ‘women of respectable families’ with ‘man and woman’, substituting *xingjiao* or ‘sexual intercourse’ for *jianyin* or ‘carnal relations’. Hence, under this newly revised criminal law, ‘a person who for the purpose of gain
induces a man or a woman [instead of ‘a woman of respectable family’] to have sexual intercourse [instead of jianyin 姦淫 or ‘carnal relation’] or to perform an indecent act with a third person or who retains him or her for that purpose shall be punished with imprisonment for not more than five years [instead of three years] (article 231). This effectively means that since 1999 prostitution has — except for those licensed brothels remaining — been completely outlawed. Ding Naifei and Liu Jen-peng have acutely observed the significance of this legal change:

Strangely enough, as ‘woman of respectable family’ is being deleted, ‘she’ becomes omnipresent. (Because no one can say that I am ‘accustomed to immoral behaviour’ anymore). As far as the article is concerned, the term ‘man and woman’ has replaced ‘woman of respectable family’. What scarcely changes is the victimhood of ‘woman of respectable family’, that is, her being induced and retained by the baddies to have sex with others. After the deletion of ‘woman of respectable family’, man and woman, that is, everyone, is forced to become ‘woman of respectable family’. Everyone, as far as the matter of sex or ‘immoral behaviour’ is concerned, all ought to be taken as ‘woman of respectable family’, such that they could become the pure object of a victimiser. All the sexual subjects and sexual behaviour other than [that of] ‘woman of respectable family’ have come to be targeted as the objects of deletion and exclusion.

The anti-prostitution/obscenity bloc’s most recent moral crusade against the sex industry will reveal how that ‘woman of respectable family’ subject-position is enabled and encompassed by what can be now called the ‘sage-queen’ feminist and how citizens of Taiwan are now all compelled to cite that gendered norm of sex to live out their desires.

In January 2004, the Taiwanese government, having belatedly consulted the recommendations of a specially commissioned report on the sex industry, announced its proposal to decriminalise the prostitute and to work gradually towards the decriminalisation of the sex industry in the long run. Terrified by the news, the anti-prostitution/obscenity women NGOs (including the Women Rescue Foundation, Garden of Hope, P-W-R Foundation, ECPAT Taiwan [End Child Prostitution in Asian Tourism], Taiwan Good Shepherd Sisters and Taiwan Women’s Link) quickly formed a coalition called the Policy-Pusher Alliance for the Downsizing of the Sex Industry (hereafter referred to as PPADSI) and staged a protest in the following month. ‘Not punishing the prostitute by no means amounts to the decriminalisation of the sex industry’, insisted the PPADSI. Given ‘the manifold bad influences of the sex industry on gender relations, family and society’, the PPADSI demanded that the government: 1) implement effective welfare and regulatory policies to
downsize the sex industry; 2) ‘not punish’ individuals selling sex; 3) penalise the client, with the imposition of fines to pay for the huge social risk and cost of prostitution; 4) punish the third party profiting from the sex trade; 5) enable, through state promotion, ‘everyone including young blue collar workers, the mentally disabled, the elders and homosexuals to enjoy good sexual relation that is equal and non-transactional’ (PPADSI 2004).\textsuperscript{118}

Compared with her previous stance, the state feminist appears now to be even more benevolent towards the prostitute, this time urging the government not to punish her since it is the demand side who ‘commands and benefits from the prostitute-client relation’ that should be penalised. Meanwhile, she continues to chastise the client, holding him accountable for not only corrupting the teenage girls of Taiwan by enticing them into sex work, but also attracting huge influxes of illegal migrant sex workers (from China and Southeast Asia) to Taiwan, which puts the sexual health of society in peril. Thus, the client, as an active consumer of sex at home and abroad, should be punished for making Taiwan a high-risk area for the spread of ‘dangerous trans-national diseases such as AIDS’ \textit{[sic]} as well as be made to pay for the huge increases in public spending on the policing of sex (such as teenage prostitution prevention and human trafficking) and VD prevention, the cost of which is being unjustly paid for by the tax-payer.\textsuperscript{119}

So, the PPADSI’s proposal to ‘decriminalise the prostitute/penalise the client’ in effect amounts to more policing: a harsher (albeit appearing to be more benevolent) regime of police state is being called for ironically in the post–Police Offence Law era. The general effect of attributing unharnessed male lust as the sole driving motor of the sex industry is that more police(wo) men are required to prevent would-be ‘daughters of Formosa’ from ‘sliding onto the slippery slope’,\textsuperscript{120} and more police surveillance is required to protect the Taiwanese \textit{guomin} of respectable families from coming into contact with the contagious body of illegal sex migrant worker. An article co-authored by Liu Yu-hsiu and Hwang Shuling — two leading figures of the PPADSI — demonstrates just how Taiwanese society’s fear of being swamped by migrant sex workers is played out. In that article, Liu and Hwang set out to dispel the ‘myth’ concerning the decriminalisation of the sex trade in countries such as the Netherlands and Germany. Such a policy not only fails to achieve its original goal — namely, better (state) management of the sex industry and destigmatisation of the prostitute — but also, Liu and Hwang contend, disastrously gives rise to huge influxes of illegal foreign sex workers into both countries. Interestingly enough, they give a list of instances whereby sex workers in Germany are still being unfairly treated by the German state in order to show the continual exploitation and stigmatisation of the sex workers...
under the new policy, noting in particular the plight of immigrant sex workers there. These instances mainly concern the German system’s strident regulatory and registration procedures with which prostitutes and brothels are obliged to comply as well as its institutionalised discrimination which prevents sex workers from being fully protected by labour law. Liu and Hwang then go on to argue that the only country where the policy of legalising the sex trade has been more successful is Australia because it is ‘pre-conditioned/well-disposed’:

racially pure/simple, [hence] immigration control made easier, good welfare system and very small population working in the sex industry. Neither Taiwan nor Germany, not even Holland has that disposition.121

Having used this colonialist argument to make their point, Liu and Hwang then move on to recommend the Swedish model, on which the PPADSI campaign is based, further urging the Taiwanese government ‘not to recognise the rights of sex workers, lest it encourages sex work’. Only a moment ago these two female professors were telling us of the maltreatment of the sex workers by the German government and yet here they are attempting to dissuade the Taiwanese government from working on the very socio-legal domain (that they identify through the German experience) which constitutes the exploitation and stigmatisation of sex workers. How is one to make sense of the fault-line that runs through their argument? Or could it be that terms such as ‘de-stigmatisation’ mean something else to them?

Perhaps Hwang Shuling’s own articulation of ‘the whore stigma’ in her previous work ‘Women in sex industries: Victims, agents or deviants?’ might yield a clue. In that essay, Hwang argues, on the basis of her socio-anthropological study of the sex industry in contemporary Taiwan, that neither decriminalisation nor legalisation of sex trade can eradicate the whore stigma, as ‘the one essence that characterises the trade is social disdain’.122 Moreover,

[I]n a patriarchal society, the relationship between the woman prostitute and her male client is by no means equal. Because prostitutes are paid a high price by men to transgress the ‘woman of respectable family’ stipulation that is made by men, they cannot escape from male discrimination. Men’s contempt towards them is not only shown during sex trade, it is also reflected in the marriage market from which prostitutes are excluded. As far as their social status is concerned, they can by no means be the pioneers who can subvert male-female sexual relation. On the contrary, they are regarded by men as female sexual other (nüxing yilei).123
Thus, the whore stigma exists and will continue to exist insofar as the woman prostitute is disqualified from entering the marriage market within the patriarchal system. In other words, it is her failing to assume the normative position of the housewife within such a system that renders her as, to use Hwang’s own wording, the ‘female sexual other’ that is despised by the male-dominated society. Significantly, by essentialising the social disdain of the ‘female sexual other’, Hwang in effect posits a patriarchy impervious to any social changes that feminism as a political force purportedly seeks to instigate. In other words, patriarchy is presumed here as a pre-existent totality into which the whore stigma is structurally built, a totality premised on the sage-king moral hierarchy wherein the woman prostitute must know her proper place as the encompassed ‘female sexual other’ therefore shameful to herself, and indeed shameful ‘to all women in the new nation, and the nation itself’, as Ding Naifei notes in her insightful analysis of the state feminists’ profound sense of hierarchical gender shame on behalf of the Taipei ex-licensed prostitutes. Thus, by identifying herself as ‘woman of respectable family’ subject-position as prescribed by the sage-king, the state feminist, or rather, the sage-queen, comes to maintain the distinction between herself and the ‘female sexual other’. And it is only by repudiating that very stigma which never was and shall never be hers that the sage-queen can safely assume the moral high ground while remaining indifferent to her (abjectified) sexual other’s daily struggles against social inequalities.

The sage-queen feminist is that omnipresent figure of ‘woman of respectable family’. She controls the sexual life of teenage girls and boys through the Law to Suppress the Sexual Transaction Involving Children and Juveniles, as Josephine Ho has demonstrated. Normative notions of ‘sexuality’ are to be inculcated into youth so that they learn to respect members of the opposite sex, to shame those who sell their bodies for money, and so know that only marital sex is legitimate. Further, to teach boys especially how to practise ‘egalitarian, joyful and responsible sex’, she proposes an improved sex/gender education which allows teenagers to ‘moderately’ explore their bodies in a specially designed space that is ‘somewhat hidden and yet not too much hidden at the same time’, thus giving her the panoptic view to ensure the decency of the classroom. She wanted to train adult women to conform to domestic sexual morality by introducing a graduated scheme of penalties for women prostitutes. Even when she changes her mind and decides not to punish adult women sex workers, she wants to incriminate all the people around them (lest someone, their friends or lovers, lives off their immoral earnings), forcing them to work alone and, in so doing, dis-empowering them and putting them in a more vulnerable position in the face of real abuse and
Meanwhile, she also calls for more punishment to be given to married male clients so that her housewife status can be better secured, which in turn provides her with a stable family life to bring up normal children together with her equally virtuous husband. Even if her children grow up to be the non-marrying type, she can tolerate this as long as he or she remains respectable by cautiously maintaining his or her bodily autonomy over erotic life, living out his or her slightly unconventional desires in a segregated social environment free of commercial sex. In the name of preventing supposedly innocent children, youth and adults of both genders from being preyed upon by the evil sex wolf as well as protecting Taiwanese society from the diseased bodies of migrant sex workers, the sage-queen feminist righteously takes on the role of policewoman, working with and for the sage-king state to not only maintain but also expand the heteronormative regime of ‘virtuous custom’.

This is the new sexual order ordained by the sage-queen feminists in twenty-first-century Taiwan. It is also the normative condition that one must take into account if one wants to ask what it means to be a sexual dissident in Taiwan today. As every female citizen of the nation is being forced to become a ‘woman of respectable family’ under the new legal-disciplinary regime that has become even more sex-punitive, recent developments in Taiwan attest to the fact that sexual freedom is increasingly under siege. While the anti-prostitution/obscenity bloc has impeached the feminist sex radical Josephine Ho for her longstanding outspoken sexual dissidence by bringing a criminal case against her (for disseminating pornographic bestiality material through a hyperlink on the website dedicated to the study of sexualities), Taiwan’s first gay bookshop Gin Gin was also prosecuted by the state for importing ‘pornographic’ gay magazines that could be legally bought in Hong Kong. Just as sex workers have been hounded by the police on a daily basis and forced to undergo HIV screening test, the state continues to police its gay population through prostitution and AIDS, raiding gay venues on suspicion of sex trade or drug abuse that is then linked to ‘the spread of AIDS’. Directly involved or not, the sage-queens are deeply complicit in this anti-sex state culture and the violence it exerts. Contesting this new social/sexual order on the grounds of its ideological operations and practices thus represents the most challenging task for the articulation of dissident sexual citizenship in Taiwan today.
The one thing that we denizens of the park never talk about is our family backgrounds. And even if we do, we don’t say much, since every one of us has his own private anguish that can never be told to anyone.

Pai Hsien-yung¹

Identity is formed at the unstable point where the ‘unspeakable’ stories of subjectivity meet the narratives of history, of a culture. And since he/she is positioned in relation to cultured narratives which have been profoundly expropriated the colonised subject is always ‘somewhere else’: doubly marginalised, displaced always other than where he or she is, or is able to speak from.

Stuart Hall²

This chapter addresses the central problematic of the book that I posed in the introductory chapter by proposing a historically and movement-wise contextualised reading of *Crystal Boys*. It begins by showing the making of *Crystal Boys* as a male homosexual sign in the 1980s in Taiwan, and proceeds to examine the imagined communities represented *within* and configured *through* the novel respectively. It asks what it means for the tongzhi movement when political identification is made with such a particular cultural text, which represents, I shall argue, a specific mode of oppression pertaining to male prostitution. Reading against the narrative grain, it 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. It further historicises that particular sense of shame by situating the novel within the regulatory context of national culture delineated in the previous chapters, whereby the imagined male homosexual community of the ‘glass clique’ was equated with prostitution and policed by the state as such. The sleazy world of male prostitution as
depicted in *Crystal Boys*, however, ceases to exist in the imaginings of the *tongzhi* nation in present-day Taiwan. 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 articulation of the two imaginaries thus constitutes, I shall demonstrate, an identity formation process whereby the politics of sexual shame, inseparably linked to prostitution, are at stake.

**The Making of *Crystal Boys* as a Male Homosexual Sign in the 1980s**

The author of the novel, Pai Hsien-yung, who has recently retired from teaching Chinese language and literature at the University of California, Santa Barbara, has since 1965 been commonly recognised as one of the most distinguished contemporary writers in the Chinese-speaking world. Born in Kweilin, China in 1937, Pai was the son of Pai Chongxi, a prominent general who defended China against the Japanese invasion. In 1951, the fourteen-year-old Pai and his family emigrated to Taiwan. In 1960, while studying in the Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures, National Taiwan University, Pai and classmates, including Ou-yang Tzu, Chen Ruoxi and Wang Wenxing, founded *Modern Literature*, a journal which gave birth to Taiwan’s modernist literary movement. Most of his early work, including several homoerotic stories, appeared in *Modern Literature*. In 1967, Pai published his first collection of fiction, *A Celestian in Mundane Exile* and four years later, *Taipei Ren* (translated in 1982 as *Wandering in the Garden, Waking from a Dream: Tales of Taipei Characters*), a collection of fourteen short stories about a group of exiled, middle/old-age Chinese mainlanders in Taipei in the 1950s haunted by their traumatic past in China. *Taipei Ren* not only established Pai’s literary fame in Taiwan and China but also his reputation as a compassionate humanist.

Set in 1970 and dedicated to ‘that group of homeless kids wandering alone on the streets in the deepest, darkest hour of the night’, *Crystal Boys* portrays a group of dispossessed male adolescents making their living as prostitutes in New Park. Expelled from school and family for homosexual behaviour, A-qing, the adolescent narrator, comes to discover the homosexual community based in the park, where he befriends Little Jade, Wu Min and Mousy, and begins his new life as a rent boy under the guardianship of Chief Yang, the New Park guru. The traumatic death of his beloved younger brother, Buddy, is a constant reminder of his broken and impoverished home: a run-away mother and a devastated ex-soldier father disowned by the KMT government. Meanwhile, New Park’s past is resurrected as A-qing encounters the Dark Kingdom’s legendary figure, Dragon Prince, who emerges again in
the park after ten years’ exile in New York for killing his star-crossed lover, Phoenix Boy, an orphan-turned-rent boy. Following the boys’ arrest by the police and the imposition of a late-night curfew in the park, Chief Yang sets up a gay bar called Cozy Nest, backed by the former general Fu Chongshan. A benefactor of the community revered as Papa Fu, whose soldier son committed suicide in the army because of his unforgiving attitude to the young man’s homosexuality, Fu stands as the absent paternal figure with whom homosexual sons like A-qing and Dragon Prince strive to come to terms. With the bar’s exposure by a tabloid reporter bringing its short-lived success to an end (a closure which coincides with the passing away of Papa Fu), the boys leave their extended family to search for their own dreams.

Of particular significance is how this novel about male homosexual prostitution framed itself and how it was initially received. The 1983 edition has the following blurb:

Writing with a heart of compassion and pity, Pai Hsien-yung composes a mantra (dabei zhou) for a group of ‘sinful sons’ abandoned by family and society to paint a picture of the destitute and homeless. Willing to sacrifice himself to descend to Hell in the place of others, the author attempts to explain and speak for ‘those are left alone wandering on the streets in the deepest and darkest hour of the night’ so as to make their sorrowful tears and fallen history known to the world. This is an epic depicting the sinful sons, who after having lost paradise, look for redemption by trying hard to re-establish their families, passionately searching for themselves and for love. After Taipei Jen, Crystal Boys is Pai Hsien-yung’s first novel. It is a record of the author’s journey over the years.7

In recommending the novel, book reviewer Ying Fenghuang wrote,

This four-hundred-page book depicts the subject of the world of homosexuals, a world that is rarely noticed by novelists and unimagined by ordinary readers ... Pai indeed has the quality of the novelist’s sensitivity and compassion and his literary achievement has always been affirmed by critics ... The world documented by him, however dark and depraved, always manages to arouse compassion in the hearts of the readers. This only goes to show that Pai not only completed a tour de force of a novel, but also sincerely composed a mantra for that group of people.8

From the very beginning, Crystal Boys, far from being perceived as immoral or obscene, was read as a novel about compassion, sympathy, mercy and indeed, a Buddhist ‘mantra’ for those living at the margins of society.

No sooner had Crystal Boys been published than it was made to signify the ‘glass clique’ in the press, and this is clearly shown in a special report
about the police raid of the Golden Peacock Restaurant in the *China Times Weekly Magazine*. In this two-page report, journalist Zhang Minzhong details the process of the police operation, using a number of photos with comments such as ‘a bunch of “glasses” under arrest’, ‘look at this group of kids, who pushed them into the abyss of vice?’ The young male host(es)s’ high-pitch singing and titterings’ were recorded in secret by undercover policemen asking about their charges for accompanying drinking, dancing and sleeping. Depicting the scene at the police station where the police offenders were detained, Zhang contemplated:

Looking at these boys numbered as ‘0’, ‘1’ and ‘69’, I cannot help but recall a novel by Pai Hsien-yung: *Crystal Boys*, a book he wrote for ‘that group of homeless kids wandering alone on the streets in the deepest, darkest hour of the night.’ In social reality, some kids, precisely because they are homeless and left to wander on the streets, are being pushed into the dark abyss by those sexual perverts ... The reason why they were pushed into this abyss is probably because they were tempted by money, hoaxed, or even forced by rape.

Although he admits that homosexuality is no longer a psychiatric disease, by citing a number of murders and punning on the term ‘*tongxinglian*’ (literally ‘same-sex-love’), Zhang reminds his reader that there is no ‘love’ but ‘lust’ in homosexuality and that homosexual relations can only be of those ‘hatred and greed’ rather than ‘happiness and fulfilment’. Expressing his sympathy for those adolescent male host(es)s, Zhang ends his report with the following passage:

Looking at this helpless group of kids aged between fifteen and eighteen, I hope that our society does not merely chide or mock them. They are not sinful, nor are they criminals. They are just a group of lambs going astray. They need guidance and warmth from society and family. They especially need forgiveness and love. Let us give them love! Let us help them to guide them to take to the bright path altogether.

Given its deliberate evocation of *Crystal Boys*, this report shows, in its sheer homophobic representation of the event, precisely the kind of ‘compassion’ Pai’s novel *can* elicit from a reader like Zhang.

With the advent of the AIDS epidemic in Taiwan in 1985, an unprecedented discursive proliferation around the subject of homosexuality occurred in public culture, a significatory process of male homosexuality in which Pai played an important part. A round-table discussion called ‘Opening the Window on the Glass [Clique]: Looking at the Question of Homosexuality in Taiwan’, held in Taipei on 10 September 1985 by the
women’s magazine Nonno, is indicative of this phenomenon. For the first time in Taiwan, a public forum was especially convened for so-called ‘experts’ to discuss the question of homosexuality, including, among others, urologist Jiang Wanxuan (see chapters 1 and 2), sociologist Yang Xiaorong, Guang Tai and Pai Hsien-yung himself. The discussion focused on the question of how to understand, from the psychological, medical, sociological viewpoints, members of the imagined ‘glass clique’, at a time when it was perceived to pose a threat to public health. Significantly, Guang Tai’s description of ‘happy and busy’ gay lifestyle and Pai’s account of Greek love and the universality of homosexuality in literature evinced much anxiety from Yang Xiaorong, who, expressing his unwavering espousal of scientific knowledge, warned against such ‘subjective’ views and the potential danger in misleading the general public in a ‘conservative’ society like Taiwan. While this event was widely covered by the press, Guang Tai’s and Pai’s remarks in the round-table discussion caused a moral backlash. In an editorial entitled ‘Denouncing the shameless “glass” gibberish’, the National Evening News severely rebuked the writers’ affirmation of homosexuality, arguing that had it not been for the counterbalance of the doctors and scholars’ views, the round-table discussion would have ended up ‘poisoning our society and making a population more horrendous than plague and cancer’. Meanwhile, the culturally conservative magazine Crime Sweeping Weekly went so far as to lambaste Pai’s and Guang’s talks as ‘a shameless show put on by the renyao aristocrats’. 

As the fervour of public interest in homosexuality caused by the moral panic over the AIDS epidemic continued to grow, 1986 saw not only Pai’s own re-interpretation of Crystal Boys, but also the making and screening of the film Crystal Boys, the first locally produced ‘homosexual’ film in Taiwan. In May 1986, the Human World monthly, a left-leaning magazine famed for its humanitarian reportage of the underprivileged, published a special issue entitled ‘The Love That Dares Not Speak Its Name’. The issue contains four articles on the subject of adolescent homosexuality, including an open letter from Pai called ‘Not a Sinful Son: A letter for A-qing’. As the title of the letter suggests, the article represents the novelist’s attempt to re-articulate the name of his novel, which was beginning to signify as another term for male homosexual in public discourse. Speaking as an understanding senior, Pai lends his whole-hearted support to an isolated adolescent troubled by his homosexual feelings, encouraging him to be strong in confronting the social injustice inflicted upon the homosexual. Contending that ‘homosexuals, especially homosexual adolescents, are in need of family love’, Pai urges A-qing to go back to comfort his father when he has had a chance to reflect:
The pain he [A-qing’s father] suffers over this period of time will absolutely be no less than the pain you suffer. You should try to seek his understanding and forgiveness. Maybe that will not be easy, but you must try hard, because your father’s understanding and forgiveness is tantamount to a pardon, which is extremely important to your personal growth in the future. I believe your father will eventually soften his heart and accept you because you are after all the child he used to love and the one that made him proud.\textsuperscript{17}

The reconciliation between the father and the homosexual son represents for Pai the means through which the son can rid himself of the accusation of ‘sinful’ or ‘unfilial’ (nie). Keeping with the redemptive theme spelt out on the cover of \textit{Crystal Boys}, Pai makes clear here that the family remains the ultimate means of redemption for homosexual sons.

Such a refamilialisation of the novel occurred in the journalistic discourse about the making of the film \textit{Crystal Boys} in the same year. From the day in February 1986 that a Taiwanese film company announced that it was to make a film based on Pai’s novel to its general release eight months later, \textit{Crystal Boys} aroused much publicity in the press. Casting, self-censorship and official certification were all subjects of controversy. With most established actors refusing to play homosexuals, the director Yu Kanping, whose previous films had enjoyed much commercial success, had no choice but to employ a group of young unknown actors. The only exception was award-winning actor Sun Yue, who agreed to play Chief Yang, the guru of New Park, a role which combined the original characters of Papa Fu and the Park Gardener (who befriends and accommodates A-qing when he first joins the community in New Park). Praised for his charitable acts in public life, Sun was reported to have taken up the role because he strongly identified himself with the humanitarianism conveyed by the role which was ‘by no means an ordinary kind of homosexual guru’.\textsuperscript{18}

The News Bureau, Taiwan’s media watchdog, was also nervous about the effect that such a film would have on the general public. Since there was no specific regulation prohibiting film companies from featuring homosexuality, the News Bureau instead stated that it discouraged such a subject, urging in addition that the film be as reserved as possible lest it be banned. In response to the government’s message, several writers were asked to express their views. In reply, the writer Sima Zhongyuan, making clear his distaste for homosexuality, asserts that:

\begin{quote}
The purpose of literature is to discuss the meaning of life. If the author’s identification with his/her characters is based on sincerity, compassion and care, he/she then can be said to make
\end{quote}
some contribution to society … Crystal Boys [the film] can focus on humanity. It must not take ‘the grotesque’ as the essence of literature. Otherwise it would turn out to be vulgar and base.19

Concurring with Sima, novelist Li Ang maintains that:

Pai is a reliable writer, Yu a reliable director. They would not attempt to propagate the grotesque aspect of homosexuality. On the contrary, it might turn out that they turn Crystal Boys into something educational, helping those who do not know which way to go … by making them move upwards.20

Updating the novel’s setting from the early 1970s to the mid-1980s, the film adaptation of Crystal Boys significantly simplified and revised the original narrative. Not only did it accentuate family love and its redemptive value for social outcasts but it also entirely sanitised the sleazy world of New Park so vividly represented in Pai’s novel. Given this normalisation, it is hardly surprising that the prostitution culture of New Park, on which the novel is based, is eliminated from the film.

Despite all this self-censorship, the film Crystal Boys was still, as one news report aptly put it, ‘strictly disciplined’ by the government.21 Having already been censored twice by the officials of the News Bureau, the film underwent another thorough inspection by a panel of three media scholars and eight psychologists before it was finally — and only just — certified as an adult film.22 However, despite all this controversy, the film did not do well at the box office when it went on general release in September 1986, even though the film company came up with highly sensational advertisements such as ‘[the film] opens the mysterious window of the glass clique for you, showing you the struggle between 0 and 1’.23

Thanks to the publicity around the making of the film, ‘Crystal Boys’ began to be used as a term for male homosexual in the journalistic discourse of AIDS. Take the following two titles of news reports for example:

That black street in Banqiao, paradise of the glass clique; Nine out of ten are Crystal Boys who spend their lives in sleazy rooms, eyeing one another up.24

Sinful Sons joining in the fun, playing it wild and hard; They have absolutely no idea about AIDS prevention, which is worrying.25

By the late 1980s, male homosexuals were widely known as ‘sinful sons’, as an article entitled ‘The love of Sinful Sons: Homosexual behaviour in adolescence’, published in the Shiyou [Teacher’s Friend] monthly, indicates.26 Here, the name sinful son is adopted for psychological usage, with the featured
psychiatrist Lu Rubin and sociologist Peng Huaizhen discussing the aetiology of homosexuality and its prevention.27

Meanwhile, New Park, already much vilified by the press, continued to signify the male homosexual space in tandem with, or rather, to the effect of, the cultural signification of Crystal Boys. With the connotative signifying process that I have mapped out in chapter 2, this site had, by the end of 1980s, become an ineradicable symbol in Taiwanese society for male homosexuality and AIDS: so much so that an overview of the park was used as the cover of a health booklet entitled All about AIDS published by the Health Department of the Executive Yuan in Taiwan in 1990.28

Pai’s Humanist Deployment of Prostitution

As we have seen above, the making of Crystal Boys as a male homosexual sign in Taiwan in the 1980s is inseparable from the homosexualisation of AIDS. Importantly, despite the depathologisation of homosexuality in the mid-1970s, the novel was deeply embedded within the apparatus of xingxinli or ‘sexuality’, whereby homosexuality continued to be regarded as a psychiatric defect. If Guang Tai’s The Man Who Escapes Marriage (1976) can be read as an early product of the apparatus, the making of Pai’s Crystal Boys as a homosexual sign witnesses the continual expansion of the apparatus and its regulatory regime. Yet it is significant to note that, with regard to the reception of Crystal Boys examined above, it is evident that the novel’s theme of prostitution was largely, if not entirely, ignored. If ‘the moral principle [dao] embodied in Crystal Boys’, as Pai describes in an interview,29 ‘is sympathy and compassion’, to what extent is that compassion complicit with the very social order that causes the sufferings of his characters?

When asked, in the interview cited above, whether his creation of Crystal Boys had been influenced by Western writers such as Jean Genet and Pier Paulo Pasolini, Pai said that the novel was not influenced by other literary works. However, he added that a reportage called ‘For Money or For Love’ published in the US ‘greatly inspired him’.30 The book, Pai explains, is based on a journalistic investigation of runaway boys ‘fallen into prostitution in the metropolis’. According to this book, Pai continues, these adolescents sell their bodies not only for money but also for love, as they receive paternal love from their patrons: ‘the characters in this book can be said to be a group of “sinful sons” (niezi) who get no love and forgiveness from their fathers … those boys often do not do it for money; many are in search of just a bit of love and warmth, however short-lived’.31 ‘Although this happens in America, similar
situations occurred in Taiwan as well and there are many moving stories too,’ Pai observes before offering the following personal account:

I know a kid like that myself. He is not educated, although he sings English songs very well. As a matter of fact, he does not know English at all, but he sings them in such a way as if he understood them. Very interesting! When hearing about his pitiable family background, people all feel sorry for him, and yet he himself does not think that’s a big deal. His father is an old soldier [from mainland China] and a very rude person. His mother is a native Taiwanese woman who did not receive any education. His father is very tough on him, and even threw him out of the family. Sometimes he went back secretly to visit his mother. When he bumped into his father, his father would kick him out with curse. He ran away, his father chasing him, attempting to hit him. His mother ended up trying to separate them. There are too many stories of this kind to recount. There are countless kids looking for their fathers in this world. Crystal Boys can perhaps be said to be a story of searching for fathers. The characters, after having lost a family, lost Eden, leading a destitute life outside of Paradise, fallen into prostitution. And yet they do not give up. In order to re-establish their own family, they search for fathers, search for themselves ...

Pai’s account of a book about male prostitutes in America that inspired him is significant in two aspects. First, male homosexual prostitution is placed in a discursive framework wherein immoral practice finds its moral justification: the sanctified nature of family love necessarily renders the stories of the prostitutes’ search for love ‘moving’. Here one could argue that family love constitutes, to borrow a phrase coined by Wendy Brown, a form of ‘compulsory discursivity’ which governs the condition under which the practice of male homosexual prostitution can be tolerated and forgiven. Further, Pai’s articulation of the practice of prostitution as ‘fallen’ (as well as the packaging of Crystal Boys itself, as we have seen above) should not go unquestioned, for it carries with it a moralistic overtone masked by humanist compassion. Of particular interest here is Pai’s narration of the Taiwanese ‘kid’ whose life story reminds us of the characters (such as A-qing and Little Jade) in Crystal Boys. Yet crucially, the youth with whom Pai and others deeply sympathise does not think his family background is a ‘big deal’. What needs to be called into question is Pai’s speaking-position, which enables him to sympathise and patronise. This speaking-position is not only marked by a class distinction but also, however implicit, a moral distinction based on the sage-king paradigm. In designating those prostituting themselves as ‘fallen’, in affirming the family as Eden and Paradise through which the runaway boys can be redeemed, Pai
tacitly endorses the sage-king social order that subordinates the Taiwanese youth, as well as the characters in *Crystal Boys*, in the first place. The humanistic and compassionate framework within which *Crystal Boys* has been consumed must be re-examined in light of Pai’s representation of prostitution and the related issue of class.

If one reads along with the narrative grain, the novel tells of how a group of dispossessed male adolescents ‘fall’ into prostitution and how they redeem themselves by striving to leave behind that defiled way of life. Such a redemptive reading is most clearly exemplified in the mainstream critics’ interpretation of the narrator A-qing’s transformation in the novel. Typically, it takes the sexual encounter between A-qing and his high school janitor, which leads to his expulsion from school and family, as a descent towards the debasement of prostitution. According to this redemptive reading, however, A-qing is not totally corrupted by the depraved world of prostitution. Led by the spirit of Buddy, he redeems himself gradually through the love and compassion he shows for the two young boys who resemble his deceased brother. A scene in the second half of the novel where A-qing bursts into tears when Mr. Yu, a middle-aged man of whom A-qing is very fond, reaches out to hold him in bed, is generally read as a turning point at which A-qing’s ‘greasy soul’, as critic Long Yingtai puts it, is cleansed:

Suddenly overcome by a feeling of overpowering sadness, I began to wail. The more I cried, the harder I cried, until I felt like my entire being was turning inside out. All the grief, indignities, humiliation, and injustices that had filled my heart over the past months came flooding out in one huge rush. Of all the people I’d been associated with, Mr. Yu was the most decent, the most endearing, and the easiest to get along with. But when he’d put his arm around my shoulder a moment earlier, I felt ashamed, like my body was covered with sores that I didn’t want anyone to touch. I couldn’t tell him about those dark nights in low-class hotels behind the train station, or about the filth that was left on my body by those faceless men in the foul-smelling public toilets at the China Bazaar in Westgate. I couldn’t tell him about that huge, puffy man who was hungrily feasting on my rain-soaked body in the gazebo next to the lotus pond while the typhoon was raging all around us. What was tugging on my heart at that moment was the thought of that dark urn sitting on the table in our shabby, mildewed living room, filled with the sin-infested ashes of my mother. Mr. Yu never stopped patting my back to comfort me, but my crying grew more and more violent.

After this cathartic experience, A-qing wanders into a lotus pond in a garden, a playground where he and Buddy grew up. With the imagery of lotus connoting moral purity and with the garden construed as Eden,
A-qing’s soul is shown to triumph over his sinful flesh: he is, by the end of this novel, redeemed.

This kind of redemptive reading has been forcefully challenged by Jonathan Te-hsuan Yeh, who argues succinctly that such reading is both teleological and heterosexist in that it takes the family and its value as the ‘transcendental signified’: ‘any signifier [in the novel] that does not point to “the sublimation of desire” cannot be signified’.37 He especially points out a central paradox in Long’s reading of the novel, whose elaboration of the redemption theme is predicated precisely upon her disavowal of the novel’s homosexual theme.38 To show that homosexual desire is precisely what is at issue in the articulation of the conflicts between father and son, soul and flesh, Yeh cites the cathartic scene as evidence and reads the rhetorical articulation of A-qing’s sexual shame as, following Lee Edelman, ‘homographesis’:

That homosexual desire is shameful for A-qing — so much so that he should employ the metaphors [such as ‘sores’ and ‘filth’] to inscribe masochistically the shame on his body — is not because shame constitutes the essence of homosexual desire. Rather, homosexual desire acquires its negative meaning because it is repudiated by family and society ... Strictly speaking, it is true to say that A-qing is preoccupied with his parents and brother, and yet his homosexual desire is also what ‘troubles’ him. The former is read by the interpreter, even by the author/narrator as ‘soul’ that is centripetal while the latter as ‘flesh’ is centrifugal. It is the tension between these two forces that makes the narrator A-qing uncertain as to what to do.39

I would like to supplement this insightful reading by further specifying the nature of that sexual shame, for it does not merely pertain to the negative meaning of homosexual desire in Taiwanese society: it is specifically related to A-qing’s practice of prostitution. Most significantly, it is configured through A-qing’s identification with his unvirtuous mother.40

A-qing’s mother elopes when A-qing is eight so the young A-qing was never loved by her. Indeed, he feels only fear for her because she is convinced, after his breech birth, that he ‘was retribution for her sins in the past life’.41 As Buddy is her favoured child, A-qing does not feel sorry at her departure. In fact, his relationship with her is so distant that he is even embarrassed by the idea of paying her a visit to tell her about Buddy’s death. When A-qing finally visits his dying mother, he reveals to her that he has left home too:

‘Really?’ she mumbled, looking up at me, her hand still resting on mine. In that moment it dawned on me that Mother and I were a lot alike in many ways. She’d spent most of her life running away,
roaming, searching, only to wind up battered and broken in this bed under a mountain of sweat-soaked bedding and a filthy mosquito net, her body invaded by disease, just waiting to die. And me, I'm part of that same sinful flesh that has seen so much evil. I've followed in her footsteps, always running away, roaming, searching. At the moment I felt very close to my mother.42

It is important to stress that A-qing only comes to identify with his mother when he suddenly realises how much they have in common as outcasts of the family. No sooner does this realisation dawn on him than it gives rise to a strong emotional bond with her, an intimacy that A-qing never experienced as a child.

It is also highly significant that Mr. Yu is the only person in the novel to whom A-qing partially discloses his past and family background. (The reader learns about A-qing’s ‘tragic’ upbringing early on in the novel from the narrator himself, and while his best mates confide in him about their ‘broken’ family backgrounds, A-qing remains very discreet about this sensitive issue.) Shortly before the cathartic scene, A-qing told Mr. Yu about ‘the shabby house’ he lived in, how his ‘mother and Buddy had died’ and the ‘tormented life’ of his disgraced veteran father.43 And yet, there are things that remain unspeakable for A-qing. He cannot bring himself to tell Mr. Yu about his prostitution activities, nor about the ravaged ashes of his mother’s sexual sins with which he painfully identifies. It is highly significant that this particular sense of sexual shame ‘floods into’ A-qing, to borrow a phrase used by Eve Sedgwick in her formulation of shame in relation to queer performativity,44 at the precise moment when the most ‘decent’ (perhaps most normal) male homosexual character in the novel makes a move to have sex with him, and that this particular sense of sexual shame is induced in what appears to be a non-transactional situation where sexual intimacy is about to take place. The unspeakable represents for A-qing the excruciating self-recognition of his difference from Mr. Yu as a prostitute and the child of his mother’s sinful flesh wasted by syphilis. A-qing’s sense of self is made and interrupted simultaneously at that ‘disruptive’ moment when the sense of sexual shame attached to the stigma of prostitution ‘floods into’ him. Significantly, if we take shame as ‘a form of communication’ which ‘derives from and aims towards sociability’,45 ‘a named identity, a script for interpreting other people’s behaviour toward oneself’,46 then it is politically imperative to interrogate the operations of the social forces that constitute ‘all the grief, indignities, humiliation, and injustices’ that A-qing has experienced as a prostitute.47

Here one can explicate that particular sense of homosexual shame as figured through A-qing’s identification with his unvirtuous mother, that is,
through his citing and assuming what Ding Naifei has historicised as the discursive positionality of base femininity constituted in the Chinese socio-symbolic.\footnote{48} In the novel, A-qing’s mother’s life trajectory is characterised precisely by the coupling of sex and domestic work. After escaping from her abusive foster family, she makes her living by firstly working as a hostess in a ‘low-class’ tearoom. After her licentious behaviour earned her a bad name during her first employment, she then turns into a maidservant before marrying A-qing’s father. As a housewife, she is constantly ‘buried by mounds of dirty laundry’, ‘the never-ending pile of dirty bedding and clothes she took in to earn extra money’.\footnote{49} Having eloped, she then becomes an erotic dancer before ending up dying of syphilis in a squalid slum. Of particular significance here is the identity of A-qing’s mother, that of ‘foster daughter’ (yangnu), a figure engendered within the context of agrarian society in Taiwan during the first half of the twentieth century when the custom of ‘minor marriage’ was prevalent. Under this patrilineal custom, young daughters were given/sold to other families as ‘small-daughters-in-law’ (simpua) in the guise of adoption and were in some cases resold as bondmaids (zabogan) or prostitutes: ‘baseness prescribes their employment and condones their abuse in the families’.\footnote{50}

The base femininity that A-qing’s mother assumes can be further understood within the normative context of ‘virtuous custom’, as analysed in chapter 3, wherein ‘foster daughters’ were constructed by the Kuomintang government during the 1950s and 1960s as a particular class of women that made up most of the imagined prostitute population. Accordingly, protecting the ill-fated ‘foster daughters’ from ‘falling’ into prostitution became part of the state’s campaigns to eliminate prostitution. For example, apart from the setting up of the ‘Protection of Foster Daughters Campaign Committee’ in 1951, the KMT government also promulgated, in conjunction with the implementation of licensed prostitution in 1956, ‘the Procedures for Improving the Current Foster Daughter Custom in Taiwan’, which assigned local police to see to the well-being of foster daughters, primarily to prevent abuse, trafficking and forced prostitution.\footnote{51} It is of particular interest to note that during its most active period in the 1950s, on the anniversary of its founding, the committee staged an annual group wedding ceremony for those rescued foster daughters to mark its achievement.\footnote{52} This ritual, mediated through the state-controlled press, served as a spectacular cover-up for an otherwise poorly resourced and executed campaign that in actual fact reached less than 0.4% of the very population that it purported to help out,\footnote{53} but its ideological message was clear: marriage was paramount and women’s sexuality must be sanctioned by the state.
In one sense then, the agential subjectivity accorded to A-qing’s unvirtuous mother falls squarely within the cultural script of ‘foster daughter’, who is predestined to inhabit a sexually debased womanhood, if not ‘successfully’ redeemed through marriage:\(^5\) ‘What difference does it make if a woman like me lives or not?’ A-qing’s mother is heard murmuring as she ponders her imminent death.\(^5\) Her fatalism can and must be read as an abiding sense of gendered sexual shame with which a base woman like her must live or even die. To read A-qing’s transformation as a tale of redemption, then, is to condone the violence that the narrative grain exerts in punishing ‘fallen’ women like A-qing’s mother and ‘in symbolically blaming the bad mother for the son’s ill-fatedness’.\(^6\)

**Naming the Homosexual Oppression**

Within the above context, I turn now to consider how sexual shame pertaining to male homosexual prostitution is produced in the novel.\(^7\) The major insidious social force in constituting sexual shame, stigma and oppression of prostitutes making their living in New Park is undoubtedly the state power exercised by the police. The social space that with others — other prostitutes, pimps, and punters — A-qing has come to identify as ‘our kingdom’ is a territory defined less by its size than by police surveillance. It is this danger of potential arrest, which could bring shame upon the family, that drives some members of the kingdom who belong, as A-qing sees it, to a group of ‘college students of respectable families’,\(^8\) to hide ‘like bashful schoolkids’\(^9\) in the grove of trees in the park. Hence, it is the prostitutes who bear the brunt of state violence as it is they, not the college students of respectable families, who are arrested at the end of the first part of the novel.

In the police station, the hustlers are interrogated by a police officer with a ‘square dark and leathery’ face\(^6\) like that of ‘Baogong’,\(^10\) a judge famed for his rectitude in ancient Chinese folk legend. Although the boys are charged with ‘loitering’, the police officer suspects prostitution: ‘“Tell me,” the police officer interrogated Mousy, “were you engaged in immoral behaviour? … Do you sell your body in the park? How much do you get a trick?”’ When it comes to Wu Min’s turn,

The police officer looked him up and down, then came straight to the point:
‘You’re better looking than him [Mousy], so you must come more expensive, eh?’ Wu Min lowered his head and said nothing.
‘Are you no. 0?’ he asked Wu Min with a somewhat inquisitive tone.\(^6\)
The two guards snickered. Wu Min, whose face turned beet-red, dropped his head even lower.\(^6\)
As I have shown in chapter 2, the language of ‘0’ and ‘1’ signifies ideogrammatically the sodomitical act within a masculinist economy whereby the former, which represents the anus, is configured as the displaced vagina which is the receptive orifice of the latter, which represents the penis. Thus, the male homosexual prostitutes numbered as 0 are construed to be taken as women in coitus *a tergo*. The question ‘Are you no. 0?’, raised in ‘a somewhat inquisitive tone’ which causes the snickering of the other policemen, is less a question than an act of interpellation, one that is not only homophobic but misogynist as it is implicitly saying ‘what are you, a woman?’

Assuming the sage-king position, the contemporary *Baogong* winds up his interrogation with a lecture:

> The whole lot of you, young as you are, have no self-respect and no drive to better yourselves ... Instead you get involved in cheap, shameful activities! How would your parents and your teachers, who worked so hard to educate you, feel if they knew what you were doing? Sad? Pained? You’re society’s garbage, the dregs of humanity, and it our responsibility to rid society of you, to put you away ...

The purpose of this admonition is, of course, to induce a sense of shame in these prostitutes. If one situates this scene of police interrogation in contemporary Taiwanese culture, the institutional law in operation here is none other than the Police Offence Law. As I have demonstrated in chapter 3, this particular law, which outlawed prostitution, had its own economy of justice predicated upon the sage-king moral paradigm that requires the forcible production of shame and its operation in upholding the given patriarchal sexual order.

Following their release from the police station, A-qing and his mates’ lives undergo a significant change in the second half of the novel as they cease prostitution and begin to work in The Cozy Nest, a newly open gay bar run by their backer, New Park guru Chief Yang. However, their stable life in this new environment does not last very long as the exposure of the bar by a tabloid journalist eventually brings about its closure. Interestingly, while the bar appears to be a decent place that offers those college students born into respectable families a space to ‘seek a bit of romance’, it is nevertheless represented by the tabloid news report as sleazy.

‘The watering hole of male beauty (*nanse*)’, as the report puts it, is a den inhabited by *renyao*. It is a world of a different kind, not the utopia of ‘Peach Blossom Spring’ as known in traditional Chinese literary convention, but a ‘heterotopia’, to borrow a term coined by Foucault, where sexual services are provided for those who come to ‘share peach’ (*fentao*), a classical Chinese expression for male-to-male genital relations. These ‘pretty-faced, scarlet-lipped, giggling’ *renyao* can never betray their fine countenances by being...
slightly coarse or gruff. Here, homospectralisation operates a process of ‘emasculating’, which is also, by the same token, that of ‘effeminating’, insofar as gender can only be configured as the exclusive binary bind within the sex/gender system that sustains the ‘monopoly’ of the heterosexual economy. The Cozy Nest represents for the male journalist the uninhabitable zone populated by the neither-man-nor-woman abjects, constituting, as Judith Butler observes in her theorisation of the normative production of the gendered subject, the ‘site of dreaded identification against which — and by virtue of which — the domain of the subject will circumscribe its own claim to autonomy and to life’. Fearing to become one of ‘them’ and lose his privileged entitlement to ‘humanity’, the male journalist has no choice but to make a hasty exit.

No sooner has The Cozy Nest been exposed than the bar is invaded by a group of straight men and women who come to watch the spectacle of renyao. Here Pai deploys a typographical design to demonstrate the searching gaze of the heterosexuals:

Where?
Where?
Which one?

Those two over there?
Didn’t the article say there were lots? ...

In the midst of the raucous laughter a constant refrain echoed through the misty amber-coloured basement, from one corner to the other, and back again.

renyao
renyao
renyao
renyao
renyao

As Little Jade and I worked behind the bar, our every move was followed by pairs of laughing eyes. We are scrutinised from head to toe and back up, inch by inch, until they rested on our faces ... All the abuse appears to be directed at Wu Min, who was suffering one indignity after another at the hands of the flippant young men. One of them blocked his way. ‘Glass’ (boli), he shouted. ‘Rabbit’ (tu-er), another one rubbed Wu Min’s head.

What are we to make of the forces unleashed by all these epithets — ‘renyao’, ‘boli’, ‘tu-er’ — for male prostitutes, ones by which A-qing and his mates are interpellated as subordinated social beings? Here Butler’s formulation of the term ‘queer’ as a performative is particularly relevant in helping us understand this scene of injury/oppresion:
The term ‘queer’ has operated as one linguistic practice whose purpose has been the shaming of the subject it names, or rather, the producing of a subject through that shaming interpellation. ‘Queer’ derives its force precisely through the repeated invocation by which it has become linked to accusation, pathologisation, insult. This is an invocation by which a social bond among homophobic communities is formed through time. The interpellation echoes past interpellations, and binds the speakers, as if they spoke in unison across time. In this sense, it is always an imaginary chorus that taunts ‘queer!’

Pai’s typographical design can thus be read as the visualisation of the derogatory term renyao as it widens its injurious address, in a circular movement, through repetition. Significantly, for Butler, the linguistic force unleashed by the shaming interpellation which subjectivates is derived not so much from the intention of the speaking subject as from the act of him or her citing an established social convention, a convention that is, of course, not a given but the product of the workings of power relations. Moreover, because a convention can only establish itself as such by virtue of its citation, the act of seeking recourse to the convention is always a reiterative practice whose operations over time give interpellation, construed as speech act, a temporal dimension. Thus, in analysing the injurious force wielded by hate speech, Butler explains:

Clearly, injurious names have a history, one that is invoked and reconsolidated at the moment of utterance, but not explicitly told. This is not simply a history of how they have been used, in what contexts and for what purposes; it is the way such histories are installed and arrested in and by the name. The name has, thus, a historicity, what might be understood as the history which has become internal to the name, has come to constitute the contemporary meaning of a name: the sedimentation of its usages as they have become part of the very name, a sedimentation, a repetition that congeals, that gives the name its force.

I would like to evoke one particular context of what can be seen as imbricated in the sedimentary process that gives rise to the historicity of the male homosexual epithets in Taiwanese culture. The context concerns the history of the gay bar in Taiwan as told by the legendary Ta-K, who ran many gay bars, including the very first one in Taiwan between the 1970s and 1980s.

At that time [in the late 1960s], I stayed two more years in Taipei and gradually got to know many other people like me … We often would find time to get together. We had also been to those tearooms in the
Three-River Street. But we did not like them at all and we looked down on them as those who ‘prostituted’ themselves looking like hussies (yaoli yaoqi)! Although we also cross-dressed, I taught my ‘daughters’ [his ‘girls’!] that they must behave like ladies, like unmarried girls of respectable families (dajia guixiu). Most important of all, ‘prostitution’ was absolutely forbidden. Our group eventually became larger and larger. You could not talk about this sort of thing in public, you know. Two guys I know of once got beaten up, and called ‘renyao’ and ‘rabbit’, because they got so carried away with themselves as to openly talk about their love-affair in a restaurant. That was what got me into running the bar business in the first place.79

Legally licensed, Ta-K’s unconventional leisure business managed to steer away from undue attention until 1978 when the police, acting on a tip-off, raided two of his premises on suspicion of sleaze:

The cross-dressing stuff we did was mainly to attract business at the time. Putting on make-up was just for fun and showing-off as we sang and danced. It had absolutely nothing to do with the ‘renyao’ business in which prostitution was involved. But once we were in the newspapers, it got totally twisted and sensationalised. We were called all the names imaginable like ‘pervert’ (biantai), ‘rabbit’, ‘renyao’. The situation was so precarious and had it got out of control, all of us could have been banged up for days ...80

Crucially, Ta-K’s recollection makes clear the equation of male homosexuality with prostitution in Taiwanese society and the misrepresentation imposed on him and his peers. While two guys talking about their love affair were beaten up for being taken as prostitutes, Ta-K’s bars came to be represented as sleaze, despite his insistence on demarcating his enterprise from the renyao-prostitution business. And despite his disdain for the hussy-like male prostitutes, Ta-K is still hailed with ‘all the names imaginable’, thus enjoined to assume a subject-position that bears the double sexual stigma of the pathological (perversion) and the immoral (prostitution). Of particular significance in Ta-K’s encoded memory is that ‘gay bar’ as a new social space came into existence by defining its boundary against the establishment of the ‘tearoom’ prostitution culture of Three-River Street, where renyao plying their trade. Also important to underline is the stratification of sexual behaviour at work here, with ‘renyao’ and ‘rabbit’ being despised for the commercial sexual activities in which they engage. Further, this sexual stratification is configured through, and indeed isomorphic with, the normative distinction between women of good character and prostitute-like hussies.81 The ‘respectable’ male homosexual subjectivity engendered within the context of the emerging
gay bar culture in 1970s Taiwan can thus be seen as predicated upon the repudiation of base femininity, through which, as I have argued above, the homosexual shame in *Crystal Boys* is configured.

The scene of shaming interpellation can thus be re-read as representing precisely the subjection and subjugation of male prostitutes within such a sage-king state culture. Further, to the extent that the boys’ involvement with The Cozy Nest enterprise has been widely read within the redemptive framework as the turning point whereby they better themselves by quitting prostitution, it must be re-read as marking out that indelible sense of homosexual shame linked to prostitution, one that has become structural to the new homosexual hierarchy formed within the sage-king moral-sexual order where the boys are now elevated to occupy the respectable subject-position. Again, to read along with the narrative grain is to be complicit with the state violence on sex workers, who continue to make their living in Three River Street, either in the fictional imaginaries (as in *Crystal Boys*) or in real life.

Significantly, the shaming forces produce at the same time a space that the boys come to identify as ‘ours’: their community in New Park, their involvement with the venture of The Cozy Nest. Insofar as this non-familial space is policed by the nation-state in its defence of family values, this particular space of ‘ours’, formed discursively in ‘the habitation/nation system’ — to use a phrase formulated by Sedgwick — in contemporary Taiwanese society, could perhaps be called, in a resistant re-appropriation of the term, the state of sleaze. Despite its being the constitutive outside, by which the normative heterosexual society is founded, the state of sleaze provides a place of ‘ours’ where outcasts find mutual support, friendship and the emotional sustenance denied to them by their families as well as the commercial opportunities vital to their survival. It is undoubtedly this state of sleaze, however shamed and stigmatised, that makes it possible for Little Jade, as Jonathan Te-hsuan Yeh has shown in his analysis of Little Jade’s ‘*renyao* song’ (composed in the aftermath of the traumatic scene described previously), to turn the epithet into comic relief. It is this altruistic community, as well, where little, but precious, resources, offered by the kind-hearted cardiologist Dr. Shi for the underprivileged members (such as check-ups, free antibiotics and health education) enable the destitute teens to look after their sexual health. In this regard, A-qing is so much luckier than his mother. A woman of base gender and class, she was not able to find a space and community of her own outside marriage, and was destined, as the narrative has it, to die an ugly death in a hypocritical society.
Tongzhi: Children of Respectable Families?

At the end of the novel, a group of homosexuals, referred to by the narrator as ‘pampered college students born into respectable families’, emerges from the bushes where they used to hide like bashful kids, into the open, prefiguring, as it were, the emergence of a new form of homosexual subjectivity in the public domain in Taiwan. Indeed, one of the most prominent features in the rise of tongzhi movement in the 1990s is that it is led largely, if not exclusively, by the educated class of university students. In 1994, Taiwan’s first officially recognised gay university student group, the Society for the Study of Male Homosexuality of National Taiwan University, also known as Gay Chat, published The United States of Homosexuality/Homosexuals, a book which claims to be ‘the first reportage about the history and culture of male homosexuality in Taiwan’. In the preface, entitled ‘The New Voice of Tongzhi’, the book sets out to position itself as a work of cultural observation of Taiwanese society written and published by homosexuals and for homosexuals themselves, aiming to challenge the many contemporaneous representations which ‘reinforce the stereotype of homosexuals as promiscuous’. Significantly, the preface makes specific reference to Crystal Boys, asserting that ‘the Dark Kingdom depicted by Pai Hsien-yung has become the past and the new era will dawn soon’. Thus, the book’s title can be seen as an attempt to re-articulate the imagined community portrayed in Crystal Boys.

The book contains twenty articles by the members of the society, on subjects such as gay history (a chronology that begins with Sappho in 580 B.C., through the Stonewall Riot in New York in 1969, to the emergence of tongzhi groups in 1990s Taiwan), introductions to gay publications, gay and lesbian groups in Taiwan, and analyses of the misrepresentations and stereotypes of the male homosexual in the media (such as ‘AIDS is a gay disease’). Of particular interest and significance is the article that shares the title of the book, The United States of Homosexuality/Homosexuals: The Republic(s) of Tongzhi. ‘In Taiwan’, author Ma Lu contends, ‘there is a need to found a nation of/for the homosexuals’ in order to resist the heterosexual hegemony. The homosexual nation as imagined here consists of twenty-one republics, classified in accordance with spaces inhabited by gays and lesbians, publications, social groups, professions and sexual practices, with a brief account of characteristics and history given to each republic. Yet even though a mode of sexual practice is deployed in the imagining of a republic like ‘the Republic of SM’, and even though the category of profession is employed in the imagining of a republic like ‘the Republic of the Entertainment Business’, there is no such thing in Ma’s imaginary as ‘the Republic of Prostitution’. Indeed, with respect to ‘the
Republic of New Park’, Ma especially notes that this republic is perhaps the best known because of *Crystal Boys*. Observing how the park has always been associated with sleaze in the public imagination, Ma argues that it may be true, as there are indeed some people who go there looking for sexual encounters. However, ‘if one takes out that like-minded small group of people’, Ma adds, ‘New Park is nothing but a place where people come to meet new friends and socialise, as it is the only public space in Taiwan for homosexuals’.94 With its long history and fame, Ma writes, ‘the Republic of New Park … sheltered the young birds in the 1970s; it, too, fulfils the hearts of the new generation in the 1990s’.95 Crucially, the homosexual nation imagined here takes Pai’s depiction of the Dark Kingdom of the 1970s New Park in his novel as a reference point from which to project a new homosexual community of comrades that is no longer shadowy and oppressed. Yet this ‘United States of Homosexuality/Homosexuals’ excludes one particular resistance to the given heteronormative culture, that is, prostitution. This exclusion is perhaps not unintentional, given that the book purports to counter the cultural stereotyping of the male homosexual as promiscuous, a stereotype that can be attributed to the ‘whorification’ of the glass clique that I have shown in chapter 2. Thus, the sexual norm maintained through the policing of prostitution continues to operate in this imaginary of the *tongzhi* nation.

Further, as Ma welcomes other new republics to join the United States of Homosexuality/Homosexuals and proclaims that ‘everyone is equal’, he notes:

> Basically, all the members of these republics are brought up by heterosexual or latent homosexual parents. Hence, it is unavoidable that they might be cultivated with the habitus [of the heterosexuals], that they cannot help but see things from the perspective of their fathers and elder brothers. This is like what happened to the American immigrants in the eighteenth century. They kept maintaining their British habits [in the new continent], and it took them two hundred years to gradually develop their own lifestyle. However/in the meantime, we are also trying very hard to do [get rid of it], aren’t we?96

The ‘we’ enunciated here is marked by its educated class background. Historically speaking, it is the educated class formed in postwar Taiwan over which the sage-king government had the most direct control.97 Ma is indeed ‘cultivated with the habitus’ of sage-king moral thought. Long before the university elites spoke out for gay rights, since at least the 1960s, as previous chapters demonstrate, a culture of male homosexual prostitution existed in urban Taipei. Read in this light, Ma’s allusion to the American immigrants’
decolonising experience takes on a different hue. After all, the American immigrants were not the colonised. On the contrary, they expelled the native inhabitants from their homelands. Similarly, the tongzhi subjects’ New World is an old one already inhabited by renyao, ‘rabbits’ and the ‘glass clique’. Trying as they do to free themselves from ‘the straight mind’, these tongzhi impose their middle-class standards on homosexual prostitutes.

Two years after the publication of The United States of Homosexuality/Homosexuals, Pai’s Crystal Boys was further resignified and indeed politicised. In 1996, under the banner of tongzhi, a coalition of lesbian and gay activist groups from various universities and colleges called ‘Tongzhi Space Action Network’ (TSAN) was formed to contest the Taipei City government’s new urban planning proposal, under which New Park was to be ‘re-oriented’, made more ‘family friendly’ and accessible to ‘the general public’. In the wake of tongzhi activism, more symbolic meanings were accrued to Crystal Boys as the newly formed TSAN employed the novel to stake their claim over New Park in their assertion of tongzhi citizenship, a historical moment which I examine in the Introduction. I now want to turn to look at TSAN’s interventions, drawing specific attention to the question of identity politics raised therein and the discursive limits of such politics as articulated by the prominent feminist theorist Chang Hsiao-hung, who is arguably the most influential critic, according to Antonia Yenning Chao, in shaping the emergent field of tongzhi studies in 1990s Taiwan. Chang’s discursive practices interest me especially, not merely because of the importance of her work, but because her understanding of tongzhi subjectivity is deeply implicated within the terrains of both gender studies and the women’s movement. My purpose here is to use Chang’s case to map out a milieu wherein sexual and gender politics is played out in a mutually constitutive yet irreducible way, a context in which the imaginary of tongzhi nation as configured through Crystal Boys must be situated.

Politics of Ambiguity and Its Discursive Limits

TSAN held a series of events under the banner of ‘Researching for the New Culture in New Park’ between January and February 1996. The first event was the ‘Top Ten Tongzhi Valentines’, which invited nation-wide tongzhi to vote for their idols (such as film/pop stars, politicians, etc.), while the second was a garden party in New Park. This carnival-like occasion, held deliberately in broad daylight, appeared to signal that the tongzhi had left the sorrowful past by ‘coming out collectively’ to celebrate their new subjectivity. Significantly, this ‘coming-out collectively’ (jiti xianshen), namely, appearing in public either
under the sign of tongzhi in a crowd with pro-gay straight liberals or wearing masks, was a strategy designed by tongzhi activists to extend gay visibility while protecting individuals from being framed by the supposedly voyeuristic mass media. Both events received wide and even positive media coverage.

In her essay ‘Queer politics of desire’, Chang Hsiao-hung lauds the valentine vote event as a ‘beautiful and successful cultural intervention’, seeing it as ‘the coming-out of queer desire’. She asks a highly significant question, that is, given the notoriety of New Park as the cesspool of gay sex, why did TSAN, in their very first attempt to reclaim New Park, choose to hold an event like ‘Top Ten Tongzhi Valentines’ rather than ‘debating head-on the justifiability of “homosexuality” and “public sex”? Chang suggests that this strategic displacement be understood in a specific local media context, where homosexuality was predominantly represented through two polarised figures, as either the promiscuous homosexual or, more recently, as the desexualised human rights fighter. Given this representational predicament, TSAN chose instead, Chang argues, to employ the idol voting event to create a wider ‘space of desire’ within the discursive terrain in/through which to ‘bring out’ tongzhi/queer desire. Chang further elaborates this strategic move as follows:

This strategy adopts the ‘universalising’ view of desire but speaks from an anti-discriminational, anti-oppressive ‘minoritising’ position … Queer activists’ intervention in the Capital’s Nucleus Project aims not only to preserve the queer space of New Park, but also to preserve the space of a collective memory of queer desire. It takes New Park as a site of desire that expands as it flows, and wherever the flows of desire go is turned into New Park.

The voting result shows cross-gender identification (gay men identifying with female vocalists; lesbians idolising male film stars) as the manifestation of queer desire whose ‘flows’, in Chang’s rendition, ‘are not confined by any boundary’ and which ‘repudiates any binarism’ (such as that of the exclusionary relations between desire and identification, being and becoming as figured in the orthodox psychoanalytic account). Chang further designates the ambiguity rendered by the instability and fluidity of desire as that which constitutes tongzhi identity politics: ‘wherever desire flows, tongzhi’s desire will be there; the revolutionary seduction of the politics of desire is always so ambiguous (aimei) and beautiful’. For example, the ‘collective coming-out’ strategy is figured through the trope of ambiguity:

In Taiwan, where the family/kinship structure is compact and personal space is extremely limited, the Western style of coming out
individually has not up to this point been favoured by the tongzhi movement. ‘Collective coming-out’, on the contrary, not only fulfils tongzhi’s desire to represent their subjectivity, but also retains properly the ambiguity of not immediately taking the seats already reserved for lesbians and gays. Although this may raise doubts — it could be anyone and it could be no one — for the outsiders, the insiders, however, are those who are in the know.107

Of particular significance is that Chang notes especially two concurrent movement contexts that conditioned such politics of ambiguity. While the sexual emancipation movement, spearheaded by the then newly founded Centre for the Study of Sexualities (coordinated by the sex radical scholar Josephine Chuen-juei Ho) at National Central University, acted as a friendly ally for the tongzhi movement, it was the women’s movement, in Chang’s view, that created an ‘ambiguous space for manoeuvring’ for the lesbian-led TSAN: unlike their male comrades, the lesbian TSAN members could operate ambiguously under the sign of feminist identity in public as and when necessary.108

I would like to problematise Chang’s figuration of ‘bringing out queer desire’ and ‘collective coming-out’. Firstly, by formulating tongzhi identity politics in terms of the labile flow of desire, which engenders nothing but ambiguity, Chang appears to overlook the power relations by which desire is constructed and constrained in contemporary Taiwanese society. Such a dehistoricising tendency can be further evinced in an instance where Chang came out as ‘heterosexual at present’ in a national newspaper article. There Chang set out to introduce the emergent Taiwan tongzhi culture to the ‘general’ readers, thus forging precisely the discursive space of desire through which to construct tongzhi subjectivity. When replying to a reader inquisitive about her sexual orientation, Chang explained how her encounter with Anglo-American queer theory had led her to ‘rediscover’ herself as a feminist, further formulating her ‘current’ heterosexual identity as follows:

Many years ago, the lesbian poet I admire [alluding perhaps to the American writer Adrienne Rich] was still in a heterosexual marriage rearing children; many years later, the gay theorist I worship [alluding perhaps to the British literary critic Jonathan Dollimore], it turns out, made up his mind to get married and to have children. After glimpsing the transience of the labile flow of desire, my ‘status quo’ [as a heterosexual woman] may perhaps be a self-recognition that is the most conservative and yet most radical at the same time.109

In citing these Euro-American critics’ changes of sexual practices as the exemplary modality of the ‘transience of the labile flow of desire’ to account
for her ‘present’ heterosexual identity (implying that it is yet to change), Chang appears to render desire as something ahistorical: in effacing her particularity as a Taiwanese woman intellectual, she inadvertently naturalises the historical constitution of (her present) heterosexuality. As I have shown in chapter 3, the construction of female sexuality in Taiwan has its cultural specificity and female desires, far from being labile and fluid, have been strictly regulated within the sage-king Taiwan state culture through the regulation of prostitution.

My second point concerns the feminist identity that serves as an ‘ambiguous space for manoeuvring’. My question is: what sort of female sexual agency is presumed in enabling that particular feminist subject-hood and to what extent does this imaging conform to the given gendered sexual norm, such that lesbians and even gays could come out collectively under the auspices of feminism? Here, it is instructive to examine another article by Chang. In an article entitled ‘Seeing each other through the tension’, published in a ‘Women-Identified Women’ special issue of the now defunct feminist magazine *Awakening*, Chang addresses the entanglement between the lesbian and women’s movements — a tension that surfaced in the mid-1990s as the lesbian members of the women’s movement sought to challenge the movement’s heterosexual agenda — by offering a highly self-reflexive account of her own anxiety as a heterosexual feminist ‘speaking for’ gay people and ‘appropriating’ queer theory under the banner of ‘gender theory’ in the university classroom. With regard to the latter in particular, such anxiety is partially resolved (if not overcome) as she decides to take a strategic anti-essentialist stance while implicitly acknowledging some kind of link between women studies and queer studies (even though the latter is still in the end subsumed by the former). Committed politically to empowering gay people through representation and appropriation, Chang admits that while she is adamant about her feminist contentions, she hesitates to take on ‘tongzhi’ as another kind of political identity because of her theoretical doubts over the endless fragmentation of sexual identity politics as well as its essentialising/exclusionary tendency. Importantly, Chang ends her article by reminding her reader that if ‘seeing each other through the tension’ is not just an ‘inevitable and easy’ theoretical reminder, then it must be ‘situated in actual points of confrontation’ for it to effect a ‘political’ and ‘materialist’ analysis: ‘seeing each other does not merely aim to get rid of blind spots; once inaugurated, it is a non-stop process that enables seeing each other more critically’.

Given this political/theoretical context, a point of confrontation can perhaps be analysed here to illustrate the dialectical process where the politics of gender and sexuality intersect in feminist praxes and where the question of
‘respectability’ is at stake. This instance took place within the context of the female sexuality debate sparked by the publication of Josephine Chuen-juei Ho’s highly controversial *The Gallant Woman: Feminism and Sexual Liberation* in 1994. Passionately urging Taiwanese women to act ‘gallantly’ in search of sexual pleasure and to free themselves from the shackles of patriarchal repression, Ho’s book prompted not only a moral backlash from the mainstream media but also attracted heavy criticism from within the women’s movement itself. To distinguish themselves from Ho’s call for sexual liberation of women and other sexual minorities, some feminists, including Chang herself, proposed the position of upholding ‘erotic autonomy’ (*qingyu zizhu*), a position which is most aptly entailed by Chang’s rendition: ‘women want neither the Monument of Chastity (*zhenjie paifang*) nor sexual liberation ... what women want is a very wide feminine space “where one can maintain bodily autonomy”’. Curiously then, when it comes to the question of feminist sexual practice, desire, for Chang, suddenly ceases to be ‘fluid and labile’ and appears indeed not to be ‘queer’ at all. To the extent that desire is in this instance unambiguously avowed as conditioned and to the extent that this ‘very wide feminine space’ is foreclosed upon the promiscuous, the constraining force by which this feminist imaginary is materialised appears to emanate not from the radical sexual politics Chang seems to espouse elsewhere but from the Taiwan sage-king anti-prostitution culture. Thus, when juxtaposing this feminist imaginary with Chang’s formulation of New Park as the site of flowing desire, one discerns that the production of *tongzhi* agential subjectivity through the politics of ambiguity fails to address the power relations that produce the sexual stigma attached to New Park. For if it is this ‘very wide feminine space’ that provides the ‘ambiguous space for manoeuvring’ for collective coming-out, then *tongzhi*’s anonymity in public appears to be assured by their collective association with the respectable femininity produced in the given state culture. In other words, the collective coming-out praxis as articulated by Chang paradoxically de-individualises *tongzhi* as it normalises the latter through respectable femininity and in effect displaces that historical sense of sexual shame represented in *Crystal Boys*.

The above analysis by no means intends to lessen TSAN’s important contribution to the *tongzhi* movement, nor is it meant to devalue Chang’s sustained political commitment to gender and sexual justice. Rather, it simply purports to bring into relief the normative constraints that condition the sexual practices of all gendered subjects in Taiwan and the normative condition in question here is precisely the Taiwan sage-king anti-prostitution state culture. Crucially, the political imperative to challenge this moral regime is made all the more urgent as it has become even more hegemonic due
to the rise of anti-prostitution state feminism. State feminists and the then nascent women NGOs succeeded in lobbying parliament in 1995 to pass ‘the Law to Suppress Sexual Transaction Involving Children and Juveniles’, the operation of which in recent years has turned into what Josephine Chuen-juei Ho has called an ‘intricate web of social discipline’, through which teenage sexuality and especially cyber sex have become increasingly regulated.\textsuperscript{115} That the regime of sexual control has been tightened up under that particular law is clear. Had the police raid of the Golden Peacock Restaurant occurred today, those teenage boys working as hosts would be sent to reform school for two years while their employer would be even more harshly penalised.\textsuperscript{116} Meanwhile, despite their avowal to eliminate the sexual difference between women, state feminists have come to encompass the ‘woman-of-respectable-family’ subject-position that is historically constituted under the sage-king sexual-moral order. In their claim to represent ‘all’ women, and in identifying with the patriarchal civility ordained by the ‘sage-king’, the state feminists, or the ‘sage-queens’ as I call them in chapter 3, have envisioned a new sexual order free of commercial sex by imposing the norm of respectable femininity on women inhabiting erotic cultures outside the domain of the family. Indeed, if anything, the machinery that forcibly produces the sense of sexual shame and its linkage to the stigma of prostitution has also become more powerful as every citizen of the nation, as Liu Jen-peng and Ding Naifei have observed, is being compelled to become ‘woman of respectable family’ under the new and more sex-punitive sexual order ordained by the sage-queens.\textsuperscript{117} I shall further explore the ‘sage-queen’ moral-sexual order in the following two chapters.

**Reclaiming ‘Our’ History**

If the fictional male homosexual community in *Crystal Boys* of 1970s Taiwan has been shown in my analysis to be figured through a particular sense of sexual shame linked to prostitution and base femininity, then it seems that the tongzhi nation formed in the shadow of *Crystal Boys* 1990s Taiwan, in distancing itself from prostitution, has come to encompass the discursive positionality of respectable femininity as far as the matter of sex is concerned. As *Crystal Boys* continues to be politicised by the tongzhi movement as a piece of historical writing attesting to homosexual oppression in the 1970s, the specificity of that oppression as linked to prostitution remains adumbrated in the field of tongzhi studies\textsuperscript{118} and in the construction of tongzhi history.\textsuperscript{119} Just as the rainbow flag is being raised in the making of ‘rainbow communities’ in Taiwan,\textsuperscript{120} male prostitution culture of past and present appears to be excluded from the rainbow vision, which purports symbolically to signify the celebration
of differences within gay culture. When *Crystal Boys* was dramatised as a television series and aired on prime-time public television to great acclaim and popularity in 2003, the state of sleaze of the 1970s was, just like the 1986 film adaptation of the novel, written out of the TV remake. If the success of the *Crystal Boys* TV series is taken as a major achievement of the *tongzhi* movement to extend the visibility of homosexuality, then that achievement perhaps entails further distancing from the sexual shame associated with prostitution, which has been further stigmatised since the mid-1980s due to the ero-thomophobic discourse of AIDS, as I have argued in chapter 2. Hence, whereas the film version of *Crystal Boys*, as discussed earlier in this chapter, updated the novel’s setting from the 1970s to the mid-1980s to reflect the ‘social reality’ of the ‘gay plague’, the TV version of *Crystal Boys* was safely cast back into the distant past of the 1970s when there was no such thing as AIDS. Meanwhile, Zeng Xiuping’s book *Lone Subjects, Evil Sons, Taipei Characters: On Pai Hsien-yung’s Tongzhi Fictions*, published amidst the *Crystal Boys* TV series fever, was well-received and popular. Prefaced by the novelist himself, *Lone Subjects* is a work of socio-historical literary criticism imbued with gay-equality consciousness. Setting out to redress the recent trend within *tongzhi* studies that imparts too much subversive ‘movement-wise spirit’ into *Crystal Boys*, Zeng proposes instead to offer a reading that neither ‘denigrates the *tongzhi* image’ nor ‘overinterprets the novel by eulogising *tongzhi*’. Essentially, what Zeng tries to argue in this book with its ahistorical tendency is that the ‘evil sons’ portrayed in the novel are wrongfully maligned because of their homosexuality by family and society; namely that they are simply ‘normal’. Such a normal *tongzhi* image must indeed come to terms with the novel’s prostitution theme. Thus, while asking Pai Hsien-yung in her interview with the novelist whether he was worried that his depiction of male prostitution would ‘deepen the public’s negative impression of homosexuality’, Zeng tells her reader ‘not to be anxious about whether the evil sons’ negation of their homosexual desires and their prostitution activities are politically correct or not’, as it is simply the novelist’s intention to care for those living on the margins of society through fictional representation. Yet at the same time, she cautions that while one need not be judgemental about the boys’ prostitution activities, neither should one say that they enjoy prostituting themselves in practising ‘sexual pluralism’. But from whence does this morally neutral, gay-affirmative, politically correct reading position come, if not from the sexual norm of respectability that polices its boundaries through the shame it attaches to prostitution?

In an article on postcoloniality and the predicament of ‘coming-out’ in Taiwan, prominent *tongzhi* scholar Chu Wei-cheng contends that the
movement strategy of collective coming out, however politically expedient and culturally specific, cannot ultimately challenge the oppressive status quo: coming out is not a question of choosing how ‘out’ one wants to be in different circumstances — a view expressed by some local tongzhi activists, who insist that tongzhi should have the autonomy not to come out — but one that concerns secrecy or ‘discretion’ as the very means by which homophobia operates. Postcolonial autonomy can only be maintained, Chu rightly argues, if tongzhi activism can revise its strategies by addressing the specificity of local homosexual oppression. Meanwhile, he proposes that given the difficulty of wholly embracing a gay identity/minoritising politics, tongzhi activism could adopt a more ‘universalising’ strategy in moving towards a ‘non-identitarian’ politics. Significantly, this Sedgwickian reformulation of tongzhi politics is translated into the politics of ambiguity:

For a tongzhi movement based on identity politics, coming-out is necessary and unavoidable. But if we are to imagine a tongzhi movement based on non-identitarian politics, ambiguity can also be in itself politic. Not coming-out means that there is nothing to come out of (coming out as what?). Since human desires are fluid and labile, why identify with rigid and arbitrary sexual identities? Not to mention that these identities are the ones that are conferred by mainstream society in accordance with the stigmatising categorisation of sexualities. It might raise doubts, for some people, that there would be no subjects for this movement? Further, given this kind of ambiguous, obscure identification/identity at work in this local context, it might turn out that more people would support and partake in the tongzhi movement precisely because they want to ease the pressure of making sure whether one is or is not a tongzhi? After all, the goal of such a movement is not to fight for the rights of certain social groups but of everyone who should have the freedoms and space to seek homosexual desire.

Clearly, Chu’s proposition to forge a tongzhi-friendly environment subtends to Chang Hsiao-hung’s figuration of ‘space of desire’, thereby unwittingly decontextualising the specificity of homosexual oppression in Taiwan. Within the particular Taiwan context that this article has mapped out, it must be pointed out that the project of emancipating homosexual desire (and for that matter, female desire) hinges upon actively engaging, rather than further repressing, that sense of gendered sexual shame represented in Crystal Boys and the normative condition that produces it, precisely because erotic spaces and sexual freedoms in Taiwan were and continue to be regulated through the interdiction on and the stigmatisation of prostitution. Without radically challenging the new social/sexual order ordained by the sage-queens, tongzhi movement and discourse could end up reproducing the sexual hierarchy by
which male homosexuals were historically subjugated in the first place. Such sexual dissidence is urgently needed, given what Chu has recently observed as the ‘civic turn’ of the movement within the context of post-KMT nation-building since 2000.128

In conclusion, I propose to reformulate Chu’s universalising strategy as the politics of alliance, allying with the prostitutes’ rights movement (sparked by Chen Shu-bian’s sudden abolishment of licensed prostitution in 1997) and the sexuality rights/sexual emancipation movement as enacted by non-state feminist sexual politics. Indeed, when groups from the women’s movement, tongzhi movement, labour movement and aborigine movement took to the streets together to join the 1998 International Women’s Day March for Anti-Stigmatization in support of the nearly illiterate ex-licensed women prostitutes fighting for their dignity, they signalled the necessity of such alliance politics.129 By pushing for the decriminalisation of sex work and by dismantling the disciplinary web woven through the Law to Suppress Sexual Transaction Involving Children and Juveniles, we would honour the legacy of Crystal Boys and all the outcasts from the ‘respectable family’. Countering the hegemonic regime of anti-prostitution culture will not be an easy battle for those who disidentify with the sage-king patriarch and the sage-queen state feminists, and yet, to reiterate the Chinese nationalist motto from which the identity name tongzhi is spawned: ‘since our revolution is not yet accomplished, lo, tongzhi, there is much still to be done!’
Outside the window it shimmers
As if a new world is about to dawn
People slay and seize possessions no more
They use their hands instead to soothe and console.¹

Gender Equality and Sage-Queen Totality

With this little poem, Liu Yu-hsiu, Taiwan’s foremost state feminist, commenced her presentation in the Third National Women’s Conference in Taipei in 1998, a year named as the Year of Equality Action.² Expressively serene, the poem reflects a feminist sense of hope, an optimism gesturing towards a new era when the feminine virtue of love replaces masculine aggression, a future where equality rules. Liu’s presentation begins by situating the women’s movement as a challenge to the progression of modernity initiated since the Declaration of Human Rights, a progression, she argues, that has been characterised by the continual patriarchal and capitalist domination of both women and the workers. In particular, she identifies the causes of gender oppression in Taiwan as rooted in the objectification of women in the private and public spheres: while the patriarchal family exploits women’s labour for reproduction, care and domestic work, the ever-expanding sex market in late capitalist society also massively commodifies women as sex objects. In her usual spirit of scholarly activism, Liu indexes a list of tasks to be tackled — and this characterises her mode of feminism — through state intervention. Thus in addition to promoting the combined public-private Scandinavian welfare state system that provides universal care, Liu asserts the urgent need to deploy more education and legal intercessions to redress the existing relation between the sexes, a relation which is, according to her, profoundly twisted by the very existence of prostitution. ‘De-instrumentalisation’ and
'de-commodification' thus present for Liu the key to realising a gender equal society, where everyone would be able to have ‘joyful’ sexual intimacy. Significantly, Liu further elaborates the meaning of sexual intimacy in the following passage made with reference to the emergent sexual emancipation/queer movement (spearheaded by the feminist sex radicals like Josephine Ho and Ning Yin-bin):³

Sex should be seen as one important link that constitutes an intimate relationship. What ought to be emphasised is not the kind of unconditional sex. Rather, what one should emphasise is the positive side, the positive power of sex as well as joyful intimate relations. Hence while it is wrong to repress sex, it is also inadequate [for feminism] to merely emphasise sex or even overemphasise sex ... Measures for the purpose of sexual and bodily liberations should be placed within a large framework that takes into account the individual and society as a whole. Otherwise, one would defeat the objective and end up tying more knots, or leading to total disintegration.⁴

Obviously, Liu’s reservation about sex is greater than her desire to distinguish her feminism from the abstinent kind. While reifying the queer movement as wanting nothing but sex, Liu emphasises that sex must be subordinated to a putative totality that she presumes, a totality by which sexual intimacy is qualified within the context of her feminism. ‘Overemphasising sex’, she warns, would cause the total collapse of civilisational order. In this account, queerness appears to be figured as a kind of negativity, as that which must be radically repressed such that Liu’s optimism for a feminist civilisational order, as conveyed through her poem, can be sustained.

The gender and sexual politics of Liu has been pivotal in the establishment of the feminist public sphere as well as of the hegemonic ascendancy of Taiwan state feminism in recent years. A professor of English specialising in feminist psychoanalytic criticism, Liu has been heavily involved in the women’s movement since its inception in the late 1980s and served twice as the chair of the Taiwan Feminist Scholar Association (founded in 1993). While she was chair, the Association published The Women Situation in Taiwan: A White Paper and Women (1995) and State and Care Work (1997) respectively. These books, taken together, can be seen as setting out the agenda for Taiwan state feminism: attributing the root of gender oppression in Taiwan to the immense burden of unwaged housework weighing on the woman in the patriarchal family, strong state interventions are called for in the ‘private’ domain of family to remedy the longstanding gender injustice, with state feminism aiming to take over the state machine and transform the Taiwan patriarchal capitalist state into a ‘maternal’ mode of welfare state based on the Scandinavian model
that provides universal care. The articulation of the feminist demand for a welfare state at that specific historical juncture in 1990s Taiwan should be understood as a contradiction given rise to by what Cho Han Haejoang has termed ‘compressed modernity’ consequent upon Taiwan’s rapid and uneven industrialisation under the KMT’s authoritarian regime during the Cold War era. Feminist scholarship in Taiwan has shown how this era of cultural/social change gave rise to the emergence of a new class of professional women in the 1980s, and how, in a milieu whereby the so-called ‘three-generations-under-one-roof’ traditional family was replaced by the modern nuclear family, this new class of women found itself deeply in conflict with the traditional female role tied to and contained within the private sphere of family. The force of this contradiction imploded in the 1990s when professional women like Liu (namely, the highly educated female intellectuals of the Cold War generation) first gained the right to associate in post–martial law Taiwan.

Because of the historical and close link between the middle-class women’s movement and the post–martial law opposition electoral politics, Liu’s feminism quickly found a platform in the Taipei City government under Chen Shu-bian: in 1996, she became a member of the newly set up Taipei Municipal Committee of the Promotion of Women’s Rights (the first official committee its kind in Taiwan), endorsing the large scale of prostitution sweeps undertaken by Chen’s administration as well as backing his decision to abruptly abrogate licensed prostitution. Crucially, an incident in that same year had a profound impact on Liu’s feminist praxis. On 30 November 1996, Peng Wanru, a long-time feminist activist-turned-politician and director of the Women’s Department of the oppositional party DPP, was raped and brutally murdered in southern Taiwan. Her tragic death left the nation in shock, and members of the women’s movement were especially devastated as they struggled to come to terms with the tremendous loss of a sister who had devoted herself to the women’s movement since its inception in the late 1980s. Determined to get more women involved in the electoral political process, Peng had been lobbying within her party right up to her death to ensure that a minimum of a quarter of women candidates were nominated for election. In the immediate aftermath of Peng’s death, vigils and demonstrations were held to protest against sexual violence against women, which culminated in a massive unprecedented evening march by women in the city of Taipei highlighting the pressing issue of women’s safety. As the women’s movement grieved the loss of their beloved sister, feminists turned mourning into militancy and sought recourse to state power in order to redress the state of sexual injury that women in Taiwan were said to have suffered. In a climate of heightened social awareness of women’s vulnerability and violability, feminist demands were
met with swift responses from the state. In the immediate aftermath of Peng’s death, a bill on the prevention of sexual assaults that had been suspended in parliament quickly became law in 1997. Importantly, the same year also saw the establishment of the Gender Equality Education Committee (under the Ministry of Education) and of the Commission for the Promotion of Women’s Rights (under the Executive Yuan).

In the meantime, an NGO named after Peng Wanru was also set up in 1997, with Liu serving as its founding chairperson. Dedicated to promoting the welfare of women and children, the PWR foundation has focused on implementing gender equality education, generating networks of community care and childcare, as well as creating employment for women through such networking. An even more important aspect of the foundation’s mission is to press for legislative advancements to safeguard women and children, protecting them especially from the danger of sex crimes. To this end, the PWR Foundation quickly allied itself with other conservative Christian NGOs, including the Women Rescue Foundation, the Garden of Hope Foundation and End Child Prostitution in Asian Tourism [ECPAT] Taiwan), to form an anti-prostitution/obscenity bloc. While vehemently opposing the nascent prostitutes’ rights movement that was triggered by the abrupt abrogation of the institution of licensed prostitution by the then DPP Taipei mayor Chen Shu-bian, the bloc pressed hard for legislative advancements to safeguard women and children from ‘bad sex’. Thanks to this feminist intervention, a new legal regime was formed in the late 1990s. Following the introduction of the sexual harassment law in 1997, a new chapter on the infringements of sexual autonomy was added to the criminal code in 1999, which significantly also saw the regulatory expansion of criminal offences against sexual morality, including the complete outlawing of prostitution in all forms, as well as harsher penalties for public indecency and the dissemination of obscene materials through mass media. In effect, the new regime ostensibly endows citizens with a new sexual autonomy against not only enforced, but also immoral, sex. ‘Avowing to carry on the journey in Peng Wanru’s stead on the path of the women’s movement’, Taiwanese feminists have come a long way, succeeding, at least partly, in imparting gender-equal consciousness in the male-dominated society and in the patriarchal state apparatuses.

As Chen Shu-bian won the presidential election in 2000, state feminism became officially instated as the integral part of the new state-gender ideology. Acting as the ‘Philosophy Queen’ of the new Taiwanese nation-state under the DPP regime, Liu Yu-hsiu lays down an ethical framework for an egalitarian gender relation and constructs a philosophical foundation for the DPP government’s 2004 White Paper on women policies, a foundation
premised on what she calls ‘establishing a totality wherein every single being co-exists equally’. The pre-supposition of a totality thus constitutes an essential condition under which gendered sexual equity is actualised. Given the ideal of an inter-subjective relation based on mutual respect, everyone, it is suggested, would be able to have ‘joyful’ intimacy. Everyone, that is, except queers and prostitutes, insofar as the encompassing logic of ‘sage-queen’ totality necessarily performs foreclosure at the same time.

This chapter traces a historical process whereby the subject of state feminism came into formation, showing how the mourning of a woman politician gradually evolved into a feminist project of state remaking in post-martial law Taiwan. Situating the configuration of welfare state feminist imaginary within the context of 1990s Taiwan feminist and queer politics, I tease out the class contradiction inherent in the common good state feminism pursues, and further elucidate how Liu’s state-remaking project is propelled by a libidinal politics that is deeply hetero-normative. Specifically, I focus on analysing two major academic essays written by her, namely, ‘The dilemma of civilisation: Repression and its discontents’ and ‘The mechanism of postmodern desire: Sex industry, postmodern discourse and late capitalism’. As the discursive products of the 1990s and 2000s Taiwan feminist context, these works of feminist psychoanalytic cultural criticism are of primary significance because they represent Liu’s concerted efforts to engage her political present in libidinal terms, not only endowing a sexuality proper to the desired subject of state feminism, but also responding to the challenges from the queer (or, specifically, ‘xing/bie’) and prostitutes’ rights movement. Further, her invested interest in psychoanalytic theory also resides in understanding how the patriarchal mind works and, more importantly, in countering patriarchal domination through the application of psychoanalytic insights.

Psychoanalytic theory is thus for Liu a methodology, an indispensable tool to dismantle the master’s house. As such, it serves as an epistemological base for her state feminist project. Meanwhile, Liu’s standing as an outspoken public intellectual, actively intervening in the formation of civil society in Taiwan, means that her influence extends far beyond the ivory tower. The English professor frequently writes articles in national newspapers, voicing concerns over the subject of sex (and quite often the danger it poses) through her reactive application of psychoanalytic knowledge. Liu’s discourse thus forms a regime of feminist knowledge, with her realist rendition of psychoanalysis operating as a normalising technology to bolster her sex-negative gender politics. In these regards, Liu’s production of gendered subjectivity can thus be understood precisely as the deployment of sexuality, in the Foucaultian sense, at a specific historical juncture in Taiwan.
At issue in this deployment of sexuality is the way in which perversion, understood in the Freudian sense as that which deviates from the norm of marital reproductive sex, is ‘implanted’, to borrow Foucault’s term, in the last decade in Taiwan. In Liu’s articulation of the Taiwan socio-symbolic, perversion comes to be gendered as masculine, and it is through this masculine attribute, with all the negativity attached to it, that the emergent queer and prostitute rights movements are signified. My intention here is not to conduct a thorough psychoanalytic criticism but to demonstrate how Liu articulates Freudo-Lacanian theory of perversion, in a profoundly moralistic way, onto her own anti-prostitution discourse and how such a deployment produces, in effect, a locally specific subject position of perversion that exceeds the original psychoanalytic framework. Thus while countering Liu’s egalitarianism with a psychoanalytically informed queer ethics drawn from Lee Edelman’s seminal No Future: Queer Theory and the Death Drive (2004), I also employ the strategy of symptomatic reading as I weave my narrative. In other words, as Liu employs the psychoanalytic style of reasoning, she also reads herself into psychoanalysis by identifying herself as a hysteric, in whom, psychoanalysis informs us, sexual repression is particularly manifest.

In what follows, I first look at Liu’s feminist praxis as actualised through the PWR Foundation’s operations and then proceed to show how Liu endows the subject of state feminism with a normative sexuality, underscoring how the feminist good is solidly linked to the monogamous ideal. Finally, I analyse Liu’s diatribe against queers and prostitutes, demonstrating how they have come to be figured as civilisation’s death drive, the very negativity that impinges on Liu’s feminist symbolic order. What ensues then is a story of how the hysteric subject of state feminism acts out to fend off her own sexual aversion and how she assumes the position of the maternal superego in order to establish a totality of moral order.

**Feminist Community Building through the PWR Foundation**

Liu’s welfare state imaginary has actualised over the last few years through the work of the PWR Foundation (based in Taipei, with a few offices stationed in different parts of the island). Having focused initially on community policing in the aftermath of Peng’s murder, the foundation now works towards the goal of providing ‘five community welfare systems’, including a support network of nannies for the community, nurseries, after-school childcare, counselling and community mental health centre for young people, and domestic care for the elderly and disabled. It is clear from this scheme that the welfare state locates the bodies of children and youths as its focal point of care. For Liu the
community policing and community care that the PWR Foundation seeks to foster embodies the kind of social ideal that state feminism strives to realise, for reasons summarised as follows:

A) The community is run and governed by local residents themselves, with the delivered services tailored to the specific needs of the community. Because service providers and users are from the same community (which works like an extended family), it follows that the quality of service could be sustained in the long run, due to the fact that ‘people share good stuff with those of their kind’;

B) The community is governed by both men and women. Moreover, due to women’s experience and sensibility in the field of care work, they are indispensable to the running of community, as their contribution will greatly enhance the quality of service;

C) The service charge is made affordable, with further reduction fees for those with financial difficulty. In the case of after-school childcare, for example, universal care means a large quantity is required, which in turn lowers the operating cost. Meanwhile, the service of quality is to be sustained at a level acceptable to the middle class such that every child can receive high-quality care so they become high-quality, equality-minded ‘guomin’ (national citizens);

D) Community care is that which decommodifies. As the service provided by the community is non-profit-making, users can ‘enjoy’ the price of the operating cost. Community care makes public what used to be available only in the private domain. This means that care work is fully supported by public/social resources, on the one hand, while on the other it also supports the family by providing the basic needs required to sustain a family;

E) This welfare scheme creates employment. For example, after-school childcare provides for the need of working parents while creating job opportunities for housewives in the community. The PWR Foundation provides the professional training needed while offering non-exploitative wages to women.18

When fully realised, the community as expounded above can make Taiwan, Liu believes, a better world, a community that forges a ‘Taiwan identity’ of ‘together-ness’, that gives rise to an ideal world of universality where, citing the Confucian axiom, ‘one is kind to one’s juniors and all others, is respectful of one’s elders and all others’.19
There are points to be made regarding the questions of class politics and social control in Liu’s imaginary. To begin with, it is extremely important to situate Liu’s welfare state imaginary within the context of the 1990s when domestic migrant workers from Southeast Asian countries, including the Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, Vietnam, were introduced into Taiwan. In a newspaper article, Liu fiercely attacked what is known as the state’s ‘foreign labour’ policy and called on the state to terminate this ‘poisoned’ policy immediately. Blaming the government for not taking up its duty to provide welfare which could also create employment for its people and for its participation in transnational exploitation of labour, Liu warns of the dreadful consequence of new ‘tumour-like’ social problems, such as class and racial conflicts, that are engendered by the importation of labour into Taiwan, citing the example of ethnic conflicts in Germany to make her point. ‘We should know that class and race problems are the most thorny tasks for governmental politics’, she writes, ‘Is it necessary for us to get ourselves into this trouble?\(^{20}\) Meanwhile, she also argues that this policy will deepen the existing class contradiction in Taiwan, as the middle-lower class lacks social and language skills to hire Philippine domestic workers. The solution to this problem, she insists, is the welfare system as implemented by Scandinavian countries, a place where, as Liu says with much admiration in another article, exist ‘no foreign maids, not even “in-house servants”’\(^{21}\).

While Liu is right to point out the issue of transnational exploitation within global capitalism and to highlight the Taiwanese government’s quick fix of the class contradiction specific to the compressed East Asian modernity, her feminism actually tries to steer clear of the problems of race and class. This wishing-away of class is further shown in the PWR Foundation’s attempt to redefine domestic care as ‘service’ instead of ‘work’. Thus, it is not the relation between the employer and the employee, but between the service provider and user that matters: as an editorial from *Friends of the PWR Foundation Quarterly* makes clear, ‘we only have different needs, there is no hierarchy between us’\(^{22}\). Yet all this denial of the stigma attached to domestic work — a stigma that is, according to Ding Naifei’s historiography of base femininity, symbolically and closely linked to sex work — amounts to nothing more than an active forgetting on the part of the egalitarian-minded middle-class women, who have not only turned a blind eye on the endemic exploitation of migrant domestic workers in Taiwan, but also refused to grant legitimacy to sex work\(^{23}\).

I turn now to address the question of social control in Liu’s imagined community. Firstly, while this proposed welfare scheme appears to destabilize the existing boundary of the nuclear family, it is more about reterritorialising
the familial through the social: a mother-like nanny steps into the absence of the working mother. Not for nothing is the after-school childcare service that the PWR Foundation provides called, playing on the homonyms, ‘Wanru (婉如)/Just like (宛如) Mammy’. Given that the foundation strives to live up to the middle-class standard, it follows that not every woman is fit to be your mother, for example, an ex-licensed prostitute. Secondly, childcare is figured as a means of extended family control. One rationale, given by Liu herself, to implement universal and affordable childcare is that it can cover those children from the less well-off families of the lower class, children who are not properly brought up and hence are more likely to be led astray by ‘convenient and fashionable values’ and become deviant. Thus, while community childcare allows the mother-like nanny to spot suspect children or teenagers, the practice of mental hygiene is also called for to police the young through the nexus of knowledge/power. Liu is explicit on this point when she explains the function of counselling and youth mental hygiene:

In conjunction with after-school care within the community, community nurseries, and the nanny support system, community youth mental hygiene and the counselling system is conducted by professional social workers and consultants. They offer three levels of preventive education and case counselling, alarming and transferring mechanisms. A community oriented support system of youth mental hygiene is an essential measure at a time when the function of the family is on the wane. If it coordinates well with the rest of the childcare system as well as with related medicine, rescue and preventive measures (like family abuse), things can be nipped in the bud early, with the effects of preventing drop-outs, crimes and mental diseases.

As this passage makes clear, welfare here is exercised through/as social medicine, a measure made all the more urgent at a time when the function of the family is thought to be weakened. Significantly, in the light of the social discipline that Josephine Ho elucidates through her analysis of the operation of the Law to Suppress Sexual Transaction Involving Children and Juveniles in recent years in Taiwan, Liu’s concatenated chain of policing agencies of the welfare-providing community reveals also the extent to which new techniques of social control are entrenched in liberal Taiwan. Equally significant is the governing/speaking position that Liu enables in her communitarian politics. Crucially, the idealised social/political order she envisions, where ‘one is kind to one’s juniors and all others, is respectful of one’s elders and all others’, belongs to that of the Confucian sage-king moral disposition.

In an interview where the idea of state feminism was initially sketched out, Liu explains how she recruits housewives to leave the kitchen and
to partake in community affairs. Acknowledging that legitimacy of the patriarchal family is so embedded in the women’s consciousness and thereby too hard to be shaken off, she opts for a strategy of mobilising their ‘maternity’, by persuading them that women stepping out of their families to partake in public affairs is all about ‘doing good, doing what they think is best for others, for their own family’. Crucially, in pursuing this feminist good, Liu has sought recourse to psychoanalytic discourse to articulate a pleasure specific to normative feminine sexuality, a pleasure that drives the subject of state feminism to conduct care work. In the next section, I examine how Liu constructs a normative female sexuality vis-à-vis her critique of perverse masculine sexuality in her essay ‘The dilemma of civilisation: Repression and its discontents’.

**Critique of Masculine Sexuality and the Hysteric as Monogamous Ideal**

The essay was initially presented at a conference called ‘Feminist Critique of Sexuality’ organised by the Taiwanese Feminist Scholars’ Association in 1996, and later appeared in a special issue of the same conference title in the journal *Thoughts and Words*. It represents one important instance of mainstream feminism’s response to the challenge of sexuality posed by the *xing/bie* movement that started in the mid-1990s. Rejecting the link that Josephine Ho made in her seminal *The Gallant Woman: Feminism and Sexual Liberation* between the women’s movement and sexual liberation, many feminists, including Liu, came to position themselves as ‘critics of sexuality’. Upholding so-called ‘erotic autonomy’, they insist that a true sexual liberation is only possible when patriarchy is annulled. Indeed, in her introduction to the special issue, guest editor Hwang Shuling, a sociologist specialising in prostitution studies, whose work I examine in detail in chapter 6, underscores the significance of Liu’s account of the fundamental sexual difference between men and women, arguing that it makes clear why ‘the women’s movement at its present stage should not take sexual liberation as its sexual politics’.

In a move that appears to counter the problematic of sexual liberation, Liu takes on the subject of repression in psychoanalytic discourse to show how the sexed positions of the masculine and feminine are assumed within patriarchy, explicating how men and women are represented as subjects of desire in language and culture through the psychic mechanism of repression. In particular, she focuses on the pre-Oedipal repression and the repression of the Oedipus complex to illustrate a process of psychosexual development that gives rise to the male psyche as such. Liu argues that in the symbolic order
where the phallus is installed as the privileged signifier of sexual difference, the compounded effect of pre-Oedipal and Oedipal repressions (which represses the mother-child symbiosis and the incestuous desires for the mother respectively) produces a masculine subject that is egoistical, aggressive, promiscuous, and quintessentially perverse. The man, endowed with a strong ego (produced by the Oedipal repression) and compelled by his stronger inclination for pleasure-seeking (due to his late pre-Oedipal repression), subjugates what Liu calls ‘objective reality’, including women, nature and society, to relentless change, and it is this malevolent culture of masculine domination that plagues civilisation in its current advanced stage. By contrast, Liu argues that female sexuality, as inferred from Freud’s studies of hysteria, is by far more loving, caring and benevolent. In particular, she quotes Freud’s observation on the distinction between hysteria and obsessional neurosis, that ‘the man “clings tenaciously to a particular object” and her libido “never spreads over into a general disposition of the ego”’, while in the man we find “precisely a spreading-over of this kind — a loosening of relations to object and a facilitation of displacement in the choice of object”, and she uses these gendered paradigms to account for the fundamental difference between female and male sexuality, that is, monogamous femininity versus promiscuous masculinity.

Central to Liu’s argument about male sexuality is her proposition that ‘in the development of the male psyche ego-cathexis is favoured at the cost of object-cathexis’. Yet what counts as ‘proper’ object-cathexis in Liu’s account is heteronormatively presumed, and this can be clearly seen from the following paragraph where she explains the Oedipal repression in the boy:

What is repressed [in the man] is the object-cathexis of the mother/woman, that is, of an object that is farthest away from the ego. The repression installed in men is therefore a suppression of the most advanced form of object-cathexis; it represses the possibility for the male human being to go the farthest out of himself to reach the other that he would know is definitely not himself because of the salient anatomical difference. Thus the drive energy is turned away from the most heterogeneous among possible objects; it is retained for the ego, and even regresses to earlier perverse forms of cathexis …

What is profoundly problematic here is Liu’s taking of genital difference to signify total otherness. Note the slide in her signification of sexual difference, that is, ‘salient anatomical difference’ — the alterity by which the man is defined — is heterosexualised as ‘the most heterogeneous among possible objects’, in contradistinction with objects made on the basis of sameness such as narcissism and homosexuality. In his critique of the psychoanalytic tradition
which indoctrinates the relation of the self to the other through the paradigm of heterosexuality, Michael Warner points out how such a reasoning is founded on a certain epistemology of sexual difference, which persistently equates homosexuality with narcissism. ‘Gender’, he writes, ‘is the phenomenology of difference itself’. Liu clearly subscribes to this heterosexual ideology of ‘homo-narcissism’ in her signification of sexual difference. Male homosexuality, for example, is figured in Liu’s sexual imaginary as that against which the valued form of feminine object cathexis is defined. Further, if it is with reference to the phallus, according to Lacanian psychoanalysis, that the child takes up the sexed positions in the symbolic, and if this privileged signifier also serves as the paternal injunction to suppress the child’s perverse modes of cathexis to the maternal body, then the paternal function of the phallus appears to be all the more necessary and indeed indispensable in Liu’s imaginary.

While reasoning male sexuality as polymorphously perverse, Liu makes a laborious effort to purge perversions from feminine sexuality and construes the girl’s love for the father as ‘the most absolute form of object-cathexis’. While heterosexual love is argued to cancel out the girl’s primary narcissism and hence sadistic aggressivity, Liu categorically denies that this act of turning-back-upon-self constitutes female masochism as such, suggesting that both sadism and masochism belong to the domain of male sexuality proper. Maintaining that the ‘common woman is no masochist’ — an assertion based on Louise Kaplan’s empirical finding of the low ratio of masochism among women — Liu argues that masochism is nothing but ‘a simulation of the female condition as it is supposed or imagined from the patriarchal point of view’, insisting that ‘in this chain of signification and symbolisation, the woman is first used/defined and then copied, by the man; hence the androcentric sadomasochism’. Judith Butler’s theory of gender performativity has forcibly challenged this kind of gender essentialism. Butler uses the example of cross-dressing performance to argue that drag exposes the imitative structure of gender by revealing the contingent and falsely unified relation between anatomical sex, gender identity and gender performance. For Butler, gender identity comes about performatively in that one is impelled by the symbolic Law, to cite either the masculine or the feminine sexual positions. Gender performance is thus not a singular act (much less a volitional one) but rather a series of repetitive performances through which ‘man-ness’ and ‘woman-ness’ are acted out. In this Butlerian account, there would be no subject without being subjected to the norms of sex; gendered subjectivity is produced as the sedimented effects of reiterative citation of the sexual norms.

Aware of the 1980s Anglo-American feminist debate over lesbian sadomasochism, Liu is compelled, however, to mark out the difference between
her average normal woman and the sexual perverts, including the prevalent male masochist, and the ‘rare’ lesbian masochist. Explaining the sexual perverts as driven solely by the death drive to transgress beyond the pleasure principle, Liu argues that:

[I]n stead of pursuing pain and nothingness as an end in itself, in the way the masochist does, what the common woman clings tenaciously to, by virtue of her being no pervert, is whatever meaning — the richer and happier the better, of course — she can manage to produce or obtain in the interface between the socio-cultural and the biological. If the only meaning she can get is a painful/shameful one, she is resigned to it although it is apparent that she would only be too glad, again by virtue of her being no pervert, to have it the other way.43

But in adhering to Freud’s doctrine that posits the death drive as structural to the human psyche, Liu is forced to make a little concession by suggesting that female sexuality might be slightly tainted by perversion too but is radically different from male perversion.44 The question of how the normal woman is subjected to the death drive will be examined in the next section as I analyse how Liu formulates the stigma of prostitution in relation to the death drive. But it is instructive here to evoke Lee Edelman’s elaboration of the death drive within the Lacanian framework. Edelman distinguishes two versions of jouissance attained via the death drive’s circular movements, with one version coagulating identity as such while the other dissolving identity itself:

To the extent that jouissance, as fantasmatic escape from the alienation intrinsic to meaning, lodges itself in a given object on which identity comes to depend, it produces identity as mortification, reenacting the very constraint of meaning it was intended to help us escape. But to the extent that it tears the fabric of Symbolic reality as we know it, unravelling the solidity of every object, including the object as which the subject necessarily takes itself, jouissance evokes the death drive that always insists as the void in and of the subject, beyond its fantasy of self-realisation, beyond the pleasure principle.45

I want to show below how the meaning, to which Liu’s normal woman qua hysteric ‘clings tenaciously’ in her pursuit of happiness, not only amounts to the mortification of identity, but is further extended as a totalising identity claim that endeavours to fend off the other version of jouissance that Edelman speaks of. However, since happiness is purely a subjective matter, as Freud reminds us in Civilisation and Its Discontents,46 and since it would be unethical to speak about happiness on behalf of others, the best I can do here is to
trace how that meaning is produced within the signifying chain in Liu’s own discourse and feminist praxis.

In the socio-symbolic that Liu depicts, the only mode of sexual agency that the normal woman possesses is that of ‘clinging tenaciously’ to what Liu calls ‘the successful substitution for (the primary experience of) satisfaction achieved somewhere in the signifying chain’ and the only pleasure she appears to have is that of her own bodily sensations derived from the symbolically expressed symptoms of somatic innervation. The hysteric is contented with what she has got, taking her objects as they are. But having argued that this hysteric innervation embodies, with reference to Lacan, ‘a jouissance of the body which is beyond the phallus’ and that female sexuality presents itself with no problem at all, except its being the object of male aggression, Liu is, in the end, compelled by her own logic to concede that hysteric self-contentment is ultimately at odds with the feminist ethos of change. Yet, despite this apparent contradiction, she goes on to propose a feminist reform programme based on the hysteric paradigm.

The number one priority in her programme is to make legislative changes to establish a stronger ego and superego in the woman, including measures such as repealing ‘the law and convention forcing on the woman residence with her husband (and his parental family)’ and ‘making her the heiress of authority and social responsibilities’. Avoiding ‘masculinity complex’ and all ‘its phallus-worshipping values to discriminate against biological women’, this feminist programme entails accepting the female unconscious ‘as it is’. As the woman, that is, the desired subject of state feminism, becomes endowed with social responsibilities and powers, she is expected to ‘derive bodily jouissance “beyond the phallus” and to “convert” power into her mode of drive/object cathexis’. Meanwhile, she also cautions that preventive measures must also be taken to prevent women from ‘abusing themselves and each other’. As for men, Liu insists that the only proper way to reform men is to decrease their repression rather than lifting it, as the latter would simply make ‘patriarchy … appear stark naked’, causing ‘ever more anxiety, aggression, disability, perversion and psychical illness’. Since it is the severe repression executed by that male strong superego that gives rise to the problem of male aggression, one must, as Liu strongly reminds other gender reformers, take the ‘circuitous route’ of weakening the male superego, and this can be done by implementing laws designed from the feminist perspective to impose moral and social restrictions on male behaviour. She goes on to argue that:

The recognition of female authority, furthermore, will increase the attraction of the female object and thus conduce to the alteration of
the male mode of object-cathexis. The ‘facilitation of displacement in the choice of object’ … put into play by the existing male mode of object cathexis will be reversed and men can be expected to value a particular female object more as well as be more faithful to her.55

This is the new world of gender equality as envisioned by Taiwan’s foremost state feminist. Liu’s reform project as depicted through psychodynamic terms clearly aims to build up a strong female superego and, with it, a female ego that is on a par with the male ego. While accepting the female unconscious as it is constituted in the symbolic order, she is not at all interested in querying its contents, that is, the torrents of desire that give rise to psychic conflicts, not to mention the domain of fantasy arising therein. Indeed, the psychoanalytic notion of fantasy, inseparably linked to the emergence of sexuality as such, is completely omitted in her analysis. In her efforts to fortify the female superego/ego, Liu’s appropriation of psychoanalysis is ultimately more aligned with ego psychology than with the feminist psychoanalytic tradition, which insists that a stabilised sexual identity can never, finally, be made.56

Significantly, in Liu’s gender re-programming blueprint, the feminine subject-position is not only securely articulated through a hysteric/monogamous paradigm but is elevated to the status of cultural ideal. Ironically, as Liu repeatedly asserts that the only way out of patriarchal civilisation is to directly abolish the patriarchal system and to challenge its power structure, she clings tenaciously to the one institution upon which patriarchy is founded, namely, the family. It is all the more ironic given that she herself has written one of the most sustained feminist onslaughts on the family. In her essay ‘Men’s law, men’s state, men’s family: The Family Law Code and women’s status’, written specifically for the feminist campaign to reform the Family Code of the Civil Law in the mid-1990s, Liu offers an acute examination of the family law to show how it subjugates women. Beginning with a biographic narrative, she describes the deep sense of shock and shame she felt when she realised for the first time in her childhood that the power her grandmother (with whom she identified) exercised was actually derived from patriarchy, further explicating how that affective structure deeply influenced her view on marriage as well as her own feminist praxes. Nevertheless, despite her doubt and anger about marriage, she says that she still ended up tying the knot after ‘hearing the call of Life’ but was determined to fight for gender justice for housewives like herself.57 She shows how the Code’s seemingly gender-equal appearance actually masks the profound gender hierarchy that it codifies. Importantly, her analysis shows how the articles are coordinated and subsumed under the stipulation that forces a woman to reside with her husband’s parental family,
thus forming a legal matrix that works to deprive her of assets and property, to regulate her sexual conduct, to exploit endlessly her sexual and domestic labour, and, ultimately, to imprison her within the patriarchal family. If Liu’s strong claim that the family as a patriarchal institution enslaves women is to be taken seriously, which I think it should, then it seems legitimate to ask why Liu still chooses to stand by marriage while, at the same time, privileging the housewife as the subject of state feminism.

Crucially, while upholding the monogamous ideal, Liu finds Lacan’s assertion that ‘there is no such thing as sexual relations’ deeply embarrassing. This Lacanian maxim, issued by Lacan in his Seminar XX on female sexuality, is taken by Liu to mean the non-existence of a genuinely equal rapport between the sexes. In Liu’s interpretation of it, any gender relation is exclusively defined by, as well as homo-narcissistically projected from, the masculine position within the symbolic. This interpretation entirely misses Lacan’s point. Lacan’s axiom underscores the fact that no sexual relation, homosexual and heterosexual alike, comes ‘natural’ or ‘unmediated’, because the speaking beings assuming either masculine or feminine positions in the symbolic are subjectivated through the discourse of the other, with all sexuality marked by the signifier and occasioned as lack. Because of this primal and irreparable loss that initiates subjectivity as such, no harmonious complementarity (of, say, yin and yang) that makes up a unity of wholeness exists in any sexual relation: two never become one. Any sexual relationship is necessarily mediated through fantasy at the level of the real, the traumatic kernel that resists symbolisation and meaning. Lacan has generally been understood to argue that the man can only ‘get off’, not through (their sexual relationships with) any woman as a total person, but through his perverse fantasy staged around the phantasmatic lost object a (which stands in for the lost breast), which could be metonymically embodied in any part of the woman’s body or even simply her aura. But as Ellie Ragland points out, Lacan later extends this argument to the feminine position as well, a move which links perversion now with the object a that had already been placed on the feminine side in Lacan’s graph of sexuation. Within the Lacanian framework, the true, harmonious, complementary sexual relation that Liu yearns for is a fantasy shaped within the imaginary order, an idealisation of romantic love based on the child-mother symbiosis of wholeness.

Liu’s construction of female sexuality as self-contented hysteric, and that of male sexuality as perversely promiscuous, thus makes a theoretical and political statement to assert that no sexual liberation is needed as far as women are concerned and that, since women’s only sexual problem is that of male aggression, more social suppressions are needed to further restrain masculine
sexuality. Indeed, it is this rationale, I argue, that underlies the successive legal reforms on the sex laws pushed through by Liu and her cohorts, as examined in chapter 3.

**Postmodern Desire as ‘Obscene Thoughts and Iniquitous Deeds’**

In the happy world of the sage-queen welfare cultural imaginary, needs appear to be satisfied and demands fulfilled. Indeed, there would be no need for desire as such, were it not for the obscene postmodern condition posing threats to the normal way of life that Liu desires. For, indeed, there persists a beyond that impinges on the sage-queen civilisation. In her essay ‘The mechanism of postmodern desire: Sex industry, postmodern discourse and late capitalism’, presented first at a conference organised by the Women Rescue Foundation on tackling the problem of teenage girl taking to voluntary (rather than being forced to) prostitution, Liu mounts a fierce attack on the sexual emancipation and prostitute rights movements, indicting them for promoting the right to what she calls ‘obscene thoughts and iniquitous deeds’ (huisi exing). Tracing the theoretical base of the movements in question to postmodernist discourse, as exemplified by the work of Deleuze and Guattari and Kristeva, Liu argues that postmodernist theory, in advocating a politics of de-sublimation based on the idea of desiring production, obscures the fundamental relation between need and the mode of production. Moreover, as they work to dismantle the social and moral constraints to pursue ever more intensified bodily pleasures, postmodern theorists and the sexual emancipation movement alike join hand-in-hand, it is argued, with the capitalists to create an ever-expanding sex market.

With ‘obscene thoughts and iniquitous deeds’ inundating the social field, Liu maintains that this postmodern condition gives rise to a new psychic economy, producing a new species called, after Donna Haraway’s seminal manifesto, the cyborg. What distinguishes the cyborg from the human being, Liu suggests, is that the former possesses no proper psychic mechanism of repression by which the latter is constituted. Lacking in will power, self-control and moral judgements, the cyborg is essentially an addict who seeks instant gratification. Significantly, Liu goes on to offer a tale of such consumption — of what she calls ‘the cyborg’s love story’. Set in the sex industry, a domain described as ‘the limbo of the ogre’ (moyu), this tale comes in two gendered versions. The female version tells of the woman cyborg’s love affair with whatever gives her the ‘kick’ (for instance having cosmetic surgery and surfing on the internet) and of her sliding onto the slippery slope of prostitution in order to keep feeding her addictions. On the other hand, the
male cyborg turns out to be the incarnation of the primal father from Freud’s *Totem and Taboo*, who treats the cyborg prostitute as partial object to satisfy his regressed partial drives. Arguing that the cyborg’s love story is orchestrated through the masculine ego-cathexis, the death drive and the logic of late capitalism, Liu urges her reader to take seriously the destructive impact of postmodern emancipationist discourse as it annihilates the tripartite mental structure of id/ego/superego upon which modern civilisation is founded.64

Liu’s pseudo-socialist position in her formulation of postmodern desire is totally untenable and patently moralistic.65 This is most evidently seen in her account of the endless circle of postmodern desire production, wherein the capitalist system’s incessant production of consumer desire is argued to create new needs, which then get eroticised and packaged as commodities, circulating as they do in the market to elicit even greater consumer desire for pleasure.66 Crucially, she conflates the economic realm of reproduction, structured by need and lack, with the libidinal economy of desire, in which desire, as the very splitting of need (the appetite for satisfaction) and demand (addressed to the other), is, according to Lacan, by definition insatiable.67 Thus, in arguing that ‘all the inconceivable means created to satisfy desire produces, through the reverse process, all kinds of bizarre and insatiable “needs”’,68 Liu ruthlessly exploits the psychoanalytic notion of desire as she chides the middle-class sexual emancipationists for indulging in the endless pursuit of commercial/commercialised sexual pleasure. Liu’s articulation of the political economy of sex is actually founded on the pre-psychoanalytical understanding of sexuality which locates sexual need within the domain of functional and instinctual biology, for without such a normative presumption and without the indignation of misguided class justice (which appears to privilege the working class man’s so-called ‘basic’ sexual needs over his fantasies),69 her account of postmodern desire would appear to be utterly tautological.

Let’s now take a close look at the cyborg’s love story. This apocalyptic saga can be aptly interpreted as embodying the Lacanian Real that vehemently impinges on the social reality as perceived by Liu. This ‘limbo of the ogre’ is depicted as a torture chamber where a horde of primal father-like cyborgs, qua perverts, performs the ritual of sadomasochism upon those women whom they have victimised and consequently perverted. Replete with cruelty, this nether world thus exists for Liu with none of the ‘intimate’, ‘enduring’ and ‘fulfilling’ sexual relations that normal people have. This is, in short, the Real of sexual liberation. With the lifting of repressions, men, or those assuming the masculine position, thus reveal their perverse nature stark naked:
Having disposed of all sorts of external and internal restraints, the [masculine] subject does not need to confine himself to the integration or totalisation of the ego and that of the object any longer. He can now easily break apart to become partial drives, using body parts of other people as he pleases and treat them like partial objects in order to satisfy the perverse partial drives. The rapid expansion of the sex industry serving men and the multifarious and ever changing services the industry provides make perfect examples here.70

Again, Liu’s formulation of ego integration in terms of object cathexis here is clearly predicated upon the normative assumption of psychosexual development where the polymorphous perversity of infantile sexuality, constitutive of the partial drives that obtain satisfactions via multifarious erotogenic zones such as the anus and mouth, comes to be subordinated to what Freud famously calls the ‘well-organised tyranny’ of Oedipal genital love.71

Of particular interest here is Liu’s figuration of the male cyborg as the primal father. Drawing on Lacan’s formulae for the masculine structure, that is, $\exists x \Phi x$ (which reads ‘there is at least one $x$ that is not submitted to the phallic function) and $\forall x \Phi x$ (which reads ‘all $x$s are [every $x$ is] submitted to the phallic function’),72 Liu takes the first formula, which Lacan associates with the primal father, as the precise embodiment of what she calls the ‘foremost manifestation of the ultra masculinist subject position’. Liu further evokes the scandal of an influential politician who, as head of a local council, was prosecuted for corruption (using public funds to entertain his cronies and some civil servants in the leisure/sex industry) to support her strong claim that some socially privileged men, who are a law unto themselves, work to enlarge this realm of the ogre that is beyond ‘sentiment, reason and law’ (qing, li, fa). In so doing, Liu argues, they hugely expand the masculinist sexual economy to the effect of benefiting all other men in society. This ‘maximisation of $\Sigma x \Phi x$ [sic] in the sphere of the sexual’, which for Liu manifests itself in the prevalent spectacles of lap-dancer Spice Girls and Betel Nut Beauties (scantily clad young girls perching inside the neon-light-decorated, shopping-window-like container stalls that are usually lined up along roadsides on the outskirts of cities, selling beverages, betel nuts/cigarettes and, of course, flirts with motorists, especially lorry/taxi drivers), is what characterises Taiwanese postmodernity.73

Liu’s appropriation of Lacan here is intriguing because she wrongly takes the constitutive exception (the primal father) that grounds the universal rule (standing here for the collective of men as patriarchy itself) to be the universal rule itself. Yet according to Lacan’s teaching, insofar as the primal father is not submitted to the law of castration, he cannot be said to exist in the symbolic
(as founded on his own murder executed by his sons). On the other hand, insofar as such an absolute exclusion can nonetheless be written in language, the father can be said to ‘ex-sist’, in the sense that he is paradoxically ‘excluded from within [the symbolic order]’, that is, ‘extimate’. According to Freud’s *Totem and Taboo*, society is only founded retroactively as such through the sons’ killing of the despotic father, who has unlimited access to all women. Consequently, desiring to have an equal share of the father’s prerogatives, sons erect laws that interdict the excess of jouissance that once belonged exclusively to the father. ‘What Freud accounts for in *Totem and Taboo*, as Joan Copjec points out:

is the structure, the real structure, of a society of equals, which is thus shown to be irreducible to the labile relations of equality that never obtains absolutely. The petty jealousies and feelings of powerlessness that threaten these relations, that block their permanent realisation, betray their guilty origin, the cause that they must efface.

The primal father thus comes to represent the real, the very negativity, that the symbolic must repudiate in order for it to establish itself as such. Yet in Liu’s example, the meaning that she attributes to the scandalised Taiwan politician (who was, after all, only a local councillor, not a lawmaker) is registered in the domain of the symbolic, for the primal father in her formulation is not so much that which civilisation must renounce, not so much that which must be expunged from the symbolic, as that which augments the latter. For Liu, what is beyond the pleasure principle ultimately comes to the aid of the pleasure principle as far as the masculine sexual economy is concerned:

When Lacan reminds us that Freud regards masculine sexuality as ‘polymorphous perverse’, what he emphasises is the continuum between the pleasure/reality principle and the beyond the pleasure principle, that is, male individuals and groups use the former [which they are good at] to cover up and shelter the deeds enacted under the latter; in turn, the [psychic] energies obtained from the latter end up feeding back the former. In short, within the patriarchal norm of gender and sex, women become the very conduits through which men bolster their egos and satisfy their polymorphous perversion (or partial drives). And the sex industry proves to be the ultimate embodiment of that patriarchal norm.

Masculine sexuality, if unconstrained by the law, knows no bounds, and it appears that the primal father, affirmed here as the ultimate embodiment of the patriarch, is the one against whom Liu’s feminism seeks to revolt. Despite, or precisely because of, the parricide, Liu is like the sons who committed the murder, turning themselves into good fathers (in the sense that they are less
evil than their father), instituting laws that protect ‘equal’ society (from the perspective of men, of course) and their future generations from the invasion of jouissance.\textsuperscript{78} And insofar as Liu’s feminist sexual imaginary resolutely denounces the primal father, her politics actually identifies with the pleasure principle enjoined by the good father. She thus assumes the subject position of the good mother, qua sage-queen, leading moral crusades against ‘obscene thoughts and iniquitous deeds’.

**When the Hysteric Encounters the Père-Jouissant**

Let’s take an instance of Liu’s moral crusade by examining an article she wrote in the national newspaper, *China Times*. Entitled ‘Taking seriously the corruptive influences of the pervert’s discourse’,\textsuperscript{79} Liu’s article is a direct response to an article by Ka Weibo. Ka’s article, written in the context of a high-profile sex scandal involving a member of parliament who was exposed for taking ecstasy pills while having SM sex with call girls, draws on Freud’s account of neuroses as failed suppression of perversions, in order to dispel media bias against SM.\textsuperscript{80} Liu takes issue with Ka, arguing that his Freudian take misses the point about perversion entirely, a point, she says, that one ‘cannot afford to ignore as it is pertinent to questions regarding the subject-object sexual relation and its ethical and legal implications’.\textsuperscript{81}

Liu thus seeks to redefine perversion by construing it as failed repression of sexual fantasy. The difference between a normal person and the pervert is, Liu explains, that the former ‘knows that sexual life in reality is not and should not be the embodiment of sexual fantasy’, whereas the latter enacts his sexual fantasy and is adamant that ‘my sexual fantasy is what you [written in the feminine form in Chinese] want and everything I do is to bring you pleasure’.\textsuperscript{82} In so doing, the pervert, Liu maintains, achieves the aim of infusing with his object in a way that is distinct from psychosis. Liu then goes on to lay out what I take to be the crux of her argument about perversion:

> Because sexual fantasy is essentially offensive and against common sense, it is conceivable that the pervert’s attitude will make his object feel uncomfortable; in fact, whether the latter feels like that or not is usually a reliable verification by which she judges whether she has encountered a pervert. In a situation like this, the pervert would then come up with the basic ruse, saying ‘let us liberate ourselves from repression! Lend me that part of your body that will give me a moment of satisfaction and [if you care to] use [for your own pleasure] that part of my body which appeals to you’.\textsuperscript{83} Precisely what Marquis de Sade, the founder of [the school of] perversion, said. Ka Weibo and his like employ the similar logic: all appears so broad-minded, equal and democratic yet in actual fact once this
kind of ‘pervert’s discourse’ takes effect, the pervert then succeeds
in achieving his purpose of disintegrating and corrupting his object,
thereby co-opting her into the camp of perversion. The pervert’s
discourse exerts highly corrupting influences on youth or the
reading public who are in the disadvantaged position of knowledge
possession. The ubiquitous scene of betel-nut beauties in Taiwan
today, the phenomenon of ‘voluntary prostitution on the part of
teenage girls’ and the audience’s general proclivity to voyeurism
that results from media influences — these are all evident examples
of such corruption exerted by the pervert’s discourse.84

While Liu does not mention Lacan here, her formulation of perversion clearly
draws on his clinical structure for perversion. Reformulating Freud’s thesis
— that perversion is the positive of neurosis — in terms of jouissance, Lacan
maintains that whereas the neurotic, including the hysteric and the obsessive,
‘refuse[s] to be the cause of the Other’s jouissance’, i.e., that the other must
not ‘get off’ on him or her, the pervert serves as the instrument of the Other’s
jouissance.85 Interestingly, when Liu, the self-identified hysteric, says that
when she feels uneasy she knows she is in the presence of a pervert, she is
exhibiting exactly the same neurotic symptom.

Any equality-minded feminist who insists on upholding ‘erotic
autonomy’ would quickly identify with what Liu says here about the
corruptive influences of the pervert’s discourse, and would be easily
persuaded by the example that Liu provides to unmask the pervert’s pseudo-
equality discourse. Here Liu whole-heartedly applauds the China Times for
its investigative endeavours in uncovering the ‘truth’ of SM sex in the sex
industry, revealing how call girls are drugged and forced to have SM sex
first and then perverted to become ‘fallen SM girls’. While a more liberally
minded feminist might discern that Liu’s example is strictly conditioned by
her unreserved endorsement of the reportage’s naturalist depiction of the
misery of SM girls, dazed and petrified under the influence of drugs, serving
like partial object qua sex toy without any agential subjectivity whatsoever,
and while she might find Liu’s elision of the question of consensus on the
part of the prostitutes somewhat objectionable, she would still concur with
Liu’s contention that ‘what lies behind the practice of SM that is performed
to a large extent through sex trade is clearly a question of the gap of gender
domination’ and that ‘it is a universal truth that sexual perversion belongs to
the prerogative of the socially privileged vis-à-vis the underprivileged’.86

Let us pause to further consider the hysteric’s encounter with the pervert
by casting them as neighbours. This imagined setting, as I see it, is fitting,
because in her article on repression, Liu quotes the famous passage from
Freud’s ‘Civilisation and its discontents’, where Freud explains why he shuns the Christian injunction to ‘love thy neighbour as thyself’:

Men are not gentle creatures who want to be loved, and who at the most can defend themselves if they are attacked: they are on the contrary, creatures among whose instinctual endowments is to be reckoned a powerful share of aggressiveness. As a result, their neighbour is for them not only a potential helper or sexual object, but also someone who tempts them to satisfy their aggressiveness on him, to exploit his capacity for work without compensation, to use him sexually without his consent, to seize his possession, to humiliate him, to cause him pain, to torture and kill him.

Registering the neighbour in this passage as indicatively male, Liu uses it to surmise her claim about the malaise of male aggression and the immense problem it poses to women, who, she argues, are not capable of such aggression according to the teaching of psychoanalysis. One would assume, of course, that Liu would recoil in horror from this malignant pervy neighbour and yet, according to Lacan, she would not be able to accuse her neighbour of generalised perverse aggressiveness without accusing herself at the same time. In his reconsideration of Freud’s recoiling from Christian neighbourly love, Lacan juxtaposes the malignant neighbour’s aggressiveness with the aggression unleashed through the enactment of the Sadeian law of enjoyment, a law which Lacan re-articulates, importantly, through the Kantian register of ethical imperative, as ‘I have the right of enjoyment over your body; anyone can say to me, and I will exercise this right, without any limit stopping me in the capriciousness of the exactions that I might have the taste to satiate’. Lacan makes clear that at the heart of the malignant neighbour lies the very self-aggressivity that simultaneously founds our sadistic superego and jouissance. While our conscience appears to derive its ‘obscene’ kind of jouissance from our guilt, those who do approach jouissance, it has been argued, risk sundering their own totalised identity that is congealed around the imaginary identifications. Thus, should one take this neighbourly love to heart and defy the law of desire so as to gain access to jouissance, one likely consequence would be that ‘my neighbour’s body breaks into pieces’. Significantly, as he goes on to comment on these fractured bodies, Lacan expresses no sentimental attachments to the notion of whole body. Instead, he asks us to rethink the notion of part object as proposed by the object-relations school of psychoanalysis, which implies:

that this part object only wants to be reintegrated into the object, into the already valorised object, the object of our love and
tenderness, the object that brings together within it all the virtues of the so-called genital stage. Yet we should consider the problem a little differently; we should notice that this object is necessarily in a state of independence in a field that we take to be central as if by convention. The total object, our neighbour, is silhouetted there, separate from us and rising up, if I may say so, like the image of Carpaccio’s San Giorgio degli Schiavone in Venice, in the midst of a charnel house figure.91

Scornful of the ‘genital love’ that Liu espouses, Lacan offers here a definite critique of heteronormative ideology by calling attention to the sequential organisation of libidinal developments subsumed under the teleology of Oedipalised desire. In shattering the entity of the virtuous ego, one finds many plateaux of jouissance.

Liu’s retreat from her pervy neighbour can thus be justifiably interpreted as her refusal to engage her own jouissance. Instead, she clings tenaciously to wedlock and abides faithfully by the pleasure principle ordained by the good father. Intolerant of the jouissance of the Other, she further projects her hysterical mode of sexuality onto others and demands that they be like her. Thus, by upholding the paternal law of desire, she comes to assume the position of the maternal superego, acting as the moral guardian of society to protect children and youth, as well as the infantilised ‘general public’, from the pervert’s corrosive influences.92 Significantly, in shielding the social body from the incessant attack of the death drive that is embodied in the figure of père-jouissant, Liu forges a weapon and confers it to the morally feeble-minded public, a weapon of self-defence named the ‘whore stigma’.

Sage-Queen Compassion and the Whore Stigma

Since the inception of the prostitute rights movement, queers in Taiwan have persistently challenged anti-prostitution feminists, holding them accountable for the continual stigmatisation of sex workers and deviant sexualities. Liu herself, however, does not accept this charge. The whore stigma is fundamentally rooted, she claims, in the ‘perilous and humiliating predicament’ that all prostitutes endure after being ‘pushed’ or ‘enticed’ into the realm of the ogre.93 Significantly, she explains how the stigma operates psychically on two levels. On the fundamental level, it serves as ego defence against the attacks of the death drive. On the other hand, it names precisely that living hell condition caused by the failure of such ego defence mechanism. To illustrate her point, Liu cites the work of the sociologist Hwang Shuling and applies her psychoanalytic reading to the two categories of prostitutes that Hwang distinguishes.94 With regard to the ‘normal’ type who manages to lead
a normal way of life not unlike that of the respectable housewife, Liu argues that with their ‘more developed sense of the reality principle’, the prostitutes of this category know clearly what they want and more importantly what the stigma entails before embarking on the career. On the other hand, she reads what Hwang calls the ‘deviant’ type of prostitutes as those who lose themselves completely to that way of life. In them, one sees the real harm of the whore stigma, Liu says, which triggers severe ‘moral masochism’ on the part of the prostitutes, suffering as they do from the persecution of their sadistic superego. Significantly, she proceeds to construe the queer demand for ‘de-stigmatisation’ as propelled by the profound sympathy for the plight of the deviant type, adding that:

Yet, pragmatically speaking, the whore stigma is not easy to get rid of. And, perhaps, one might say that it should not be eliminated, because it is the reasonable and necessary defence mechanism deployed by the ego or reality principle, it is an effective weapon employed by the psychic structure to resist the internal and external invasion of the death drive, and this applies to sex workers as well as to ordinary people in society.95

What seems most striking about Liu’s articulation of the whore stigma is that it totally contradicts her efforts to undermine the notion of self-determination/choice under the postmodern condition. Let’s recall here how she articulates that condition:

Given that postmodern social economic activities and postmodern discourse sever to a large extent the traditional stable and intimate inter-personal relation (this kind of subject-object relation is precisely one of the characteristics that exemplifies the female psyche) and given that sexual services turn the subject-object relation into something changeable and abnormal, women sex workers easily become susceptible to addictions and this becomes a vicious circle because the only condition through which to satisfy this kind of ‘love affair’ is to resort to prostitution as the latter appears to be the only way society offers underprivileged women to earn a great deal of money that is necessary to feed their ‘kicks’. This is the logic that gives rise to ‘non-forced prostitution’ or the suicidal tendency of the ‘voluntary prostitution’ phenomenon.96

After all that talk about the postmodern cyborg love story, Liu finally reveals towards the end of her essay, the bottom line on which her moralism is founded. For how are we to make sense of her sudden mention of the superego that sadistically tortures the female (teenage) prostitute when she is turned or turns herself into a partial object at the same time? That is, how can a woman cyborg be said to be severely persecuted by the moral agency, when
it is precisely the very lack of such agency that defines the cyborg as such in the first place? This glaring contradiction appears to suggest that moral conscience is posited as the ultimate source that condemns the prostitute’s eternal sufferings. All Liu’s repeated assertions about the plight of the prostitute being treated as partial object cannot, after all, really sustain its rhetorical force unless a subjective voice from within the heart of the prostitute is made heard, a ‘human(e)’ voice that demands the cyborg subject to abide by the law of desire ordained by the good-father-identified feminist ideal. That ferocious voice of feminist conscience is heard to be saying to all the cyborgs: thou shall be condemned to eternal sufferings should you take no heed of the whore stigma.

Queer demand for de-stigmatisation, contrary to what Liu imagines it to be, admits no sympathy and compassion. Indeed, what queer and prostitute activists have always challenged is the very moral high ground on which the state feminists stand. Refusing to be patronised, queers and prostitutes forcibly question the very notion of ‘reality’ that feminists like Liu impose, a reality that is none other than their own fantasy sustained by their own middle-class self-image and respectable forms of desire. As Liu herself sees clearly how housewives are used by the patriarchal family to provide free domestic work and reproductive sex and has campaigned hard to reform the family law, she denies categorically the working class women’s right to do sex work, refusing to extend her hand to those ex-licensed prostitutes clinging to the cliff-edge after their licences were abruptly abolished by Chen Shu-bian in 1997. Refusing the ‘altruistic’ love state feminists were prepared to give, the ex-licensed prostitute Guan Xiou Qin told us why she braved the social stigma to become an activist:

During our struggle for [the two-year grace period], we met some university students, professors and scholars. Due to their good family backgrounds perhaps, they do not know the pain other people endure outside their own world. I really want them to know that it is not us who choose to struggle in the dark corners of Taiwanese society. Rather, it is ‘society’ that creates our reality. How come they never understand, all they say are lies made up to deceive themselves. I want to them to realise how people from different strata of society live, with pain.

Xiou Qin’s pain becomes, sadly, ‘ours’ as we bear witness to how gross social injustice forced Xiou Qin to take her own life in the summer of 2006, when, after leading battles demanding the decriminalisation of sex work, she chose, finally, to commit the ultimate ethical act as a protest against the Social
Symbolic that refused her an inch of ground.\textsuperscript{99} Xiou Qin did give us a different sense of reality radically distinct from the ‘reality’ that passes as doxa in Liu’s imaginary, a doxa that is libidinally sustained by her desire to civilise sex and to modernise gender.

Ding Naifei’s work on base femininity has reminded us to look at the stigma of sex historically and symbolically.\textsuperscript{100} Liu herself, in fact, did address that sense of gendered sexual shame relating to sex and domestic work, but did so in the context of calling on the state to take up care work for women. Significantly, Liu addresses this shame as humiliation, in the same masochistic mode by which the prostitute’s predicament is signified. ‘Freud tells us,’ Liu writes, ‘a woman giving birth to a baby and a housemaid in a posture of kneeling on the floor are representative forms of masochism’. She continues:

The work of reproduction and domestic work as undertaken by women are interpreted as the most debased, most humiliating and degrading situations. When one thinks through these two major tasks of life, one has to go thus far in order to get to the heart of the issue in its entire radicality.\textsuperscript{101}

Why is reproductive sex work and domestic work base? Liu argues it is because patriarchy cannot, and simply does not want to, face up to the ‘endless frivolous tasks of labour’. And that’s why, she says, men dump it all on women and let them bear the burden of sex/domestic work in a private realm that is beyond ‘the laws, rights, justice and economy’.\textsuperscript{102} If Liu can concede that reproductive sex work as an unrecognised form of labour in patriarchy is stigmatised as degrading and humiliating and that it is feminism’s task to politicise it, then let me take the argument a little bit further than Liu would allow, on the grounds that feminist awakening has allowed the dis-articulation of sex from reproduction: Why is reproductive sex work less humiliating and more legitimate than non-reproductive sex work? Why indeed should the latter be baser than the former and as such deserve no state recognition? In Liu’s attempt to challenge the shame around sex and domestic work, a line of moral distinction is drawn to foreclose the claim of the right to sex work outside the domain of marriage. This line of sexual difference marks the limit of Liu’s attempt to symbolise her state feminist causes. And it is this line, let’s not forget, that Xiou Qin fought with her life to have redrawn.

**Conclusion: The One of Sage-Queen Sexual Fascism**

In the above discussion, we have seen that Liu’s symbolisation of equal sexual/gender relations inescapably produces a sexual real, a reminder that
is constitutive of — by way of existence — the universal totality that Liu lays out as/for the new state gender ideology in 2000s Taiwan. This irreducible reminder constitutes that which must be repressed from within the egalitarian entity in order for it to sustain itself. While it is posited that every being co-exists equally within this ‘sage-queen’ totality, my analysis has attempted to show otherwise by bringing into relief the exclusionary and repressive forces by which the sage-queen totality is established. I argue that Liu’s gender reform politics gestures towards the making of the One as heterosexual monogamy, with the hysterical mode of feminine sexuality serving as the feminist regulatory ideal that attempts to purge all the masculine ills, including perversions and promiscuity. Yet her civilising mission does not go unchallenged. Resisting her feminist symbolic is the real figure of \textit{père-jouissant}, which designates the death drive, the very negativity that queers and prostitutes are called forth to figure. As queers and prostitutes persistently rend and infiltrate the Imaginary One on which her sage-queendom is founded, Liu instructs her ‘children’ to use the whore stigma to defend themselves from the incessant incursions of the death drives.

Slavoj Žižek has pointed out that the Sadeian-Kantian law of jouissance cannot be ultimately formalised as sexual norm because fantasy, idiosyncratically staged within every individual’s libidinal economy, resists universalisation. Yet while it appears that the right to enjoyment is irremediably incompatible with democracy and with the emblematic values of modernity such as ‘equality’ and ‘reciprocity’, Žižek sees that this split and antagonism, when taken seriously rather than fetishistically disavowed, presents precisely one possible condition of practising democracy.\textsuperscript{103} Crucially, it is precisely this antagonistic condition that is positively and resolutely foreclosed in Liu’s sage-queen totality: with women and children being perceived as always and already subjected to predatory male lusts, and universally victimised, no possibility of democratic negations with regards to erotic practices can be admitted, except, of course, when they take place within the context of marriage. It is in this sense that Liu’s sage-queen totality must be construed as sexual totalitarianism, and the infringements of sexual freedoms in Taiwan today attest to the precise extent to which such state repressions bring about. With \textit{père-jouissant} looming large, a state of emergency is declared and measures, made in accordance with what Lauren Berlant calls ‘hygienic governmentality’, are implemented to safeguard this sage-queen totality:\textsuperscript{104} the enforcement of mandatory HIV testing on sexual suspects, such as new immigrants, migrants and gay ravers; censorship of all types introduced to protect the infantilised public from coming into contact with sex on the net;
police continually entrapping net citizens of all ages on suspicion of sexual transaction; SMers posting personal ads on the net being prosecuted under the Criminal Law; and, of course, the business-as-usual ‘sweeping-yellow’ on the streets. The Oneness of sage-queen egalitarian totality is thus that ‘circle of normal hearts’ which queer writer Qiu Miaojin describes in *The Crocodile’s Journal*, a circle of humanity that played deaf to Xiou Qin’s persistent demands. Yet, Xiou Qin’s legacy leaves an indelible trace in the symbolic. Signifying the death drive as she has always done, she calls on queers to perforate the One of the monogamous ideal that Liu Yu-hsiu decrees.
Having delineated the contour of state feminism and its normative dimensions, this chapter continues to query the moral-sexual regime of the mainstream feminist culture by considering its emotional and affective make-up. By way of concluding this work of queer historiography in Taiwan, this chapter concerns itself with 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. By showing how this feeling culture propels a liberal form of state governance, which has intensified the regulation of non-conjugal intimacies and ‘public sex’ under the child-protection imperative of late in Taiwan, this chapter aims to theorise what I term ‘melancholic sexual modernity’.

Given the contingency of prostitution as the specific gendered pain in liberal Taiwan, I propose to examine here the anti-prostitution/obscenity feminist public culture by what Lauren Berlant has formulated as the ‘intimate public sphere’. In her study of sexual politics under the hegemonic regime of 1990s US Reaganite neo-conservatism and Clinton neo-liberalism, Berlant makes a powerful case that contemporary US sexual citizenship is constructed through the zone of privacy in the mass-mediated public sphere. This culture of intimacy is fantasmatic, in that it is galvanised by, she argues, a family-orientated national sentimentality that fetishises the figures of the child and the foetus, whose imputed innocence works to redeem the future of the white bourgeois American dream, sullied in the recent past by the rise and challenge of minority identity politics in the public domain. Berlant’s analysis is particularly instructive for this chapter, as she shows how the US intimate public sphere comes to be organised through highly emotionally charged issues such as abortion and pornography and, most importantly, how the culture of national sentimentality, premised as it is on pre-ideological suppositions that
cut through social stratifications and hierarchies, works effectively to procure and win over the consents needed for hegemonic ascendancy.\(^1\)

In analysing the intimate public sphere given rise to by mainstream feminism, I have chosen to focus on analysing the discourse and praxes of Hwang Shuling. A key figure in the anti-prostitution bloc specialising in Taiwan prostitution studies, and Liu Yu-hsiu’s frequent collaborator, the US-trained sociologist has used her extended ethnographic researches on men, women and teenage girls in the sex industry to bolster her feminist claims. Her anti-prostitution feminism has indeed earned her a rather impressive list of credits in public and social services. Previously chair of the Taiwan Feminist Scholars’ Association (2005–2007), Hwang has served on the board of directors of the Taiwan Women’s Rescue Foundation and has been appointed, as a member of both the Commission on Women’s Rights and the Gender Equity Education Committee, among others. (Both groups were set up by the central government in 1997). These positions are cited here to index the institutional context of the gender mainstreaming process wherein her speaking position is situated, as well as to underscore the symbolic power she exercises.

In delineating the specific contour of this ‘intimate public sphere’ in Taiwan, I use as a starting point an emotionally charged paper that Hwang delivered at the Third National Women’s Conference in 1998 to mark out her attachment to conjugality, further analysing what she terms ‘compulsory heterosexual male desire’ in her vituperation of the sex industry. Then I proceed to look at how the endemic culture of prostitution is configured through the problematic of traffic in women in Hwang’s sociological imagination, showing how her own subjectivity is entirely imbricated within 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’s Rescue Foundation under Hwang’s supervision. Situating the book as a particular product of biopower in Taiwan, I show 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. In particular, I demonstrate that such a self-sentimentalising gesture on the part of mainstream feminism instantiates a fantasy time-space that violently forecloses upon subaltern aspirations. Finally, through exploring the ethics of sexual happiness, this chapter considers the figure of melancholic high femininity that has emerged from my analysis of state feminist politics and proposes to reformulate the feminist
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doxa of ‘sexual autonomy’ through what Judith Butler has called ‘melancholic foreclosure’, as it calls for a queer politics to resist the feminist melancholia and the profound moralism it fosters in liberal Taiwan.

The Traffic in Women: Compulsory Heterosexuality and Compulsive Monogamy

Hwang’s short paper, entitled ‘How Taiwan sex culture corrupts men, families and electoral politics’, was presented in a panel titled ‘Sex and the Body: The Labour of Love or Commodity?’ at the Third National Women’s Conference, held against the backdrop of Chen Shu-bian’s abrogation of licensed prostitution. Hwang joined other panellists, including prominent state feminists Lin Fangmei and Liu Yu-hsiu, to express their unequivocal support for Mayor Chen while castigating the sex industry for commodifying women. Her thesis is that despite the state’s curbing and banning of prostitution, the sex industry in Taiwan continues to thrive because it is the foremost site where, as Taiwan patriarchal cultural values have it, men are socialised into adult manhood in a capitalist society: men buying sex, often collectively for the sake of career and business gains, becomes therefore a rite essential for the social reproduction of hegemonic heterosexual masculinity. The sex industry in Taiwanese society, Hwang contends, not only wrecks countless marriages because of the men’s gross negligence of their family duties, but also gnaws at the root of political culture because it is where numerous scandals involving under-the-table deals between the private and public sectors are found to take place, at the expense of women’s dignity.

I want to pay attention to Hwang’s rendition of what she calls the mechanism of ‘compulsory heterosexual desire’ that structures the set of patriarchal values she attacks:

This set of cultural values forces many men to confine themselves to a ‘compulsory heterosexual desire’, which distinguishes [women in] the sex service industry from ‘women of respectable families’. In other words, our fathers, brothers, husbands and lovers can, if they are not careful enough, easily buy into the notion of sex that ‘it’s men’s need and right to consume sex’, a notion which regards buying sex as self-motivated, satisfying their biological needs, as normal and legitimate behaviour. In so doing, they lose the creativity and ability to think and to build up other ways of erotic satisfaction. This collective sexual idea deeply affects men’s attitude towards women’s bodies, family, marriage, love-sex and work. I have interviewed some men, about 20, who habitually frequent the sex industry for the purpose of social networking and business gains. They said social pressures left them with no choice. In Taiwan, how many men have
indulged themselves in that kind of activity all their lives, only to wake up when they get old and then let out a sigh lamenting that their lives are grey, colourless and dreary? In the meantime, how many wives and children bemoan their husbands and fathers, who, busyng themselves with the sex industry, fail to work on their marriages and family love? Who in Taiwan, may I ask, are in most need of sexual liberation?²

A queer sitting in the conference would have answered Hwang’s passionate call by saying that it is indeed the wives and children who are in most need of sexual liberation. But of course, there is absolutely no trace of irony here in Hwang’s question, because she and most mainstream feminists have sternly opposed the xing/bie and sexual emancipation discursive movement since its inception in the mid-1990s. For Hwang, many a Taiwanese man is caught, willy-nilly, between a rock and a hard place, that is, between the wife and the prostitute, under the matrix of ‘compulsory heterosexual desire’, and her idea of sexual liberation entails not the abolition of the institution of marriage that creates the triangular bind of the wife-husband-prostitute, but the freeing of the husband from the shackles of the extra-marital-cum-prostitute. In other words, sexual liberation for Hwang amounts to none other than compulsory monogamy.

What do we make of this peculiar feminist formulation of sexual liberation, or, to shift this question to a different register, how are we to make sense of this feminist attachment to conjugality as the object of desire, to explain her sense of endurance in the happiness that modern monogamous marriage promises?³ I want to consider these questions historically and symbolic-linguistically. To begin with, Hwang’s figuration of ‘the compulsory heterosexual desire’ can be understood, historically, as the structured positions of the polygyny-prostitution continuum that Keith McMahon discerns in his study of the ‘premodern’ system of Chinese gender/sexuality. He argues that the system was organised through the dominant institution of polygamy, an institution which gave way — unevenly, in different Chinese diasporas — to modern monogamous marriage in the twentieth century.⁴ Further, Ding Naifei, taking on the historical question that McMahon raises regarding the analytic attention to the legacy or after-life of polygamy through which modern forms of gender/sexuality are arranged, has chronicled a (counter-feminist) historiography exploring the contradictions inherent in the affective make-up of respectable feminist subjectivity. The modern gender-equality-minded feminist subject takes up, according to Ding, the subject position of ‘wife-in-monogamy’ vis-à-vis the debased bondmaid/concubine life trajectories within trans-China diasporas (such as Hong Kong, Taiwan and
Singapore). Crucially, the feminist negotiates her modern status, enshrined by the marital contract, chiefly through the disavowal of her own making that is thoroughly imbricated in the process of modernisation, as she projects the gendered shame and sexual stigma onto those cast in the shade of the polygyny-prostitution continuum outside the monogamous sexual imagery, such as the adulterer, the ‘third person’, the prostitute and the queer. I will return to this later in the chapter in my analysis of *The Youthhood Tainted by Sex*.

From this historical perspective, Hwang actually brings into play, in her configuration of the matrix of ‘compulsory heterosexual desire’, the three subject positions occupied by the figures of the housewife, the husband (the modern polygynist) and the prostitute. Given that Hwang’s identification is with the wife-in-monogamy, it is significant that her mode of address, when she cautions that ‘our’ male members of the family could be easily led astray, is no more positioned through the genealogical grid than it is oriented towards coupledom. While a bond with those women of respectable family in the audience is elicited through this affective identification, the intimacy performed through Hwang’s mode of address requires some explications. In an essay on the politics of recognition in liberal modernity, Elizabeth Povinelli makes the case that liberal governance operates through the crisscrossing of intimate love and kinship. Drawing on Habermas’ work on the public sphere and the new mode of intimate address that accompanied it, she argues that as intimate love, replacing the social status and rank organised through and dispensed by the genealogical society in the premodern era, emerges as the primary identity marker that judges individual worth, the interiority of the speaking ‘I’ is performatively produced through the self-reflexive mode of address that inspects repeatedly the subject’s own feeling towards the intimate ‘Thou’. ‘Eventually’, Povinelli writes,

*Love* absorbed the semantics of *intimacy* and stood as if on its own, opposed to interested attachment, to use, to usury. To assert a bond of love was to assert simultaneously a rejection of social utility. And simultaneously, nationalism absorbed the structures of this recognition: We-the-People emerged as a transposition and lifting-up (*Aufhebung*) of the dialectic of the intimate I and thou.6

Crucially, for Povinelli, the genealogical society reconfigures itself in the form of nuclear family through the institutionalisation of intimate love, with conjugal coupledom serving as the nexus where liberal dispensations confer citizenship and enact social exclusion in the name of normative love.7 From this perspective, we get a deeper understanding of Hwang’s utterance. The constellation of ‘We-the-Couple’ (sworn into the bondage of love by the
witness of the state) and ‘We-the-People’ (united as we are on the normative horizon of love saying no to the sex industry) produced through Hwang’s intimate mode of address is animated not by the imaginary ideal of inter-subjectivity to which the mainstream unwaveringly subscribes, but rather by Hwang’s own reflexive attachment to conjugal coupledom as she projects her own feeling onto the repenting aging husband who discovers a dreary life without family love.

Of course, the monogamist desire for intimate recognition and spousal egalitarianism must confront the structural division of sex and domestic work that is currently unevenly organised under the Taiwanese patriarchal family. As I have noted in my examination of Liu Yu-hsiu’s welfare state imaginary in the previous chapter, for the modern, middle-class professional woman, the primary task in her quest for independence is to rid herself of the life-attrition burden of domestic work conventionally imposed on her in her capacity and duty as mother and daughter-in-law. The politicisation of the demands for welfare state dispensations in the area of childcare and eldercare thus constitute the core agenda of Taiwan state feminism. Significantly for the state feminist subject, gender subordination in patriarchy is aggravated by the existence of the sex industry, as expressed clearly in a passage from Liu Yu-hsiu’s contribution to the panel:

[Having] solely reaped the economic gains from the contribution their wives made through sex, love and domestic services, men are then to have the extra money and extra physical strength needed to pursue the pleasure-business networking activities outside the family. This fosters and nourishes thereby a massive sex industry. This state of affairs is particularly true for countries like Taiwan that profoundly discriminate against women.8

Liu’s temporalisation of aberrant patriarchal conjugality here — first the wife’s sacrifice and then the husband’s extra-marital enjoyment — suggests a deep sense of ressentiment on the part of the feminist. That is, what is intolerable for the wife is that the husband has fun at her expense. For while the state is called upon to unburden her domestic chores and care work, she still wants to reform him lest he is having too much fun behind her back (because she is not having any fun?). And while recognising that there is such a thing as a labour of love that actually works to nothing other than the attrition of life in marriage, Liu cannot bring herself to avow the exchange value of her own sexual labour. Instead, she resorts to the exclusive right, conferred on her by contractual monogamy, over the use of her husband’s body (for her sole enjoyment) and preserves it as ‘egalitarian, joyful, responsible sex’ as well as that of ‘familial intimacy’ (these terms oozing happiness are from the title of
her paper) in conjugal time and space. Thus, Liu subscribes to what Laura Kipnis has called ‘surplus monogamy’, understood as the regulative regime of intimacy sustained precisely by forced labour of love.9

For her part, Hwang offers a detailed depiction of men at play in the sex industry in her essay, ‘Masculinity and Taiwan’s flower-drinking culture’, which was originally presented, alongside Liu again,10 at a conference on tackling the problem of teenage girl prostitution organised by the Women’s Rescue Foundation in 2001. In it, Hwang sets out to undertake a task posed as a feminist challenge: why does the Taiwanese ‘flower-drinking culture’ continue to flourish, proving to be so resistant to the women’s movement, despite its coming-to-power of late? The stakes for feminism are high for obvious reasons, as many young women, especially teenage girls, continue to fall prey to this ever-expanding ‘meat’ market. Hence, Hwang’s primary task here is to expose the recalcitrant logic by which the patriarchal institution sustains and reproduces itself. Locating the booming of the culture within the historical process whereby Taiwan underwent rapid industrialisation during the Cold War era (a process that I have examined in chapter 3), which saw the rise of a new class of small and medium-size business male entrepreneurs, Hwang employs the theoretical perspectives drawn from Pierre Bourdieu’s Male Domination and Erving Goffman’s dramaturgical sociology to amplify the baseline argument proposed in her short paper that I discussed earlier. According to her, the flower-drinking culture provides the foremost playground whereby the aspiring new middle-class men, endowed with the masculine disposition and habitus culturally formed within the male-dominated society, are able to cultivate the aggressive and domineering masculinist mentality conducive to capitalist ventures. In the leisure establishments, men circulate and acquire their economic and symbolic capital that is accumulated through the exchange of women as gifts, and this traffic in women further augments and perpetuates male supremacy in the social, cultural and political spheres. Further, depicting the flower-drinking culture as a ‘backstage’ of social reality that allows men to act without inhibitions, Hwang contends that the sex culture functions both as a ‘petrol station’ and ‘opium house’ for men, a place where men, addicted as they are to ‘the drink of their poisonous masculinity’, can always return to recuperate, through their use of women scripted to play the roles of ‘licentious woman’ and ‘maid’, their virility impaired in everyday life. Of particular significance and interest here is the mise en scène of the traffic in women, that is, Hwang’s figuration of sex premises as the civilisation’s backstage, where masculinity is theatrically performed and produced in accordance with what is argued to be an androcentric script, which enacts the
most conventional and stereotypical gender roles. Drawing on the distinction Goffman makes between the front of stage behaviour performed in accordance with social expectations, as opposed to the informality of backstage behaviour, in his dramaturgical explication of self-presentation, Hwang makes the case that in sex premises, men and women can act out their sexual/emotional impulses without proprietary constraints:

Women must play the active role usually unpermitted by society.
Men too do not need to maintain their upright gentlemanly image.
Rather what’s required of men is to display their aggressive sexual behaviour and language, so that men can feel that they are liberated.  

Hwang further cites approvingly the anthropologist Ann Alison’s study on the production of Japanese corporate masculinity in the hostess club, suggesting that in the group ritual of the sex games, the milieu of ‘the pleasant atmosphere of gender subordination’ is created to facilitate the ‘men’s collectively swollen masculine egos’, with one of the key rules being that ‘hostesses must take off their subjectivity’ to provide services such as lighting up cigarettes for their customers and become ‘servile to customers’ authority’.  

Summarising her argument, Hwang contends that:

Women in the sex industry play the dual role of the sexually inviting ‘licentious woman’ and the subservient ‘maid’. It is only that these types of femininity are played out to the full that can enable men to embody their masculinity successfully.

Here, one notices that Hwang’s mise en scène of the sex industry shares the same logic with Liu Yu-hsiu in her apocalyptic account of postmodern love discussed in the previous chapter. In Hwang’s sociological imaginary, while men become unbridled and reveal their lascivious nature in its stark naked forms, women, putatively renouncing their presumed respectable femininity lived in the everyday life front stage, are enjoined to be as wonton and subservient as much as they are made to please. At issue here is, of course, Hwang’s normative presumption of femininity that emanates from the position of ‘wife-in-monogamy’, a respectable ‘high’ femininity that is formed, as Ding Naifei’s work has demonstrated, vis-à-vis the repudiation of base femininity embodied by figures like the ‘licentious woman’ and ‘the maid’. To the extent that it is through base femininity, in its arrant abject embodiments, that hegemonic masculinity is repeatedly procured, if not fantastically approximated, on the part of men in their attempts to continually rejuvenate masculine domination in reality, and to the extent that this base femininity is not supposed to exist in the everyday world of gender equity, Hwang indeed
constructs an indestructible patriarchy but at the expense of morally dubious women in real life as they are relegated to the realm of civilisation’s backstage that Hwang designates also as, nominally speaking, ‘surreal’.14

Where then does this configuration leave the respectable women? Whereas Bourdieu designates the institution of marriage as the primary locale of symbolic exchange in patriarchy, as Hwang herself points out, Hwang’s schematic appropriation of Bourdieu, however, privileges the sex industry as the cardinal site structured through the logic of exchange, one that endows men with more symbolic power as they then inflict violence upon housewives who stay put in their marriages by acquiescing to the symbolic violence. In other words, what Hwang does not avow is that the housewife’s misery actually comes from the women not of her kind. Thus, in the light of this unavowable displacement of violence engendered through her own logic, her reticence over the critique of marriage in her conclusion must be registered as follows: by removing herself from the scene of symbolic exchange in patrilineal genealogy on which her identification with/as the We-the-Couple/We-the-People is founded and by taking ‘wife-in-monogamy’ as ‘the gold standard’ against which other forms of symbolic exchange are judged,15 she quaintly asks women not to ‘cling overly’ to the institution of family that ‘constrains women’s agencies’, while at the same time urging the women’s movement to intercept the circuit of the virile economy premised on the sex industry.16

All this is to say that Hwang, while drawing on Bourdieu, who is most self-reflexive in his own intellectual practice as he theorises the notion of habitus through examining dominant cultural fields including the academia, remains entirely unaware of her own habitus as a feminist intellectual as well as the symbolic power she exercises.17 For example, Gong Zhuojun, in his examination of the question of sexual autonomy raised in Hwang’s prostitution studies, has pointed out how Hwang, in serving as a volunteer consultant to reform schools while carrying out there, at the same time, her ethnographic search, performs taxonomic violence that replicates the existing normative division of the good and bad girls in her categorisation of women in the sex industry.18 Similarly, drawing on Goffman’s work on social exclusion, Zhu Yuanhong has also shown in a deeply reflexive critique of the field of prostitution studies how Hwang’s feminist episteme — her unyielding faith in finding more cases within the target population to give her own research more weight — is entirely complicit with the regime of knowledge and power that produces such a population in the first place.19 In the following section, I further examine Hwang’s exercise of symbolic power and the affective form it assumes through an anti-sentimental reading of The Youthhood Tainted by Sex.
The Youthhood Tainted by Sex and the Feminist Melodrama

Shortly after the promulgation of the Law to Suppress Sexual Transaction Involving Children and Juveniles, the anti-prostitution feminist bloc soon found itself dismayed at the fast-growing trend of teenage girls appearing to be voluntarily taking up sex work in its multifarious forms, and it was this growing concern that propelled the Women’s Rescue Foundation to host a conference on ‘Taiwan Teenage Girls, Sex Market and the Study of Punters’ in 2001. The following year saw Hwang guest-editing a special issue entitled ‘Teenage Sex Matters’ for the Journal of Gender Equity Education (published by the Ministry of Education since 1998). In this special issue, which leans heavily on the problem of teenage girl prostitution, Hwang and her research assistant Yinghua both contribute articles on the subject matter. Hwang’s article, entitled ‘It’s too harsh to label them as rebellious: Teenage girls’ motivations for remaining in prostitution’, is instructive here because it foregrounds the kind of feminist epistemophilia and sentimentality that propels much of the redemptive project of sex in mainstream Taiwan, of which The Youthhood is one exemplary case.

Based on her forty-nine in-depth interviews with girls in three reform schools between 1990 and 2000, Hwang’s article looks into the causes of voluntary teenage girl prostitution and their lives in the sex industry, while seeking to provide a solution for the problem. The majority of the girls are runaways and school dropouts with dysfunctional family backgrounds and most of them have been, Hwang contends, traumatised by sexual abuses. According to Hwang, the girls find their way to the sex market and hostess clubs largely under the influence of small ads in the newspapers (despite such advertisements being banned by the Law to Suppress Sexual Transaction Involving Children and Juveniles since 1995) and soon get hooked on the easy and fast way of making money as well as the hedonistic consumer lifestyle that comes with it — luxury brands, drugs and videogames. (In this account of addiction, Hwang is again aligned with Liu Yu-hsiu’s rendition of postmodern desire.) With this addiction and teenage peer sexual values taken as the main reasons for girls remaining in the sex industry, Hwang argues, in conclusion, for a sex education that contests the overall pornography-saturated media environment as well as for a renewed social understanding of the girls’ not-so-deviant behaviour since they are merely seeking the love that has been missing from their lives.

Of particular significance is that Hwang, in a move that appears to counter the sex emancipation movement’s empowering of girls through their sexual agencies, insists that the girls’ defiance against family and school and
the autonomy gained through sex work can never be construed as an act of sexual emancipation, for they are either victims of child and sexual abuse, or misled by peer sexual values.23 Yet most curiously, while accentuating the grave psychological harm caused by the addictive lifestyle in her account of the girls’ reasons to remain in the sex industry, Hwang also notes in passing that a large number of girls, apparently unaware of the social stigma attached to sex work before being placed in the reform institutions, are actually quite content with their work and way of life.24 That those girls’ desires to continue their way of life has been violently intercepted by state power, that the friendship and emotional support they find through such way of life, are of no concern to Hwang as she subsumes and absorbs the minor happiness that they pursue through the rhetoric of love. For Hwang, these girls, wounded by childhood traumas, find the misplaced objects of love in the wrong place. Thus, the inculcation of ‘true love’ becomes for Hwang an urgent task for sex education as she argues:

Sex education curriculum should compete with mass media, the internet and the pornographic information circulating amongst peer groups. Apart from emphasising the faith of gender equity, apart from assisting students to establish the sexual values of self-respect and respect for others so that they get to know the true meaning of ‘sexual autonomy’, sex education also needs to provide the legal knowledge relating to the Law to Suppress Sexual Transaction Involving Children and Juveniles, such that students can be made to fully understand that buying sex is a sexual behaviour causing harm to others, that those who prostitute themselves will end up with grievous bodily and psychological harm.26

The anti-prostitution/obscenity bloc’s regulative impulse and the authoritarianism it enacts are entirely encapsulated through this feminist doxa of ‘sexual autonomy’. Not only can the minor happiness that Hwang records not be registered as positive self-affirmation, but it also ends up being pathologised, when prostitution, regardless of the vastly variegated contexts in which it occurs, is construed to be self-inflicted harm as well as harm done to others. It is of cardinal importance to point out that Hwang here piously propagates the law’s objectives, as stipulated in Article 4:

The contents of the courses and social educational programmes concerning sexual transactions involving children and juvenile include:

1) to cultivate appropriate sexual psychology [xingxinli, or ‘sexuality’, as I have argued in chapter 1].
2) to cultivate respect for the sexual liberty of others.
3) to correct improper sexual conception.
4) to make believe that sex must not become an object of commercial transactions.
5) to make known the miserable lives of those children and juveniles who are involved in sexual transactions.
6) other matters concerning the prevention of sexual transactions involving children and juvenile.

The law makes clear that the truth of sexual freedom radically forecloses the practice of prostitution. It is the apparatus of sexuality or ‘xingxinli’ par excellence, establishing normative regimes of knowledge through the psychologisation/psychiatrisation of sex under the anti-prostitution provision. It is in this normative regime of state culture bolstered by mainstream feminism that The Youthhood should be situated and understood as a product of disciplinary power. Penned and compiled by Hwang’s research assistant Yinghua, the book contains ten stories based largely on the interviews Hwang conducted in the reform institutions. Each story tells of a girl’s life journey and is followed by a sociological analysis that purports to be educative at the same time. In other words, we have here ten case studies produced by biopower, with the life stories being extracted from the bodies confined in correction centres, for the reproduction of feminist knowledge and truth. Given the institutional and sociological settings, the case studies can also be seen as belonging to a genre that repeats certain conventions of feeling structure and aesthetic forms. Significantly, the case studies themselves are carefully wrapped through layers of texts. To begin with, there are four prefaces, provided respectively by 1) Wang Qingfeng, a lawyer and ex-director of the Women Rescue Foundation, who was also the former minister of justice; 2) Shen Meizhen, lawyer and ex-director of the Foundation, who played an instrumental role in the making and amending of the Law to Suppress Sexual Transaction Involving Children and Juveniles; 3) Chen Shujuan, a social worker; and 4) Yinghua. These are then followed by an introduction by Hwang herself. The appendix is also very impressive. Apart from an excerpt of the law’s key articles and all the major anti-prostitution and child-protection NGOs helplines, it also contains, crucially, an excerpt of a ‘child prostitute’s’ diary by Girl Y, whose real identity remains unknown. Initially found during a police raid on a brothel, the diary was left neglected in the Foundation’s archive room until it was uncovered by a researcher. Again, the diary was turned into a case study, with Lin Fanghao, director of the Foundation and psychological consultant, providing a reading based on ‘feminist counselling’.
The analysis that follows does not focus on analysing the stories and the diary themselves. Rather, in treating the book as a genre, I concentrate on the production of normative and dominant feminine subject position, assumed by the gender-equity experts, and more importantly, the sentimental politics that is enacted through it. That is, I focus on how the experts deploy the knowledge extracted from the girls to confirm, through the gesture of self-sentimentalising expropriation, their ego ideal in their holy war against the epidemic of teenage prostitution. Specifically, I want to illustrate how these feminists, in showing us how to read the stories and in telling us how to feel the girls’ sufferings, compulsively repeat their respectable femininity while mobilising a feeling structure that gains a hegemonic hold on the intimate public sphere. By casting the work as a scene of ‘compassion’s compulsion’, I hope to make clear how feminists, in their pursuit of the feminist Good, accumulate the moral/symbolic capital through the good of the prostitute.

Let us start with the emotional scene of the book’s production itself, a tearful one as described by the author/compiler Yinghua. In her preface entitled ‘Let them glow’, she recalls how she had undergone an arduous process to get the book published, with the manuscript rejected twice by the publisher and editor. The first draft, made in the milieu of a happy retreat in the tranquil Pacific seacoast of eastern Taiwan, was the result of emotional catharsis. She cried as she worked through the manuscript for a whole month and this process of emotional outpouring, interposed by practising yoga, and, perhaps, by ‘nude swimming and having sex with either the men or women she likes in the wild’ (this is the author’s information from the book blurb), gave her, she said, immense pleasure. Yet the manuscript was turned down as her editor and co-worker at the Foundation wanted something different, something suitable for both ‘adults and teenagers’. With the imposition of censorship, Yinghua went back to rework the manuscript, but still failed to deliver the second time, when satisfaction turned to pain, despair, rage and self-pity accompanied by mournful tears. Almost predictably, as she was about to give up, the vivid memory of those deeply traumatised girls, suffering yet still holding out for their dreams of a better future, flashed through her mind. As inspired as she was shamed by the girls’ aspirations, she finally worked out a proper way to present the book, after a long phone conversation with Hwang. Eventually, she made it. Duly thanking those giving her support during the process, she said that until she did it herself, she had felt the ritual of acknowledgment to be clichéd and disgusting. And so she expressed her deepest gratitude to ‘those beautiful young girls who are willing to reveal their authentic life experience’, hoping that the book itself ‘fulfils the promises
she made to them'. Yinghua’s self-confessing mode of address sets the general emotive tone of the book, a sentiment by which a feeling public could be ideally instantiated. The emotional framework thins out the institutional setting of disciplinary correction as the forced confessions of the girls, with ‘the effects of [their] being treated as prostitutes’, are commodified as moving and ‘authentic’ life stories, made suitable for consumption by PG rating. What exactly is Yinghua’s cathartic satisfaction about?

Hwang’s introduction to the book and the prefaces by the Foundation’s former directors jointly magnify that sentimental framework against the backdrop of the Foundation’s own involvement in the child-prostitute rescuing movement in the late 1980s. Of particular significance here is Hwang’s account of a deeply emotive experience, after having read *Lan Caixia’s Springtime* (1985), a realist novel by the renowned male writer Li Qiao. Moved profoundly by the novel’s depiction of the inhumanity of forced prostitution in Taiwan, Hwang decided to write her Ph.D. thesis on the subject matter. I cite this to register the fact that, to the extent that her vested interests — in redeeming the hapless women victimised by patriarchy — are animated by narrative conventions, it is essential that we pay analytical attention to her deployment of rhetorical devices in her discursive construction of teenage girls’ sexuality and subjectivity. One such glaring instance pertains to the naming of the girls for the purpose of anonymity. Consistently stunned by the cruel world revealed through the girls’ ‘gently measured’ narration of hardships that they are used to and yet are unimaginable to most people, Hwang explains as follows the rationale of naming and the purpose of case analysis as follows:

> Each girl’s beautiful moniker reflects either her character or aspirations, such as a bird gliding freely in the sky, redolent flowers and plants oozing feminine tenderness and delight, and unwavering, good-hearted fairies … Every case is followed by an analysis, which looks into each girl’s unique sorrowful life situation and her most intense feelings and observations on life, so that the reader is led to understand the marks burnt on to the girls’ bodies and minds by the sex world as well as the socio-cultural factors … [t]hat push teenage girls into the sex market.

These figurations of the feminine indeed ooze the pastoral and Edenic features that delight feminism, as they picture an untainted fantasy world populated by lovey-dovey fairies, who are rarely, if ever, presumed to have a sexuality, much less to use it for their own good (with perhaps the exception of the radical kind assumed by queers and hippies in real life). Little wonder that Wang Qingfeng, in her preface entitled ‘Social reform has not succeeded yet’,
calls the girls, fallen from grace, ‘angels with broken wings’, even referring to them as the embodiment of Bodhisattva.37 Wang’s denomination suggests that the girls take on the sins of others (such as their parents, who sell their daughters to brothels) and suffer for others in order to alleviate their problems. Yet these Bodhisattvas are oxymoronic, for no sooner has Wang ennobled them as Bodhisattvas, than she disqualifies them as such. Categorically denying that there is such a thing as ‘voluntary prostitution’, she contradicts herself by saying that it is not difficult to reform these problem kids. Bodhisattvas, enlightened as they are, still need gender education after all.

Such inconsistencies and discrepancies abound throughout the book. While the girls are, regardless of their deviances and diagnosed ‘causes’ of their prostitution, portrayed as immaculate, simple-minded and good-hearted, they are also depicted as proto-feminists, whenever Hwang and Yinghua see fit. So, for example, a girl named Yayi, rescued as an underage prostitute and the most ‘successful’ of the case studies, is honoured as the manga-like ‘invincible teenage beauty warrior’,38 because, owing to her strong sense of self-concept, she, unlike many other rescued girls trying to escape from the ‘prison-like’ correction centre, would ‘rather be a beggar than [a] prostitute’. ‘However her life was worn out by the brothel, however she inflicted self-harm’, it is argued that ‘she says in her heart a resolute “no” to the sex industry’.39 In contrast, Miwen, sold by her family into prostitution, is hailed as a ‘philosopher of life’, a ‘social psychologist’ for enabling us to see the ugly life of prostitution, even though this young psychologist, who does not appear to bear grudges against her family nor curse her fate, is diagnosed as ‘so deeply damaged by the brothel that she no longer knows how to feel pain and to complain’.40 In any case, should the girls resist the feminist gaze, defiance can always be absorbed, in the final analysis, by ‘love’, as Hwang instructs the reader not to follow conventional morality by condemning them as vain, material girls:

[If] you listen carefully to their stories, you will find that these girls, looking handsome and free-spirited, actually shout out the pain caused by their not being tenderly cared for in their childhood. [So] when she says insolently to you that don’t you ask me whether I regret doing this or not, when she says to you that the fire within my soul far exceeds all the ashes you’ve got, you still can sniff out a young fire that burns with thickly strong deep desire for love.41

So we are trained to orient ourselves toward this feminist phenomenology of love. This will to sniff out the girl’s desire for love is so tenacious that Hwang uses, in a gesture that can only be read as wishful thinking, ‘the fire with my soul far exceeds all the ashes you’ve got’ as the title of her
introduction. This love is, as pointed out earlier, the reparative displacement for the childhood trauma of sexual abuse, which is retrospectively imputed, by way of psychologisation, into girls doing sex work. Lauren Berlant, in the context of dissecting Mackinnon and Dworkin’s anti-porn feminism, which sentimentalises woman-as-girl-child in the production and consumption of pornography and which then essentialises all porn as child porn so as to secure censorship’s incontestable truth, has acutely pointed out how child abuse functions as an anchor point within the circular logic of pornography that ‘begets itself’:

[the cycle of pornography] makes men child-abusers who sentimentalise and degrade their objects; meanwhile, because young girls and women need to survive both the stereotypical structure of sexual value and exploitation, forced to become either subjects in or to pornography. In this way, the child’s, the young girl’s, vulnerability is the scene merely covered over and displaced by the older women’s pseudoautonomy; the young girl’s minority is the true scene of arrested development of all American women’s second-class citizenship.\(^{42}\)

Berlant’s argument, implicitly evoking Freud’s rendition of homosexuality as an arrested development within the teleology of Oedipal genitality, demonstrates well the same logic that inheres in Hwang’s compulsion to repeat love. Insofar as this love is, as I have argued so far, preordained and oriented towards a coupledom premised on heterosexual monogamy, we can rephrase, in the light of Berlant’s argument, Hwang’s true meaning of sexual autonomy, established by the normative regime of love, as hinging on the permanent incitement of sexual trauma that keeps on begetting prostitution. Through a projective identification arrested within the teleology of love that redeems all the sexual sufferings and pain caused by a totalising exploitative patriarchal capitalism, Hwang thus implants as she preserves within the girls an inner child with a pristine sexuality that is none other than that of her own.

It is within this sentimental context that the case of Girl Y’s diary is deployed as a totalising master narrative that contains the ten case studies. The diary excerpt tells of Girl Y’s life in prostitution dating between 1984 and 1992 and is interleaved with commentaries by Jialing the researcher, a presentation that simulates the scene when she recovered the diary, while registering her emotional responses as she keenly read on. So, through the feminist affective mediation, we get to learn about Girl Y’s dysfunctional family background (a cruel father, an ex-prisoner who sold his daughter to prostitution, a loving foster mother, who had to work as a hostess to support her children) and to witness her indentured life as a ‘sex slave’ (unrelentingly used and abused by
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Drunknen punters and the evil madam) yearning for freedom and love. In the meantime, we are led to register our utter disbelief that a stark trauma such as her childhood sexual abuses (by her father and grandfather) is only belatedly revealed five years into the diary’s opening and to posit the maternal love that Girl Y receives as the enduring force that enables her, eventually, to verbalise the incestuous past. When the pain and cruelty we witness becomes too unbearable to read on, we are told to cheer for Girl Y the Bodhisattva for showing ‘pure’ good in her ability to forgive, understand and endure suffering, and are further steered by the feminist determination to sniff out how she escapes her caged-life to embrace freedom when her seven-year contract is finally over. Only then are we to find ourselves, at the end of the diary, profoundly disappointed, yet with a ‘rational’ understanding, that after two years of freedom, given her lack of skills to survive the free society and with her ‘self-concept’ irredeemably ‘twisted’, and despite the pure good imputed to her, she ends up returning to the brothel-cage to resume prostitution while suffering chronic pain and illness alone.43

So Jialing is left feeling very sorry for Girl Y, or Xiao Hui, as she addresses herself in her diary, pondering why such an ordeal as experienced and revealed by someone ‘not of a very distant past from her’ should ever have happened.44 Why, psychological consultant Lin Fanghao speculates in her reading of the case study, does Girl Y ‘abandon the diary that accompanies her for so many years?’45 Her identity remains an enigma as no one seems to known her whereabouts, after the concerted efforts of the Women Rescue Foundation to track her down. While Lin, drawing on feminist-based trauma theory with its vicious cycle and begetting logic of sexual abuse and exploitation, intimates that Girl Y’s survival chances are slim,46 Hwang, however, rushes to the conclusion that she dies young, tragically ending her short life in loneliness.47 ‘Perhaps’, we are informed by the book blurb, ‘her pain has long gone away, quietly, with a life ending too short’:

Yet, her story does not cease to exist as it continues to appear in various versions, circulating through/within the bodies of some teenage girls. This book presents the authentic stories of girls doing sex work. Listen carefully, you will find that they shout loud with the injurious pain of not having been cared for. Youth fire burns with the strong desires and needs for love. Through their stories, we can further think through all kinds of crises in the family, school and society as well as find the ways to deal with it.48

Indeed, Hwang instructs that we are to read the ten case studies in the light of the Girl Y case study, such that ‘we can glimpse deep into the intractable psychic space of the girls forced into prostitution’.49
Yet we do not know if Girl Y or Xiao Hui is dead for sure. How are we to understand Hwang’s absolute certainty that Girl Y, despite the ordeal that she had been through and her inherent goodness, could not continue to live on to pursue her happiness, whatever form it might assume? And what are we to make of this feminist conviction that, in toeing the official line of the Law to Suppress Sexual Transaction Involving Children and Juveniles, which enjoins educators to ‘make known the miserable lives of those children and juveniles who are involved in sexual transactions’, so easily sentences someone to death even as she mourns it (with immense pleasure, as in the case of Yinghua)? Here it is instructive to cite Lauren Berlant on the violence that certain social mourning performs to instantiate a feeling public when confronted by subaltern pain. Drawing on Freud’s influential essay ‘Mourning and melancholia’, she writes:

Mourning is what happens when a grounding object is lost, is dead, or no longer living (to you). Mourning is an experience of irreducible boundedness: I am here, I am living, he is dead, I am mourning. It is a beautiful, not sublime experience of emancipation: mourning supplies the subject the definitional perfection of a being no longer in flux. It takes place over a distance: even if the object who induces the feeling of loss and helplessness is neither dead nor at any great distance from where you are. In other words, mourning can also be an act of aggression, of social deathmaking: it can perform the evacuation of significance from actually existing subjects. Even when liberals do it, ‘others’ are ghosted for a good cause.

Crucially, Berlant makes clear how a dominant feeling public can be formed through tears of sympathy to cement its existing socio-symbolic boundary drawn against alterity and differences. By ghosting Xiao Hui through the act of mourning, Hwang and her cohorts erect in effect a frontier in the feminist Symbolic order barring prostitutes. It is from this perspective that Jialing’s perception of ‘a not-so-distant past’ should be understood, for this gesture of ‘social deathmaking’ hinges on placing Xiao Hui permanently in her arrested teenagehood: it is her identity as a sexual slave, in her absolute victimhood, that her case was filed in the first place after all, even though she continues to write as a young adult woman, under legal definition. This is why the unbridgeable gap between gender-equity-minded feminism and Xiao Hui can be demarcated and maintained in real life. Significantly, Ding Naifei, in her counter-feminist historiography, has indexed exactly this deathmaking fantasy enacted by established Taiwan/Chinese modern literary figures occupying the position of ‘wife-in-monogamy’: in their journey to modernity, respectable female writers like Qijun detach themselves from their childhood
intimate ‘doubles’ — those bondmaids and concubines of symbolically base femininities — by wishing them dead, since, according to the compassionate Qijun, they would be better off dying rather than, given their baseness, having to endure the hardship of making it in a world of high modernity that has no place for them.\(^\text{52}\)

In her preface, Shen Meizhen says that she cried again after reading Girl Y’s story as it brought back vividly memories of her own participation in the rescuing campaign in the 1980s. She specifically recalls an article written by a rescued girl at the correction centre. The girl wrote about how she was threatened with being fed cockroaches if she did not comply with the madam’s order, and how she was forced to conduct business in a tiny room reeking of the rotting corpse of a girl who had been beaten to death.\(^\text{53}\) I do not doubt the authenticity of this graphic account of human evil and I firmly believe those who committed such horrendous crimes should be brought to justice. What I object to here is that such a depiction is deployed to support Shen’s far-reaching and generalising claim that, ‘even though the cases of girls forced into prostitution have been found to be far less these days, girls continue to suffer from all kinds of injuries within the human meat market’.\(^\text{54}\) Despite evidence to the contrary, girls can be and are happy doing sex work, as Hwang has registered, albeit through disavowal, in her research mentioned earlier. As I have argued, this insistence on instilling pain in people doing sex work is entirely symptomatic of anti-prostitution feminism’s categorical refusal of those people’s sexual agencies and their self-empowerment through sex work.\(^\text{55}\) Crucially, the figure of the female child prostitute-cum-sex slave is fetishised within Taiwan’s intimate public sphere. Shen’s tactical deployment of such a fetish is to solicit our aversive identification with the girl sex slave. Insofar as pain is taken as a universal ‘true’ feeling, a feeling politics based on an emotive response to pain, as Berlant argues, works well because of its pre-ideological presuppositions, and, as such, has been effectively deployed for the purpose of manufacturing the consent necessary for a given hegemonic domination. From this perspective, the fetishisation of the girl sex slave is politically expedient because the consensus it hatches is employed to justify the feminist call on the state to strictly re-enforce the Law to Suppress Sexual Transaction Involving Children and Juveniles, such that children and juveniles can grow up untainted by sex.

Undoubtedly, Shen’s compassion for teenage girls and underage prostitutes has driven much of her anti-prostitution career in feminism. But let’s recall another scene of compassion in which she was entirely implicated. I refer to a scene in a public meeting held on 3 September 1997, where feminists and women’s groups of various political persuasions convened to discuss
whether they were to back Chen Shu-bian’s decision to abolish licensed prostitution or lend support to the ex-prostitutes, many of whom were also present at the hearing. There, Shen, resolutely vouching for Chen’s decision, asserted that the abrogation of licensed prostitution was to salvage women from the ‘fiery pit’.56 Much to everyone’s surprise, she was confronted by ex-prostitute Guan Xiou Qin, who addressed the feminist congregation:

You well-off women having the comfort of sitting in air-conditioned rooms [during the scorching heat of summer], how on earth do you know what it’s like for women like us walking so close to the cliff-edge: the moment we turn, we plunge to the sea.57

Forcing the professional/middle-class women intellectuals to see the ‘hegemonic comfort’ they had,58 Xiou Qin made a small plea by asking them not to align themselves with state power. Shen, of course, refused to answer the plea. Years later, Xiou Qin, the prostitute-turned-activist, having been crushed by the tremendous burden of debt acquired through the informal economy on which she was forced to rely to run an illegal brothel, took her own life in 2006 by jumping from a cliff. There should be no doubt that Shen, by withholding compassion, is deeply implicated in Xiou Qin’s death, and in causing all other ex-licensed prostitutes’ suffering. For she took away the only place where women prostitutes, many sharing a life trajectory similar to Xiao Hui’s, could work in a safer environment and not be subjected to the inhuman treatment of enslaved girls that Shen herself found intolerable. That Shen should find it tolerable that the ex-licensed could be pushed into social limbo and forced to survive in an informal economy is a chilling reminder of how this murderous desire not to let them live resides within feminism’s sentimentalising and fetishising of the sex slave girl.

The Ethics of ‘Sexual’ Happiness

We are already ‘good’ ourselves, why the hell should we quit prostitution for good so as to become the good people?59

Reading Lin Fanghao’s article while comparing Girl Y’s Diary with several other girls’ narrations, we get to glimpse into the intractable psychic space of those girls sold into prostitution. As we get to feel and appreciate their good[s], I hope this occasion offers an opportunity for us to reflect that once the tradition of ‘filial piety’ gets abused, we end up with a situation where the human rights of children become totally unprotected.60

The desire of the man of good will is to do good, to do the right thing, and he who comes to seek you out, does so in order to feel good, to
In the light of the feminist feeling public traced above, I want now to expound, using the three quotes above, the ethics of ‘sexual’ happiness. The first quote is taken from the life story of ex-licensed prostitute Zhen Zhen from a book called *Nine Life Stories of Licensed Prostitutes* compiled by the Collective of Sex Workers and Supporters (COSWAS) of Taiwan’s prostitutes’ rights movement. This book features interviews with nine ex-licensed prostitutes as they tell of their subaltern experiences of ‘thick life’—a life trajectory that is the product of the history of Taiwan’s compressed modernity since the Cold War period, as well as reflections on their own politicisation and participation in the prostitutes’ rights movement. A daughter of an impoverished family, Zhen Zhen, sold by her mother into prostitution at the age of thirteen, describes her ten years of indentured sexual labour and the extreme hardship she endured at an unlicensed brothel (where she was only allowed to sleep three hours a day and was not paid for her work), before eventually finding refuge in a licensed brothel, which stopped her from being subjected to the madam’s relentless exploitation of her labour and to the violence of physical abuse from chauvinist gangster punters. Bearing no grudge against her family, she even provided the major income for her family through her sex work and was proud of herself in her duty as a daughter, even as her aspirations for a good life (like having a house of her own) had been compromised. Angered by Mayor Chen’s abrupt revocation of her licence, which deprived her family of their livelihood, she flouted the longstanding call that urged prostitutes to quit for good their ‘base’ way of life so they could (be granted a minimal chance to) ascend to the moral status of good people and the utopian civil privileges it promises. ‘We are already good ourselves’, she said defiantly.

The second quote from Hwang challenges us to question the Confucian familial value of ‘filial piety’ when used as a ruse to deprive of the ‘basic’ rights of children, putatively conceived under liberal governance in late modernity, a universality that presumes, as it promises, children a happy innocent childhood shielded from the contamination by ‘premature’ exposure to sex. While positioning herself as a ‘daughter’ in the genealogical grid on which the conjugal performative of We-the-Couple/We-the-People and its anti-sex sentimentality are conjured, Hwang cannot see how such a deeply ingrained cultural value, with its contradiction, functions in ways in which women of the subaltern class are positioned genealogically within a developing capitalist society of compressed modernity. Instead, her ‘sexual autonomy’, while genealogically articulated and constrained, forcibly denies women’s
agential subjectivity as daughters to support their underclass families through sex work, whether it was taken up voluntarily or not within a highly overdetermined economic situation. With the ease of the hegemonic comfort of which she is apparently unaware but nonetheless enjoys, she asks us to feel the subaltern’s pain as we are incited to witness and shed tears of compassion for the prostitutes’ good(s) at the scene of their suffering, a scene that is, in actual fact, one of social deathmaking orchestrated by none other than Hwang herself, such that we feel good in confirming once again our conscription to the membership of the We-the-Couple/We the-Good-People. She builds at the scene a monument of the monogamous ideal, which attests to the Good that state feminism pursues as it mourns the base femininity that is destined to die in the pristine modern feminist time-space.

The third quote from Lacan brings into sharp relief the egoism and self-interestedness in the desire to do good, in the name of pursuing the social good. At stake here is how Lacan historicises how the good functions within utilitarian society, further using the notion of jouissance — namely the satisfaction of the drive that works to dissolve the fortress of the ego — to question the common good. In his seminar 7 on the ethics of psychoanalysis, Lacan calls into question the utilitarian imperative that enjoins the modern individual to create the greatest good for the greatest number of people. Crucially, Lacan underscores how the problematic of the concept ‘good’, examined since Aristotle, finds a new articulation in the modern era as utilitarianism re-articulates the good that had been linked to pleasure through the register of the useful, showing how ‘the good’ functions within the economy of ‘the goods’ (where the plural also carries an ethical connotation). Yet, Lacan notes, whatever the value of that piece of man-made thing, there exists something excessive in the thing itself, something useless, that is, its jouissance use. Thus for Lacan, as the ‘good’ now becomes the useful, it is something that ‘the subject may have at his disposal’, and this, in turn, gives rise to a question of control on the part of the subject. Lacan writes:

To exercise the control of one’s goods, as everyone knows, entails a certain disorder, that reveals its true nature, i.e., to exercise control over one’s goods is to have the right to deprive others of them … To the extent that nothing is deprived of nothing — which does not prevent the good one is deprived of from being wholly real. The important thing is to recognise that the depriving agent is an imaginary function. It is the little other, one’s fellow man, he who is given in the relationship that is half rooted in naturalness of the mirror stage, but such as he appears to us there where things are articulated at the level of the symbolic … What is meant by defending one’s goods is one and the same thing as forbidding oneself from enjoying them.
'One is deprived of from being wholly real’ means that in so far as one is made a subject and is subject to the Good Pleasure principle, one becomes useful to the prescribed order of utilised things. Crucially for Lacan, the good (with a small ‘g’), the bodily jouissance and the only asset that one is endowed with by virtue of being a living organism, has come to be deprived of the greatest happiness for the greatest number, under the utilitarian injunction to pursue the Common Good. Yet at the same time, the Good necessarily produces through its encompassing logic a jouissance use, a negativity inherent in the social. This malignant jouissance is what the Good, embodied through the form of ‘general will’, bars, as Lee Edelman notes in the following:

[The] focus on the negativity of the social, on its inherent antisociality, does not deny that such commonalities as community may posit can result, according to Jacques Lacan, in ‘a certain law of equality ... formulated in the notion of the general will’. But while the imposition of such a law may establish, for Lacan, ‘the common denominator of the respect for certain rights’, it also ... can ‘take the form of excluding from its boundaries, and therefore from its protection, everything that is not integrated into its various registers’. For the general will to be general, that is, it must negate a certain specificity, which reflects, of course, first and foremost, the specific construction of the ‘general will’.68

Through the prism of Lacanian ethics, we can reformulate Zhen Zhen’s insistence on her own good as posing an ethical challenge to the feminist Good. Insofar as ‘wife-in-monogamy’ is taken as the gold standard in the symbolic exchange of women-as-goods,69 and insofar as the notion of ‘sexual autonomy’ comes to promise the greatest conjugal happiness for the greatest number under the general will of gender equality, jouissance names the very social negativity that the extramarital comes to stand for. Crucially, in their attempt to soothe the gendered pain inflicted by sexual harassment and the putative violence of pornography and prostitution, state feminists have sought recourse to the very patriarchal power that subordinated them in the first place. In their ‘wounded attachments’, to use the phase of Wendy Brown, to state power,70 state feminists foster ressentiment as they reproduce and wield power in the name of gender equality and through the liberal category of ‘sexual autonomy’, to the regulatory exclusion of queers and prostitutes. Given the mainstreaming of gender in recent years, sexual autonomy has indeed become the norm in post–martial law Taiwan, one that we become ’passionately’ attached to in our very mode of subjection.71 If indeed the right to erotic/sexual autonomy has been deconstructed as that which ‘we cannot not want’,72 then I think Lacan’s remarks below reveal what is at stake:
No jouissance is given to me or could be given to me other than that of my own body. That is not clear immediately, but is suspected, and people institute around this jouissance, which is good, which is thus my only asset, the protective fence of a so-called universal law called the rights of man: no one can stop me from using my body as I see fit. The result of the limit … is that jouissance dries up for everybody.73

This law, intended originally to confer on the individual the exclusive right to the enjoyment of his or her own body, works in effect to forbid others to enjoy their own body. In other words, one’s sexual autonomy is maintained at the expense of barring one’s jouissance. In this regard, Hwang’s call for the creation of ‘erotic satisfactions’, other than the perverse kind offered in the sex industry that she finds repulsive, must now be understood as veiling the sad fact that the jouissance of the ‘wife-in-monogamy’ dries up within the space of the conjugal bed.

Conclusion: Sexual Autonomy as Melancholic Foreclosure

Inseparably linked as they are in their depictions of the universal victimisation of women in the sex industry, Liu Yu-hsiu’s gothic tale of postmodern love — examined in chapter 5 — and Hwang’s melodrama of teenage girls tainted by sex, both stem from the dominant feeling structure that patronises and sentimentalises the gendered prostitute.74 If, as I have shown in chapter 5, mainstream feminism’s state-remaking project has emerged out of the task of mourning Peng Wanru, the murdered feminist activist-turned-politician, then how are we to think of this project in relation to the feminist feeling culture of social deathmaking as discussed in this chapter? If, as Liu Yu-hsiu, citing Freud, notes in her mourning of Peng Wanru, one manages to cope with the unbearable loss of the loved one by incorporating the lost object through the melancholic logic of idealisation and identification,75 to what extent is that ideal displaced or dissimulated as a more ideal kind, as seen in the loss in melancholia,76 in the women’s movement’s political unconscious?

I suggest that we understand the profound moralism that state feminists enact as a specific form of feminist melancholia, further reformulating the aурatic truth of ‘sexual autonomy’ as constituted through ‘melancholic foreclosure’. My starting point is Wendy Brown’s provocative essay entitled ‘Resisting Left melancholia’. Brown takes on the epithet ‘Left melancholia’ from Benjamin, who uses it to address a certain sentiment of the Left that clings to a political ideal frozen deeply in the past that refuses to seek out new possibilities for political transformation. This Left melancholia persists in our time, Brown argues, and just like the melancholic, analysed by Freud, the
dogmatic Left, unable to forgo its love of economic determinism, takes refuge in narcissistic identification as it directs hatred towards those engaging in the domain of identity politics. Brown’s analysis rings true when we listen to how Liu and Hwang, clinging to the monogamous ideal and misguided class justice, issue their diatribes against queers and prostitutes activists.

Let us recall here a passage by Liu where she attempts to explain why so many girls these days take up sex work voluntarily rather than being forced into doing it, as has always been presumed to be the case:

Given that postmodern social economic activities and postmodern discourse sever to a large extent the traditional stable and intimate interpersonal relation (this kind of subject-object relation is precisely one of the characteristics that exemplifies the female psyche) and given that sexual services turn the subject-object relation into something changeable and abnormal, women sex workers easily become susceptible to addictions and this becomes a vicious circle because the only condition through which to satisfy this kind of ‘love affair’ is prostitution as the latter appears to be the only way society offers underprivileged women to earn a great deal of money that is necessary to feed their ‘kicks’. This is the logic that gives rise to ‘non-forced prostitution’ or the suicidal tendency of the ‘voluntary prostitution’ phenomenon.

In this formulation, monogamy comes to define modern femininity as such, whereas postmodern femininity is marked by abnormality and promiscuity. Certainly, no power can be conferred on those with the promiscuous and abnormal mode of female object cathexis. If promiscuity and abnormality are the very masculine attributes that Liu seeks to get rid of by legal means in order to build a strong female ego, as we have seen in chapter 5, then postmodern femininity marks the very outside of the state feminist ego autonomy. And yet, this clear-cut distinction between modern and postmodern femininities only holds when one accepts modern femininity as given, as that which is formed through ‘stable and intimate’ inter-subject relations, that is to say, only when one conveniently forgets what constitutes historically the trajectory of so-called ‘women of respectable family’ in postwar Taiwan. As chapter 3 has demonstrated, female sexuality was regulated under the KMT government through the state’s banning of prostitution: the category of ‘women of respectable family’ is precisely produced vis-à-vis that of the prostitute. Further, that clear-cut distinction only holds when one chooses not to remember that Chen Shu-bian’s decision to abolish the institution of licensed prostitution in 1997, strongly backed by Liu and the PWR Foundation, was based on construing prostitution as a backward, premodern practice that a modern democracy cannot tolerate.
Here one can also recall Hwang’s positioning of modern high femininity. In her sociological imagination, base women like maids and licentious women are taken as the ‘opium’ to which men are addicted and over which they lose self-control. From the monogamist position that women of respectable family encompass, the poison-like illegal substance that base femininity is made to figure is premodern (in the sense that it is as base as the licensed prostitutes from the bygone era) and yet at the same time postmodern (in the sense that it is like the addiction lifestyle, led by teenage girls nowadays). Hence the ‘non’-modern subject that embodies this kind of harmful characteristic must be banished into a surreal realm antithetical to the feminist time-space. Thus, caught between the backwardness of the premodern and the obscenity of the postmodern, state feminism reveals its true character as a melancholic mourning the lost monogamous ideal.

I propose to further read this melancholic high femininity in the light of Judith Butler’s theorising of melancholia. In Gender Trouble, Butler formulates the notion of gender melancholia, showing that the working of the incest taboo requires a prior prohibition on homosexuality: such a heterosexual matrix produces, given the mutual exclusion of desire and identification, a melancholic heterosexuality that works to sustain a binarised gender identity.81 In Psychic Life of Powers, she links pervasive heterosexual melancholia to the immensely difficult, if not impossible, task of mourning the loss of certain homosexual lives to AIDS in our time. The loss of homosexual attachments is rendered ungrievable in a homophobic culture sustained especially by homosocial state institutions like the military because, she argues persuasively, a double disavowal on the part of the heterosexual masculine subject is at work, a mechanism articulated as ‘never, never’: ‘I never loved him, I never lost him’.82 Drawing on the Lacanian notion of psychotic foreclosure, understood as a constitutive act of negation distinct from repression, Butler suggests this double disavowal of love and grief be understood as melancholic foreclosure, a site of refused identification constitutive of unavowable loss.83 To the extent that state feminism’s claim to gender totality resolutely refuses to admit the legitimacy of prostitution, Liu’s essentialised high femininity might be reformulated through melancholic foreclosure: ‘I have never loved the licensed prostitute, I have not lost her’/ ‘I have never loved the teenage-cyborg, I have not lost her’. Likewise, while Hwang claims to love the teenage girls tainted by sex, her love admits no alterity that exceeds beyond the mirror image of her own, as it masks at the same time her callous desire to not let live. Aggressively depriving the girls of their goods, the sage-queen feminist turns the usurped goods into moral capital in augmenting the hegemonic regime of her moral enterprise.
Significantly, in her further consideration of melancholia as a paradigm through which social ideals are instituted as conscience via melancholic incorporation, Butler reminds us of the need to be attentive to the unavowable constitutive of ego formation: ‘Contained within the psychic topography of ambivalence, the faded social text requires a different sort of genealogy in the formation of the subject, one which takes into account how what remains unspeakably absent inhabits the psychic voice of the one who remains’.84 In so far as the ideality incorporated into the ego forms the ego ideal, the ideality of monogamy constitutes the ego ideal of the subject of welfare state feminism, who preserves in her psyche the unavowable loss produced through foreclosing non-marital sexualities including, among others, prostitution. Unavowable as well for Hwang is the loss of the innocent Girl Y, whose life trajectory is arrested forever in the teleology of heteronormative love.

This kind of feminist melancholia has indeed fostered a profound sexual moralism within Taiwan’s intimate public sphere. On the evening of 20 June 2008, the Garden of Hope Foundation, another key NGO of the anti-prostitution bloc, commemorated its twentieth anniversary in Daan Forest Park in downtown Taipei. The park was especially chosen to underpin the theme of the event, that of anti-sexual violence, because it was where feminists gathered to hold vigil and mourn the death of Peng Wanru in 1996. This symbolic gesture was further accentuated when the Garden of Hope raised the ‘torch of feminine virtue’ to shine through the darkness of the night that has figuratively traumatised countless women falling victim to sexual assault, harassment, trafficking, incest and prostitution. Vowing ‘to end sexual violence and to create a society of gender justice’, the NGO made wishes for a better future in Taiwan, a safe place where, among other things, ‘women can confidently dress themselves, display their bodies and show their energies without having to endure the pressure of being called “brazen hussies” (fengsao)’.85 This self-making fantasy about the future, projected from the immediate present wherein women exercising their autonomy can be anything but sexually provocative, makes all too clear the desire for a hegemonic gender justice to distance and eradicate the abiding gendered sexual shame associated with base femininity. Thus the reticence in the Garden of Hope’s grand vision can perhaps be rendered avowable through the words of Leo Bersani, in his critique of US anti-porn feminism’s redemptive project to rewrite sex, that ‘women call for a permanent closing of the thighs in the name of chimerically non-violent ideals of tenderness and nurturing’.86

This feminist culture of conjugal sentimentality poses serious political challenges for queer struggles in Taiwan today. Enshrined by the Law to Suppress Sexual Transaction Involving Children and Juveniles, the auristic
truth of ‘sexual autonomy’ actually hijacks sexual freedoms in the name of child protection as online speeches and interactions fall under the panoptic surveillance of the feminist eye. Melancholically foreclosed, this regime of ‘forced intimacy’, to borrow a phrase from Michael Cobb,\textsuperscript{87} hovers over a feminist time-space haloed by the incandescent phantasm of the immaculate girl glowing with her pristine sexuality as she promises conjugal happiness. Yet around the elongated shadow of the girl, there is a penumbra of flickering happiness that is, like candlelight in a treacherous wind, closely guarded by ex-licensed prostitutes as they march forward against the progress of melancholic sexual modernity.\textsuperscript{88} Resisting the state feminist melancholia, we, as the non-marital penumbra-like queers, can choose, in the spirit of perseverance embodied by the politicised ex-licensed prostitutes, to accede to the ethical position of the beyond, much like the queer ethics Lee Edelman has proposed, that persistently questions state feminist Good.\textsuperscript{89} No doubt we need to get fed and clothed, and indeed need to be cared for in order to survive, but as psychoanalysis has told us, the care we receive in the early stages of life instantiates simultaneously something that exceeds the tender touch of care, namely, sexuality as such.\textsuperscript{90} Driven by the unconscious and guided by the good that is our jouissance, we pursue our own sexual happiness as we contest the happy ever after.
When I was working on my PhD dissertation in England in the mid-to-late 1990s, an event occurred in Taiwan which made a profound impact on me. I am referring to the former president Chen Shu-bian’s abrupt abrogation of licensed prostitution in 1997, which in turn sparked off the prostitutes’ rights movement in Taiwan. Employing Crystal Boys as a medium of articulation, I was trying at the time to construct a history and politics of male homosexuality in contemporary Taiwanese society. Although I had found during the research process that there was a solid link between the media construction of the ‘glass clique’ and the sleaze associated with prostitution, and although Pai’s novel depicts precisely a subculture of male prostitution based in New Park, had it not been for the prostitutes’ rights movement, I would never have been able — because of my middle-class upbringing — to see the links between those disparate fields of representation. Pictures of ex-licensed prostitutes bracing themselves, arm-in-arm, for the police baton, courageously confronting state violence with their bodies, completely shook up my class-bound habitus. I discovered, at that moment, that despite the marked difference between my own life trajectory as a gay intellectual and theirs, I could nevertheless feel the immense symbolic weight of the sexual stigma that they have been burdened with; and that, as subjects of marginal sexualities, all of us, in our quest for sexual and gender justice, were wrestling with the same virulent forces of sexual stigma. It was the ex-licensed prostitutes who compelled me to explore the connection between state power and the deployment of sexuality, showing the specific configuration of sexual stigma to which normative power had given rise. Educated by the ex-licensed prostitutes’ ‘wilful style of politics’, to borrow the subtitle of Sara Ahmed’s recent keynote speech at a conference, I came to have a vested interest in making legible the extent to which mainstream
gender politics was complicit with state violence. Thanks to this re-education, I was thus able to give definite shape to the problematic, concerning two cultural imaginaries of queer belonging that are mediated through different ‘moments’ of *Crystal Boys*, and which this book sets out to tackle.

Situating these imaginaries conjuncturally within the space of nation-state culture established by the KMT and DPP regimes respectively, I have examined the deployment of gender and sexuality, interrogating in particular the normative constraints through which deviant subjectivities are produced. This deployment of gender and sexuality has been shown to take place within three overlapping domains: namely, the psychologisation of non-reproductive sex through the apparatus of *xingxinli* (chapters 1, 2 and 4); the state’s management of commercial sex (chapters 2, 3 and 4); and mainstream feminism’s civilising and redemptive project of sex (chapters 3, 5 and 6). What has emerged from this genealogical analysis are the subordinated figures of the male homosexual and the prostitute, as well as the ruling figure of the state feminist. The queer historiography that this book carves out through the re-articulation of *Crystal Boys* has attempted to track the necessarily fragmented and yet entangled histories of these figures and the politics to which their criss-crossed trajectories give rise.

Embedded within the highly compressed modernising process in Taiwan since the end of the second world war, the production of these figures was accompanied by, and indeed enabled through, disparate forms of violence that have come to characterise sexual modernity in Taiwan. Crucially, what marks this violence of sexual modernity is that it is enacted by those assuming the speaking positions of the sage-king and sage-queen, often through the self-sentimentalising gesture of benevolence. Indicatively paternalist, this governing positionality is inscribed within an imaginary social totality structured in dominance, ordaining thereby a sexual order that repudiates social ills such as homosexuality and prostitution, and indeed the combination of both. Thus we have seen how concerned experts such as educators, psychiatrists, medical doctors and journalists ascribed to normative sexuality or *xingxinli* in their attempt forestall gender dysphoria and sexual perversions. Further, we have also seen how the totalitarian state under the KMT government’s Cold War regime disciplined and punished female prostitutes, in order to safeguard a national sexual morality known as ‘virtuous custom’, and how the ‘glass clique’, the imagined community of male homosexuals configured as a depraved and perverse entity of prostitution, became a symbol for the AIDS epidemic itself within that policed culture of sex. Last but not least, we have seen how mainstream feminist politics, continuing the anti-prostitution state mandate, occludes the queer and the non-monogamous from
its welfare state imaginary, as it foments at the same time a melancholic culture imbued with heightened sexual moralism. As I have shown, this genealogical analysis has profound implications for the meaning of contemporary tongzhi politics. Laminated within a postcolonial milieu conditioned by (post) Cold War geopolitics of sex, the tongzhi movement, as it emerged in the 1990s, failed to address the historicity of sexual stigma symbolically attached to the base figures of the male homosexual and the prostitute. As the movement itself continues to develop with increasing legitimacy within the neoliberal context of gender governance, I have insisted that tongzhi politics must critically challenge the new sexual order decreed by state feminism.

There is a renewed urgency to the critical task of imagining dissident sexual citizenship, given the increasingly gentrifying tendency of the tongzhi movement in recent years. This troubling sign is nowhere more clearly indicated than by the theme of the 2009 Taiwan LGBT Pride Parade. Inaugurated at the symbolic site of New Park in 2003, the Pride Parade, which is organised by a coalition of local LGBT groups, has, within a few years, drastically expanded its size and scale and now boasts of being the largest of its kind in East Asia, attracting not only tongzhi from the Chinese-speaking world, but also tourists from neighbouring countries such as Japan and South Korea. With each year following a different theme whose aim is to raise consciousness of tongzhi citizenship, the 2009 Parade campaign was launched with the theme of ‘Love Out Loud!’, appealing for wider public support for tongzhi rights through the rhetoric of love:

**We Spread our Love Everywhere**
LGBT individuals are everywhere. We love our family, we love our friends, and we spare no effort in being responsible to our society. We have never ceased to love this society. Many of us have devoted ourselves to the public good, working hard for a better future and for the beauty of a harmonious society.

**We Love Ourselves**
Tongzhi have dedicated themselves to loving people and society, and yet they have often ignored the importance of loving themselves. It is only by loving ourselves first that we learn to love others and society. We show our pride to prove that even if we are not so loved by this world, we can still be loved by ourselves in various ways.

**We Need Your Love!**
Respecting differences and listening to different opinions are the two requisites for the cultivation of modern citizenship; it is also the necessary route through which to reach a harmonious society. Because of prejudice and misunderstanding, LGBT Community is discriminated against and the issues of human rights, legal rights,
education, social welfare, etc., are consistently ignored, with tongzhi being relegated to the second-class citizens. We expect respectful treatment of all selves and others. We will keep communicating with all members of society despite our harsh situation. This is the time to conquer discrimination with power of love. Come in pride, and love out loud!³

This is a cry for normality. No longer donning the protective mask, a tactic deployed by the 1990s tongzhi movement that Fran Martin has analysed,⁴ the tongzhi citizen interpellated and recruited here has come out in pride to express his or her unyielding love to the society that has hitherto denied him or her full citizenship. Eager to prove to society that he or she is a useful and productive individual and hence worth loving, the tongzhi citizen, by virtue of his or her narcissistic identification with a national ideality formed through the imaginary circuit of wholeness, demands society return its love to him or her.⁵ Drawing on the language of multiculturalism to assert his or her marked difference, the tongzhi citizen makes clear that the cause of the movement is to be furthered by hoping to build a community-in-harmony, rather than by calling into question the given social-sexual order that has masked its hierarchical domination precisely through the rhetoric of harmony. Indeed, this call to win society’s love is remarkably lame and de-politicising, in a context, as Josephine Ho has underscored in her response to the pride theme, where the space to practise sexual freedoms has become ever more precarious, not only because of the sustained state and commercial censorship against gay publications, but also because of Christian groups’ backlash against the movement itself.⁶

In 1975, Guang Tai, following the publication of his The Man Who Escapes Marriage, employed a similar rhetorical strategy in his appeal for social acceptance of homosexuality. Enabled by the newly-found legitimacy granted by Western psychiatry’s depathologisation of homosexuality in the 1970s, Guang Tai’s plea was, as I have argued, a compromised reverse discourse that is the product of self-discipline, as it expresses the desire to approximate normalcy, in the hope that by being a virtuous homosexual he could be integrated into a supposedly more tolerant ‘Chinese’ culture. With historical hindsight, given the normative constraints of the time, one could perhaps be sympathetic with Guang Tai’s one-man attempt to speak out and give him his due. But for a tongzhi movement, faced as it is with the new and different normative conditions that this book has endeavoured to delineate, to adopt the same mode of discourse more than two decades later is a telling sign that suggests how the normalising pulse operates through the encompassing logic of the sage-king/sage-queen harmony. Subscribing to this logic, as this book has
shown, can be very dangerous for queer politics, for it would not only re-enact the narrative violence that Pai Hsien-yung has produced in his compassionate treatment of the ‘evil sons’ but also replicate the state feminists’ sentimental bullying of gendered prostitutes. At this historical juncture that sees the global rise of what Lisa Duggan has identified and critiqued as ‘homonormativity’,\(^7\) the *Tongzhi* movement must develop a ‘politics of refusal’, to borrow Heather Love’s phrase,\(^8\) which rejects the humanity and the love that the sage-queen has to proffer.\(^9\)

Kuan-hsing Chen — drawing on and underscoring Partha Chatterjee’s important concept of ‘political society’ as a mediating space (inhabited and enabled often by a subaltern class deemed to be of a former time between the state and civil society that emerges from Chatterjee’s analysis of the violence of modernity in postcolonial Indian context — has called for a politics of decolonisation that situates itself within the space of ‘political society’ in order to contest the multilayered and complex effects of modernity and the social violence effected by the state and civil society alike in the modernising process, citing, amongst others, Taipei’s ex-licensed prostitutes’ resistance as an example.\(^10\) Especially relevant to the arguments this book has made is Chen’s contention that the political task of decolonisation entails an a-statist politics that not only disarticulates the category of *guomin* or ‘the people of the state’, which has, in the Taiwanese context, hijacked the libertarian concept of ‘citizen’ during the postwar era, but also interrogates the latter’s built-in middle-class origin, which is presumed to be the sole agent and catalyst of social change in emergent democracies.\(^11\) In showing the production of *guomin* at different historical conjunctures, this book marks out the negativity — in its various configurations, namely, the perverse, the homosexual, the prostitute, and the queer — as the constitutive outside by which the social is founded as such. Thus, while it is important that the *tongzhi* movement takes on social inequalities in its articulation of citizenship, one must continually interrogate, from the space of political society, the notion of *tongzhi* citizenship so as to resist the violence of melancholic sexual modernity.
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.
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).
16. (Foucault 1990 [1976]).
18. (Butler 1993).
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 hermaphroditism of the soul. The sodomite had been a temporary aberration; the homosexual was now a species’ (Foucault 1990 [1976]: 43–44).


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.


25. (Sedgwick 1990: 40, emphasis added).


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).


34. (Chun 1994: 54, emphasis added).

35. For a non-scholarly account of this social history, see (Ke 1991).


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.


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).


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.


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).


61. (Ding 2002a: 135–168). See also (Ding 2002b).


Chapter 1

2. (Foucault 1990 [1976]: 154).
3. (Foucault 1992 [1984]: 3).
5. (Davidson 1990b: 316).
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.


17. See Bao’s preface to the sixth edition to his Youth Mental Hygiene reprinted in 1969.


20. (Bao 1962: 365). I address further this kind of ‘sage-king’ speaking and governing position in chapter 3.


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).


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).


29. (Bao 1962: 412, emphasis added).
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).
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: Dyi 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 heterogenderity. 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.
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.
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).
68. (Huang 1990 [1976]: 11).
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 fulfilsments 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).
82. (Jiang 1990 [1976]: 244–245).
83. (Chen 1995: 259–262).
85. (Ke 1990 [1976]: 249, emphasis added).
86. (Butler 1993: 2–3).
87. (Wu 1990 [1976]: 262, emphasis added).
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).
5. (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).
10. (Evening Independent 1951b).
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).
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).
22. (Liang 1971, emphasis added).
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.
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).
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).
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).


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.


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).


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).


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).
92. The expression ‘jumping out of the fiery pit’ in Chinese means leaving behind the prostitution business.
93. (Ma 1989).

Chapter 3
1. (Chiang 1964: 106).
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.
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.
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).
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.
15. (Hershatter 1997: 204).
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).
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).
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.
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).
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.
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).
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).
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.
51. (Huang and Wu 1971).
52. (Hong 1973: 34–35).
53. (China Times 1971).
54. (Chen 1968).
56. (Hong 1973).
57. Strip shows would often be staged in the middle of film screening in the cinema, see (Cui 1968).
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 5m2; 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).
65. (Yu 1972: 23–26).
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).


71. See for instance (Lin 1974).


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).


90. (Liu 1973: 15).


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.


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).

102. (Li 1981: 96).
103. (Xie 1982).
104. (Lin 1979).
105. (Gui 1991).
108. (Ho 2005a, 2005b).
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).
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.
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

2. (Hall 1988: 44).
3. For the study of modernist literary movement, see (Chang 1993).
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’.


14. See (Chen 1985) on the documentation of this round-table discussion.


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).


27. Peng Huai-zen, 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.


29. (Yuan 1984a: 20).


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).


37. (Yeh 1995: 76).
38. (Yeh 1995: 73).
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.
42. (Pai 1990: 59), (Sedgwick 1993a: 5).
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).
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.
59. (Pai 1990: 30).
60. (Pai 1990: 187).
62. Goldblatt’s translation: ‘“You must be the fuckee, not fucker,” he commented.’ (188).
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?’
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 Hocquenthem. Observing how the modern Western penal system is supported by psychiatry in the repression of homosexuality, Hocquenthem 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. (Hocquenthem 1993: 73)
68. (Pai 1990: 351).
69. (Foucault 2000: 361).
70. (Pai 1990: 283).
72. (Butler 1993: 3).
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).
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).
91. (Wan 1993: 91–100).
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).


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).


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.
126. (Chu 1998b: 50–51).
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).
3. On the theoretical statement of the sexual emancipation, see (Ning 1997).
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).
17. (Liu 2002b: 2–3).
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).

25. See chapter 1 for the analysis of the sexual norm as inculcated by mental hygienists.
26. (Liu 2002b: 3).
27. (Ho 2005a, 2005b).
29. (Ho 1994a).
30. (Gu 1997).
32. (Liu 1999a: 137).
33. (Liu 1999a: 135).
34. (Liu 1999a: 135).
35. (Warner 1990: 200).
37. Here what Liu opposes is clearly the lifting of the repression of infantile polymorphous perversity that is effected by the paternal phallus.
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).
45. (Edelman 2004: 25, emphasis original).
46. (Freud 1985 [1930]).
47. (Liu 1999a: 148).
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.
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).
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.
Notes to pages 161–171

70. (Liu 2002a: 52).
71. (Freud 1991a [1917]: 365).
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).
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).
89. See (Edelman 2004: 85–86) and (Merck 1993: 262).
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).
94. See (Hwang 1996).
95. (Liu 2002a: 63).
96. (Liu 2002a: 60).
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).
102. (Liu 1998b).
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).
4. (McMahon 1995).
5. (Ding 2007, 2009).
7. See also (Povinelli 2006).
10. Liu’s paper, entitled ’The mechanism of postmodern desire: Sex industry, postmodern discourse and late capitalism’, is analysed in chapter 5.
12. (Hwang 2003a: 97–98, emphasis added). In his book Sex Work and Modernity, Ning Yinbin (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.

15. See (Ding 2007).
17. See (Boudieu 1998).
18. (Gong 2001).
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 Victoriana 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).
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 exemplification 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.

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.


69. (Ding 2009).

70. See (Brown 1995).

71. (Brown 1995).

72. (Brown 2002).


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).


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 …


89. See (Edelman 2004).

90. See (Laplanche 1976).

Epilogue


2. The exploration of the cultural politics of AIDS in Taiwan is the next book project that I am working on.


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).
9. This politics of refusal has been advanced by Liu Jenpeng, Ding Naifei and Amie Parry (2007) in their *Penumbræ Query Shadow: Queer Reading Tactics*.
## Glossary of Special Names and Terms

### Names

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bao Jiacong</td>
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<td>寶斗里</td>
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<td>Beitou</td>
<td>北投</td>
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<td>Cha Mingjie</td>
<td>查名杰</td>
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<td>Chang Hsiao-hung</td>
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<td>Chen Kuan-hsing</td>
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<td>Chen Shui-bian</td>
<td>陳水扁</td>
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<td>Chiang Ching-guo</td>
<td>蔣經國</td>
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<td>Chiang Kai-shek</td>
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<td>Chu Wei-cheng</td>
<td>朱偉誠</td>
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<td>Daoyu bianyuan</td>
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Ma Lu
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Sanshui jie
Shehui zhixu weihufa
Shen Chuwen
Shen Meizhen
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Sima Zhongyuan
Sun Yet-sen
Sun Yue
Sun Yunxuan
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Taida nantongxinglian (wenti) yanjiushe
Taiwan nuxingxue xuehui

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Sun Yunxuan
Ta K
Taida nantongxinglian (wenti) yanjiushe
Taiwan nuxingxue xuehui
Taiwan xingbie renquan xiehui 台灣性別人權協會
Taobi hunyin de ren 逃避婚姻的人
Tongxinglian banglian 同性戀邦聯
Tongzhi xunzhao tongzhi lianshushu 同志尋找同志連署書
Tu Xingzhe 涂醒哲
Tuidong suojian xingchanye zhengce lianmeng 推動縮減性產業政策聯盟
Wang Liemin 王烈民
Wang Qingfeng 王清峰
Wanhua 萬華
Weiijn fafa 違警罰法
Weisheng zazhi 衛生雜誌
Wen Jung-Kwang 文榮光
Wu Cuisong 吳翠松
Wu Jui-yuan 吳瑞元
Wu Yingzhang 吳英璋
Xiao Yanyao 謝佩娟
Xie Peijuan 謝瑞智
Xiezuopai 斜左派
Xu Shengxi 徐聖熙
Yao Jishao 姚季韶
Yeh Te-hsuan 葉德宜
Yinghua 櫻花
Yu Kanping 虞堪平
Yu Ruiqing 余瑞卿
Yuan Liangjun 袁良駿
Zeng Wenxing 曾炆煋
Zeng Xiuping 曾秀萍
Zhang Jingyuan 張京媛
Zhang Pengcheng 張鹏程
Zhang Wenjun 張文軍
Zhang Yide 張義德
Zhongshan beilu 中山北路
Zhongyang daxue xing/bie yanjiushi 中央大學性/別研究室
Zhongzhi tongji xiehui 終止童妓協會

Terms

Aimei 曖昧
Aisibing 愛殞病
Aizibing 愛滋病
Baiwupi 拜物癖
Baogong  包公
Beiqie  婢妾
Bencao Jin  本草經
Biantai  變態
Bianxiang yingye  變相營業
Bie  別
Bingtai  病態
Boli  玻璃
Boli quan  玻璃圈
Buliangchangsuuo  不良場所
Bulun bulei  不倫不類
Bunan bunü  不男不女
Busan busi  不三不四
Chaoshi bingyuan  巢氏病源
Chun chicha  純吃茶
Congdang  充當
Congliang  從良
Dabei zhou  大悲咒
Dajia guixiu  大家閨秀
Dan  旦
Dao  道
Dao gao yi chi, mo gao yi zhang  道高一尺/魔高一丈
Dengtuzi  登徒子
Duanxiu  斷袖
Duanxiupi  斷袖癖
Feng  風
Fengsao  風騷
Fentao  分桃
Gechu guomin tuifeng  革除國民頹風
Genshendigu  根深蒂固
Gongchang  公娼
Gua yang tou/mai gou rou  市男頭/賣狗肉
Guaipi  怪癖
Guaiwu  怪物
Guaixiang  怪相
Guiyou  閣友
Guomin  國民
Guomin shenghuo xuzhi  國民生活須知
Hakka  客家
Heideng kafei  黑燈咖啡
Hexie  和諧
Huanchang  歡場
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Glossary

Pulukuang
暴露狂
Qing, li, fa
情、理、法
Qingyu zizhu
情慾自主
Qu
娶
Ren
仁
Ren
人妖
Renzheng
人政
Seqing
色情
Shanliang fengsu
善良風俗
Shaoshounongzi
搔首弄姿
Shenghuo shang
生活上
Shenghuo yu lunli
生活與倫理
Shengli shang
生理上
Shengming gongtongti
生命共同體
Shenghou
聖后
Shengwang
聖王
Shouyi
手淫
Shouyinpi
手淫癖
Shuang xinglian
雙性戀
Sichang
私娼
Simpu-a
媳婦仔
Suyou
素有
Taoxue taimei
逃學太妹
Teding yingyie
特定營業
Tezhong jiujia
特種酒家
Tezhong shiyingsheng
特種侍應生
Tezhong yingye
特種營業
Tian
田
Tiaochu huokeng
跳出火坑
Tongxing lianai
同性戀愛
Tongxinglian
同性戀
Tongxinglian de ren
同性戀的人
Tongxinglian pi
同性戀癖
Tongzhi
同志
Touqiepi
偷竊癖
Tuzi
兔子
Tu-er
兔兒
Waifeng
歪風
Waitai mifang
外臺秘方
Weixie
猥褻
Wuliao
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<td>Zibao ziqi</td>
<td>自暴自棄</td>
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<td>Glossary</td>
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<td>作之親/ 作之師/ 作之君</td>
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