

A History of the Taiwanese Gay Rights Movement

Allister Chang

Senior Honors Thesis

History

Advisors:

Kris Manjapra and Jeanne Penvenne

Readers:

Lee Edelman and Christina Sharpe

Preface

The Meanings of the Phrases Tong Xing Lian and Tong Zhi

Chou Wah-Shan's work explores how same-sex relations in China were once portrayed in "poetic" terms, with "no sense of social or moral condemnation." Chou traces the first derogatory term for a homosexual act, *ji jian* (chicken lewdness) to the Tang dynasty, and interprets this phrase as an expression of "disparagement" rather than hostility. Chou also notes that "these terms referring to same-sex activities do not denote a generic personality."¹ At the turn of the 20th century, sexology from the U.S., China, and Japan reshaped how Taiwanese viewed same-sex relations. In *The Emerging Lesbian*, Tze-Lan D. Sang traces how the understanding of individuals who engage in same-sex sex as a separate category of people entered modern Chinese vocabulary in the 1920s as refractions of Japanese translations of European sexology.² *Tong xing lian* was the Chinese Mandarin transliteration of the sexological term homosexuality.

In the 1990s, individuals with same-sex desire adopted the identity *tong zhi* as a means of self-empowerment. *Tong zhi* (同志) had been the phrase used by both the Communist and Nationalist Parties to refer to comrades struggling in revolution. Sun Yat-sen, who continues to be held in high esteem from both the Taiwanese and the mainland Chinese, had used *tong zhi* to unite his fellow revolutionaries: "The revolution has not yet succeeded, comrades, let us give our best efforts" (*ge ming shang wei cheng gong, tong zhi reng xu nu li*).³ As Chou Wah-Shan explains, "Tongzhi has a very positive historical reverence; after 1949 *tongzhi* became a friendly and political[ly] correct term . . . signifying both a desire to indigenize sexual politics and to reclaim

¹ Chou Wah-Shan, "Homosexuality and the Cultural Politics of Tongzhi in Chinese Societies," *Journal of Homosexuality* 40 (2001), 28. Chou also explains other phrases that have historically been used to portray same-sex activities in China, including *xiang gong* (male prostitute), *duan xiu* (cut sleeve), *fen tao* (shared peach), and *tu zi* (little rabbit).

² Tze-Lan D. Sang, *The Emerging Lesbian: Female Same-Sex Desire in Modern China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 102-103.

³ Jens Damm, "Same Sex Desire and Society in Taiwan, 1970-1987," *The China Quarterly* 181 (2005), 67-68.

AC

their cultural identity."⁴ *Tong* (同) translates to "same," and *zhi* (志) translates to "will." *Tong* is also the first character of *tong xing lian*, the transliteration of the sexological word "homosexuality." The usage of *tong zhi* to self-proclaim one's sexual identity traces back to 1992, when Mai Ke and Lin Yihua's used the phrase as part of their translation of "Queer Cinema" for Taipei's annual Golden Horse Film Festival.⁵ Today, *tong zhi* is the most common phrase used to self-proclaim one's same-sex sexual identity, often used interchangeably with the English words "gay" and "lesbian."⁶

Gender

My thesis focuses on gay men and does not include the voices of lesbians or transgender individuals. Though I attempted to set up discussions with lesbian leaders, these attempts fell through. My analysis of gay men in Taiwan offers only a partial truth of the *tong zhi* experience that I hope future research will fine-tune and supplement with the voices of the woman who contributed to the formation and developments of the Taiwanese *tong zhi* movement.

Because I have not included the individual voices of women, I have shied away from discussing lesbian developments in depth. That is not to say that lesbian individuals did play important roles as leaders in the creation and development of the *tong zhi* movement in Taiwan. After the lifting of martial law in 1987, non-governmental organizations were allowed to form publicly for the first time in decades, opening the gates to the emergence of human rights NGOs such as the Taiwanese Human Rights Organization.⁷ In the early 1990s, nearly a decade before the development of *tong zhi* organizations, feminist organizations such as *Fu Nu Xing Zhi* had already received official recognition. As the the leader of *Fu Nu Xing Zhi*, Wang Ping advocated for *tong*

⁴ Chou Wah Shan quoted in Lisa Rofel, "Qualities of Desire: Imagining Gay Identities in China," *GLQ* 5 (1999), 465.

⁵ Fran Martin, "From Citizenship to Queer Counterpublic: Reading Taipei's New Park," *Journal of Transnational and Crosscultural Studies* 8 (2000), 82.

⁶ Martin, "From Citizenship to Queer Counterpublic," 82.

⁷ The Taiwanese Human Rights Organization is my translation of 台灣人權促進會.

zhi rights as well. Under the guise of feminist claims, discussions of LGBT rights in Taiwan were, in many ways, spearheaded by women. In *Queer Politics and Sexual Modernity in Taiwan*, Hans Tao-Ming Huang explains, "Unlike their male comrades, the lesbian TSAN members could operate ambiguously under the sign of feminist identity in public when necessary."⁸ Wang Ping would later work with Ke Fe to co-found the Hotline Association, the first officially recognized LGBT NGO in south-east Asia. In 2000, Wang Ping founded the Gender/Sexuality Rights Association (*Xing Bie Ren Quan Xie Hui*) (GSRAT).⁹

I acknowledge the "false gender neutrality" critique articulated by Saskia Wireringa, Evelyn Blackwood, and Abha Bhaiya in *Women's Sexualities and Masculinities in a Globalizing Asia* (2007).¹⁰ I do not attempt to claim that my narrative of the history of the gay rights movement also tells the story of the lesbian rights movement in Taiwan. The gay rights movement and the lesbian rights movement did not form around the exact same issues. Professor Frank Wang's first involvement with *tong zhi* programs was through the invitation of *Wu Shao Wen*, an organization that organized services for female *tong zhi*. In the mid-1990s, *Wu Shao Wen* invited Professor Wang and two other professors (Jing Ru and Zhao Yen Ning "Antonia Chao") to speak with them about how to purchase private insurance in order to create a financial safety net for future retirement. According to Professor Wang, female *tong zhi* were more concerned (*jiao lu*) with growing older in the early 1990s, as females in Taiwanese society generally earned lower salaries.¹¹

⁸ Hans Tao-Ming Huang, *Queer Politics and Sexual Modernity in Taiwan* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011), 136.

⁹ Sang, *The Emerging Lesbian*, 244.

¹⁰ Saskia Wireringa, Evelyn Blackwood, and Abha Bhaiya, *Women's Sexualities and Masculinities in a Globalizing Asia* (New York: Macmillan, 2009).

¹¹ Frank Wang, interview, 13:18.

The Men I Interviewed

Chiwei Cheng – Interviewed February 13, 2012

The first salaried employee of the Hotline Association

Clemond (許欣瑞) – Interviewed February 17, 2012

Leader of the National Taiwan Normal University's gay student group *Lu Ren Jia*

David Lee – Interviewed February 22, 2012

Member of the Gay Teacher Association in the early 1990s and one of the first members of the Hotline Association in 1998

Professor Frank Wang – Interviewed October 12, 2011

Pivotal in the early years of the *tong zhi* movement as an academic ally; coordinated the Hotline Association's gay oral history project

Professor John KC Liu – Interviewed January 10, 2012

Professor of Urban Development at the National Taiwan University; allowed the Hotline Association to participate in official conferences under the name of his NGO before the Hotline Association received official recognition

Professor Jacques Picoux – Interviewed December 31, 2011

French ex-patriot; retired Professor of French at the National Taiwan University

Ju Zhi – Interviewed December 26, 2011

The creator of the first gay publishing company

AC

Ke Fe – Interviewed January 10, 2012

Creator of the first official gay radio program in Taiwan and co-founder of the Hotline Association

Qi Jia Wei – Interviewed July 25, 2011

Recognized as the first HIV/AIDS and gay activist in south-east Asia

Vincent Huang – Interviewed January 1, 2012

Operated an underground gay radio program in the early 1990s

Professor Zhu Weicheng (朱偉誠) – Interviewed January 3, 2012

Professor of English at the National Taiwan University; an academic leader in Taiwanese discussions of gender and sexuality

Introduction

"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 recognized nor respected by anyone, our citizenry is little more than rabble." These are the opening lines of Bai Xianyong's *Niezi* (Crystal Boys) (1983), a fictional account of same-sex relations in the 1970s centered around New Park – the notorious cite in Taipei for men to find sex with other men.¹² Sexologist Peng Huaizhen's contemporary analysis echoed Bai Xianyong's depiction of a lack of recognition and respect for same-sex relations: "In our country, we do not have any homosexual movement which could be compared with those in the United States or Europe; will there be such a movement in the future? ... This is rather improbable: sex is still a taboo topic in Chinese societies."¹³ Two decades later, in 1993, President Lee Teng-Hui publicly congratulated Ang Lee for his internationally recognized gay-themed film *The Wedding Banquet*, expressing the hope that Lee would further "help more people in the international arena to understand Taiwan clearly."¹⁴ The first issue of *G&L* in 1996 included a message of support for *tong zhi* equality from the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP).¹⁵ The first official *tong zhi* organization in south-east Asia formed in Taipei in 2000 as the Taiwan Tongzhi Hotline Association (台灣同志諮詢熱線協會). In 2003, Taiwan officially discussed the possibility of legalizing same-sex marriage as part of the proposed "Basic Human Rights Law,"¹⁶ and in 2004, Taiwan passed the Gender Equity Education Act, which builds discussions of sexuality and sexual orientation into the required curriculum.¹⁷ Both of the two recent Taiwanese presidents Chen Shui Bian (President 2000

¹² *Crystal Boys by Bai Xianyong*, trans. Hsien-yung Pai (San Francisco: Gay Sunshine Press, 1990).

¹³ Peng Huaizhen, "Zhen jia tong xing lian," *Zong he yue kan* 155 (1981), 143-157.

¹⁴ Fran Martin, *Situating Sexualities: Queer Representation in Taiwanese Fiction, Film and Public Culture* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2003), 279.

¹⁵ *G&L*, 1996, 1.

¹⁶ Chris Hogg, "Taiwan move to allow gay unions," *BBC News*, October 28, 2003, accessed April 25, 2012.

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/3219721.stm>

¹⁷ For the exact wording of the Gender Equity Education Act, see http://law.moj.gov.tw/Eng/news/news_detail.aspx?id=2178.

– 2008; Democratic Progressive Party) and Ma Ing Jeou (President 2008 – Present; Kuomintang Party) have publicly proclaimed support of gay rights as part of their projects to broadcast an image of Taiwan as a progressive and uniquely enlightened country in Asia. Chen Shui Bian invited an American gay rights activist to speak in Taiwan, and Ma Ing Jeou promised to be the first country in Asia to offer gay marriage during his campaign tour in the United States.¹⁸ In two decades, political recognition of *tong zhi* had shifted from ignored anonymity to direct acknowledgement and even positive protection. This thesis aims to describe and explain these developments.¹⁹

Asian sexualities have been focused on as a nexus point for discussions of national identity. Diköter and Altman argued that shifts in sexual subjectivities in Taiwan and China reflected and followed developments of Western Europe and the United States. Gopinath and Manalansan offered correctives to this integrationist perspective by revealing gaps where Western theories failed to explain Asian developments. Most recently, Fran Martin and Cindy Patton have forwarded theories of hybrid sexualities in Taiwan, positioning Taiwanese sexual subjectivities as a product of the local and the global. The majority – if not the totality – of discussions regarding Asian sexualities have revolved around categorizing the Asian sexual subjectivities as local, global, or glocal.²⁰

National identity alone, however, does not fully the developments of sexual subjectivities in Taiwan. This thesis takes a closer look at the constructions and developments of sexual identity politics – one aspect of sexual subjectivities²¹ – to demonstrate how there is more at play and more at stake regarding Taiwanese sexualities than national identity alone. Though Taiwan underwent major political shifts in the 1980s and 1990s with the end of martial law in 1987, individual agency

¹⁸ Jens Damm, "Same Sex Desire and Society in Taiwan, 1970-1987," *The China Quarterly* 181 (2005), 68.

¹⁹ In December 2011, I met with German professor Jens Damm in Taipei. As we discussed the Taiwanese *tong zhi* movement, he told me that if I could figure out how and why the Taiwanese *tong zhi* movement began, I would answer a question that Western scholars have long been puzzled with. Damm said to me that he could not figure out why the Taiwanese developed a gay movement, given that there has not been any historical evidence of legal discrimination or gay bashings.

²⁰ Victor Roudometof coined the term "glocalisation" in the 1980s.

²¹ Not necessarily one essential aspect.

was not erased by the changing power landscapes. Instead of searching for the authentic LGBT or the authentic Taiwanese, this thesis seeks to explain the phenomenon of sexual identity politics in Taiwan.

In Walter Isaacson's authorized biography of Steve Jobs, Isaacson explains Jobs' "livid" anger for HTC's "grand theft" of Apple's innovations.²² HTC's Evo 4G looks and works almost identically to the Apple iPhone 4. For instance, the new HTC adopted the iPhone's "pinch" to zoom in and out. Are the phones identical? Not quite. The HTC Evo has a kickstand and smoother edges. Neither simply original, nor a cut and copy duplicate of the iPhone4, HTC's Evo 4G has been a headache for international patent law enforcement. Today's questions regarding the extent to which the Taiwanese company stole ideas from the American company parallel an interest by today's historians to explain or dismiss political developments in Taiwan as reflections of American politics. If we zoom in on the iPhone 4 and HTC Evo 4G, the shades of black and grey differ. If we zoom out, they are both phones. Zoom farther out, and they prove to be methods of communication, a universal human capacity and desire. The two phones are as similar or as different as the chosen level of analysis. A universal human desire/need (communication), a discursive break (technological inventions), and individual translation (HTC's adaptation and improvements) all exist in one specific product at different magnifications.

If we take the question of similarity and difference as a necessary distinction based on the level of analysis, similarity or difference to the West is no longer a battle for truth, but a battle of perspective. While acknowledging cultural specificity, and while acknowledging dynamic relationships between the local and the global, I hope to move beyond the project of proving local particularities in order to further calibrate our focus on both the individual motivations of my interviewees *and* the modern human condition. In other words, I aim to pull in rejected trans-

²² Rene Ritchie, "Steve Jobs considered Android 'grand theft' of iPhone ideas," *iMore*, October 20, 2011. <http://www.imore.com/2011/10/20/steve-jobs-considered-android-grand-theft-iphone-ideas>.

HTC and Apple are both technology companies. HTC is based in Taiwan, and Apple is based in the U.S.

AC

historical analyses in order to sharpen our understanding of the cross-historical.²³ More specifically, this project aims to calibrate our insight in queer historiography and transnational theory through the addition of the first set of oral histories of pioneers²⁴ of the gay movement in Taiwan. By demonstrating how Americanization cannot be simply accepted or rejected to explain developments in Taiwanese sexual politics, I demonstrate how a variety of influences and pressures shaped the main protagonists of my story, the individuals.

The basic goal of this project is to offer insight into the early years of the gay movement in Taiwan. Many developments were not recorded at the time. The Hotline Association, for instance, never created any bylaws and left few records as "everything was informal."²⁵ Accordingly, a bulk of the following analysis depends heavily on how leaders of *tong zhi* organizations and programs remember their intentions, actions, and developments. Where I did not find any written evidence to contradict their claims, dates are estimated according to their memory. Chiwei, the former Secretary General of Hotline commented, "It's too bad we didn't record more details when we remembered more."²⁶

Chapter 1 overviews relevant literature in LGBT and queer history, globalization and transnational theory, and Asian queer studies. Chapter 2 lays the context and periodization of the developments of a gay movement in Taiwan by overviewing democratic reforms of the 1980s and 1990s. Chapter 3 focuses on the narratives of three particular historical leaders of the Taiwanese gay movement: Qi Jia Wei, Ke Fe, and Chiwei. Chapter 4 links the themes of American influence, democratic reform, and individual personality and personal experiences together to contribute to and offer correctives to recent developments in queer history, transnational history, and queer Asian studies.

²³ As Heinrich and Martin explain, the . . . In contrast, the cross-historical approach emphasizes change as much as linkages . . . [in order to] shed light on particular aspects of the present." Fran Martin and Larissa Heinrich, *Embodied Modernities: Corporeality, Representation, and Chinese Cultures* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006), 15.

²⁴ I do not claim to have interviewed all pioneers of the gay movement in Taiwan, just 12 men.

²⁵ Clemond, interview, 7:15.

²⁶ Chiwei, interview, October 30, 2011, 32:00.

CHAPTER ONE

Literature Review: Setting the Foundations of My Argument

In "Crossing borders in transnational gender history" (2011), Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks writes, "transnational history and the history of gender and sexuality have both been concerned with the issue of borders and their crossing, but the two fields themselves have not intersected much in the past. This is beginning to change . . ." ²⁷ As Wiesner-Hanks points out, history of sexuality and transnational history share mutual emphases on "intertwinings, relationships, movements, and hybridity . . . interdisciplinarity and stress on multiple perspectives . . . [and] calls for destabilization of binaries." I aim to contribute to the project of identifying and describing the hybrid and the multiple through a case study of the Taiwanese *tong zhi* movement.

In *Bridges and Boundaries: Historians, Political Scientists, and the Study of International Relations* (2001), Jack Levy highlights the idiographic/nomothetic distinction between the discipline of history and the discipline of political science. According to Levy, the difference between historians and political scientists is not whether or not one uses theories, but *how* one uses theories. ²⁸ For Levy, the historian and the political scientist can mutually "gain considerable analytic power" by linking the ideographic and the nomothetic approaches. ²⁹ In "Too Important to Leave to the Other," Levy argues:

"In fact, history and political science have much to offer each other. a

²⁷ Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, "Crossing borders in transnational gender history," *Journal of Global History* 6 (2011): 357.

²⁸ Jack Levy, "Explaining Events and Developing Theories: History, Political Science, and the Analysis of International Relations," in *Bridges and Boundaries: Historians, Political Scientists, and the Study of International Relations*, ed. Colin Elman and Miriam Fendius Elman (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2001), 39-85.

²⁹ Levy, "Explaining Events and Developing Theories," 54.

complete description of the connections between events is not sufficient for good history, because all history is driven by theoretical assumptions and models, and more theorizing could make those models more explicit and analytically sound. Similarly, the rigorous formulation of a logically coherent theoretical structure is not sufficient for good theory, because good theory must be empirically validated over a wide range of conditions, and more sensitivity to historical context would help reveal the spatial and temporal (and hence analytical) bounds of the theory. The worst abuse of each discipline is to ignore the other. History is too important to leave to the historians, and theory is too important to leave to the theorists."³⁰

Particularly in the new field of transnational queer history, where the driving focus is to demonstrate intertwinings and multiple perspectives of the past, it is increasingly important to recognize how different layers of analysis can supplement on another.

My work fundamentally builds off of the works of Fran Martin and Cindy Patton. Martin and Patton have lead research on Taiwanese sexual subjectivities, and my analysis owes debt to their literary analyses and their theories of queer hybridizations. However, Martin (Cultural Studies) and Patton (Sociology and Anthropology)'s works have often left out ideographic analyses that I believe add insight into explaining how the Taiwanese *tong zhi* movement was constructed and developed in Taiwan, insight that I hope will in turn contribute to broader theories of social movements and identity subjectivities.

From LGBT History to Queer History: A Framework of Reference

³⁰ Levy, "Too Important to Leave to the Other: History and Political Science in the Study of International Relations," *International Security* 22 (1997): 22-23.

Recently, queer historians have contributed to identifying and describing hybridity and multiplicity not only through providing new answers to old questions, but also through posing new questions regarding similar topics. In a similar way that queer historians have built off of and offered correctives to the theories outlined in Michel Foucault's *History of Sexuality Vol. I* (1976), this project aims to pose new questions regarding the phenomenon of the Taiwanese *tong zhi* movement. Though my work certainly builds off of the new answers to old questions that have been offered by queer Asian scholars, I aim to add another layer of analysis to the discussion in a similar way that queer historians have contributed to LGBT history. The following section outlines the developments of LGBT history and queer history. I begin with a discussion of Michel Foucault's *History of Sexuality Volume I*, which continues to be influential today as the foundation for discussions regarding the creation of the modern homosexual. I then turn to how more recent scholars have offered alternative answers to Foucault's question regarding the creation of the modern homosexual. In the final section, I discuss how queer theory has been brought into historical analyses by queer historians to ask new questions and add depth and color to histories of sexual subjectivities.

Foucault's History of Sexuality Volume I

In 1976, Michel Foucault forwarded the idea that homosexuality was not an historically unified concept. Foucault's *History of Sexuality, Volume I* identified a shift over the course of the 18th and 19th centuries when sexology and law reconfigured understandings of same-sex desires from a sinful act to a deviant identity.³¹ According to Foucault, "the 19th century homosexual became a personage, a past, a case history, and a childhood, in addition to being a type of life, a life form, and a morphology, with an indiscreet anatomy and possibly a mysterious physiology . . . the

³¹ Michael Foucault, *History of Sexuality: The Will to Knowledge, Volume I* (1976; repr., London: Penguin Group, 2008).

AC

sodomite had been a temporary aberration; the homosexual now now a species."³² For Foucault, this epistemological shift lays the foundations for all 20th century developments regarding homosexuality, including politicization. Through his concept of the "reverse discourse," Foucault outlines how a marginalized group contests its marginalization through the language of the oppressor. In *The History of Sexuality, Volume I*, Foucault wrote, "There is no question that the appearance in nineteenth-century psychiatry, jurisprudence, and literature of a whole series of discourses on the species and subspecies of homosexuality, inversion, pederasty, and 'psychic hermaphroditism' made possible a strong advance of social controls into this area of 'perversity'; but it also made possible the formation of a 'reverse' discourse: homosexuality began to speak in its own behalf, to demand that its legitimacy or 'naturalness' be acknowledged, often in the same vocabulary, using the same categories by which it was medically disqualified."³³

In the 1990s, historians began to challenge Foucault's outline of the creation of the modern homosexual. New evidence from court cases, newspaper articles, diary entries, literature, and oral histories fueled counter-arguments that sexological and legal prescriptions of homosexuality unevenly and incompletely shaped sexual subjectivities across socio-economic statuses and geopolitical locations.

Questioning the Impact of Sexology

By placing sexologists in context, historians such as Laura Doan, Chris Waters, Suzanne Raitt, Lesley Hall, and Lucy Bland questioned sexology's impact in creating the modern homosexual identity. Even as they critique Foucault's emphasis on sexology's role, however, they continued to work around a similar driving question regarding the construction of the modern homosexual.

Interest in sexology spread rapidly in the early 20th century. In 1896, Havelock Ellis and

³² Foucault, *History of Sexuality: The Will to Knowledge, Volume I*, 43.

³³ Foucault, *History of Sexuality: The Will to Knowledge, Volume I*, 101.

AC

John Addington Symonds published *Sexual Inversion*, the first medical discussion of homosexuality. *Sexual Inversion* was translated to English in 1897. Though mocked by many in the professional medical community and prosecuted as obscene when first published,³⁴ the ideas proposed in *Sexual Inversion* had circulated around the world into the publications of Indian Doctor J. L. Chundra by 1914.³⁵ By 1965, 93% of those polled saw homosexuality as a form of illness requiring medical treatment, a concept proposed in *Sexual Inversion*.³⁶ In 1895, Oscar Wilde's prosecution for "gross indecency" did not include any mention of any kind of treatment for his condition, whereas by 1924 an article titled "Psycho-Analysis for Criminals" had circulated in the British press arguing that the legal system should take sexological ideas seriously. From focusing on forensic experts measuring physical evidence of sodomy in the 19th century, courts increasingly considered biological and psychological characteristics of the accused sodomite.

In 2005, H.G. Cocks and Matt Houlbrook edited a series titled *Palgrave Advances in the Modern History of Sexuality*. Chris Waters wrote the chapter on "Sexology," critiquing Foucault's claims that sexological discourses had directly constructed the modern homosexual identity. In "Sexology," Waters asks, "how do you measure the role of sexology in the public arena and dissemination of sexological ideas to a broader audience?"³⁷ Through a closer look at how the ideas of sexologists impacted the new ideas of homosexuality as an identity taking shape, Waters concludes that sexology was but one among several pressures that constructed the modern homosexual identity. According to Waters, sexological discourse was neither monolithic nor always in control of the shape that its impact would take.

In "Acts of Female Agency," Laura Doan similarly critiques Foucault's emphasis on the role of sexology in constructing the modern homosexual by taking a closer look at female sexuality.

Doan directs her critique at Sheila Jeffreys and Lillian Faderman who had identified sexology as the

³⁴ Waters, "Sexology" in *The Modern History of Sexuality*, ed. Matt Houlbrook and Harry Cocks (London: Palgrave, 2006), 46.

³⁵ Waters, "Sexology," 46.

³⁶ Jeffrey Weeks, *Coming Out: Homosexual Politics in Britain from the Nineteenth Century to the Present* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1990), 31.

³⁷ Waters, "Sexology," 47.

powerful repressive force against female sexuality. Sheila Jeffreys argued that sexology was “an attack upon passionate emotional involvement between women.” According to Jeffreys, sexology undermine[d] the link between [women] and diluted their potential strength.” Along similar lines, Lillian Faderman had suggested that sexologists held a “hidden agenda” to “discourage feminism and maintain traditional sex roles by connecting the women's movement to sexual abnormality.”³⁸ Doan countered, “Sexology, one presumes, must have been a powerfully incisive and devastating ideological force to undermine feminism, stigmatize lesbianism, and successfully connect the two.”³⁹ According to Doan, the way in which Foucault, Jeffreys, and Faderman gave absolute weight to the “force of the medical model” disregarded how sexology played multiple and occasionally conflicting functions. For instance, the same text by Krafft-Ebing was cited by both MP Noel Pemberton-Billing cited Krafft-Ebing in his accusation of Maud Allan of lesbianism in 1918 and by Radclyffe Hall to promote the acceptance of lesbianism.⁴⁰ In this way, the theoretical focus on negative impacts of sexological discourses posited by Jeffreys and Faderman gloss over the dynamics of developing and competing sexological discourses. Further disturbing direct applications of sexological texts to individuals' understandings and experiences, sexologists' were occasionally blatantly misinterpreted. For instance, Sir Ernest Wild recommended reading Krafft-Ebing and Havelock Ellis as scientific explanations to back his support of the 1921 “Acts of indecency by females” clause that subjected “any act of gross indecency between female persons” to be condemned as “a misdemeanor and punishable in the same manner as any such act committed by male persons under section 11 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1885.”⁴¹ Without going into the details of what Ellis and Krafft-Ebing actually discussed, Wild effectively used the guise of scientific authority to argue the opposite of the “congenialist” theories that Ellis and Krafft-Ebing

³⁸ Lucy Bland and Laura Doan, eds., *Sexology Uncensored: The Documents of Sexual Science* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 4.

³⁹ Laura Doan, “‘Acts of Female Indecency’: Sexology's Intervention in Legislating Lesbianism,” in *Sexology in Culture: Labelling Bodies and Desires*, ed. Lucy Bland and Laura Doan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 200.

⁴⁰ Bland and Doan, eds., *Sexology Uncensored*, 4.

⁴¹ Doan, “‘Acts of Female Indecency,’” 205.

actually proposed.

In "Sex, Love and the Homosexual Body in Early Sexology" (1998), Suzanne Raitt argues that the relationship between what sexologists said and what individuals did was neither universal nor direct. Where some individuals shaped their identities and their actions strictly around sexologists' formulations, others rejected them completely. On the one hand, we have the phenomenon of Vita Sackville-West's understanding of him/herself as both masculine and feminine. Sackville-West's self-identification directly reflected Carpenter's vision of a "third sex" as discussed in *The Intermediate Sex*, a copy of which stood in Sackville-West's bookshelf at the time of his/her death in 1962.⁴² Similarly accepting sexological prescriptions, Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson believed in the early 20th century he had a "woman's soul in a man's body" while Sir Roger Casement viewed his pleasure in having sex with boys as a "terrible disease."⁴³ On the other hand, we have the phenomenon of Stella Browne, who opposed sexological prescriptions of normalcy. On November 17, 1937, Stella Browne told the Interdepartmental [Birkett] Committee on Abortion, "I have never met the normal woman. I have seen a lot about her in print . . . but I have never met her."⁴⁴ Similarly rejecting sexological prescriptions, even when Sigmund Freud's ideas were adopted *de jure* in Clause 19 of the 1938 Criminal Justice Bill permitting courts to sentence individuals for psychiatric treatment, not all criminologists and doctors shifted accordingly to the Freudian view that homosexuality was a mental disorder that arose "from repressive influences in infancy and childhood which retard or distort the normal development of the sex instinct."⁴⁵ For instance, Dr. Kate Friedlander wrote that the nation's dominant moral sentiments "should not be used as an excuse for inflicting irreparable damage on the lives of people because, through no fault

⁴² Suzanne Raitt, "Sex, Love and the Homosexual Body in Early Sexology," in *Sexology in Culture: Labelling Bodies and Desires*, ed. Lucy Bland and Laura Doan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 152-155.

⁴³ Weeks, *Coming Out*, 32.

⁴⁴ Lesley A. Hall, "Feminist Reconfigurations of Heterosexuality in the 1920s," in *Sexology in Culture: Labelling Bodies and Desires*, ed. Lucy Bland and Laura Doan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 142.

⁴⁵ Chris Waters, "Havelock Ellis, Sigmund Freud and the State: Discourses of Homosexual Identity in Interwar Britain," in *Sexology in Culture: Labelling Bodies and Desires*, ed. Lucy Bland and Laura Doan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 174.

of their own, they have not succeeded in developing socially acceptable sexual desires.”⁴⁶ Stella Browne and Dr. Kate Friedlander provide examples of how individuals had a certain degree of agency in applying sexological texts into their understandings and experiences. As Browne self-reflected after reading sexological literature, her own conclusions were “based on life, not on books” drawn from her “own experience, or the observation and testimony of people I know well.”⁴⁷ Lesley Hall’s analysis of Browne questions the impact of Stella Browne as a memorable lecture. Hall asks, “What invisible seeds might she have sown?”⁴⁸

Limited and fragmented access to sexological texts and ideas further hindered the role that sexologists played in shaping sexual identities and beliefs. First, sexological texts were difficult to come by for the uneducated laborer. As Jackson summarizes, “Very few members of the general public had direct access to these works . . . since both sales and borrowing from libraries were restricted to people such as doctors, lawyers, and scientific researchers.”⁴⁹ Even though *The Times* reported a “universal and painful interest” in the slander trial involving MP Noel Pemberton-Billing and Maud Allan, the sexological terms referred to in court were not widely reported in the newspapers. *The Vigilante* and *The Times* were the only papers to mention the word lesbian; otherwise, newspapers generally wrote vaguely of “sexual perversions.”⁵⁰

Challenging Law as Prescription & Ascribing Agency to Individuals

Another strand of literature has focused on challenging law as a prescription for the creation of the modern homosexual identity; in the process, these correctives to Foucault's emphasis on the role of law has opened up spaces to ascribe more agency to homosexual men themselves. Steven

⁴⁶ Waters, “Havelock Ellis, Sigmund Freud and the State: Discourses of Homosexual Identity in Interwar Britain”, 174.

⁴⁷ Hall, “Feminist Reconfigurations of Heterosexuality in the 1920s,” 138.

⁴⁸ Hall, “Feminist Reconfigurations of Heterosexuality in the 1920s,” 147.

⁴⁹ Doan, “Acts of Female Indecency: Sexology's Intervention in Legislating Lesbianism,” 200.

⁵⁰ Lucy Bland, “Trial by Sexology?: Maud Allan, Salome and the 'Cult of the Clitoris' Case,” in *Sexology in Culture: Labelling Bodies and Desires*, ed. Lucy Bland and Laura Doan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 194.

Maynard and Matt Cook argue that judges, police officers, and law makers were not the only actors involved in the formation of queer subcultures and identities, nor were the actions of legal agents removed from the influence of popular sentiments or “queer” men themselves. Thus, law and policing was not the sole creators of queer cultures and identities. Instead, law and policing interpreted, adumbrated, solidified, and disseminated existing discourses and associations. According to Steven Maynard, law was but “one of the modes through which a homosexual subculture was brought into existence.”⁵¹

Law and policing disseminated knowledge and prompted debates around same-sex sexuality. As one man in the *Toronto Evening Telegram* noted on May 22, 1911, he “would never have believed the police statements had he not heard them with his own ears.”⁵² As this man's testimony reveals, reports of arrests of men in lavatories taught the public of occurrences of “gross indecency.” Though Steven Maynard admits it is “hard to say how exactly men discovered or learned about the subculture,” it is possible that press accounts of indecency trials also publicized the existence of queer subcultures to help men locate *where* to find sex with other men. Law and policing also generated debates regarding how to recognize *who* was likely to commit “unnatural offences.”⁵³ H. G. Cocks's "Making the Sodomite Speak" takes evidence from court trials to make a similar argument that law and policing contributed to the construction of a modern homosexual identity. For instance, Charles Baring Wall was reported to have said, “It's a b---y fine morning, is it not?” and “D---n and --- all the --- religions, it is all a humbug.”⁵⁴ By lacing the sodomite's diction with swear words, police accounts inscribed sodomites as generally immoral. Thus, law and policing played an important role not only in revealing the general public to the existence of queer identities, but also outlined a source of knowledge for the public to understand these identities. Ed

⁵¹ Steven Maynard, “Through a Hole in the Lavatory Wall: Homosexual Subcultures, Police Surveillance, and the Dialectics of Discovery, Toronto, 1890-1930,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 5 (1994), 209.

⁵² Maynard, “Through a Hole in the Lavatory Wall,” 240.

⁵³ H. G. Cocks, “Making the Sodomite Speak: Voices of the Accused in English Sodomy Trials, c. 1800-98,” *Gender & History* 18 (2006), 88.

⁵⁴ Cocks, “Making the Sodomite Speak,” 95.

Cohen's "Talk on the Wilde Side" analyzes how newspapers consistently wove reports of Oscar Wilde's trial with physical descriptions. According to Cohen, these descriptions provided readers with a more concrete representation of the criminal, and a series of associations to map onto what kind of person committed sodomy. For instance, *The Star* described Oscar Wilde as "bland and attentive, his hands limply crossed and dropping or clasped around his brown suede gloves."⁵⁵ In this way, Maynard, Cocks, and Cohen support Foucault's emphasis on the role of law and policing as important agents in the construction of the modern homosexual identity.

Nonetheless, Maynard, Cocks, and Cohen, along with Charles Upchurch and Matt Houlbrook, have complicated simple claims that the impact of law and policing was direct or monolithic. Similar to how Doan, Waters, Raitt, Hall, and Bland chipped away at the importance of sexology as an agent in the creation of the modern homosexual, Maynard, Cocks, Cohen, Upchurch, and Houlbrook have chipped away at the importance of law as an agent in the creation of the modern homosexual. The basic logistical limitation of the importance of law and policing on the formation of queer cultures and identities is the separate agency of the press. As Upchurch explains, there was "No mechanism by which the government could have compelled the majority of the major London newspapers to follow its lead in relation to the Boulton and Park case, and with the possible exception of *The Times* there is no evidence to indicate any direct collaboration between the Gladstone administration and the press to suppress trial coverage."⁵⁶

By contextualizing the role and impact of law and policing, Cohen argues that legal discourses did not spontaneously create new definitions of identity; instead, Cohen suggests that legal discourses were limited by the contours of existing discourses. Regarding the trial of Ernest Boulton and Frederick Park in London in 1871 – Ernest Boulton and Frederick Park had been arrested in 1870 for cross-dressing and tried for conspiring to commit sodomy⁵⁷ – the Attorney

⁵⁵ Ed Cohen, *Talk on the Wilde Side: Towards a Genealogy of a Discourse on Male Sexualities* (New York: Routledge, Chapman and Hall, Inc., 1993), 142-143.

⁵⁶ Charles Upchurch, "Forgetting the Unthinkable: Cross-Dressers and British Society in the Case of the Queen vs. Boulton and Others," *Gender & History* 12 (2000), 147.

⁵⁷ William Cohen, *Sex Scandal: The Private Parts of Victorian Fiction* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), 74-75.

General prefaced his analysis of Park's letter to "My darling Ernie" by asking the jury "What can it be but . . ." ⁵⁸ Cohen argues that the Attorney General's interpretation of Park's letter to Boulton as dependent upon existing social codes that the Attorney General believed the jury would similarly recognize and agree upon.

Cohen, Upchurch, and Houlbrook have also pointed out how the role and impact of law and policing was not monolithic across classes. In "Talk on the Wilde Side," Cohen provided the example of the trial of Charles Parker regarding Parker's relationship with another man. According to Cohen, the court deemed Parker's actions inappropriate not on any specific evidence of "indecent acts," but on the basis of his young age and low social standing. ⁵⁹ Upchurch similarly argued that legal prescriptions varied with class by taking a closer look at the role that Boulton's mother played in the Boulton and Park trial. According to Upchurch, Boulton's mother's "status as a middle-class mother was enough to cover both her knowledge and her lack of knowledge of her son's activities with the gloss of moral respectability." ⁶⁰ Upchurch also analyzed the *Times*, *Morning Post*, and *Weekly Dispatch* – leading papers for the middle, upper, and working classes respectively ⁶¹ – to demonstrate how each social strata's concern for the policing and the trials of accused sodomites also depended on particular class concerns. In the Churchill and Stringer case of 1842, Stringer testified witnessing Churchill in "an indecent situation" at Hyde Park in August 1842. ⁶² In the subsequent revelations of Stringer lying about working at the firm of Sheppard and Sutton, ⁶³ having worked before with a man named Newstead for the purposes of "extorting money," having multiple aliases, and being part of a "gang" with Frederick Clark, the verdict ultimately condemned Stringer (the original plaintiff) not Churchill (the original defendant). Upchurch analyzed the three different newspapers' responses to this case in order to argue that the three social classes held different concerns in cases involving sodomy. Where the *Morning Post* wrote, "The verdict was received

⁵⁸ William Cohen, *Sex Scandal*, 113.

⁵⁹ Ed Cohen, *Talk on the Wilde Side*, 189.

⁶⁰ Upchurch, "Forgetting the Unthinkable," 150.

⁶¹ Upchurch, "Forgetting the Unthinkable," 129.

⁶² Upchurch, "Forgetting the Unthinkable," 145.

⁶³ Upchurch, "Forgetting the Unthinkable," 145.

with applause by the persons in the Court,” the Times noted “loud marks of approbation . . . were of course instantly suppressed by the Court”, while the *Weekly Dispatch* made no mention of the applause.⁶⁴ The upper class paid particular attention to this case not necessarily because the upper class was particularly against same-sex relations, but because of socio-economic concerns of “extortion.” Instead of a coherent unified same-sex subculture, different classes of men who engaged in same-sex sex often identified with other men more on the basis of class than according to the basis of a shared same-sex desire. Houlbrook's *Queer London* describes how middle-class queer men in London in the 1920s defined themselves by othering the feminine quean by explicitly banning queans from elite social spaces such as the Rockingham and the A&B.⁶⁵

In "Lady Austin's Camp Boys," Matt Houlbrook argues that law and policing did not necessarily create new discourses around gender and sex. Houlbrook looks at the shift that occurred between the Ernest Boulton and William Park trial, where Boulton and Park were both released as innocent, and the Holland Park case, the first verdict in a London court that condemned cross-dressing as legal evidence of a sign of sodomy. Houlbrook points out how before the Holland Park verdict, the *News of the World* on January 29, 1933 and February 26, 1933 had suggested sexual dissidence as intertwined with gender nonconformity as it reported cross-dressers Eustace Fulton's and Derek Curtis-Bennett's “perverted habits” and “acts of impropriety” respectively.⁶⁶ Rather than create the association between gender non-conformity and sodomy, then, law and policing reinterpreted, reformed, and re-articulated associations between existing social codes.

Cohen's *Sex Scandal* similarly argued that law and policing did not create queer subcultures by demonstrating the important role of queer men themselves in the formation of their own identities, language, and culture. Cohen's exploration of the Boulton and Park trial reveals how Boulton, Park, and their correspondents used a language specific to the existing queer subculture,

⁶⁴ Upchurch, “Forgetting the Unthinkable,” 148.

⁶⁵ Matt Houlbrook, *Queer London: Perils and Pleasures in the Sexual Metropolis, 1918-1957* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 84.

⁶⁶ Matt Houlbrook, “Lady Austin's Camp Boys': Constituting the Queer Subject in 1930s London,” *Gender & History* 14 (2002), 32.

un-intelligible to those outside the subculture. The court demonstrated confusion regarding what “sodomitical practices” might entail, for instance, by misreading “campish” as “crawfish” in one letter from Park to Lord Arthur.⁶⁷ The Attorney General accordingly called the language “strange” and admits “I do not understand it,” demonstrating how certain queer subcultures existed beyond the knowledge or direct formation of law and policing. Houlbrook's work also provides historical evidence confirming how certain homosexual subcultures, spaces, and self-consciousness existed before policing and trials. For instance, when the Camp Dance Club was raided, “the Duchess” answered the police's inquiries by explaining “we are a species of our own. You could tell us a mile off.”⁶⁸ The *Illustrated Police News* used this phrase coined by the Duchess, “Species of Our Own,” as a headline. Law did not uniformly or unilaterally define queer identity.

At the same time, Upchurch, Cook, Cohen, Cocks, and Houlbrook do not dismiss the role of law and policing completely as an agent in the formation of queer cultures and identities. In “Forgetting the Unthinkable,” Upchurch provides evidence from a letter sent to Boulton in the year before the arraignment from a friend that asked, “Did you see that fellow had been taken up for being in drag, but he was let off? Do you know him by name?”⁶⁹ Thus, Upchurch argues that Boulton was aware and concerned with arrests of cross-dressers elsewhere, further demonstrating how the relationship between queer men's agency and law and policing was in constant dialogue as each reacted and responded to the other's developments.

Steven Maynard's “Through a Hole in the Lavatory Wall” adds another factor into the fray to demonstrate how the construction of the modern homosexual identity depended on a variety of developments besides legal prescriptions. According to Maynard, “it was not a coincidence that evidence of a subculture of sex revolving around the lavatory appears in the court records in a significant way at the turn of the century,” in the early 1900s when “Toronto embarked upon something of a lavatory building boom.”⁷⁰ Maynard argues that the characteristic of the city's

⁶⁷ William Cohen, *Sex Scandal*, 116.

⁶⁸ Houlbrook, “Lady Austin's Camp Boys’: Constituting the Queer Subject in 1930s London,” 42.

⁶⁹ Charles Upchurch, “Forgetting the Unthinkable,” 136.

⁷⁰ Steven Maynard, “Through a Hole in the Lavatory Wall,” 214.

AC

“Filthy Lavatories” sullied the connotations of homosexual public sex cultures as enforcement of the 1890 introduction of “gross indecency” repeatedly arrested men having sex located in these already “unsavory” lavatories.⁷¹ In this way, developments seemingly unrelated to sex or gender also shaped the formation of queer identities.

To answer the question regarding whether the law or the individual men themselves formed queer subcultures and identities, Maynard and Houlbrook answer "both." Maynard concludes "Through a Hole in the Lavatory Wall" with the argument that “both the activity of the men and the concrete/discursive maneuvers of the police forged and contributed to the growth in knowledge of a sexual underground.”⁷² Houlbrook concludes "Lady Austin's Camp Boys" with the argument that the Camp Boys case is “both a 'way of exploring how difference is established, how it operates, how and in what ways it constitutes subjects who see and act in the world', and a moment at which the production of official moralities was played out publicly.”⁷³ As the press interprets the courts, the courts interpret the police reports, the police send officers to interpret the existing queer culture and identity, while the queers themselves also redefine their identities and cultures in response. Beyond an answer of “both,” however, Maynard adds how broader and seemingly unrelated developments such as urban reforms also shaped the construction of the modern homosexual identity.

Queer Questions

Among others, Doan, Waters, Raitt, Hall, Bland, Maynard, Cocks, Cohen, Upchurch and Houlbrook have complicated Foucault's emphases on sexology and law in the creation of the modern homosexual identity. However, these authors' texts from the 1990s continued to work around Foucault's original question regarding the origin of the modern homosexual. In the past

⁷¹ Steven Maynard, “Through a Hole in the Lavatory Wall,” 215.

⁷² Steven Maynard, “Through a Hole in the Lavatory Wall,” 241.

⁷³ Houlbrook, “Lady Austin's Camp Boys': Constituting the Queer Subject in 1930s London,” 34.

decade, a new question has been posed by "queer historians" who have incorporated queer theory into historiography: Is there such a thing as LGBT history to write about at all, and how have variations of sexual subjectivities developed outside of the bounds of the prescribed modern homosexual identity? As Joan Scott argues, "essentialist" assumptions of the continuity of an inherent homosexual identity across time and space fail to question the contextual meanings of "desire, homosexuality, heterosexuality, femininity, masculinity, sex, and even sexual practices."⁷⁴

Queer historians shifted focus onto phenomenon that did not exist within Foucault's outlined epistemological shift from same-sex sexual actions to same-sex sexual identities. In 1989, the Hall Carpenter Archives and the Gay Men's Oral History Group published a series of oral histories titled *Walking After Midnight* to "emphasize the life stories of those of us who had been most marginalized within the historical accounts so far."⁷⁵ In *Walking After Midnight*, John Alcock (b. 1927) recounts how "We only had sex with what we regarded as the men, not the queer boys. With the men we called it 'trade' – with one another we called it 'tootsie trade' and not the proper thing."⁷⁶ These "trade" men had sex with other men but did not consider themselves to be "queer." Laura Doan's more recent work "Topsy-Turvydom" (2006) picks up on these inconsistencies and incompatibilities to argue how the Foucauldian model of gay and lesbian history ignores the "variations, deviations, and complications of actual lives of individuals who resist the fixity or who seem to have been unaccustomed to self-reflexivity."⁷⁷

In "Making the Sodomite Speak" (2006), Cocks provided evidence from the Bolton Whitman Fellowship active in the 1890s to demonstrate how alternative discourses of understanding same-sex sex existed alongside as well as in contradiction to sexological and legal prescriptions of sexuality. According to Cocks, The Whitman Fellowship ("The College") was a group of male friends that established a comradeship that "provided an alternative model to the

⁷⁴ Joan W. Scott, "The Evidence of Experience," *Critical Inquiry* 17 (1991), 778.

⁷⁵ Hall Carpenter Archives, *Walking After Midnight: Gay Men's Life Stories* (Abingdon: Taylor & Francis Group, 1989), xi.

⁷⁶ Hall Carpenter Archives, *Walking After Midnight*, 45.

⁷⁷ Laura Doan, "Topsy-Turvydom: Gender Inversion, Sapphism, and the Great War," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 12 (2006), 537.

Willean, criminalized homosexual of 19th century newspapers, police records, and sexology.” Through Whitman's texts, the College conceived of their comradeship as spiritual.⁷⁸ Love, associated with immortality and faith, allowed homoerotic desire to be spoken of as a transcendent form of immortality and death.⁷⁹ For Johnston and Dalmas, two members of the College, Whitmanite mysticism provided a language to experience homosexual desire that did not follow the contours of either legal or sexological prescriptions. Johnston recalled that “a curious thing happened” when Dalmas “threw his arms around me. I did the same to him and we kissed each other – the first time I believe that I ever kissed a man in my life – at least for a very long time.”⁸⁰ He continues, Dalmas “has touched something in my heart and it has responded to his touch in a manner which . . . fill[s me] with universal sympathy.” Members of the College understood themselves as chosen to be blessed with the sensibilities of “universal sympathy” as outlined in Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* and what Richard Maurice Bucks termed “consciousness of the cosmos.” As Wallace – another member of the College – recounted, there was a moment when it “was revealed to me in a flash the Great fact of the Unity and the spirituality of the Universe.”⁸¹ Homoerotic comradeship was understood as an aspect of this revelation in ways that did not resemble the “orientation” prescribed by sexology or law.

Scott Herring's *Queering the Underworld: Slumming, Literature, and the Undoing of Lesbian and Gay History* demonstrates how historical actors have not always been interested in defining their own or others' sexual identities. Carl Van Vechten's *Nigger Heaven* (1926), Herring argues, is “more enigmatic than intelligible.” Instead of unveiling Harlem's black subculture, Van Vechten “mocks the idea of a knowable, legible subculture in the first place” with such satirical loops as “Boody: See hootchie pap” and “Hootchie pap: See boody.”⁸² In *Parties: Scenes from Contemporary New York Life* (1930), Van Vechten similarly questions the existence and value of

⁷⁸ Cocks, “Making the Sodomite Speak,” 173.

⁷⁹ Cocks, “Making the Sodomite Speak,” 176.

⁸⁰ Cocks, “Making the Sodomite Speak,” 190.

⁸¹ Cocks, “Making the Sodomite Speak,” 194-5.

⁸² Scott Herring, *Queering the Underworld: Slumming, Literature, and the Undoing of Lesbian and Gay History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 120.

AC

articulating sexual and racial identities and subcultures. The character David, like Van Vechten himself, has been interpreted as being a gay married man struggling to accept his desires in an oppressive society. Instead, Herring's analysis interprets the character David and Van Vechten as rejecting any fixed sexual identity, as David, "the most elusive of men"⁸³, prefers "drinking and drifting."⁸⁴ As another character Hamish describes the city of New York, "it is more satisfactory, for those who may, to instinctively feel the metropolis rather than to attempt to comprehend her."⁸⁵ Rather than challenging sexological and legal prescriptions against homosexual identities through appropriation according to Foucault's concept of "reverse discourse," Van Vechten and his characters challenged the fundamental epistemology of sexual identities as locatable or desirable. Another Harlem Renaissance author, Nugent, similarly rejected fixed sexual identities.⁸⁶ According to Herring's analysis, Nugent's character Alex in "Smoke, Lilies, and Jade" rejects the "coming out" narrative as he "seeks a world less defined by identity and community than by the negation of identity through anonymous contact."⁸⁷

In "Distance and Desire," Martha Vicinus explores English Boarding School Friendships between 1870-1920. She notes how love between "raves" and "ravees" were understood and expressed differently than our present day model of homosexuality. According to Constance Maynard's 1882 advice, love was to be expressed through self-discipline, of satisfaction through the suppression of desire,⁸⁸ manifesting itself in the form of making the beloved's bed, buying her flowers or candy secretly, "not through consummation but rather through a unity of sorrow and self-sacrifice."⁸⁹ Davis and Kennedy's discussion of the lesbian community in Buffalo, New York in the 1940-60s analyzes the "Stone Butch," who "does all the 'doin' and does not ever allow her lover to

⁸³ Herring, *Queering the Underworld*, 208.

⁸⁴ Herring, *Queering the Underworld*, 125.

⁸⁵ Herring, *Queering the Underworld*, 126.

⁸⁶ Herring, *Queering the Underworld*, 139.

⁸⁷ Herring, *Queering the Underworld*, 142.

⁸⁸ Martha Vicinus, "Distance and Desire: English Boarding-School Friendships," *Signs* 9 (1984), 616.

⁸⁹ Vicinus, "Distance and Desire," 219.

AC

reciprocate in kind.”⁹⁰ Across time and space, there is not a stable distinction between what is a platonic friendship and what is sexual romance, nor are the categories of platonic friendship and sexual romance necessarily the two categories used to understand relationships.

The labels of gay and homosexual have come with a variety of baggage associations that do not automatically map onto individual understandings of their same-sex desires. Keith Boykin's sociological work on a “mysterious group of [African-American and Latino] men who engage in homosex, yet refuse to self-identify as gay or pledge their fidelity to a visible gay community”⁹¹ reveals how the “epistemology of the closet” remains an incomplete historical development even today. For instance, on the Oprah Winfrey show in 2004, Winfrey interviewed King, a man who referred to himself as on the “Down Low”:

Winfrey: Do you then not consider yourself gay?

Mr. King: No I don't.

Winfrey: You don't?

Mr. King: No, I don't consider myself . . .

Winfrey: Explain that to me, 'cause I can't figure that out. How is . . .

Mr. King: Who do I – and so why do I have to label myself?

Winfrey: Ok.

Mr. King: Why do I have to put a label on myself to make you comfortable?⁹²

Foucault's Reverse Discourse and the Concept of Liberation

Building off of these broader analyses of sexual subjectivities, one particular strand of

⁹⁰ Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy and Madeline D. Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 434.

⁹¹ Keith Boykin and E. Lynn Harris, *Beyond the Down Low: Sex, Lies, and Denial in Black America* (Cambridge: De Capo Press, 2006), 19.

⁹² Herring, *Queering the Underworld*, 203.

studies has focused on one aspect of sexual subjectivities in particular, public sexual identities, or what Hurewitz calls “the most recent set of additions to American conceptions of selfhood . . . the conception of a politicized essential identity.”⁹³ Though LGBT historians such as Hurewitz, Armstrong, and Jackson have critiqued Foucault's "reverse discourse" model of politicization as simple and contingent, they have shared Foucault's focus on identifying the origins of sexual identity politics. Queer historians have shifted focus away from identifying the origins of sexual identity politics by questioning the assumption of sexual identity politics as teleological necessary and by challenging the conflation of sexual identity politics as paramount to liberation.

In the 1970s, Foucault laid foundations for discussions of how and why sexual identity politics emerged and developed in the mid-20th century. Through his concept of the "reverse discourse," Foucault outlines how a marginalized group contests its marginalization through the language of the oppressor. In *The History of Sexuality, Volume I*, Foucault wrote, "There is no question that the appearance in nineteenth-century psychiatry, jurisprudence, and literature of a whole series of discourses on the species and subspecies of homosexuality, inversion, pederasty, and 'psychic hermaphroditism' made possible a strong advance of social controls into this area of 'perversity'; but it also made possible the formation of a 'reverse' discourse: homosexuality began to speak in its own behalf, to demand that its legitimacy or 'naturalness' be acknowledged, often in the same vocabulary, using the same categories by which it was medically disqualified."⁹⁴ In 1977 Foucault elaborated on the concept of "reverse discourse" to an interviewer: "Psychiatrists began a medical analysis of [homosexuality] around the 1870s – a point of departure for a whole series of new interventions and controls . . . But [we see homosexuals] taking such discourses literally, and thereby turning them about; we see responses arising in the form of defiance: 'All right, we are what you say we are – by nature, disease, or perversion, as you like. Well, if that's what we are, let's be it, and if you want to know what we are, we can tell you ourselves better than you can.' . . . It is

⁹³ Daniel Hurewitz, *Bohemian Los Angeles and the Making of Modern Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

⁹⁴ Foucault, *History of Sexuality: The Will to Knowledge*, 101.

the strategic turnabout of one and the 'same' will to truth."⁹⁵ Through "reverse discourse," the oppressed took the language of the oppressor to liberate himself/herself.

In *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970* (1983), John D'Emilio supports the general framework of Foucault's "reverse discourse" model in his analysis of the homophile movement in the U.S. of the 1950s and 1960s. According to D'Emilio, the homophile movement of the 1950s and 1960s solidified understandings of collective identity among homosexuals that had been constructed and settled over the past century.⁹⁶ D'Emilio inscribes individuals with more agency in deciding how to operate under the discourses of sexual identities at the time and argues that the shift from an absence of sexual political identity to the creation of sexual political identity was neither immediate nor universal. For example, D'Emilio cites Randy Wicker, who had written about how he was belittled for supporting gay groups: "They would give you arguments: 'We don't want people to know we [look like] everybody else. As long as they think everyone's a screaming queen with eyelashes, we're safe. We're not suspected. We don't want publicity.'"⁹⁷

Hurewitz, Armstrong, and Jackson similarly shared the focus to identify and explain the creation of sexual identity politics in their explorations of the Mattachine Society, the Stonewall Riots, and l'Arcadie respectively. In *Bohemian Los Angeles* (2002), Hurewitz identified a shift where "By the end of the 1930s . . . [Julian] Eltinge and his kind were seen as enemies of the state: they had a political identity, even if not one of their choosing."⁹⁸ According to Hurewitz, Harry Hay's creation of the Mattachine Society marks the creation of "homosexual identity politics." Elizabeth A. Armstrong's *Forging Gay Identities: Organizing Sexuality in San Francisco, 1950-1994* similarly aimed to locate the creation of homosexual identity politics, but identified the

⁹⁵ David M. Halperin, *Saint Foucault: Towards a Gay Hagiography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 58-59.

⁹⁶ John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 223-240.

⁹⁷ John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, 158.

⁹⁸ Hurewitz, *Bohemian Los Angeles*, 16.

Stonewall Riots in New York City in 1969 as the genesis of gay identity politics.⁹⁹ Julian Jackson also shared an interest in locating the origin of gay identity politics, and argued that 1971 was “Year Zero” of homosexual politics in France with the founding of the Homosexual Revolutionary Action Front (FHAR).¹⁰⁰

Though Jackson maintains Foucault's framework of shifts to mark "Year Zero" of homosexual politics in France, Jackson acknowledges how this shift is muddy, contested, and inchoate. Underneath contestations over definitions of political homosexual identities between Arcadie (with support from the newspaper *Le Monde*) and GLH-PQ (with support from the newspaper *Libération*)¹⁰¹, there were constant challenges to the associations between gay identities and collective politics. For instance, Guy Hocquenghem wrote in July 1972, “We have been imprisoned in the game of shame that we have transformed into a game of pride. That is only a gild the bars of our cage.”¹⁰² Accordingly, Jackson warned, “We must not 'naturalize' the discourse of 'coming out,'¹⁰³ the idea that “one *should not* be happy in the closet.” Jackson argued that “the very idea of homosexual mobilization confronted the challenge represented by the development of commercial networks of homosexual sociability that had little interest in 'homophile ethics' or 'gay politics.’”¹⁰⁴ By describing the non-political as a "challenge," Jackson assumed the teleological necessity of the eventual overcoming of these "challenges" by the new sexual subjectivity of sexual identity politics established by the FHAR in 1971.

Rejecting the teleological necessity of developments towards sexual identity politics, Regina Kunzel's work argues that the historical developments of homosexual identity politics represent just another prescription of sexual subjectivities that could be and was contested. Kunzel's *Criminal Intimacy: Prison and the Uneven History of Modern American Sexuality* aims to demonstrate how

⁹⁹ Elizabeth A. Armstrong, *Forging Gay Identities: Organizing Sexuality in San Francisco, 1950-1994* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

¹⁰⁰ Julian Jackson, *Living in Arcadia: Homosexuality, Politics, and Morality in France from the Liberation to Aids* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 7.

¹⁰¹ Jackson, *Living in Arcadia*, 206.

¹⁰² Jackson, *Living in Arcadia*, 190.

¹⁰³ Jackson, *Living in Arcadia*, 13.

¹⁰⁴ Jackson, *Living in Arcadia*, 171.

AC

the “participation in same-sex sex often failed to confer or connote a (homo)sexual identity.”¹⁰⁵ As one Missouri prisoner recounted, the gay press “instructed them [prison inmates] in new ways to be gay”¹⁰⁶ and “about half a dozen other gay men in this housing unit who are lined up to read each issue of *GCN* as I get them, so we are passing it around to everyone!”¹⁰⁷ However, as David Rothenberg wrote in an issue of the *Advocate* in 1976, these prescriptions for gay pride and gay self-acceptance from gay political organizations “challenge the lifestyle and social structure of the prison population.”¹⁰⁸ One prisoner wrote to New York's Gay Activists Alliance, “There is no such animal as a 'Gay.' You must be a punk, a queer, a faggot, a dick-sucker . . . , a bitch, a whore – but you may not be Gay, and certainly cannot be proud!”¹⁰⁹ Another man told Tom Reeves, the founder of the North American Man-Boy Love Association that “I knew nothing about gay organizations other than bars. If I had known, I would have thought I didn't fit in.”¹¹⁰

Increasingly, writers and scholars have questioned the historical role of sexual identity politics in “liberating” individuals by paying closer attention to individual subjective experiences. In 2007, Robert David Sullivan questioned the value of LGBT politics in developments towards “liberation” in his report in the *Boston Globe* on the closing of gay bars and the replacement of gay book stores by Amazon.com. Sullivan cited a lesbian who recounted, “Life may be easier now, but it might have been more exciting then.”¹¹¹

In *Queer Fictions of the Past* (1997), Bravmann proposed a recentering of the study of history of sexuality away from the focus on the study of homosexuality and LGBT politics. According to Bravmann, “LGBT” only means so much, so far away, so far back in time. For Bravmann, “our” shared past would be one of a broader queerness or deviance, that allows

¹⁰⁵ Regina G. Kunzel, *Criminal Intimacy: Prison and the Uneven History of Modern American Sexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 2.

¹⁰⁶ Kunzel, *Criminal Intimacy*, 208.

¹⁰⁷ Kunzel, *Criminal Intimacy*, 207-8.

¹⁰⁸ Kunzel, *Criminal Intimacy*, 208.

¹⁰⁹ Kunzel, *Criminal Intimacy*, 210.

¹¹⁰ Tom Reeves, “The Hidden Oppression: Gay Men in Prison for Having Sex with Minors,” *Gay Community News* (1980), 9.

¹¹¹ Robert David Sullivan, *Boston Globe*, December 2, 2007, “Last Call: Why the Gay Bars of Boston are Disappearing, and What it Says About the Future of City Life.”

frameworks to analyze the past to correspond more specifically to specific times and locations while also creating space in the future to move past LGBT as the determinant of otherness. Achieving Bravmann's proposition of a "postmodern queer cultural studies of history"¹¹² would "create space for instability, while facilitating oppositional critiques of heteronormativity."¹¹³ For LGBT politics today, a coherent, stable, naturalized identity is necessary to make legal arguments for LGBT individuals in the U.S. in courts as a "suspect class."¹¹⁴ In a somewhat contradictory manner, Bravmann's "postmodern queer cultural studies of history" proposed that the LGBT identity was neither consistent throughout time and space, nor has same-sex desire always been relegated as "other." Instead, Bravmann proposed shifting the focus away from proving historical discrimination of gay individuals, to explaining specific historical phenomenon of sexual otherness.

From Globalization History to Transnational History: Setting the Stage

Globalization theorists such as Richard J. Barnet, J. Cavanagh, and George Ritzer outlined processes of Western cultural imperialism. Richard J. Barnet and J. Cavanagh's *Global Dreams: Imperial Corporations and the New World Order* (1994) argued that multinationalism corporations such as Sony Corporation and Bertelsmann, Philip Morris Corporation, Ford Motor Company, and Citicorp have permeated "the farthest reaches of the globe."¹¹⁵ With globalization framed as an overarching, epochal social force, the local has been understood as reactionary and on the defensive.¹¹⁶ George Ritzer's *McDonaldization of Society*, for instance, argued that Weber's "iron

¹¹² Scott Bravmann, *Queer Fictions of the Past: History, Culture, and Difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 14.

¹¹³ Bravmann, *Queer Fictions of the Past*, 31.

¹¹⁴ In the Proposition 8 trials, the plaintiffs argued that California's Proposition 8 violated the Equal Protection Clause because it "disadvantages a suspect class in preventing only gay men and lesbians, not heterosexuals, from marrying." Though the Constitution does not explicitly define "suspect class," legal precedent outlines historical discrimination as a defining characteristic of suspect classes.

¹¹⁵ Richard J. Barnet and John Cavanagh, *Global Dreams: Imperial Corporations and the New World Order* (New York: Touchstone, 1995), 16.

¹¹⁶ For more works that posit globalization as westernization, see Ulrich Beck, *What is Globalization?* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000); Zygmunt Bauman, *Globalization: The Human*

age" had saturated consumption, home, and leisure throughout the world, such that the world expects access to standardized menus of consumables.¹¹⁷ As Andrew Smith summarized of these 1990s writings on globalization, "The Western subject is [posed as] universal, while the racialized subject is particular, but aspires to be universal."¹¹⁸ In Fatima El-Tayeb's assessment, "world history" has become "white history."¹¹⁹ Regarding China more specifically, Frank Dikötter, Christina Gilmartin, Hershatter, and Tze-Ian D. Sang have causally linked the developments of regulations around concubinage, prostitution, and footbinding to China's semicolonial status.¹²⁰

Reacting against assumptions of globalization as westernization, Leo Ou-fan Lee argues that late modern Chinese cultures "crisscross each other to form interlocking networks in which there is no single center."¹²¹ Accordingly, the focus has increasingly shifted to particularities of the local operating contrary to Western frameworks. Against the European and American conceptions of the body as raced and gendered, Angela Zito emphasizes how the Chinese continue to understand their bodies as networks of energy known as *qi*.¹²² Shigehisa Kuriyama's *The Expressiveness of the Body and the Divergence of Greek and Chinese Medicine* participates in this project to deliberately

Consequences (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998); and Martin Albrow, *The Global Age* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1997).

¹¹⁷ George Ritzer, *The McDonaldization of Society: The New 'American Menage'* (Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press, 1993).

¹¹⁸ Andrea Smith, "Queer Theory and Native Studies: The Heteronormativity of Settler Colonialism," *GLQ: A Journal of Gay and Lesbian Studies* 16 (2009), 41-68.

¹¹⁹ Fatima El-Tayeb, "The Birth of a European Public," *American Quarterly* 60 (2008), 653.

¹²⁰ Tamara Loos, "Transnational Histories of Sexualities in Asia," *The American Historical Review* 114 (2009), 1316; Frank Dikötter, *Sex, Culture and Modernity in China: Medical Science and the Construction of Sexual Identities in the Early Republican Period* (London: Hurst and Company, 1995); Christina Gilmartin, *Engendering the Chinese Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Gail Hershatter, "Sexing Modern China," in *Remapping China: Fissures in Historical Terrain*, ed. Gail Hershatter, Emily Honig, Jonathan N. Kipman, and Randall Stross (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 77-93; Dorothy Ko, *Cinderella's Sisters: A Revisionist History of Footbinding* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Tze-Ian D. Sang, *The Emerging Lesbian: Female Same-Sex Desire in Modern China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

¹²¹ Quoted in Fran Martin and Larissa Heinrich, *Embodied Modernities: Corporeality, Representation, and Chinese Cultures* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006), 119.

¹²² Angela Zito, "Silk and Skin: Significant Boundaries," in *Body Subject and Power in China*, ed. Angela Zito and Tani E. Barlow (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 103-131. For an example of a conception of the body as raced and gendered, see Londa L. Schiebinger, *Nature's Body: Gender in the Making of Modern Science* (Piscataway: Rutgers University Press, 1993).

contrast the Western and Chinese anatomical traditions.¹²³

Reacting against suggestions that the West were the dynamic actors controlling a passive, static, Chinese past, Petrus Liu, Fran Martin, and Larissa Heinrich have demonstrated how Asia's past was neither monolithic nor static. Petrus Liu commends Fran Martin and Larissa Heinrich for "press[ing] Foucault and Derrida to deconstruct the myth of a unitary Chineseness," while critiquing earlier works for "translating . . . local concepts . . . into theoretical universals."¹²⁴ Peter Jackson shares a similar aim in *Dear Uncle Go* (1995) to "undermine any claims" of monolithic "Thai attitudes" and "Thai values."¹²⁵ To destabilize globalization theories' assumptions of a passive and static Asian past, Malavé and Manalansan have also worked to inscribe Asian agents as subjects of their own stories, rather than puppets of the West. In "Stealth Bombers of Desire" (2002), Cindy Patton argues that the Taiwanese government under martial law "strategically filtered the desire for things American."¹²⁶

The now popular transnational framework contributes another layer of critique of globalization theories.¹²⁷ According to Laura Briggs, Gladys McCormick, and J.T. Way, "'Transnationalism' can do to the nation what gender did for sexed bodies: provide the conceptual acid that denaturalizes all their deployments, compelling us to acknowledge that the nation, like sex, is a thing contested, interrupted, and always shot through with contradictions."¹²⁸ For Briggs, McCormick, and Way, shifting focus onto flows and circulation reshapes "West" and "East" into

¹²³ For more on the specifics of Chinese anatomical tradition, see Kristof Schiper, *The Taoist Body* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

¹²⁴ Petrus Liu, review of *Embodied Modernities: Corporeality, Representation, and Chinese Cultures*, by Fran Martin and Larissa Heinrich, *China Review International* 14 (2008), 516-520.

¹²⁵ Peter A. Jackson, *Dear Uncle Go: Male Homosexuality in Thailand* (San Francisco: Bua Luang Books, 1995), 54.

¹²⁶ Cindy Patton, "Stealth Bombers of Desire: The Globalization of 'Alterity' in Emerging Democracies," in *Queer Globalizations: Citizenship and the Afterlife of Colonialism*, ed. Arnaldo Cruz-Malavé and Martin F. Manalansan IV (New York: New York University Press, 2002), 203.

¹²⁷ For more on the methodology and uses of transnational history, see Tamara Loos, "Transnational Histories of Sexualities in Asia," 1308; also see C.A. Bayly, Sven Beckert, Matthew Connelly, Isabel Hofmeyr, Wendy Kozol and Patricia Seed, "AHR Conversation: On Transnational History," *American Historical Review* 3 (2006), 1441-1464.

¹²⁸ Laura Briggs, Gladys McCormick, and J.T. Way, "Transnationalism: A Category of Analysis," *American Quarterly*, 60 (2008), 625.

non-sequiters. In "Queer Pop Asian," John Nguyet Erni similarly argues that culture has flown dynamically *between* and not just *to* Asian countries, as seen in the popularity of Koichi Iwabuchi's popular 2001 TV drama series.¹²⁹ Along those lines, Tamara Loos has emphasized how Siamese ruling elite "looked to Chinese elite culture long before they turned their gaze to London as a site of hegemonic cultural values, including sexual norms."¹³⁰

Discussions of Same-Sex Desire Around the World: Grounding My Argument¹³¹

Early works on same-sex desire in China worked to "prove" that same-sex desire did exist in China's past, critiquing contemporary China scholars for "cover[ing] up" evidence of same-sex desire in classical works such as Qi's *Xiban* and van Gulik's *Erotic Colour Prints*.¹³² Wu and Stevenson's work "proved" that "relationships between upper class men and boy entertainers were fashionable" during the late Ming and Qing dynasties (1555-1911);¹³³ Wu Cuncun aimed to demonstrate how "homoerotic sensibility played an absolutely central role in the performance of elite male status during the Qing;"¹³⁴ and Matthew Sommer argued that 17th century novels such as *The Plum in the Golden Vase* (*Jin ping mei*) and *The Carnal Prayer Mat* (*Rou pu tuan*) "suggest that homosexual intercourse (master penetrating servant) was not uncommon."¹³⁵ Regarding lesbianism, Sang has aimed to demonstrate how female-female relations have been an integral part of Chinese

¹²⁹ John Nguyet Erni, "Queer Pop Asia: Toward a Hybrid Regionalist Imaginary" (paper presented at the first international conference of Asian Queer Studies, Bangkok, Thailand, July, 2005), 7.

¹³⁰ Tamara Loos, "Transnational Histories of Sexualities in Asia," 1313.

¹³¹ For a more extensive literature review of Asian queer studies, see Megan Sinnott, "Borders, Diaspora, and Regional Connections: Trends in Asian 'Queer' Studies," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 69 (2010), 17-31.

¹³² Cuncun Wu and Mark Stevenson, "Male Love Lost: The Fate of Male Same-Sex Prostitution in Beijing in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," in *Embodied Modernities: Corporeality, Representation, and Chinese Culture*, ed. Fran Martin and Larissa Heinrich (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006), 45.

¹³³ Wu and Stevenson, "Male Love Lost," 45.

¹³⁴ Cuncun Wu, *Homoerotic Sensibilities in Late Imperial China* (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004), 5.

¹³⁵ Matthew Sommer, "The Penetrated Male in Late Imperial China: Judicial Constructions and Social Stigma," *Modern China* 23 (1997), 150.

erotic and romantic experience for centuries. Today, we have a wide array of evidence of same-sex erotics in China to as far back as 1000 B.C.E.¹³⁶

With proof that same-sex sex existed in China's past, scholars adopted the Foucauldian model to understand historical homoerotics in China by locating the shift between what Sophie Volpp calls "premodern homoeroticism" and "modern homosexuality."¹³⁷ Wu and Stevenson's work on catamites associated with opera troupes identified a "shift at the level of discourse," the "epistemological shift of categorizing male-male love as distinct regardless of the class, age, or status of the actors" at the end of the Qing dynasty.¹³⁸ Patrick Moore similarly identified "shift" in Islamic society shifted to adopt a "shame . . . in the gay identity rather than the act itself" with the increasing influence of European/American sexology.¹³⁹ In "Qualities of Desire" (1999), Lisa Rofel referred to Foucault's outline of the pre-modern to modern shift from sexuality as an action to sexuality as an identity. Rofel argued that what is "strikingly different [on mainland China] in the 1990s is the construction of an identity around these acts [of homoerotic sex]."¹⁴⁰ Wu and Stevenson, Moore, and Rofel all identified epistemological shifts regarding sexual subjectivities that mirrored Foucault's thesis in his *History of Sexuality Vol. 1*.

The Foucauldian framework of identifying epistemological shifts has been applied to Asian sexual subjectivities in ways that assume teleological developments from pre-modern to modern

¹³⁶ Tamara Loos, "Transnational Histories of Sexualities in Asia," 1321; Bret Hinsch, *Passions of the Cut Sleeve: The Male Homosexual Tradition in China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 27–46; Matthew Sommer, "Dangerous Males, Vulnerable Males, and Polluted Males: The Regulation of Masculinity in Qing Dynasty Law," in *Chinese Femininities/Chinese Masculinities: A Reader*, ed. Susan Brownell and Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 67-88; Matthew Harvey Sommer, *Sex, Law, and Society in Late Imperial China* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2002).

¹³⁷ Sophie Volpp, "Classifying Lust: The Seventeenth-Century Vogue for Male Love," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 61 (2001), 77-117. Barry Adam and Stephan Likosky also distinguish between anthropological homosexuality and "modern" homosexuality. See Stephan Likosky, *Coming Out: An Anthology of International Gay and Lesbian Writing* (New York: Pantheon, 1992) and Barry D. Adam, *The Rise of a Gay and Lesbian Movement* (Boston: Twayne, 1987).

¹³⁸ Wu and Stevenson, "Male Love Lost," 46.

¹³⁹ Patrick Moore, *Beyond Shame: Reclaiming the Abandoned History of Radical Gay Sexuality* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2004).

¹⁴⁰ Lisa Rofel, "Qualities of Desire: Imagining Gay Identities in China," *GLQ* 5 (1999), 451.

towards a "global gay identity."¹⁴¹ In "Reclaiming Our Historic Rights" (1993), Fleras framed any local sexual subjectivity outside of the bounds of the Foucauldian framework as pre-modern, calling the Filipino *bakla* identity "false" and asserting that gay liberation "deconstruct[ed] and br[oke] away from the feudal stereotypes imposed upon them by society."¹⁴² On September 26, 1997, Walter Addeago's review in the *San Francisco Examiner* of the film *Fire* positioned the Indian attitudes towards feminist and lesbian rights as backwards: "Fire is a plea for women's self-determination that . . . will probably strike viewers in this country as a bit obvious."¹⁴³ Regarding these assumptions of LGBT rights as Western cultural imports, Andrea Smith noted how scholars have posited "indigenous nationhood . . . as simply a primitive mirror image of a heteronormative state."¹⁴⁴

Following this logic, gay subcultures and sexual liberation have been posed as modern developments that began in the West. Mark Johnson's ethnography of male transgendered gay (*bantut*) beauty contestants in the southern Philippine town of Jolo noted how contestants were required to use English in their performance of what Johnson calls "transnational beauty." Similarly, in "Global Circuits," Puar explored how "Diva" contests in the Caribbeans incorporated lip-syncing to Diana Ross's "Ain't No Mountain High Enough" and Patti LaBelle impersonations.¹⁴⁵ Asian sexual identity politics have similarly been framed by Owen Gleiberman and Sang as direct continuations of Western social movements. On September 12, 1997 Gleiberman titled his review of *Fire* in *Entertainment Weekly*, "Take My Wife: Fire, a Tale of Illicit Lesbian Love in India,

¹⁴¹ Dennis Altman, "Global Gaze/Global Gays," *GLQ* 3 (1997): 417, 421.

¹⁴² Jomar Fleras, "Reclaiming our historic rights: gays and lesbians in the Philippines," in *The Third Pink Book: A Global View of Lesbian Gay Liberation and Oppression*, ed. Aart Hendriks, Rob Tielman, and Evert van der Veen (Buffalo: Prometheus, 1993), 76, cited in Martin F. Manalansan IV, "In the Shadows of Stonewall: Examining Gay Transnational Politics and the Diasporic Dilemma," *GLQ* 2 (1995), 431.

¹⁴³ Walter Addiego, "Fire Cool to State of Marriage in India," *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 26, 1997.

¹⁴⁴ Andrea Smith, "Queer Theory and Native Studies: The Heteronormativity of Settler Colonialism," *GLQ* 16 (2010), 59.

¹⁴⁵ Jasbir Kaur Puar, "Global Circuits: Transnational Sexualities and Trinidad," *Signs* 26 (2001), 1048.

AC

Evokes the Early Days of American Feminism."¹⁴⁶ In *The Emerging Lesbian* (2003), Tze-lan D. Sang argued that the American lesbian and gay identity politics were "reincarnated as tongzhi yundong (lesbian and gay movement)."¹⁴⁷

At the same time, homophobia has been postulated as a foreign import. Frederick Whitman argued that "The Philippines, as is generally true of Southeast Asian and Polynesian societies, has maintained a longstanding tradition of tolerance for its homosexual populations." According to Whitman, this longstanding tradition of tolerance broke with the importation of Western homophobia.¹⁴⁸ In "The Penetrated Male," Sommer argued that there was a "general tolerance toward homosexuality" in Han society until the Qing dynasty when the "new Manchu morality prohibited consensual sex between men for the first time in Chinese history."¹⁴⁹ In "Homoerotic Sensibilities in Late Imperial China" (2004), Wu similarly aimed to find the "shift" to homophobia, though he disagreed with Ng on when this happened. Wu identified the Qing dynasty as the golden age of homoeroticism, suppressed by the homophobic modernizing regimes that follow from the importation of Western sexology.¹⁵⁰ Xiao mingxiong's *History of Homosexuality in China (Zhong guo tongxing'ai shilu, xiuding ben)* argued that the entry of the Eight Power Allied Forces in Beijing in 1900 precipitated the rapid decline of the city's elite homoerotic xianggong subculture: "the male mode (nanfeng) was not well suited to Western custom."¹⁵¹ We see similar trends in studies of Japanese sexuality. Gregory Pflugfelder's work argued that "Japan developed a new paradigm of sexuality that condemned uncivilized sexual acts outside of the state-sanctioned monogamous heterosexual marriage in the late 1920s" following the translations of Western sexology,¹⁵² while Gary Leupp argued how these acts were not only acceptable, but "highly conspicuous, central,

¹⁴⁶ Gayatri Gopinath, "Local Sites/Global Contexts: The Transnational Trajectories of Deepa Mehta's *Fire*," in *Queer Globalizations: Citizenship and the Afterlife of Colonialism*, ed. Arnaldo Cruz-Malavé and Martin Malanansan (New York: New York University Press, 2002), 153.

¹⁴⁷ Sang, *The Emerging Lesbian*, 225.

¹⁴⁸ Altman, "Global Gaze/Global Gays," 417.

¹⁴⁹ Sommer, "The Penetrated Male," 141.

¹⁵⁰ Wu, *Homoerotic Sensibilities in Late Imperial China*.

¹⁵¹ Wu and Stevenson, "Male Love Lost," 55.

¹⁵² Gregory Pflugfelder, *Cartographies of Desire: Male-Male Sexuality in Japanese Discourse, 1600-1950* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

institutionalized element of social life” that was “not merely common in Tokugawa society . . . but normative.”¹⁵³

In "Stealth Bombers of Desire" (2002), Cindy Patton summarized these earlier works on international same-sex desire as following two tropes: 1) "'Native'" sexualities as unproblematic until colonial regimes try to control them"; and 2) "'Native' sexualities are inarticulable and oppressed until liberationists arrive to help them speak."¹⁵⁴ Both tropes, Patton critiqued, assumed a "lack in other land." In 1997, Dennis Altman's "Global Gaze/Global Gays" pioneered critiques of Frederick Whitman, and Kevin McDonald's work that explained gay movements in Asia as direct products of globalization and Western sexual identity politics. Altman proposed an acceptance of "the role of economic and cultural globalization as crucial to the development of new sexual identities," but suggested that "such explanations must build on existing sex/gender regimes and values, just as contemporary gay worlds in the West have built on preexisting traditions and cultures."¹⁵⁵ Altman did not critique the eventual globalization of gay rights, but critiqued the methods of international LGBT organizations such as the International Lesbian and Gay Association (ILGA) for not catering their message with regard to local specificities. Altman concluded "Global Gaze/Global Gays" by expressing optimism that Asian gay politics would eventually learn to "adapt ideas of universal discourse and Western identity politics" to local particularities.¹⁵⁶ Heinrich and Martin's critiques of the globalized LGBT model went one step further; Heinrich and Martin not only challenged the applicability of gay rights forwarded by organizations such as the ILGA to local particularities, but also challenged the assumption that "gay rights" were positive or modern. Heinrich and Martin's *Embodied Modernities* (2006) critiqued Hinsch's *Passions* and Chou's *Houzhimin tongzhi* for "simplifying the shift from premodern 'tolerance' for sex between men to sexual modernity that suppresses indigenous premodern

¹⁵³ Gary P. Leupp, *Male Colors: The Construction of Homosexuality in Tokugawa Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 2-3. Italics in the original.

¹⁵⁴ Cindy Patton, "Stealth Bombers of Desire," 206.

¹⁵⁵ Altman, "Global Gaze/Global Gays," 430.

¹⁵⁶ Altman, "Global Gaze/Global Gays," 433.

tolerance."¹⁵⁷ Sang critiqued Frank Diköter's work as "Eurocentric" for marking any developments outside the bounds of his understanding of sexology as "backwards,"¹⁵⁸ while Lisa Rofel critiqued Altman for "plac[ing] Asian gays forever in the place of deferred arrival."¹⁵⁹ Wrapped in post-modern critiques, sexuality became a battleground to reject assumptions the assumption that "modern" necessitated the "rise of the individual" or the "emergence of self-consciousness as characters."¹⁶⁰

One approach to challenging the conflation of globalization and westernization has been to demonstrate how European/American LGBT theories fail to explain developments abroad. Gayatri Gopinath's analysis of *Fire* "interrogate[s] the teleological Euro-American narrative according to which lesbian sexuality must emerge from a private, domestic sphere into a public, visible subjectivity" by demonstrating how the lines between homosociality and female homoeroticism have differed in India.¹⁶¹ In this way, Gopinath also participated in the queer historical project to locate LGBT politics as a hegemonic institution in and of itself, as "the line between female homosociality and female homoeroticism, which remains so porous in representations of homosocial space in neoconservative Bollywood romance such as *HAKH (hum aapkehain koun)* . . . is strictly policed in the ostensibly feminist *Monsoon Wedding*."¹⁶² Gayatri Reddy's *With Respect to Sex: Negotiating Hijra Identity in South India* (2005) similarly complicated the Western dual gender system as missing how "religion, kinship, and moral discourse of respect, or *izzat* are central yet flexible vectors of identity."¹⁶³ In 1995, Martin Manalansan called for a project to untangle homogenizing tendencies of globalization.¹⁶⁴ Peter Jackson responded to this call to

¹⁵⁷ Fran Martin and Larissa Heinrich, eds., *Embodied Modernities: Corporeality, Representation, and Chinese Cultures* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006), 16.

¹⁵⁸ Song, *The Emerging Lesbian*.

¹⁵⁹ Rofel, "Qualities of Desire," 458.

¹⁶⁰ Fredric Jameson, *A Singular Modernity: Essay on the Ontology of the Present* (London: Verso, 2002), 350.

¹⁶¹ Gopinath, "Local Sites/Global Contexts," 155.

¹⁶² Gayatri Gopinath, *Impossible Desires: Queer Diasporas & South Asian Public Cultures* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 122.

¹⁶³ Megan Sinnott, "Borders, Diaspora, and Regional Connections: Trends in Asian 'Queer' Studies," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 69 (2010), 21.

¹⁶⁴ Puar, "Global Circuits," 1061.

challenge the use of conceptualizing Stonewall as the universal moment of homoerotic "liberation" by proving how The Gay Association (*Chomrom Gay*) in Thailand formed *before* Stonewall.

According to Jackson, the fact that The Gay Association formed before Stonewall is enough to complicate understandings of the modern gay liberation movement as originating from the West.¹⁶⁵

Instead of understanding globalization as westernization, Cruz-Malavé, Manalansan, Santiago, Gopinath, Strongman, Leap, Povinelli, Chauncey, and Erni have proposed frameworks of local/global hybrid sexual subjectivities. In 1998, the Center for Lesbian and Gay Studies (CLAGS) of the Graduate Center of the City University of New York (CUNY) hosted a conference titled "Queer Globalization, Local Homosexualities: Citizenship, Sexuality, and the Afterlife of Colonialism," culminating in the publication of the edited series *Queer Globalizations: Citizenship and the Afterlife of Colonialism* by Arnaldo Cruz-Malavé and Martin F. Manalansan IV.¹⁶⁶ The compilation of these works aimed to "deploy queer subjectivities as complicit in an agenda to legitimize hegemonic institutions of nation-state and U.S. imperial hegemony."¹⁶⁷ In the edited series, Silviano Santiago, Gayatri Gopinath, Roberto Strongman, and William Leap "argue[d] against the teleologically necessary assumption of a modern North American 'gay' identity for the continuing spaces of expressions of queer desires."¹⁶⁸ As Elizabeth A. Povinelli and George Chauncey concurred in 1999, focusing on the West as the origin of cultural exchanges would not show us an "accurate map of the subject and her embodiment and desires."¹⁶⁹ Towards this end, Cruz-Malavé *et al.* proposed "alternative genealogies of modernity."¹⁷⁰ In "Queer Pop Asia," Erni similarly called for "empirical research to fill in the details" of a "parallel modernity,"¹⁷¹ while Martin Malansan's *Global Divas* (2004) argued that the *Bakla* identity in the Philippines is "not a

¹⁶⁵ "Roundup of Group of Youths Employed as Men's Husbands," *Phim Thai*, November 25, 1965, 1, cited in Peter A. Jackson, "Thai Research on Male Homosexuality and Transgenderism and the Cultural Limits of Foucaultian Analysis," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 8 (1997), 53.

¹⁶⁶ Arnaldo Cruz-Malavé and Martin F. Manalansan IV, eds., *Queer Globalizations: Citizenship and the Afterlife of Colonialism* (New York: New York University Press, 2002).

¹⁶⁷ Cruz-Malavé and Manalansan, *Queer Globalizations*, 5.

¹⁶⁸ Cruz-Malavé and Manalansan, *Queer Globalizations*, 6.

¹⁶⁹ Elizabeth A. Povinelli and George Chauncey, "Introduction," *GLQ* 5 (1999), 445.

¹⁷⁰ Cruz-Malavé and Manalansan, *Queer Globalizations*, 9.

¹⁷¹ Erni, "Queer Pop Asia," 12.

AC

premodern antecedent to gay but rather, in diasporic spaces, *baka* is recuperated and becomes an alternative form of modernity."¹⁷²

Today, the concept of global and local discourses as a hybridized "glocalization" has gained in popularity. The AsiaPacifiQueer Project and the Office of Human Rights Studies and Social Development at Mahidol University hosted a conference titled "Sexualities, Genders, and Rights in Asia: The First International Conference of Asian Queer Studies" on July 7-9, 2005. This conference took the model of "queer hybridization" to challenge the binary of "authentic local" vs. "universal global." At the conference, Tom Boellstorff termed the concept of "dubbing," which "far more than a subtitle, is a caption fused to the thing being described. It comes from the mouth of imagic characters yet is never quite in synch. The moving lips never match the speech; the movement of fusion is always deferred, as dubbed voice, translation-never-quite-complete, bridges to sets of representations."¹⁷³

As the relationship between local and global have been increasingly been understood as "hybridized," "always transitioning, always contextual," and "pluraliz[ed],"¹⁷⁴ the Foucauldian model has been discarded as Western. Against Sang's claim that "modern categories of personhood are modern,"¹⁷⁵ Arjun Appaduria, Aihwa Ong, Lisa Rofel, Dilip Parameshwar Goankar, and Lydia Liu's "hybrid modernities" disposed of the shift the epistemological shift laid out in Foucault's *History of Sexuality Volume 1* marked between pre-modern homoerotic acts and modern homosexuality identities.¹⁷⁶ As Heinrich and Marin summarized, "Modernity, a state of culture once

¹⁷² Martin F. Manalansan, *Global Divas: Filipino Gay men in the Diaspora* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 21.

¹⁷³ Tom Boellstorff, *The Gay Archipelago: Sexuality and Nation in Indonesia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 87.

¹⁷⁴ Martin and Heinrich, eds., *Embodied Modernities*, 116-117.

¹⁷⁵ Sang, *The Emerging Lesbian*, 275-276.

¹⁷⁶ See Lisa Rofel, *Other Modernities: Gendered Yearnings in China After Socialism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Aihwa Ong, *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999); Aihwa Ong and Donald Macon Nonini, *Underground Empires: The Cultural Politics of Modern Chinese Transnationalism* (Sussex: Psychology Press, 1997); Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar, *Alternative Modernities* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001); Lydia He Liu, *The Clash of Empires: The Invention of China in Modern World Making* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006).

AC

presumed to be both inherently Western and potentially universal, is in practice not one but many."¹⁷⁷

Recently, sociologist/anthropologist Cindy Patton has focused her work on outlining the limits of Western discourse. One of Patton's concerns has been that the global discourses have failed to "recognize local queerness." In "Stealth Bombers of Desire" (2002), Patton argued that any discussion of "rights" stems from an assumption based on the Declaration of Independence, the U.S. Constitution, and a "suspect class," that relies on a concept of public versus private that "is radically different in Taiwan."¹⁷⁸ Whereas the American gay liberation movement built off of the existing infrastructure of liberal democracy and capitalized media, in Taiwan "these conditions largely don't exist, or else have arrived simultaneously with liberationist movements."¹⁷⁹ According to Patton, Amnesty International's globalized discourse of human rights has rested upon a restrictive notion of "human" that does not recognize how humans in Taiwan live with different institutions and assumptions.¹⁸⁰

Developing My Argument

Accordingly, I began my thesis research with the intention of looking for dissidence against the hegemonic institution of Western LGBT identities, aiming to find what did not fit within the globalized LGBT paradigm. Through the voice of the pioneers of the *tong zhi* movement who had never had their stories recorded, I wanted to find Asian examples that contributed to Greal and Kaplan's project of "destabiliz[ing] the homogenizing tendencies of global gay formations."¹⁸¹

As I volunteered with the Hotline Association in Taipei, speaking about LGBT issues to rural middle and high school teachers, I began to see how important it was for the people I

¹⁷⁷ Martin and Heinrich, *Embodied Modernities*, 14.

¹⁷⁸ Patton, "Stealth Bombers of Desire," 207-208.

¹⁷⁹ Patton, "Stealth Bombers of Desire," 211.

¹⁸⁰ Patton, "Stealth Bombers of Desire," 213.

¹⁸¹ Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan, "Global Identities: Theorizing Transnational Studies of Sexuality," *GLQ* 7 (2001), 670.

interacted with to do just what I was trying to prove they did not want to do: they actively aimed to be more American. Chiwei Cheng, then General Secretary of the Hotline Association, would repeatedly refer to me not by my name but as "his American friend" and would conclude my part of the discussion by saying, "see, this is what they do in America." I was shocked by how convincing that alone could be to take my message more seriously. Questions then, were not about my experiences or my reasoning, but how and in what ways American teachers dealt with gay students, seemingly as their marker of the normative and the ideal.

The queer and transnational approaches to understanding the Taiwanese *tong zhi* movement have sidelined explicit aims to fit into the "modern," "American," "human rights" model.¹⁸² The interviews I conducted with the Taiwanese pioneers of the *tong zhi* movement reveal a curious paradox: as long as emphasis rests on local difference and on the (un)importance of the role of American LGBT discourse, a big slice of local particularity remains veiled. Attempts to frame Taiwanese sexual subjectivities as un-American have left a conceptual gap in the explanation of how the Taiwanese mobilized the *tong zhi* movement around a reverence of the American. Many Taiwanese in the second half the 20th century grew up in a society that explicitly acknowledged the West's economic and cultural dominance. Rejecting American influence in our analysis of the *tong zhi* movement in Taiwan veils a local and particular experience.

I began my field research with the intention of corroborating the project to reject the conflation of globalization and westernization by seeking evidence to frame the Taiwanese *tong zhi* movement as a "hybridized modernity." It was my interviewees who constantly repeated tropes of American trends and the American LGBT movement. In the following chapter, I aim to engage more specifically with American influence by tracing the trope of American influence more broadly throughout Taiwanese history since the 1940s. As I am interested in describing and explaining the phenomenon of the sexual subjectivities of the individuals whom I interviewed, I believe that it is important to acknowledge how Taiwanese men saw their identities and actions in relation to

¹⁸² I put these terms in quotes because I agree with Grewal and Kaplan that they are not universally understood exactly the same.

AC

developments in the U.S. The United States has played an important (albeit complex) role in shaping the Taiwanese *tong zhi* movement; however, identifying and measuring local/global/glocal influences alone only provides a partial truth in explaining the phenomenon of the sexual subjectivities of the 11 men that I interviewed.

My analysis of the Taiwanese *tong zhi* movement looks to developments in queer history as a framework of reference. Learning from how Houlbrook, Cook, and other historians have complicated theories that emphasize the impact of law and sexology in constructing the modern homosexual, I aim to participate in the project to explain and complicate the role of Western influence on Asian sexual subjectivities. Learning from how Herring, Vicinius, and others have posed new questions and shifted the focus of the history of sexualities away from describing and explaining the creation of the modern homosexual, I aim to contribute to Asian queer studies today by proposing a shift in focus away from describing and explaining the westernization of Asian sexual subjects. To decenter queer Asian studies from questions of local/global/glocal, I take lessons from queer historians who have been interested in describing and explaining (rather than generalizing or predicting) specific phenomenon and individual stories.

CHAPTER TWO

Context and Periodization

In Guang Tai's *The Man Who Escapes Marriage* (1976), the character Andi – who self-identifies as homosexual (*tong xing lian*) explains to his straight colleague He Yufang, "with the exception of those countries behind the Iron Curtain, Gay Bars exist in every democratic country."¹⁸³ By identifying an open gay scene as a characteristic of "every democratic country" – countries on the American side of the Cold War – Andi positions gay tolerance as a characteristic of modernity and progress. My analysis of sexual subjectivities in Taiwan does not aim to evaluate whether or not Andi's positioning of homosexual (*tong xing lian*) rights as progress is theoretically sound. Instead, I aim to describe how and why discussions of homosexuality in Taiwan have positioned gay activism as engagements with democratization and Americanization.

The rhetoric of Americanization and democratization shaped the contours of early discussions of gay issues and gay rights. Before the *tong zhi* movement formally took shape in the mid-1990s to explicitly demand gay rights, the subject of gay rights had already been broached by general discussions of democratization and Americanization. In 1979, Chen Qidi cited *Gay Lib v. University of Missouri* (1977) to advocate against martial law and create a system ruled by law similar to the American Constitution.¹⁸⁴ The focus of Chen Qidi's citation of *Gay Lib v. University of Missouri* was not to argue for gay rights, but to argue for Taiwanese students' rights to organize in

¹⁸³ Guang (1976) cited in Hans Tao-Ming Huang, *Queer Politics and Sexual Modernity in Taiwan* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011), 47.

¹⁸⁴ Jens Damm, "Same Sex Desire and Society in Taiwan, 1970-1987," *The China Quarterly* 181 (2005), 53; Chen Qidi, "Tongxinglian de fa? Wen ti" ("Legal problems of homosexuals"), *Falii pinglun*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (1979), 11-14. In *Gay Lib v. University of Missouri*, the U.S. Court of Appeals ordered that the state university had no right to restrict an LGBT student group from forming.

opposition to KMT regulations and policies. In another example, Americanization structured the debates regarding gay men's services in the military. Before the policy change to allow gay men to serve in the Taiwanese military in 1993, men who declared their same-sex sexuality were dismissed from military service and were accused of being "unpatriotic." The frequent punchline of these accusations played into conceptions of the U.S. as normative and ideal: "Don't you know the American gays want to serve their country?"¹⁸⁵ In turn, support of gay rights could be used to proclaim oneself as modern. In 1996, the DPP published a message of support for gay rights in the first issue of the gay magazine *G&L* that proclaimed the party as the "tongzhi's tongzhi" or "the gay person's comrade." According to Fran Martin and Cindy Patton, the DPP's support for gay rights fit within the DPP's broader political goal to set itself apart from the KMT as the modern and democratic party that supported liberal humanism and minority rights.¹⁸⁶

This chapter lays out the context for the case studies and discussions of the following two chapters. First, I overview the Taiwanese democratization process. One trope that consistently reappeared throughout my interviews with historical leaders of the *tong zhi* movement in Taiwan was the impact of the end of martial law in 1987 on lived-experiences and self-understanding. The developments of the *tong zhi* movement in Taiwan cannot be understood as separate from broader political developments in the second half of the 20th century. According to the men I interviewed, the successes and failures of sexual identity politics were tied to the successes and failures of democratic reforms and the struggles against Kuomintang (KMT) rule.¹⁸⁷ In the late 1980s, an opposition movement against the rule of the KMT began to coalesce into what would become the

¹⁸⁵ Cindy Patton, "Stealth Bombers of Desire: The Globalization of 'Alterity' in Emerging Democracies," in *Queer Globalizations: Citizenship and the Afterlife of Colonialism*, ed. Arnaldo Cruz-Malavé and Martin F. Manalansan IV (New York: New York University Press, 2002), 196.

¹⁸⁶ Fran Martin, *Backward Glances: Contemporary Chinese Cultures and the Female Homoerotic Imaginary* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010).

¹⁸⁷ I will explore the links between the beginning of the Taiwanese *tong zhi* movement and Taiwanese democratic reforms more closely in the next chapter through case studies of Qi Jia Wei, Ke Fe, and Chiwei. The narratives of these three men reveal insight into how pioneers of the *tong zhi* movement in Taiwan not only navigated around democratic reforms, but also used sexual identity activism as one approach to further their ideals of democracy, human rights, and egalitarianism.

Democratic Progressive Party (DPP). To oppose KMT power, the opposition criticized the KMT for being anti-Taiwanese and authoritarian. As the KMT responded to the increasingly fervent and popular critiques in the 1980s and 1990s, Taiwanese political identities were reconstructed around concerns for democracy and egalitarianism. The Taiwanese *tong zhi* movement built off of egalitarian rhetoric and democratic reforms. The second section of this chapter overviews the strength and form of American influence in Taiwanese history. Throughout the Taiwanese democratization process, the U.S. played an important role as an economic, political, and social ally and model. In opposition to the works of Manalansan, Cruz-Malavé, and other scholars who have worked to demonstrate how Asian sexual subjectivities do not depend upon Western models, I propose that the Taiwanese *tong zhi* movement cannot be understood separate from American influence. Citations of the U.S. sexual liberation model wove throughout Taiwanese sexual discourses, just as citations of U.S. democratic models wove throughout Taiwanese political reforms. The third and final section of this chapter takes a closer look at the role of universities, professors, and students in pushing for democratic reforms (including gay rights) in Taiwan. Through my discussion of universities, professors, and students, I outline how discourses of sexual liberation developed at the nexus of Taiwanese democratization (intertwined with Americanization). The following two chapters build off of these discussions to further integrate the politicization of gay issues in Taiwan as a component of democratic reforms.

The Taiwanese Democratization Process

The following section traces the Taiwanese democratization process from the establishment of the KMT in Taiwan in the late 1940s through the end of martial law in 1987 and the democratic reforms of the 1990s and early 2000s.¹⁸⁸ My roughly chronological outline of the Taiwanese

¹⁸⁸ Though Taiwanese developments before the 1940s and after the early 2000s would reveal further insight into how and why the Taiwanese *tong zhi* movement formed and developed, I have left these discussions outside of the scope of this thesis.

democratization process traces four major developments of Taiwanese democratization: the construction and developments of KMT rule and martial law, U.S. aid and the Taiwanese economic "miracle," the developments of oppositional critiques, and the reconstruction of Taiwanese identities.¹⁸⁹ I have selected to focus on these four developments because they set important foundations in understanding the narratives of the men I interviewed.

The Kuomintang & Strict Martial Law

The advance guard of the Kuomintang (KMT) Party arrived in 1945, after Japan surrendered in WWII.¹⁹⁰ On December 1949, the KMT fled to Taiwan after facing defeat against on the mainland by the Communist Party lead by Mao Zedong.¹⁹¹ By May 1948, the KMT had implemented the Provision of Mobilization of the Suppression of Communist Rebellion, which entrusted the KMT Party with nearly unlimited power in the "state of emergency."¹⁹² Under the Emergency Decree, KMT regulations permeated family lives and quotidian details such as etiquette.¹⁹³ Regulations were implemented against forming new political parties or publishing new newspapers.¹⁹⁴ Particularly weary of student movements, the KMT established the Chinese Anticommunist National Salvation Youth Corps on October 1952 to keep a watch over any rebellious activity.¹⁹⁵ What Douglas Mendel and Rubinstein call the period from 1940s – 1970s a

¹⁸⁹ This overview only scratches the surface of an extensive array of literature that has traced the overview of Taiwanese democratization, economic development, and social reform. Though strict martial law did not end the moment that oppositional critiques began to gain force and popularity, and though the KMT faced criticism before the 1970s, I have left those discussions outside of the scope of this overview of Taiwanese democratization. For more, see Alan Wachman's work.

¹⁹⁰ Alan Wachman, *Taiwan: National Identity and Democratization* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1994), 82.

¹⁹¹ Peter Chen-main Wang, "A Bastion Created, A Regime Reformed, An Economy Reengineered, 1949-1970," in *Taiwan: A New History*, ed. Murray A. Rubinstein (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2007), 321.

¹⁹² Wang, "A Bastion Created, A Regime Reformed, An Economy Reengineered, 1949-1970," 323.

¹⁹³ Allen Chun, "From nationalism to nationalizing," in *Chinese Nationalisms*, ed. Jonathan Unger (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1996), 126-147.

¹⁹⁴ Wang, "A Bastion Created, A Regime Reformed, An Economy Reengineered, 1949-1970," 323.

¹⁹⁵ Wang, "A Bastion Created, A Regime Reformed, An Economy Reengineered, 1949-1970," 323.

period of "Mandarinization," where the KMT enforced the teaching and use of Chinese Mandarin as the official language, and directly repressed teaching or publishing in traditional Taiwanese dialects. Hsiu-Lien Annette Lu remembers her experiences under martial law as a time when "fundamental human rights such as freedom of expression, freedom of assembly, and freedom of the press were infringed upon."¹⁹⁶

In September 1964, Dr. P'eng Ming-min, the chair of the Department of Political Science at the National Taiwan University, and two of his students were arrested and sentenced to 8 – 10 years in prison for issuing a declaration to establish a democratic country in Taiwan titled "Self-Rescue Declaration of Taiwan."¹⁹⁷ Other dissidents and satirists of the KMT ruling party were also arrested and sentenced to prison such as Li Ao in 1972.¹⁹⁸

Though the Constitution of the Republic of China of 1949 technically treats men and women equally, and granted men and women the right to vote at the same time, Hsiu-Lien Annette Lu – regarded by many as the pioneer of the feminist movement in Taiwan – remembers how the Taiwanese system and society of the 1970s and 1980s continued to "discriminate against women": No women held city or county mayorships, women represented 30.65% of the workforce, and 20% of women were illiterate compared to 7.25 percent of men in 1974.¹⁹⁹ In 1971, Lu returned from the United States, where she had participated in the American women's liberation movement, and published an article titled "The Traditional Sex Roles" in the *United Daily*.²⁰⁰ Throughout the 1970s and into the 1980s, Lu remembers how the "KMT's intelligence agents . . . put their invisible, dirty hands on [my] shoulders"²⁰¹ and censored Lu's publications for being "promiscuous." Lu faced opposition from other women as well, who rejected Lu's activism as against their fundamental values of Confucianism.²⁰²

¹⁹⁶ Hsiu-Lien Annette Lu, "Women's Liberation: The Taiwanese Experience," in *The Other Taiwan: 1945 to the Present*, ed. Murray A. Rubinstein (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1994), 290.

¹⁹⁷ Wang, "A Bastion Created, A Regime Reformed, An Economy Reengineered, 1949-1970," 335.

¹⁹⁸ Wang, "A Bastion Created, A Regime Reformed, An Economy Reengineered, 1949-1970," 335.

¹⁹⁹ Lu, "Women's Liberation: The Taiwanese Experience," 292.

²⁰⁰ Lu, "Women's Liberation: The Taiwanese Experience," 293.

²⁰¹ Lu, "Women's Liberation: The Taiwanese Experience," 295.

²⁰² Lu, "Women's Liberation: The Taiwanese Experience," 296.

U.S. Aid & the Economic "Miracle"

The U.S. sent the Seventh Fleet to Taiwan after the outbreak of the Korean War on June 25, 1950,²⁰³ and more U.S. forces were stationed in Taiwan for the Vietnam War (1955-1955). In 1951, the U.S. began to provide military and economic aid to the KMT government through the U.S. Military Assistance and Advisory Group in Taiwan.²⁰⁴ From 1951-1964, Taiwan received over \$1.5 billion in nonmilitary aid, averaging \$100 million per year. At the height of the cold war in the 1950s, the U.S. held a particular interest in strengthening its relationship with Taiwan, fearing the "Domino Effect" if Taiwan were lost to the Communists. In December 1954, Taiwan and the U.S. signed the Taiwan-U.S. Mutual Defense Treaty, further strengthening Taiwan's relationship with the U.S. and Taiwan's dependence on U.S. aid.²⁰⁵ In the late 1950s, the U.S. channeled economic investments into Taiwan as part of the U.S. project to demonstrate that an open society would and could be more economically prosperous.²⁰⁶

As Peter Chen-main Wang surmises, "the appointment to important positions of several liberals, such as Wu Kuo-chen as governor of Taiwan province and Sun Li-jen commander of the army, were intended as friendly gestures to attract the support of the United States."²⁰⁷ Rubinstein's discussions with leaders of 1960s economic reforms such as K. T. Li and Wang Chi-hsien reveal a deliberate policy to "redirect the economy and fit the Republic of China in to a worldwide, Western-directed economic system."²⁰⁸ With U.S. investment, Taiwan channeled funds into industrial construction through the Statute for the Encouragement of Investment in September 1960.²⁰⁹

Throughout the process of economic reforms in the 1960s, Taiwan frequently hired American

²⁰³ Wang, "A Bastion Created, A Regime Reformed, An Economy Reengineered, 1949-1970," 321.

²⁰⁴ Wang, "A Bastion Created, A Regime Reformed, An Economy Reengineered, 1949-1970," 325.

²⁰⁵ Wang, "A Bastion Created, A Regime Reformed, An Economy Reengineered, 1949-1970," 326.

²⁰⁶ Wang, "A Bastion Created, A Regime Reformed, An Economy Reengineered, 1949-1970," 331.

²⁰⁷ Wang, "A Bastion Created, A Regime Reformed, An Economy Reengineered, 1949-1970," 325.

²⁰⁸ Murray A. Rubinstein, "Taiwan's Socioeconomic Modernization, 1971-1996," in *Taiwan: A New History*, ed. Murray A. Rubinstein (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2007), 369.

²⁰⁹ Wang, "A Bastion Created, A Regime Reformed, An Economy Reengineered, 1949-1970," 332.

advisers, particularly in implementing import-substitution industrialization.²¹⁰ With American economic support and a series of economic reforms, Taiwan's industrial sector began to flourish, and the 1960s saw the "Taiwan Miracle."²¹¹ Industry grew from 18% of net domestic product in 1952 to 32.5% in 1970,²¹² while imports grew 20% annually in the 1960s.²¹³ As Taiwan became more economically prosperous, income disparities dropped. Analyses of income distribution using the Gini coefficient – which compares the income share of the top 20% with the bottom 20% of the population – showed an increase in equalization, demonstrating the creation of a strong Taiwanese middle-class.²¹⁴

Challenges Against the KMT

As the burgeoning middle-class in Taiwan gained self-confidence, and as the KMT made a series of diplomatic failures, domestic challenges against the ruling KMT emerged. When Richard Nixon took office as President of the United States in 1969, he deployed his National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger to begin making secret contacts with the mainland regime. The Nixon administration feared the threat of war in Indochina, and began to transfer support from the Republic of China (Taiwan) to the People's Republic of China (mainland China).²¹⁵ In 1971, the Nixon administration successfully supported the PRC's bid for a seat on the United Nations' Security Council, marking the loss of official UN recognition of the ROC.²¹⁶

Against the government's diplomatic failures, Kang Ning-hsiang, Huang Hsin-chieh, and

²¹⁰ Rubinstein, "Taiwan's Socioeconomic Modernization, 1971-1996," 367.

²¹¹ Lucian W. Pye, "Civility, Social Capital, and Civil Society: Three Powerful Concepts for Explaining Asia," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 29 (1999), 763-782.

²¹² *Taiwan Statistical Data Book* (1982) cited in Wang, "A Bastion Created, A Regime Reformed, An Economy Reengineered, 1949-1970," 332.

²¹³ Wang, "A Bastion Created, A Regime Reformed, An Economy Reengineered, 1949-1970," 333.

²¹⁴ Shirley W. Y. Kuo, John C. H. Fei, and Gustav Ranis, *The Taiwan Success Story: Rapid Growth with Improved Distribution in the Republic of China, 1952-1979* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1981), 44, 92-93.

²¹⁵ Rubinstein, "Taiwan's Socioeconomic Modernization, 1971-1996," 437.

²¹⁶ Rubinstein, "Taiwan's Socioeconomic Modernization, 1971-1996," 438.

other college professors organized a political community known as the *tang-wei* and lead a series of demonstrations for political change. In 1973, the government responded by arresting the leaders of the political movement and fired the professors who had openly criticized the regime.²¹⁷

Nonetheless, Chiang Ching-kuo – the son and heir of Chiang Kai-shek; formalized as President of Republic of China in 1972²¹⁸ – heard the critiques and installed a series of structural reforms to allow the voices of the *tang-wei* to be heard. One reform increased the number of seats open to election by the Taiwanese in its major representative organization, the National Assembly and the Legislative Yuan.²¹⁹ Seeing the regimes response to its critiques, the *tang-wei* pushed further in 1975 and 1976, facing more arrests.²²⁰ Though the KMT continued to arrest and imprison political dissidents such as Lin Cheng-Chieh and Chen Shui-Pien in the 1980s,²²¹ the *tang-wei* continued to push for reforms. On September 28, 1986, the leaders of the *tang-wei* proclaimed the formation of the Democratic Progressive Party, deliberately disobeying the Emergency Decree of 1948 that banned the formation of new political parties.

These calls for reforms began to see positive responses from the KMT in the late 1980s. On October 8, 1986, Chiang pushed the Central Standing Committee to respond to the DPP's critiques, and on October 15, the KMT agreed to lift martial law and relax the ban against the formation of oppositional parties. Taiwan's forty years of martial law officially ended on July 15, 1987.²²² In 1985, Lu Hsin-lien, who had been sentenced to twelve years in prison for political dissidence, was released 7 years early. In 1990, Shih Ming-teh, who had received a life sentence for leading the Mei-li-tao faction, was granted pardon.²²³ Taiwan saw its first multi-party elections in 40 years on

²¹⁷ Mab Huang, *Intellectual Ferment for Political Reforms in Taiwan, 1971-1973* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1976).

²¹⁸ Murray A. Rubinstein, "Political Taiwanization and Pragmatic Diplomacy: The Eras of Chiang Ching-kuo and Lee Teng-hui, 1971-1994," in *Taiwan: A New History*, ed. Murray A. Rubinstein (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2007), 437.

²¹⁹ Rubinstein, "Taiwan's Socioeconomic Modernization, 1971-1996," 439.

²²⁰ Huang, *Intellectual Ferment for Political Reforms in Taiwan, 1971-1973*, 81; cited in Rubinstein, "Taiwan's Socioeconomic Modernization, 1971-1996," 439.

²²¹ Rubinstein, "Taiwan's Socioeconomic Modernization, 1971-1996," 446.

²²² David Tawei Lee, *Taiwan in a Transformed World* (Dulles: Brassey's Inc., 1995).

²²³ Rubinstein, "Taiwan's Socioeconomic Modernization, 1971-1996," 444.

December 2, 1989.²²⁴ In 1989, the DPP won 21 seats in the Legislative Yuan, gaining the right to introduce legislation.²²⁵

The 1980s also saw the emergence of more local political protests, particularly by environmentalists, women, and aboriginals. After the end of martial law in 1987, Taiwan averaged three rallies per day, which David Chen explains as a result of "people [being] so ecstatic about feeling psychologically unburdened" by martial law.²²⁶ Hsiao Hsin-huang's study of 18 protest movements in the 1980s focused on how "the most significant collective sentiment expressed in most of the emerging social movements has been a feeling of 'victim consciousness,' the feeling of being ignored and excluded. Most participants in the new social movements subjectively identify themselves as victims. They feel that they have not been treated fairly even though they are not necessarily isolated from society."²²⁷

Whereas there were no public outcries in the 1960s when the KMT decided to use Neihu Mountain as a location for burying waste, Taiwanese inhabitants began to complain in the 1980s and successfully pressured the KMT authorities to stop dumping waste on Neihu Mountain and to begin cleaning it up.²²⁸ In 1985, the Taiwanese government decided to allow DuPont to build a titanium dioxide factory in Lukang's Chang-pin Industrial Zone, spawning the first grass-roots environmental protest in Taiwan on June 1986. The people of Lukang successfully organized a rebellion, framing the chemical factory as a threat to their temples and their fishing industry.²²⁹ The protests culminated in Taipei in December, with over 400 Lukang residents protesting against the government's agreement with DuPont.²³⁰ The KMT faced similar demonstrations in Linyuan and

²²⁴ Rubinstein, "Taiwan's Socioeconomic Modernization, 1971-1996," 449.

²²⁵ Rubinstein, "Taiwan's Socioeconomic Modernization, 1971-1996," 449.

²²⁶ David W. Chen, "The Emergence of an Environmental Consciousness in Taiwan," in *The Other Taiwan: 1945 to the Present*, ed. Murray A. Rubinstein (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1994), 263.

²²⁷ Hsiao Hsin-huang, "The Rise of Social Movements and Civil Protests," in *Political Change in Taiwan*, ed. Cheng and Haggard (Boulder: Lynne Rinner, 1992), 70; cited in Wachman, *Taiwan*, 229.

²²⁸ Chen, "The Emergence of an Environmental Consciousness in Taiwan," 257.

²²⁹ James Reardon Anderson, *Pollution, Politics, and Foreign Investment in Taiwan: The Lukang Rebellion* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1992); Chen, "The Emergence of an Environmental Consciousness in Taiwan," 257-286.

²³⁰ Chen, "The Emergence of an Environmental Consciousness in Taiwan," 261.

Hungmao in 1988.²³¹ On April 22, 1990, Taiwanese environmental activists organized an Earth Day celebration – an event begun by a group of U.S. college students in 1970 – with over 2,000 people gathering at the gymnasium of National Taiwan University.²³²

In 1983, Lee Yuan-chen pioneered the publications of the first feminist magazine titled *Awakening*.²³³ *Awakening's* annual themes have included "Developing Women's Potential," "Protection of Women," "Rights of Housewives," "Dialogue between the Sexes," and "Women's Right to Work."²³⁴ In the 1980s, *Awakening* also functioned as a political pressure group, for instance, against the 1985 revision of the Family Law. Also in 1985, the first Women's Studies group formed at the National Taiwan University.²³⁵ In 1990, the first official Gender Studies department formed at the College of Social Sciences at Tsinghua University in Hsin-chu, headed by the American-trained sociologist Chou Pi-erh.²³⁶

In 1983, students at the National Taiwan University published articles about aboriginal culture and rights in the *Mountain Blue* magazine, spearheading the aboriginal rights movement.²³⁷ In 1984, the 10 Taiwan aboriginal groups joined together to begin the so-called pan-movement, forming the Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines (ATA). On October 26, 1987, the ATA held its second general, where it put forward the "Manifesto of Taiwan Aborigines," claiming "rights of basic protection."²³⁸ The ATA also forwarded a new term *yuan zhu min* (indigenous people) to replace the derogatory term *gao shan chu* (mountain people).²³⁹

In deciphering how and why the KMT loosened control in the 1980s and 1990s, Alan

²³¹ Chen, "The Emergence of an Environmental Consciousness in Taiwan," 261-262.

²³² Chen, "The Emergence of an Environmental Consciousness in Taiwan," 268, 277.

²³³ Lu, "Women's Liberation: The Taiwanese Experience," 299.

²³⁴ Lu, "Women's Liberation: The Taiwanese Experience," 299.

²³⁵ Lu, "Women's Liberation: The Taiwanese Experience," 299.

²³⁶ Rubinstein, "Taiwan's Socioeconomic Modernization, 1971-1996," 385.

²³⁷ Shih-Chung Hsieh, "From *Shanbao* to *Yuanzhumin*: Taiwan Aborigines in Transition," in *The Other Taiwan: 1945 to the Present*, ed. Murray A. Rubinstein (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1994), 408.

²³⁸ Hsieh, "From *Shanbao* to *Yuanzhumin*: Taiwan Aborigines in Transition," 411-412.

²³⁹ C.S. Song, ed., *Self-Determination: The Case for Taiwan* (Tainan: Church Press, 1988); cited in Rubinstein, "Taiwan's Socioeconomic Modernization, 1971-1996," 392.

Wachman warns how "the *causal* relationship between . . . factors cannot be determined."²⁴⁰ Tien Hung-mao argues for the importance of building a middle-class.²⁴¹ According to Tien, it was "an expansion of private wealth [that] enabled individuals to sever their dependence on 'KMT patronage' and exert greater autonomy over their own lives."²⁴² John Cooper argues that democratization in Taiwan "started by fiat,"²⁴³ while Tun-jen Cheng and Stephan Haggard similarly explain Taiwan's democratization as engineered "from above."²⁴⁴ In 1988, Shaw Yu-ming gave a speech in Washington, D.C., praising Chiang Ching-kuo's "foresight" in spearheading democratic reform: "Toward the end of 1985, he [Chiang] must have sensed that the time was ripe to push for much bolder moves toward full democracy."²⁴⁵ Peter W. Moody and Lin Cheng-chieh emphasize the importance of opposition against the KMT and within the KMT after the Chung-li Incident of 1977, the Kaohsiung Incident of 1979, and the Henry Liu Incident of 1984.²⁴⁶ This strand of explanations focuses on the role of the DPP and U.S. pressure on humanitarian reforms. Samuel Huntington offers another explanation for anti-authoritarian reforms in Taiwan, locating Taiwan within the "third wave" of a "domino effect" of democratization.²⁴⁷

As challenges against the KMT gained in power and popularity, ideas of progress became conflated with what was democratic and American. When President Chiang died on January 1988, he passed to Lee Teng-hui governance over an increasingly politically active populace, an uncertain

²⁴⁰ Wachman, *Taiwan*, 222. For more on the role of economic reforms on Taiwan's democratization, see the work of Seymour Martin Lipset, who sees a strong correlation between economic and political development, and the work of Samuel Huntington, who warns against assuming that prosperous societies automatically become democratic.

²⁴¹ Tien Hung-mao, *The Great Transition: Political and Social Change in the Republic of China* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1988), 251.

²⁴² Wachman, *Taiwan*, 221.

²⁴³ John F. Cooper, *A Quiet Revolution: Political Development in the Republic of China* (Washington, DC: Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1988); cited in Wachman, *Taiwan*, 224.

²⁴⁴ Tun-Jen Cheng and Stephan Haggard, eds., *Political Change in Taiwan* (Boulder: Lynne Rinner Pub, 1991).

²⁴⁵ Wachman, *Taiwan*, 223.

²⁴⁶ Peter W. Moody, *Political Change on Taiwan: A Study of Ruling Party Adaptability* (New York: Praeger, 1992), 187; cited in Wachman, 225.

²⁴⁷ Samuel P. Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 100; cited in Wachman, 226.

international status as a nation, and an increasingly disjointed party.²⁴⁸ To respond to these challenges, President Lee recruited fourteen advisors with Ph.D.s from the United States to serve on his cabinet.²⁴⁹ Lee Teng-hui himself had received his Ph.D. in agricultural economics from Cornell University in 1968.²⁵⁰ The country had decided that the American democratic model was the best way forward.

The Construction of a New Taiwanese Political Identity

In the 1990s, Taiwanese politics were turbulent as exchanges between parties and within parties were characterized by attacks and fierce debates. In 1992, the contestations over foreign relations with China and domestic relations with aboriginal Taiwanese dominated high visibility national campaigns and drew a record number of Taiwan's citizens to the polls.²⁵¹ Amidst this turbulence, the 1990s saw the official construction of a democratic government, the official authorization of opposition political parties to organize,²⁵² and the provisions of a wide-range of political and social liberalizations.²⁵³ One of the main strands of the political and social projects of the new democratic government in Taiwan was to define a Taiwanese identity separate from mainland China.

Below is a graph from the National Chenchi University (NCCU), the "National Politics University" (*Guo Li Zhen Zhi Da Xue Xuen Ju Yen Jiou Zhong Xing*) in Taipei. The title translates to "Taiwanese Inhabitants' Taiwanese/Chinese Self-Identification" between 1992 and 2011. The x-

²⁴⁸ Rubinstein, "Taiwan's Socioeconomic Modernization, 1971-1996," 447.

²⁴⁹ "All systems go as Lee Teng-hui era is lauched," *FCJ* 5 (1988), 1; cited in Rubinstein, "Taiwan's Socioeconomic Modernization, 1971-1996," 449.

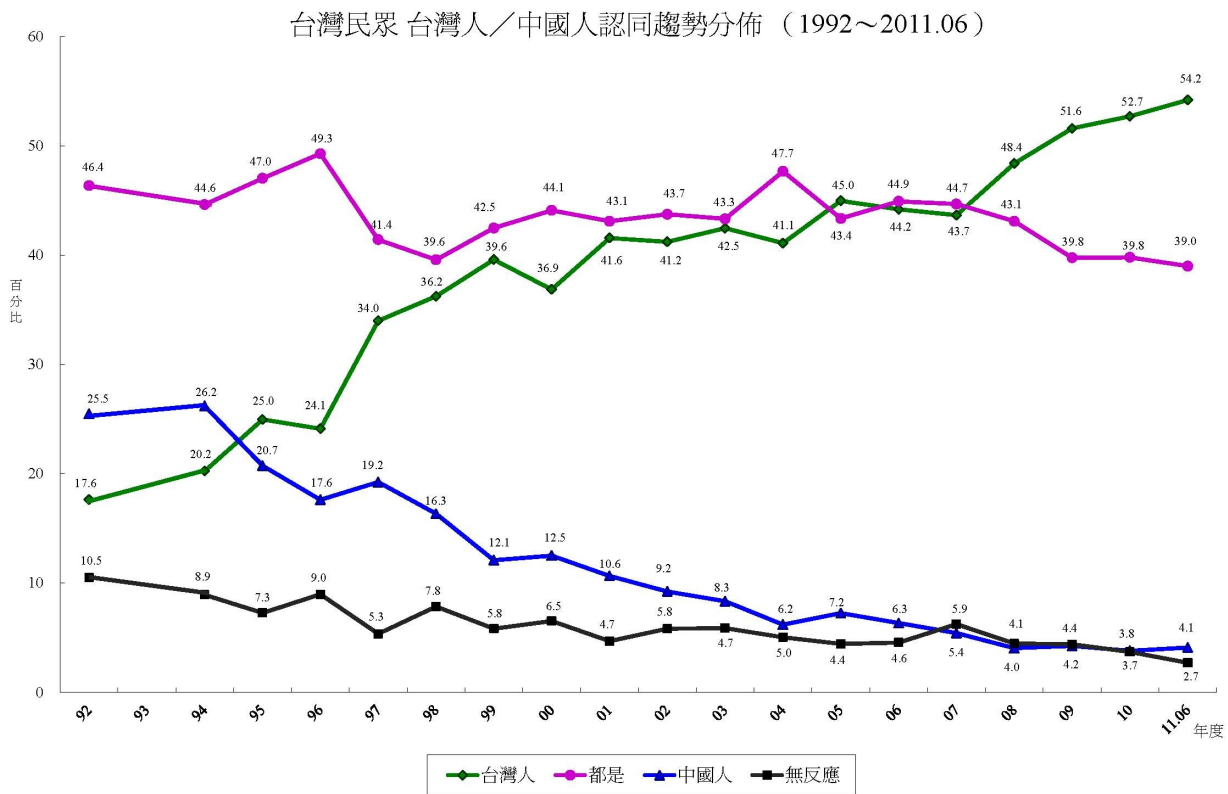
²⁵⁰ Kui Tai-chun, ed., *Taiwan Cheng-chih Chiang-shih Hsiang* (Taiwanese Political Portraits) (Taipei: Independent Daily Press, 1989), 24-47; cited in Rubinstein, "Taiwan's Socioeconomic Modernization, 1971-1996," 448.

²⁵¹ Rubinstein, "Taiwan's Socioeconomic Modernization, 1971-1996," 455-457.

²⁵² For more on the multi-party system, see David C.L. Auw, "Political Evolution in Post-Martial Law Taiwan: Issues, Problems, and Prospects," in *Taiwan in a Transformed World*, ed. David Tawei Lee and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff (Dulles: Brassey's Inc., 1995).

²⁵³ "Taiwan Ends 4 Decades of Martial Law," *New York Times*, July 15, 1987. <http://www.nytimes.com/1987/07/15/world/taiwan-ends-4-decades-of-martial-law.html>

axis marks the year, and the y-axis traces the percentage of Taiwanese citizens who identify as Taiwanese (green line), both Taiwanese and Chinese (pink), and Chinese (blue). The black line marks a response of indifference.



As the graph demonstrates, since 1992 – the beginning of this particular study – more and more Taiwanese inhabitants have self-identified as Taiwanese and less and less have self-identified as Chinese, with a shift occurring between 1994 and 1995 marking when more Taiwanese inhabitants self-identified as Taiwanese than as Chinese.²⁵⁴ This shift between 1994 and 1995 can be understood as a marker of the popularity of what Rubinstein calls a "New Taiwanese consciousness"²⁵⁵ associated with anti-authoritarianism and "equality," contrasted against mainland China's "backwards" ways of life. The first academic articles published about "Taiwanese culture"

²⁵⁴ National Chenchi University, "Taiwanese/Chinese Self-Identification." <http://esc.nccu.edu.tw/modules/tinyd2/content/pic/trend/People201106.jpg>.

²⁵⁵ Rubinstein, "Taiwan's Socioeconomic Modernization, 1971-1996," 390.

appear in 1989,²⁵⁶ while the first institution to focus on "Taiwan studies" opened in 1993 at the Academic Sinica.²⁵⁷

Until the 1990s, Taiwan's politics were officially controlled by the KMT, most of whom arrived on the island of Taiwan in the 1940s, or were the children of these "Mainlanders."²⁵⁸ As both "Mainlanders" – recent immigrants from mainland China – and "Taiwanese" began to challenge the authoritarian KMT regime, new conceptions of "Taiwanese" were constructed to define an anti-authoritarian affinity. As one commentator in the *Tzu-li Wan-pao* (*Independence Evening Post*) – a newspaper that opposed the KMT – wrote on May 17, 1991, "The Taiwanese nation is not the same as the Chinese nation; Taiwanese are not Chinese, just as Americans are not Englishmen."²⁵⁹ Alluding to America's independence from the British Empire in 1776, anti-KMT voices charged a Taiwanese identity with anti-authoritarianism.²⁶⁰

In 1991, Chiang Chun-nan, publisher of the weekly political journal *Hsin Hsin-wen* (The Journalist), critiqued the KMT's policies to reunify with mainland China as too "traditional":

"As if in determining to get married, the woman says to the man, 'We have to get married. You don't have to love me. You can keep everything, you can keep your girlfriend, you don't need to live with me. But let's go to register as a married couple and let's get everybody his own key to his own room. We don't [even] have to sleep together . . . there is no advantage for Taiwan in this sort of arrangement; those who promote a political marriage do so on the basis of tradition and believe

²⁵⁶ The first article published by the Government Information Office on "Taiwanese" culture appeared in the *Free China Review* in 1989. See "Cultural Preservation," *FCR* 40 (1990): 4-53.

²⁵⁷ Institute of Taiwan History, "Introduction" [my translation].
http://www.ith.sinica.edu.tw/about_01.php

²⁵⁸ Wachman, *Taiwan*, 11.

²⁵⁹ *Tzu-li Wan-pao* (Independence Evening Post), May 17, 1991, p. 4; cited in Wachman, 23.

²⁶⁰ Discussions of Taiwanese/Chinese identities remain highly complex. Here I am merely tracing one thread of a tangle of complications, meanings, and associations. For more detailed discussions, see Rod Hague and Martin Harrop, *Comparative Government and Politics: An Introduction*, 2d ed. (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press International, 1987).

that it is a tradition to get married."²⁶¹

Instead, Chiang Chun-nan said that he believes in a "modern marriage where a couple only marries if they have established that they have some affection for each other."²⁶² Embedded in Chiang's critique of the KMT is an envisioned modern Taiwanese state framed in opposition to obsolete Chinese traditions. These associations reflect an array of publications regarding the need for Taiwan to redefine its cultural identity in the late 1980s, among which include Ch'en Yung-hsing's *Cheng-chiu T'ai-wan-jen ti hsin-ling* (Saving the Heart of the Taiwanese), Li Chi'iao's *T'ai-wan-jen ti chou-lou mien* (The Ugly Side of the Taiwanese), Lin Yang-min's *T'ai-wan-jen ti lien-hua tsai-sheng* (The Lotus Rebirth of the Taiwanese), and Sung Tz'o-lai's *T'ai-wan-jen ti tzu-wo chui-hsun* (The Taiwanese Pursuit of the Self).²⁶³ As Yang-min summarizes in *The Lotus Rebirth of the Taiwanese* (1988), "Taiwanese have had all kinds of new consciousness and they are alive and bravely pursuing freedom, emancipation, egalitarianism, and self-respect."²⁶⁴

These associations between political activism, equality, democracy, and modernity are repeated throughout the early 1990s by DPP politicians. An article in the *China Post* on January 11, 1991 includes a critique from DPP legislator Lu Hsiu-yi of Taiwan's senior legislators, who he called the "old thieves."²⁶⁵ Lu portrays himself and the other young legislators as the new Taiwanese in opposition to the old, passé legislators from the mainland "who still wear traditional Chinese garb."²⁶⁶

American Influence

²⁶¹ Wachman, *Taiwan*, 75.

²⁶² Wachman, *Taiwan*, 75.

²⁶³ Ch'en Yung-hsing's *Cheng-chiu T'ai-wan-jen ti hsin-ling* (Saving the Heart of the Taiwanese) (Taipei: Vanguard Press, 1988); Li Chi'iao, *T'ai-wan-jen ti chou-lou mien* (The Ugly Side of the Taiwanese) (Taipei: Vanguard Press, 1988); Lin Yang-min, *T'ai-wan-jen ti lien-hua tsai-sheng* (The Lotus Rebirth of the Taiwanese) (Taipei: Vanguard Press, 1988); and Sung Tz'o-lai, *T'ai-wan-jen ti tzu-wo chui-hsun* (The Taiwanese Pursuit of the Self) (Taipei: Vanguard Press, 1988); cited in Wachman, *Taiwan*, 103.

²⁶⁴ Lin, *T'ai-wan-jen ti lien-hua tsai-sheng* (The Lotus Rebirth of the Taiwanese), 5; cited in Wachman, *Taiwan*, 104.

²⁶⁵ *China Post*, January 11, 1991; cited in Wachman, *Taiwan*, 176.

²⁶⁶ *China Post*, January 11, 1991; cited in Wachman, *Taiwan*, 176.

The Taiwanese democratization process outlined above was woven through with American influence. As political allies in the Cold War, the U.S. provided Taiwan with financial aid and consultants to democratize. In 1988 when Lee Teng-hui took office, the executive branch of government in Taiwan was lead by American PhDs. The following section outlines how American influence developed from 18th century China to modern Taiwanese democratic reforms, and transitions to speak more specifically of how discourses of sex and sexuality in the 1990s engaged with American discourses and developments as a model.

An Overview of American Influence in Taiwan

In 1793, the Qianlong Emperor's response to the British Ambassador Macartney reveals a perception of the role of the Chinese on the international stage that showed little to no interest in the West: "I set no value on objects strange and ingenious, and have no use for your country's manufactures."²⁶⁷ With the Opium War, and subsequent internal strife on mainland China, by the late 19th century, Zeng Guofan (1811-1872) had proposed "Chinese learning for essence, Western learning for use."²⁶⁸ In 1894, in the first Sino-Japanese War, China was again defeated. This brought a crisis in Chinese minds, suggesting that learning from Western technologies was not enough. Focus shifted onto the political realm, and Chinese leaders tried to reshape the government into a constitutional monarchy, leading to the (failed) 100 day reform and the 1911 Xin Hai Revolution.²⁶⁹ Nonetheless, Yan Fu (1853-1921) lead a school of thought that continued to explicitly advocate for "Westernization" in the late 19th and early 20th centuries not just regarding technology, but also regarding politics and culture.²⁷⁰ The mid 1910s saw the maturation of the

²⁶⁷ Peter Worsley, *The Third World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 2.

²⁶⁸ Ssu-yü Teng and John K. Fairbank, *China's Response to the West* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006).

²⁶⁹ Lei Ling Yan, "Early Drama During the Period of Xin Hai Revolution," *Shanghai Artist* 5 (2011), 7-11.

²⁷⁰ Zeng Zhenyu, "Semantic Criticism: The 'westernization' of the concepts in ancient Chinese

"new culture" movement that aimed to "overthrow the Confucius family shop."²⁷¹ In April, 1912, the *Beijing zhengzou aiguo bao* (Beijing True Patriotism News) included an editorial discussing theatre-based same-sex prostitution: "We Chinese have always treated the words performer (*you*) and prostitute (*chang*) as if they were one and the same. In fact, performers are performers and prostitutes are prostitutes. In [the] future we should consider them separately."²⁷² In this article, the author frames a contrast between Chinese tradition and progressive, foreign modernity. In 1918 we see another example of explicit desire and intent to take guidance from the West in understanding love, sex, and relationships, as Hu Shi (1891-1962) writes to *Xin Ingnian* (New Youth), "We must apply ourselves to the translation of cultivated stories of love from the Western tradition."²⁷³

Whereas Mao Zedong broke international ties after his Communist Party took over control of mainland China in 1949, the KMT Party in Taiwan continued to foster their international relations, particularly with the U.S. With the Cold War and Taiwan's political decision to enter into the United States' sphere of influence, Taiwan's interest in adopting American discourses was further cemented as a national policy.²⁷⁴ As the U.S. provided financial and military backing for Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist regime in Taiwan, major Taiwanese political figures such as Xu Xinliang, Peng Mingmin, and Chen Fangming explicitly appealed to American ideals of progress and modernity, for instance, by hiring American public policy consultants.²⁷⁵

The American Model of Sexual Rights and LGBT Organizations as a Framework of Reference

philosophy – A discussion of Yan Fu's theory of Qi," *Frontiers of Philosophy in China* 6 (2011), 100-113.

²⁷¹ David Strand, *An Unfinished Republic: Leading by Word and Deed in Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 91.

²⁷² Shu-mei Shih, *Lure*, 50; cited in Cuncun Wu and Mark Stevenson, "Male Love Lost: The Fate of Male Same-Sex Prostitution in Beijing in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," in *Embodied Modernities: Corporeality, Representation, and Chinese Culture*, ed. Fran Martin and Larissa Heinrich (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006), 52.

²⁷³ Hu Shi, "Lun xiaoshuo ji baihua yunwen," 76; cited in Wu and Stevenson, "Male Love Lost," 54.

²⁷⁴ On the mainland, Deng Xiaoping pursued an intellectual reengagement with European/American culture and politics in the 1980s. For more on developments of Deng Xiaoping's "modern consciousness" (*xian dai yi shi*), see Lisa Rofel, *Other Modernities: Gendered Yearnings in China After Socialism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

²⁷⁵ Sang, *The Emerging Lesbian*, 225-330.

As ideals of progress in Taiwan became increasingly associated with Americanization, the American model served as a framework of reference for gay subcultures and gay activism. In Chu Wei-Chen's article "Transgender activism in Taiwan is off-target,"²⁷⁶ Professor Chu critiques a transgender organization in Taiwan for "simply . . . mimicking . . . Western academic developments."²⁷⁷ From Professor Chu's location as an English Professor at the National Taiwan University, his critique involves the effectiveness, meanings, and uses of the transgender organization in Taipei. Here, I am more interested in why the founders of this organization would want to create something that, according to Professor Chu, is useless and culturally inappropriate. Professor Chu's critique *is* my answer: Taiwanese individuals have a deliberate interest in "mimicking . . . Western academic developments." As a quotidian Taiwanese saying goes, "the moon is bigger and shines brighter in the United States" (*wai guo de yue luang bi jiao yuan*). David echoed this imagination of America as a model: "we [Taiwanese] had and continue to have a lot to learn from white people, including the acceptance of same-sex adoption."²⁷⁸

John Wiggins' ethnographic study of "MSM"²⁷⁹ in Taiwan reveals the importance of the imagined "Western" – particularly an imagined "American" – in the performance of Taiwanese MSM. Describing the room of a man he met at New Park in 1995:

"The drawer of the bookcase holds a wide variety of cosmetics: eye creams, facial toners, moisturizers, hair gels. The labels are western: Lauder, Clinique, Olay, Arden, Nivea. Twice a day he spends perhaps half an hour applying these various creams. Although he is only 22 years old, he tells me that he uses these cosmetics to ward off wrinkles and keep his face looking young. There are also

²⁷⁶ My translation of "Kua xingnie yundong de Taiwan sisou."

²⁷⁷ Chu, "Kua xingnie yundong de Taiwan sisou"; cited in Sang, *The Emerging Lesbian*, 261.

²⁷⁸ David, interview, 25:30.

²⁷⁹ Wiggins uses the term MSM to describe the subjects of his study. MSM stands for men who have sex with men. John A. Wiggins Jr., "'May I Talk to You?' Ethnosexual Encounters in Taipei's New Park: A Queer Ethnography," *East Asia: An International Quarterly* (2000).

several designer colognes on the shelf: Calvin Klein, Polo, Christian Dior."²⁸⁰

Along these lines, the first "gay" magazine in Taiwan, *G&L* (June 1996), included a 3-page article on men's colognes, all European and American brands. All ads featured Caucasian models, and the recommended books section did not list a single Chinese mandarin book, instead including American and European authored books such as *Our Lady of the Flowers* by Jean Genet and *Angels in America* by Tony Kushner.²⁸¹ As Wiggins conducted research at New Park in 1995, he found that the men who he met in New Park were interested in his stories of gay life in America: "It occurred to me that the questions asked of me by the curious men in the park could themselves be considered as anthropological inquiries."²⁸² MSM at New Park would ask Wiggins, "what do you think about me?," which Wiggins learned to interpret as "a review of his identity performance so far."²⁸³ According to Wiggins, MSM at New Park were interested in Wiggins' assessment and experiences as part of their performance of being connoisseurs of "consumption of global commodities."²⁸⁴ Taiwanese gay men in the mid-1990s fetishized over Americanism as a commodity in and of itself.²⁸⁵

The Role of Universities, Professors, and Students in Democratization: A Taiwanese Example of Glocalization & the Developments of Sexological Discourses

Though sexuality has been situated at the nexus of discussions and developments of democratization and Americanization in Taiwan, allusions to U.S. models (including American LGBT models) have not erased or replaced historically significant Taiwanese values. In 1991, Yao

²⁸⁰ Wiggins, "May I Talk to You?," 144.

²⁸¹ *G&L*, June 6, 1996.

²⁸² Wiggins, "May I Talk to You?," 144.

²⁸³ Wiggins, "May I Talk to You?," 161.

²⁸⁴ Wiggins, "May I Talk to You?," 151.

²⁸⁵ Louisa Schein posits a similar argument about the fetishization of white women on mainland China in her ethnographic study. (Wiggins, *Taiwan*, 162).

Chia-wen explains, "We are not simply trying to replace the KMT to become the ruling party. What we are doing is to reform the political system here. To give people freedom, human rights, and a fair opportunity, and so on. To take away what is not good in this society – that is our ideal . . . not simply . . . just to try to take and replace."²⁸⁶ After Chen Shuibian was elected mayor of the city of Taipei in 1994, he spearheaded a project to make Taipei at once an "international" city, and a "city for the citizens" (*shi min cheng shi*) under the slogan "happy, hopeful Taipei City" (*xi wang kuai le de tai bei shi*).²⁸⁷

In Taiwan, universities, professors, and students have lead reconstructions of national identities (including sexual identities). In September 1964, Dr. P'eng Ming-min, the chair of the Department of Political Science at the National Taiwan University spearheaded early challenges against authoritarian KMT rule through his publication of "Self-Rescue Declaration of Taiwan."²⁸⁸ Universities, professors, and students held a similarly important role in spearheading the *tong zhi* movement in the 1990s. The following section outlines the special status that professors and good students held in Taiwanese society.

Taiwan's social landscape in the 1990s highly valued academic achievement and the assessment of professors. In 1993, Harold W. Stevenson conducted a psychological study regarding "why Asian students still outdistance Americans." One of the conclusions was that Taiwanese students expect and value high academic achievement more than their American counterparts.²⁸⁹ Sylvia Krebs has explained this value in academic achievement as a continuity of the Chinese imperial examination system, in which a series of academic tests determined one's political rank in society.²⁹⁰ At the end of Pai's novel *Crystal Boys* set in 1970s Taipei, Pai foreshadowed the arrival

²⁸⁶ Wachman, *Taiwan*, 259.

²⁸⁷ Fran Martin, "From Citizenship to Queer Counterpublic: Reading Taipei's New Park," *Journal of Transnational and Cultural Studies* 8 (2000), 8.

²⁸⁸ Wang, "A Bastion Created, A Regime Reformed, An Economy Reengineered, 1949-1970," 335.

²⁸⁹ Harold W. Stevenson, "Why Asian Students Still Outdistance Americans," *Educational Leadership* (1993), 63-65.

²⁹⁰ For more on the historical value of academic achievement in determining status in Taiwan, see Sylvia H. Krebs, "The Chinese Cult of Examinations," *The Clearing House* 69 (1996), 301-302.

of the *tong zhi* movement of the 1990s led by "college students born into respectable families."²⁹¹

If changes were to be made anywhere, Pai predicted, they heavily depended upon the support of the academy.

Understanding the special status of universities, professors, and students in Taiwanese society, the KMT took particular precautions to censor dissident voices in academia. Before 1994, presidents of universities were chosen by the ministry of education, and these presidents then selected other administrators, deans, and departmental chairmen.²⁹² At anytime, the KMT could fire faculty or censor their publications.²⁹³ As Tsai Ching-Hwa explains, "many stories . . . circulated about professors whose contracts were not renewed due to their political orientations" before the University Law passed the Legislative Yuan in 1994.²⁹⁴ Though teaching was considered a prestigious occupation, the Ministry of Education strictly controlled what professors did and said in the classroom.²⁹⁵ Disappointed with the highly restricted higher education system in Taiwan, many students aimed to study in Japan, Europe, or the U.S.A.²⁹⁶ In the 1970s and 1980s, Taiwan suffered a "brain drain" where students who went abroad did not return.²⁹⁷ According to K.T. Li, the brightest Taiwanese students were "lost" to the United States, drawn away by the U.S. Fulbright scholarship.²⁹⁸

In the late 1980s the Ministry of Education began to revise the University Law, which spelled out both administrative and academic policies for the 59 colleges and universities on the

²⁹¹ Huang, *Queer Politics and Sexual Modernity in Taiwan*, 132.

²⁹² Rubinstein, "Taiwan's Socioeconomic Modernization, 1971-1996," 381.

²⁹³ For the original text, see *Education in the Republic of China* (Taipei: Ministry of Education, 1978); cited in Rubinstein, "Taiwan's Socioeconomic Modernization, 1971-1996," 383.

²⁹⁴ Tsai Ching-Hwa, "The Deregulation of Higher Education in Taiwan," *Center for International Higher Education* (1996).

https://htmldbprod.bc.edu/pls/htmldb/f?p=2290:4:0::NO:RP,4:P0_CONTENT_ID:100038

²⁹⁵ To examine the guidelines, see *Education in the Republic of China* (Taipei: Ministry of Education, 1978); cited in Rubinstein, "Taiwan's Socioeconomic Modernization, 1971-1996," 383.

²⁹⁶ Eugenia Yun, "Stressed Out System," *FCR* 44 (1994): 4-15; cited in Rubinstein, "Taiwan's Socioeconomic Modernization, 1971-1996," 380.

²⁹⁷ Rubinstein, "Taiwan's Socioeconomic Modernization, 1971-1996," 380.

²⁹⁸ K. T. Li, *Experience*, 247-261; cited in Rubinstein, "Taiwan's Socioeconomic Modernization, 1971-1996," 380.

AC

island; these reforms were successfully signed into law on January 1994.²⁹⁹ The University Law of 1994 removed barriers against the flow of ideas and created spaces for the engagement of students and professors in social activism in ways that would have previously risked expulsion.³⁰⁰

Universities were granted autonomy over finance, personnel, and curriculum;³⁰¹ and bans were lifted against "forbidden" disciplines seen by the ruling KMT as "possible threats to its leadership," such as religious education and art education.³⁰² The University Law allotted greater freedom to students in selecting courses, and provided teachers with leeway to personalize their class curriculums.³⁰³ In 1994, university committees were granted the power to appoint all faculty, including the president. Censorship was also loosened.³⁰⁴

Many American Ph.D.s returned to Taiwan after the Taiwanese government began to make university reforms that made Taiwanese universities a more welcoming climate for professors and researchers.³⁰⁵ My discussions with Professor John Liu (劉可強) at the National Taiwan University (NTU) corroborated these claims. According to Professor Liu, almost every professor at NTU in the mid-1990s had received their PhDs from universities in the U.S.A. – his entire department received their PhDs from UC Berkeley – and had decided to return to Taiwan only after the implementation of democratic reforms.³⁰⁶

These professors and researchers who returned to Taiwan from the U.S. after 1994 brought with them ideas and values that they had adopted abroad. Accordingly, feminist and queer theories increased in circulation in Taiwanese universities. As Chi and Lin explain, the mid-1990s marked a

²⁹⁹ Rubinstein, "Taiwan's Socioeconomic Modernization, 1971-1996," 381.

³⁰⁰ For a more extensive exploration of these three policy reforms, see Wah Wing, "Law Higher Education in Taiwan: The Rule of Law and Democracy," *Center for International Higher Education* 11 (1998). https://htmlbprod.bc.edu/pls/htmlb/f?p=2290:4:0::NO:RP,4:P0_CONTENT_ID:100046

³⁰¹ Rubinstein, "Taiwan's Socioeconomic Modernization, 1971-1996," 381.

³⁰² Wah Wing, "Law Higher Education in Taiwan," 5.

³⁰³ Eugenia Yun, "The Road to Autonomy," *FCR* (1995), 8; cited in Rubinstein, "Taiwan's Socioeconomic Modernization, 1971-1996," 381.

³⁰⁴ Wah Wing, "Law Higher Education in Taiwan," 5.

³⁰⁵ Rubinstein, "Taiwan's Socioeconomic Modernization, 1971-1996," 384.

³⁰⁶ Professor Liu also noted that a few other professors at NTU in the 1990s received their PhD from Japan. Professor John KC Liu, interview.

AC

"wave of Western, primarily American, queer theory . . . swe[eping] through the island."³⁰⁷ The circulation of ideas and values learned in the U.S. were first contained within a certain strata of the populace. As Professor Frank Wang (王增勇) recounts, "to gain access to these discourses we needed to be at a certain place, to understand English, to access American journals . . . before that, we didn't know how to talk about it."³⁰⁸ Accordingly, the first underground *tong zhi* organization,³⁰⁹ Gay Chat, was formed in 1994 at National Taiwan University (NTU). NTU has been the number one ranked university in Taiwan and the main source of "new" ideas and values from the U.S.³¹⁰ As David remembers, Gay Chat members claimed the legitimacy of their *tong zhi* identities through their special status as the top students on the island.³¹¹

The role of universities in reshaping discourses of sexuality on the island cannot be explained solely as local or global. On the one hand, sexological discourses in the Taiwanese universities reflected the historical developments of sexology in the U.S. and western Europe (global influence). On the other hand, the importance of professors and students in spearheading and broadcasting these shifts reflect a continuation in the historically significant Taiwanese respect for the opinions of the highly educated (local values). With the democratic reforms of the University Law of 1994, Western queer theories streamed into Taiwanese universities and sparked the *tong zhi* movement of the mid-1990s. Yet the successes and failures of these Western ideas rested upon the special status Taiwanese society placed upon the university, professors, and students. At different levels of analysis, both local and global factors, pressures, and drives have intertwined.

An Overview of Sexual Discourses in the Taiwanese Academy

³⁰⁷ Sang, *The Emerging Lesbian*, 258.

³⁰⁸ Frank Wang, interview, 38:00.

³⁰⁹ Earlier underground organizations had formed around the *tong xing lian* identity, not the new *tong zhi* identity.

³¹⁰ Yu Chen-hsun, "The Development of Taboo Expressions and Their Euphemisms in Taiwan Mandarin" (master's thesis, National Taiwan University, 2009).

³¹¹ David, interview.

Given the important role of universities, professors, and students in shaping public opinion and public policy in Taiwan, another important layer of context that shaped the *tong zhi* movement in Taiwan was the development of sexual discourses that streamed through the universities. The following segment chronologically overviews the developments of sexual discourses in Taiwan from the development of sexology as a field of study in the 1920s through to the alternative *tong zhi* model of the 1990s. As I outline the developments of sexual discourses in the academy, I have kept in mind the critiques of Bland and Doan discussed in the literature review. In *Sexology Uncensored*, Bland and Doan challenge the tendency of historiography to explain the dynamics of uneven translations of sexological texts to individual understandings and experiences.³¹² The next chapter will include case studies that discuss how individuals interpreted the Taiwanese academic discourses.

Through the 1960s and 1970s, Taiwanese sexologists theorized *tong xing lian* (homosexuality) as a mental illness. In 1969, two Taiwanese physicians, Tseng Wen-Shing and Hsu Jing published an article titled "Chinese culture, personality formation and mental illness" arguing that "abnormal" child developments caused homosexuality. Other sexological works, such as Zhang Jingsheng's *Sex Histories* (1926), continued strands of Havelock Ellis's congenital/non-congenital theories.³¹³ These sexological ideas were reflected in the mass media and the law's focus on cross-dressing as indicators of same-sex sex. For instance, Zeng Shuwang and Zeng Qiuhuang were accused of "violating the natural order" for wearing women's clothes.³¹⁴ From 1943 to 1991,

³¹² Lucy Bland and Laura Doan, ed., *Sexology Uncensored: The Documents of Sexual Science* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 3.

³¹³ Fran Martin, *Backward Glances*, 11; See Fran Martin, *Backward Glances*, 208 for more on how sexual ideologies were "tangled." Fran Martin complicates the simple assertion of "Western pathologizing sexology" as replacing "tolerant Chinese tradition."

³¹⁴ "Taizhong jingju buhuo renyao Zeng Shuwang" ("Taizhong police arrest the freak, Zeng Shuwang"), *Heping ribao*, 19 May 1948, 2; "Renyao dangtang zhaogong chengren shi nan'ershen, sui shi wu ge haizi de baba, ta que jiaguo yi ci ren" ("In a statement made before the court, the freak confessed that he was a man and that although he was the father of five children, he had been given in marriage to a man"), *Zili wanbao*, 18 October 1951, p. 5; "Renyao Zeng Qiuhuang an; gaoyuan shenxun zhongjie" ("In the case of the freak, Zen Qiuhuang, the High Court has finished hearing the evidence"), *Zili wanbao*, 18 October 1951, p. 5; cited in Jens

Article 66 of the Law for Punishment of Police Offenses (*wei jing fa fa*) prohibited the "wearing of odd/inappropriate outfits" (*qi zhuang yi fu*). Antonia Chao explains, "This was when an act against *ch'i-chuang i-fu* (wearing 'odd' or 'inappropriate' outfits, especially gender-crossing ones) was covered by and strictly enforced under Martial Law."³¹⁵ Offenders of cross-dressing were accused of breaking "traditional moral codes."³¹⁶ Although Taiwanese law has never explicitly mentioned same-sex desire, certain aspects of same-sex desire have been policed under the Police Offense Law (a remnant of a Qing Dynasty law that the KMT government did not repeal until 1991), which gave nearly unlimited juridical powers to the police.³¹⁷ Citing the Police Offense Law, police could regulate all forms of commercial sexual activity, including male prostitution, as offenses against "virtuous custom."³¹⁸

Sexological discourses framing homosexuality as a mental disorder began to face critiques in Taiwan in the 1970s and 1980s.³¹⁹ In 1976, Guang Tai published Taiwan's first *tong xing lian* (homosexual) popular novel, *The Man Who Escapes Marriage*.³²⁰ In 1985, *Xinzhì wenku* published Er Dong's *The Love that Dare not Speak its Name* (*bu gan shuo chu kou de ai*),³²¹ where Er Dong concluded, "We assume that homosexuality is not a choice (*xuan ze*) but an orientation (*qing xiang*) – with the exception of prostitution – and homosexuality should therefore be sympathized with (*bei liao jie*)."

In 1992, Mai Ke and Lin Yihua created the phrase *tong zhi* to self-proclaim an identity to describe their same-sex attraction, disassociated from the confines of sexological assumptions and

Damm, "Same Sex Desire and Society in Taiwan, 1970-1987," 12.

³¹⁵ Yengning Chao, *Embodying the Invisible: Body Politics in Constructing Contemporary Taiwanese Lesbian Identities* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 33.

³¹⁶ Jens Damm, "Same Sex Desire and Society in Taiwan, 1970-1987," 69-70. It is also important to note how "Homosexuality" is nowhere directly addressed in the legal code of the Republic of China on Taiwan.

³¹⁷ Huang, *Queer Politics and Sexual Modernity in Taiwan*, 17.

³¹⁸ Huang, *Queer Politics and Sexual Modernity in Taiwan*, 17.

³¹⁹ Fran Martin, *Backward Glances*, 19.

³²⁰ Huang, *Queer Politics and Sexual Modernity in Taiwan*.

³²¹ Jens Damm, "Same Sex Desire and Society in Taiwan, 1970-1987," 72-73. It is also interesting to note how the title – *The Love That Dare Not Speak Its Name* – alludes to the Oscar Wilde trial.

AC

the fear of HIV/AIDS.³²² In 1993 the first publicly distributed lesbian or gay magazine launched, called *Ai Bao* (Love Paper).³²³ *G&L*, the *tong zhi* "lifestyle" magazine, published its first issue in 1996. The 1990s also saw the emergence and development of *tong zhi* academic studies including the work of Chu Wei Chen at the National Taiwan University; the formation of *tong zhi* student groups, including GayChat at National Taiwan University; and the sale of *tong zhi* cultural productions on the international market such as literature discussing *tong zhi* lifestyles and issues by Hong Ling and Chen Xue, and films discussing *tong zhi* lifestyles and issues by directors Tsai Ming-liang and Ang Lee.³²⁴

Conclusion

This chapter has aimed to set the stage for the discussions of individual narratives in the next chapter. As the emerging DPP increasingly adopted anti-authoritarian discourses to challenge the power of the KMT, discussions and debates about democratization advanced to the forefront of Taiwanese political discussions in the last quarter of the 20th century. Woven throughout these Taiwanese discussions of democratic reforms were strands of American influence as the U.S. served as a political, economic, and social ally and model. Discussions of same-sex rights emerged at the nexus of this democratization and Americanization. Through case studies and discussions in the following two chapters, I argue that the *tong zhi* movement in Taiwan built off of and contributed to developing associations between progress, democratization, and Americanization. Nonetheless, the Taiwanese democratization process (including the development of the *tong zhi* movement) has not simply followed the guidelines of the examples and theories from the West. Scholars and top-ranked students have historically held high social status and respect in Taiwanese and Chinese societies. In the 1980s and 1990s, universities, professors, and students continued to hold a

³²² Xiao Wenhui, 1994; cited in Martin, "From Citizenship to Queer Counterpublic," 82.

³²³ Fran Martin, *Backward Glances*, 82.

³²⁴ Fran Martin, *Backward Glances*, 384.

AC

particularly important role as distributors of new ideas and pioneering activism in the 1990s.

Through my discussion of their broader role, this chapter on context has set the stage. The

protagonists of my story are the individuals of my case studies in the next chapter, who interpreted the political landscape and sexological discourses around them.

CHAPTER THREE

Case Studies – Complicating the Nomothetic

Between July 2011 and January 2012, I conducted interviews with 11 past and present leaders of the *tong zhi* movement in Taiwan regarding their activism in the 1980s and 1990s. My driving questions were descriptive and explanatory regarding the men's pioneering activism. I asked how and why Qi Jia Wei became the first gay activist in south-east Asia in the 1980s. I asked how and why Ke Fe co-founded the Hotline Association in Taipei. I asked how and why Chiwei applied for official recognition of the Hotline Association to become the first LGBT organization in south-east Asia to successfully receive official government recognition?

During the oral history process, I aimed not to guide these men in any particular direction in order to discover what they themselves found to be important in their own stories. I began every interview by asking the men to "tell me about yourself," and from there, continued to follow the "unstructured data gathering" techniques laid out by Louise G. White.³²⁵ Though I had planned to ask more about the role of the U.S. near the ends of every interview, I found that all 11 men I interviewed mentioned the U.S. on their own.³²⁶

The trope of the U.S. permeated how these men understood their own identities, how they framed their ideals, and how they developed their strategies, actions, and programs. On the surface, the repetition of the U.S. trope supports integrationist arguments that the *tong zhi* movement in Taiwan began and developed as a replication of the Western LGBT movement. A closer look at how the men cited the trope of the U.S. and acted in relation to the U.S., however, reveals how American influence did not reduce the Taiwanese men's agency, drown out the values that each man had grown up with, or make these men anti-Taiwanese. By tracing and complicating American influence, the following case studies engage with aspects of the trend today in Asian queer studies

³²⁵ Louise G. White, *Political Analysis: Technique and Practice* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1998), 219.

³²⁶ Certainly, it must be considered that their discussion of America's role could have been influenced by their knowledge that I am American.

AC

to mark the *tong zhi* movement in Taiwan as a "queer hybridization" of both the American and the local.

Though important, the question of American, local, or hybrid, only offers partial insight into how and why the *tong zhi* movement began in Taiwan. Existing descriptions and explanations have focused too closely on proving or dis-proving American influence. Though Cindy Patton and Fran Martin's works have done an excellent job of complicating American influence, neither of their works extensively incorporate the stories or perspectives of any individuals. The stories of the men I interviewed do not offer correctives to Patton and Martin's theories of hybridization, but instead offer correctives to the entire focus of the current field of queer Asian studies on the question of American, local, or hybrid.

The men's narratives support Patton and Martin's theories of hybridization by providing further evidence of how local and global factors can and did exist intertwined. When I spoke with these men in 2011 and 2012, they would switch back and forth between self-identifying as "gay" (using the English word) or "*tong zhi*" (the phrase created in 1992 by Mai Ke and Lin Yihua, charged with the historical associations of Chinese and Taiwanese revolutions). Sun Yat-sen had originally coined the phrase *tong zhi* to refer to his fellow revolutionaries in the early 20th century, struggling to shed imperial forces and reinvent China as a sovereign power. While switching between self-identifying as "gay" or "*tong zhi*," several of the men I interviewed self-identified as both "Taiwanese" and "global LGBT." Vincent, for instance, explicitly defined "we" as both "we Taiwanese" and "we global LGBT." During our interview, Vincent showed me his copy of the first issue of *G&L Magazine* – on sale June 6, 1996 as the first "gay" magazine published in Taiwan – which was composed mainly, if not exclusively, of news and resources from abroad.³²⁷ When I asked Vincent why he thought these first editions of gay magazines did not discuss or even mention news, culture, or events on the island, he explained, "because we Taiwanese didn't have much then." Earlier in our conversation, when I had asked Vincent to overview his involvement with the *tong*

³²⁷ I thank Vincent for letting me look through his personal archive of gay Taiwanese magazines and journals.

AC

zhi movement, he had defined "we" as "we LGBT throughout the world."³²⁸ In this way, Vincent conceived of his own history as the history of both local Taiwanese history and global LGBT history.

The following case studies engage with the current trend in queer Asian studies to draw out the roles of the global (in particular, the American) LGBT movement as well as the roles of local Confucian values. Interpreting the *tong zhi* movement as purely a mirror of the Western LGBT movement, however, fails to note how American influence interacted with rather than replaced existing Confucian values as American influences filtered through local imaginaries. At the same time, the men's stories demonstrate how Taiwanese national developments shaped (and at times controlled) the progress of the *tong zhi* movement. Interpreting the *tong zhi* movement as a purely local development, however, fails to locate how broader Taiwanese democratization were strongly influenced by American political influence. The *tong zhi* movement is both so clearly global and so clearly local, and yet simply neither.

Though U.S. influences and local values play decisive roles in shaping the form, timing, and direction of the *tong zhi* movement in Taiwan, I aim to demonstrate what we veil when we focus on the question of local/global/glocal alone. I propose that any behavior, ideology, or ideal in late 20th century Taiwan can be analyzed as either global, local, or glocal depending on the level of analysis. If we zoom in far enough, anything is "unique;" if we zoom out far enough, everything is similar. Rather than evaluate the theoretical accuracy of Vincent's conceptions of himself as both "we Taiwanese" and "we global LGBT," I aim to describe and explain the phenomenon of his hybridized conceptions of himself. The bulk of existing scholarship on Asian sexualities has focused on either supporting or complicating the role of the West in constructing and shaping Asian sexual subjectivities.³²⁹

In the following case studies, I have attempted to decenter the focus on local/global/global

³²⁸ Vincent, interview.

³²⁹ See Fleras, Johnson, Whitman, Ng, Wu, Xiao Mingxiong, Altman, Heinrich, Hinsch, Diköter, Rofel, Cruz-Malavé, Manalansan, Santiago, Gopinath, Strongman, Leap, Povinelli, Chauncey, Erni, and others discussed in my literature review.

AC

by treating local and global forces as two of several uncleanly-cut theoretical tools. Beyond local and global forces, I add the layer of personality and individual experiences to explain how and why the gay rights movement began in Taiwan. I say that the local, global, and the individual are uncleanly-cut because the three theoretical perspectives overlap and intertwine. Just as the Taiwanese democratization process was not purely local or a mirror image of Western prescriptions, individuals did not think or act in an isolated bubble devoid of local and global pressures. The importance of American influence and the importance of broader Taiwanese democratization stand out in all three stories. However, these men were not only "comrades" (the literal translation of *tong zhi*) of the Taiwanese nation and the international gay movement, but also individual people with their own personalities; they were sons and students, as well as friends and competitors. Answers to how and why the gay movement began in Taiwan depends heavily upon personal developments and the serendipity of daily life.

I have selected to focus on the stories of Qi Jia Wei, Ke Fe, and Chiwei because they were each leaders in separate decades of the gay rights movement in Taiwan. Chiwei called Ke Fe and Wang Ping the "parents" of his generation of activism, while Vincent – who worked alongside Ke Fe in the 1990s – called Qi Jia Wei the "father" of the *tong zhi* movement. In the following case studies, I focus on Qi Jia Wei's work in the 1980s, Ke Fe's work in the early 1990s, and Chiwei's work in the late 1990s and early 2000s. By telling their stories chronologically, I hope to capture how each man's actions fit into the broader developments of their time, and how each man's activism interacted with Taiwan's KMT authorities and the developing discourses of equality and democracy of the 1980s and 1990s. Qi Jia Wei, Ke Fe, and Chiwei's stories also highlight how the local, the global, and the personal can and did co-exist within each activist's motivations and tactics. While developments in the U.S. gay movement and Taiwanese democratization colored the backgrounds of their lives, at the foreground were their individual experiences, relations, and encounters. Interspersed throughout the stories of Qi Jia Wei, Ke Fe, and Chiwei, I also draw in corroborative and contradictory accounts from the other 8 men I interviewed.

Qi Jia Wei (b. August 2, 1958)

I interviewed Qi Jia Wei on July, 25, 2011 at a café in Taipei called Danté on *Zhong Xiao* East Road. We had met once before in March 2011, when I had volunteered at the Hotline Association's annual field trip for senior *tong zhi*. He was eager to tell his story, asked me when he would see me next, and told me I could call him anytime. Qi Jia Wei is recognized as the first HIV/AIDS and homosexual (*tong xing lian*) activist in all of south-east Asia.³³⁰ Even those who disagree with Qi Jia Wei's tactics remember him as the only man campaigning for *tong zhi* rights in Taiwan in the 1980s: As Vincent remembers, Qi Jia Wei was the "start point" of the *tong zhi* movement in south-east Asia, doing what Vincent "would never have dared to do in his [Qi Jia Wei's] time."³³¹ David also cited Qi Jia Wei as the first and only activist in the 1980s and early 1990s.³³² Qi Jia Wei had adopted this title, as the "only AIDS and homosexual activist from 1986 – 1996," and described himself to me as "the pioneer."³³³

I begin with Qi Jia Wei's story not only because he is recognized as the singular pioneer of the gay rights movement in Taiwan, but also because his reflections reveal an intertwining of global, local, and individual factors that shaped his goals and decisions. As Qi Jia Wei began his activism before the official end of martial law, his actions extended challenges against the KMT, just as his activism (and particularly his witty play on traditional idioms) contributed to reinterpretations and reconstructions of Taiwanese values and identities. In this section on Qi Jia Wei, I trace out (and complicate) the role of the U.S. in shaping Qi Jia Wei's goals; Qi Jia Wei's use of local values and traditional idioms to further his goals for gay rights; and emphasize the pivotal role that Qi Jia Wei's personality and individual experiences played in propelling him forward as the first HIV/AIDS and gay activist in south-east Asia. I treat anti-KMT challenges, Americanization, the development of

³³⁰ Elek Li, "Tong Zhi de Dan Shen" (Master's Dissertation, National Taiwan University, 2012), 124.

³³¹ Vincent, interview

³³² David, interview, 49:50.

³³³ Qi Jia Wei, interview.

AC

HIV/AIDS, and Confucian values as the setting; the protagonist of the narrative is Qi Jia Wei, who interpreted and synthesized the dynamic power landscape of 1970s and 1980s Taiwan.

The Role of the (Imagined) U.S. in Shaping Qi Jia Wei's Ideals

In Qi Jia Wei's own conception of the history of Taiwanese homosexuality, he places heavy emphasis on the role of U.S. military bases on the island during the Cold War. In Qi Jia Wei's understanding, it is the arrival of U.S. men in Taiwan that sparked the opening of "gay bars" on the island. Though no studies have been done to explore the role of U.S. military bases in fostering the development of a "gay scene" in Taiwan, studies tracing the impact of U.S. military bases in South Korea, the Philippines, and Thailand corroborate Qi Jia Wei's claim.³³⁴ In 1974, when Qi Jia Wei was 17, he learned the vocabulary word "homosexual" in English class.³³⁵ It was through learning this word that he says he became aware of his own "homosexuality." Upon this "realization," Qi told his classmates, who "all responded positively." Seeing that I looked somewhat perplexed in reaction to his claim of positive responses from his classmates, Qi Jia Wei elaborated on how because he received top marks in his class, the other boys were relieved to not have to compete against him for girls. Qi Jia Wei also recounted how his best male friends would tell him that they wished "they were homosexual so that they could be with [him]." Qi Jia Wei explained how he began to use the word "gay" in 1986, and subsequently used "gay" and "*tong xing lian*" interchangeably throughout our discussion. I have adopted his use of "gay" in telling the rest of his story below.

Before the lifting of martial law, there was one major officially sanctioned newspaper published throughout the island called the Central Daily News (*zhong yang ri bao*) and it occasionally reported on international LGBT news.³³⁶ Qi Jia Wei describes how his eyes "popped"

³³⁴ Tamara Loos, "Transnational Histories of Sexualities in Asia," *The American Historical Review* 114 (2009), 1318.

³³⁵ Qi Jia Wei, interview, 1:43:00.

³³⁶ Chang Ling-yin, "KMT's Central Daily News Shuts Down," *Taiwan News*, June 1, 2006.

AC

(*tiao*) when he read about the decriminalization of homosexuality by the American Psychological Association (APA) in 1974 and the Stonewall Riots in New York in 1979.³³⁷ Qi Jia Wei's goals subsequently shaped around the news that he read of the United States, as he "wanted Taiwan to be the second country after New York to implement gay marriage."³³⁸ Reading into this statement less from a critical lens of demonstrating how his conception of American is incorrect – New York was not the first state to legalize same-sex marriage, nor was the U.S.A. the first country – and focusing more on how Qi Jia Wei conceives of "America," we see how Qi Jia Wei idealized New York as the normative and the ideal. As I prompted him to describe how he first became involved with HIV/AIDS activism, he explained to me that "there were no LGBT issues in America until the AIDS epidemic." In fact, records show that gay bashings and employment discrimination had resulted from one's sexual identities throughout the 20th century.³³⁹ It was Qi Jia Wei's own idealization of America that provided him with an example of sexual liberty to strive towards. This particular idealized vision of positive experiences of homosexuals in America shaped his overarching goal for "Taiwan to be the same as New York."³⁴⁰

HIV & Services: Qi Jia Wei's Use of Traditional Idioms to Further Gay Rights

When I asked Qi Jia Wei to elaborate on how he pioneered the gay movement in Taiwan, he first responded by explaining the severity of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. According to Qi Jia Wei, the HIV/AIDS crisis created issues in the world for gay men. "Before AIDS, gays were all happy," he claimed.³⁴¹ Accordingly, Qi Jia Wei focused the bulk of his work on HIV/AIDS health programs.

In the 1980s, Qi Jia Wei maintained a "hotline" (his personal phone at home), gave lectures on safe

http://www.taiwannews.com.tw/etn/news_content.php?id=106952&lang=eng_news&cate_img=38.jpg&cate_rss=news_Politics

³³⁷ Qi Jia Wei, interview, 1:47:47, 38:00.

³³⁸ Qi Jia Wei, interview, 29:30.

³³⁹ See John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).

³⁴⁰ Qi Jia Wei, interview, 29:30.

³⁴¹ Qi Jia Wei, interview, 12:00.

sex practices,³⁴² organized blood tests, and provided shelter for the sick and unemployed; most of the individuals he helped were MSM.³⁴³

The 1980s saw the emergence of AIDS – first reported in the U.S. in 1981 – as an international epidemic, gaining reputations in Taiwan as a "foreign" disease with direct associations to homosexuality. In 1982, the first article on AIDS was published in Taiwan in the magazine *Shi Bao Za Zhi* titled "Homosexuality and AIDS," discussing homosexuality in the U.S.³⁴⁴ In 1984, Taiwan recorded its first case of AIDS within the borders of the island, in a tourist from the United States.³⁴⁵ Regarding the first "local" case of AIDS diagnosed in 1985, Zhuang Zheyuan's article "Aids *invades* Taiwan" (my emphasis) further bound these associations, naming homosexuals as a "high risk group."³⁴⁶ Similarly, in 1983, Ye Daohong explained that "AIDS is found in homosexuals," while in 1985, Wang Ruixiang published an article titled "The fear is not of AIDS, the fear is of homosexuality."³⁴⁷

Qi Jia Wei understood the developing associations between the HIV/AIDS disease and homosexuality. Qi Jia Wei claimed that his primary concern in the late 1980s was to provide health services to aid HIV/AIDS victims. During his fundraising campaigns – he alleged that he raised

³⁴² Qi Jia Wei, interview, 1:02:30.

³⁴³ Qi Jia Wei, interview, 1:22:00.

³⁴⁴ Si Da, "Tongxinglian yu aizheng" ("Homosexuality and cancer"), *Shibao zazhi* 124 (1982), 35.

³⁴⁵ Cui Gang, "Hurricane AIDS has now struck Taiwan", *Feicui zhoukan*, No. 95 (18 March 1985), 11-12; "Guonei faxian aisibing yisi huanzhe, zicheng tongban yu qian ren, Zhong wai geban" ("A person who was probably suffering from AIDS was discovered within the country; he admitted to having had over 1,000 sex partners, half of these Chinese and half foreigners"), *Lianhebao*, 30 August 1985, p. 3.

³⁴⁶ "AIDS bingli chuanbo chuanchu, zhenhan Taibeishi boliquan" ("The news of the spread of AIDS shocks the people of the glass circle in Taipei), *Zhongguo shibao*, 30 August 1985, p. 3; "AIDS qinxi Taiwan" ("AIDS attacks Taiwan"), *Zhongguo shibao*, 30 August 1985, p. 3; "Tongxing xiang xi, ai de bianti, remen huati" ("People of the same sex feel drawn towards each other: the miscarriage of love is becoming a topic of hot debate"), *Lianhebao*, 11 September 1985, p. 4; "Tongxinglian shi ling yi zhong xingshi xingxingwei: 'Women zhenxin xiang bangzhu tarnen' " ("Homosexuality is another type of sexual behaviour: 'We honestly want to help them'"), *Zhongguo shibao*, 3 September 1985, p. 3.

³⁴⁷ Wang Ruixiang, "Bu pa aisi, pa de shi tongxinglian" ("The fear is not of AIDS, the fear is of homosexuality"), *Minshengbao*, 2 December 1985; Ye Daohong, "Xunsu manyan de xin xingbing: AIDS" ("AIDS: a new rapidly-spreading sexually-transmitted disease"), *Yiyao xinzhì*, Medical and Pharmaceutical News, Supplement of the *Zhongguo shibao*, 28 August 1983.

AC

NTD\$20 million between 1986 and 1990³⁴⁸ – people occasionally accused him of using the money he raised to watch movies and buy prostitutes, but "[he] did not care, as long as [he] was successfully providing health services."³⁴⁹ His pioneering step to openly discuss homosexuality on the streets in Taipei's night markets intertwined with his interest in providing health programs: "Since I was going to talk about AIDS issues in Taiwan, I figured I would discuss (*yi qi suen bien*) gay rights [he used the English phrase] alongside."³⁵⁰ According to Qi, "in order to solve the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Taiwan, I had to broach the subject of homosexuality."

Qi Jia Wei also understood the Confucian values of caring for the sick. By appealing to traditional Confucian values of caring for the sick, Qi Jia Wei spearheaded the campaign to care for the gay men associated with the HIV/AIDS disease. One night at the night-market in the 1980s, a male-female couple approached Qi Jia Wei and challenged, "aren't there a lot of rich homosexuals (*tong xing lian*) you can ask? Why are you soliciting for donations at the night-market?" Qi Jia Wei responded by citing a commonly used idiom "give money, give power" (*chu qian, chu li*), which teaches that society must work together to cure society's illnesses, with some providing money and some providing services. In this way, Qi Jia Wei appealed to what David Raymond Lum called the "concern for the welfare of the people" throughout Chinese history.³⁵¹ Through posing HIV/AIDS as one of Taiwanese society's issues, Qi Jia Wei implied that he, as a representative of the homosexual community was giving his services to the cause, so the couple, as representatives of the heterosexual community who were not helping to provide services, should help supply money. Apparently this appeal to Confucian philanthropic norms and values worked. According to Qi Jia Wei, this couple ultimately donated NTU\$10,000 to his cause.

³⁴⁸ Qi Jia Wei, interview, 1:24:00.

³⁴⁹ Qi Jia Wei, interview, 1:30:20.

³⁵⁰ Qi Jia Wei, interview, 12:27.

³⁵¹ David Raymond Lum, "Philanthropy and Public Welfare in Late Imperial China" (PhD Dissertation, Harvard University, 1985). Lum's PhD dissertation explores welfare measures, particularly health-related philanthropy, in Chinese history.

Qi Jia Wei's Use of Traditional Idioms to Interpret Gay Rights as Complimentary to Traditional Values of Filial Piety

After he mentioned Stonewall Riots and the APA's decision to declassify homosexuality as a mental disorder, I asked Qi Jia Wei how he thought the Taiwanese gay movement differed from the U.S. gay movement. Qi Jia Wei responded with a smart play on words by explaining how the Chinese character 宗 (*zong*) is the root of all problems that gay men face in the world. 宗主 (*zong zhu*) translates to patriarchal lineage and filial piety, while 宗教 (*zong jiao*) translates to religion. According to Qi Jia Wei, concern over patriarchal lineage and filial piety was the root of all issues in the East, while religion was the root of all issues in the West.

My discussions with other leaders of the *tong zhi* movement supported Qi Jia Wei's identification of filial piety as the foremost issue for gay men in Taiwan. Several of the men I interviewed emphasized the importance of filial piety in shaping their decisions to participate in *tong zhi* programming and organizing. For Ju Zhi, "the most difficult thing" in deciding whether or not to create the first gay publishing corporation in Taiwan was "pressure from my parents" in the mid-2000s.³⁵² For Clemond, the decision to participate in *tong zhi* politics was easy because his parents had found out that he identified as gay when he was in college. He explained that he had not participated in political *tong zhi* organizations, programs, or events before that because he was "originally afraid that would let my parents know . . . Since my mom and dad already knew, I wasn't worried."³⁵³

That is not to say that individuals with same-sex desire had not been able to justify their own individual filial piety before the emergence of the *tong zhi* movement. In 1995, four professors began a project to conduct an oral history project of senior *tong zhi*. Frank Wang headed the project in Taipei – the others branches were in Taichung, Tainan, and Xing Chu. Frank did not successfully find any people to interview for the first year. With over 15 years of hindsight, Frank explained to

³⁵² Ju Zhi, interview.

³⁵³ Clemond, interview, 57:40.

AC

me that nobody responded to his fliers at saunas and gay bars or his advertisements in newspapers because most senior homosexual men were in the "closet" [he uses the English term] to their families.³⁵⁴ According to Frank, gay men were coming out to each other, but remained closeted to the public at large and their families in order to maintain harmony and uphold their duties of filial piety. According to the Hotline Association's oral history project, many men had found ways to understand their same-sex desire and filial piety as complementary. Many men felt "entitled to be gay" after they got married and raised children. As one man explained, "I always took money home, so that I could come out and play."³⁵⁵

Qi Jia Wei understood the importance of filial piety in the social landscape of Taiwanese society in the 1970s and 1980s. Accordingly, he made attempts to re-interpret gay rights and filial piety as complimentary. During one television interview, Qi Jia Wei took an idiom regarding filial piety, "it doesn't matter if you have a son if you've done too many bad things in your life" (*qiu de zi zuo duo le, shen er zi mei pi yen*) and reinterpreted the last phrase "*pi yen*" literally. "Pi yen" literally translates to "ass hole." Qi Jia Wei thereby proposed a reinterpretation of the expression: "your son is worthless if you do not have an asshole." Accordingly, he explained how this idiom teaches that "the worst thing that can happen to you is that you cannot have anal sex, and you cannot have anal sex if you do not contribute to society, so only people who do good deeds have the opportunity to be gay."³⁵⁶

Qi Jia Wei's Personality & Hubris

Qi Jia Wei trusted in his own capacity not only to manipulate traditional idioms of Confucian philanthropy and filial piety, but also to manipulate the discourses of other local subcultures. One night, a gangster (*hai dao*) approached Qi Jia Wei with his two body guards to say

³⁵⁴ Frank Wang, interview, 17:30.

³⁵⁵ Frank Wang, interview.

³⁵⁶ Qi Jia Wei, interview, 1:13:10.

AC

that he found Qi Jia Wei's efforts honorable, but that he also thought that it was a shame that he *is* [implying gay] (*ke xi ni shi*).³⁵⁷ Qi Jia Wei explained that he had responded by taking mafia machismo ideology and spinning it on its head. According to two common idioms, "men are strong" and "women are weak" (*nan qian nu ruo; nan chuen nu bei*). Following this logic, it is a disgrace to fight a women because women are weak (*jian*). Qi Jia Wei explained to me that he understood how important these doctrines of masculinity applied to gangster (*hai dao*) culture, and accordingly responded to the gangster: "This life you've been with women all your life, and I've been with men. You're a man over women, and I'm a man over men. You're strong over the weak, and I'm strong over the strong."³⁵⁸ Recoiling, the gangster not only apologized to Qi Jia Wei, but also made a hefty contribution to his HIV/AIDS service funds. Qi Jia Wei made sure to clarify to me that "if he [the gangster] had respected women, I would not have been able to use this against him," stressing how his understanding of sociology and politics resembled "the equivalent of 25 PhDs."³⁵⁹

Reflecting on why he was able to do what he did with the benefit of over 20 years of hindsight, Qi Jia Wei emphasized his own "uniqueness." Throughout our discussion, he repeatedly reaffirmed his education, upbringing, thought processes, methods, and wit as "special" (*te bie*). He fondly recounted how his middle school history teacher remembers him as the best student at *Jian Zhong* – the number 1 ranked middle school in Taipei – he had taught in 25 years, "the only student who made the teacher feel like he was the student."³⁶⁰ As part of his answer to my question asking how he became involved with *tong zhi* activism, Qi Jia Wei also emphasized the "uniqueness" of his upbringing. Growing up, his parents did not follow conventions. During Mid-Autumn Festival, while convention prescribed eating moon cakes, their family ate rice wrapped in tea leaves. During the Dragon Boat Festival, while convention prescribed eating rice wrapped in tea leaves, his family

³⁵⁷ Qi Jia Wei, interview, 1:31:50 – 1:33:20.

³⁵⁸ Qi Jia Wei, interview, 1:36:00.

³⁵⁹ Qi Jia Wei, interview, 1:37:20.

³⁶⁰ Qi Jia Wei, interview, 1:16:15.

ate moon cakes.³⁶¹ He remembers bringing that nonconformity to school as well: "I did not read what my teachers told me to read . . . I studied law and politics on my own instead." Qi Jia Wei also believes that the government bankrupted a television company in order to prevent the station's interview of Qi Jia Wei from airing: "I talk too well! The government did not want me to convince everyone."³⁶² Qi Jia Wei's emphasis on his "uniqueness" reveals a self-confidence bordering hubris. His witty use of words and the intensity of his gaze convinced me that this self-confidence was not unjustified. Chi Wei, Vincent, and David described Qi Jia Wei as "intelligent," "genius," and "witty."³⁶³

"Unique," Qi Jia Wei's ideals and decisions were not representative of the Taiwanese gay population at large. Where many men who frequented New Park in Taipei to seek same-sex sex were content with their private gay lives, Qi Jia Wei argued that gay men should earn respect in Taiwanese society even without a wife or a biological son. Most men who have sex with men first responded to the publicity of his "gay campaign" in 1986 with fear that once Qi Jia Wei breached the line between private and public, the media would come in, and prevent them from living their secret, second lives. "It's over (*wan le*), you really opened it up" (*ni zhen de kai le*), they would say to him. In Qi Jia Wei's understanding, most men at New Park criticized and dismissed his campaign because they were worried that Qi Jia Wei's work would bring more public attention on gay life, and effectively end what they considered to be a comfortably private and secretive lifestyle. Qi Jia Wei certainly thought differently, as he referred to these men as "rats living in the sewers of the Park."

Vulgar and aggressive, Qi Jia Wei made many enemies. Qi Jia Wei remembers being criticized by members of fledgling *tong zhi* organizations at the time as an "embarrassment." Qi Jia Wei claimed that he had made these enemies deliberately, with the specific intention of protecting the formation of the Hotline Association. Through extreme and aggressive statements and actions, Qi Jia Wei aimed to make Hotline seem more amiable (*wen he*) in comparison.³⁶⁴ He explains how

³⁶¹ Qi Jia Wei, interview, 18:30.

³⁶² Qi Jia Wei, interview, 2:37:20.

³⁶³ Chiwei, interview; Vincent, interview; David, interview.

³⁶⁴ Qi Jia Wei, interview, 1:10:20.

AC

the basic framework of his thought followed a game that he had played as a child called "the eagle chases the chicken" (*lao ying zhua xiao ji*) whereby the mother hen (*mu ji*) defends her chicks from the eagle. Qi Jia Wei aimed to be the mother hen, and deter attention away from the fledgling *tong zhi* organizations forming at the time. As the Hotline Association's mother hen, Qi Jia Wei claims a pivotal role in the government's decision to give money to the Hotline Association.³⁶⁵ He also explained this strategy with a Chinese idiom, "banding with periphery enemies to attack the main enemy" (*la rong ci yao di ren, da ji zhu yao di ren*). By allowing the Hotline Association to band with the Taiwanese government to criticize Qi Jia Wei's vulgar extremism, Qi Jia Wei "ensured that Hotline would receive government support." Today, the Hotline Association recognizes Qi Jia Wei for his underlying support, even as he criticized the Hotline Association for being conservative in public. In the first few years after the Hotline Association formed in 1998, an anonymous donor paid for their telephone and water fees. Today, Qi Jia Wei is recognized for being that anonymous donor, and is provided front row seats at all of the Hotline Association's events.³⁶⁶ In July 2011, when I spoke with Qi Jia Wei, he seemed tired. After 25 years of active campaigning without any allies, he lamented how "people's impressions of me have been terrible and scary." He also told me that he believes the police continue to tap his telephone conversations.³⁶⁷

Ke Fe (b. October 15, 1966)

I interviewed Ke Fe one afternoon at one of his favorite noodle shops near the *Gong Guan* metro station on January 10, 2012. We ate while we talked, and he would occasionally digress from his narrative to order another dish that he insisted I try. Chiwei spoke of Ke Fe as the "founding father" of the *tong zhi* movement in Taiwan.³⁶⁸ Clemond, David, Ju Zhi, Vincent, and Frank all similarly referenced Ke Fe as a pioneer of the *tong zhi* movement.

³⁶⁵ Qi Jia Wei, interview, 1:04:20.

³⁶⁶ Qi Jia Wei, interview, 1:02; confirmed by Chi Wei, interview.

³⁶⁷ Qi Jia Wei, interview, 2:31:40.

³⁶⁸ Chiwei, interview, 14:20.

Supporting Fran Martin and Cindy Patton's theories of hybridization, Ke Fe self-identified with both historically local and historically global sexual subjectivities. When we spoke in January, Ke Fe expressed pride over both his Taiwanese and gay identities. Though he used the English word "gay" – a word he had learned in his middle school English class – he traced his own Taiwanese gay heritage back to the aboriginal Taiwanese *ka a*, the *luo han ka* of the Qing Dynasty, and the *nan fong* of the Ming dynasty: "Taiwanese gays had other ways to identify themselves as gay." The following narrative aims to move past this discussion of local/global/glocal to look at how and why Ke Fe came to lead the *tong zhi* movement in Taiwan in the 1990s. In particular, the important role of anti-authoritarian rhetoric and democratization stand out in Ke Fe's narrative. Ke Fe's goals and actions intertwined with anti-authoritarian rhetoric, the developing DPP/KMT party contestations, and democratic reforms of the 1990s. In Ke Fe's own understanding, his gay activism was an extension of anti-authoritarian social movements that he had participated in college. In the following narrative, I also emphasize the important role of everyday serendipity, social chemistry, and fun in shaping the path that Ke Fe took towards co-founding the Hotline Association.

Ke Fe's Values and Activism as Extensions of Anti-KMT Discourses and Reforms

Ke Fe's goals and ideals regarding Taiwan's gay movement reflected his goals for Taiwan as a democratizing nation. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, the DPP had challenged authoritarian KMT rule by asking why the Taiwanese people should continue to live according to the standards of the authoritarian government of "Mainlanders" who were failing to progress forward into modernity.³⁶⁹ In a similar vein, Ke Fe asked why one's individual merit should be decided by the individual himself, not by his parents. When he saw other gay people living unhappily in order to satisfy the expectations of their parents, he wondered, "why can't they live happily according to their own standards?" As Ke Fe grew up in a time when the KMT was increasingly attacked for

³⁶⁹ I overviewed the discourses of the DPP's challenges against the KMT in the lit review.

AC

being too authoritarian and too traditional. According to Ke Fe, the social landscape that he grew up "was not just about Confucianism" as "Taiwanese cared less and less about tradition for tradition's sake." In the 1990s, Ke Fe translated the anti-authoritarian rhetoric of egalitarianism, democracy, and self-determination onto the gay movement.

When I asked Ke Fe to talk about how he began his work with *tong zhi* politics, he responded by discussing his involvement with environmental protection movements, censorship battles, and government corruption protests. As a college student from 1986-1990, Ke Fe participated in a student organization that advocated for environmental protectionism called *Ye Bai He Xue Yung* (). In college, Ke Fe also disputed with his university () against censorship of student publications, particularly after the lifting of martial law. Outside of his university, Ke Fe participated in nationwide campaigns and marches against political corruption, including protests against President Lee Teng-hui's appointment of Hau Pei-tsu (郝柏村) as Premier. In 1990, Ke Fe and others saw President Lee's appointment of Hau Pei-tsu – a decorated KMT military general – as a corrupt and retrograde concession to KMT military rule. Citing these examples, Ke Fe explained how he believes it is wrong to say that *tong zhi* politics came from "nothing to something." In his view, the environmental protection movements, censorship battles, and anti-corruption protests provided Ke Fe with "methods" that he "moved over" to the *tong zhi* movement; furthermore, he sees all of his various political work as part of the "same project" to forward the democratization of Taiwan. This was a time, Ke Fe summarized, when "everybody was speaking out."

Ke Fe narrated the history of the Taiwanese *tong zhi* movement as an extension of anti-authoritarian reforms of the 1990s. According to Ke Fe, there were not any other gay activists in the 1980s besides Qi Jia Wei because it had been difficult to organize against a government that had never explicitly mentioned homosexuality in any laws. In the 1980s, Ke Fe explained, the police would raid gay bars but would not say anything directly about *tong zhi*; instead, they would justify their raids with other excuses, such as checking fire safety. According to Ke Fe, to speak out

against these raids of gay bars first required speaking out against the unfettered power of the police: "How people gained rights here were all combined; we couldn't do much until those basic rights were set." Ju Zhi's account of Gay Chat's first public protest similarly located the *tong zhi* movement as an extension of anti-authoritarian reforms. In 1994, Chen Shui Bian promised to host a *tong zhi* evening reception if he were elected as mayor of Taipei. After Chen Shui-Bian's successful campaign, Gay Chat, the National Taiwan University's (NTU) student *tong zhi* organization, spoke out against the mayor's failure to enact this promise. This outcry against Chen Shui Bian was one of the first occasions where *tong zhi* individuals publicly spoke out in public for *tong zhi* rights. Ju Zhi, one of the members of Gay Chat who spoke out against Chen Shui Bian at the time, emphasized how Gay Chat had framed *tong zhi* rights in Taiwan as an issue of political accountability.

The life cycle of Ke Fe's radio show The Tong Zhi Citizen also reflect how gay issues were wrapped within broader party politics. In 1994, Chen Shui Bian was elected mayor of Taipei, ending over 50 years of Kuomintang rule. Part of his reforms included overthrowing the former Taipei city radio station (*tai bei dian tai*). In 1996, Chen's administration called for applications for all new shows for the city radio station. Ke Fe's application was accepted, marking Ke Fe's radio show as the first officially sanctioned radio show to focus on the topic of *tong zhi*. The radio show, called the Tong Zhi Citizen³⁷⁰ began airing in 1997. According to Ke Fe, Mayor Chen's overarching political strategy at the time was to frame the Democratic Progressive Party as more progressive and enlightened regarding social issues. Besides Ke Fe's radio show, the new radio station also included shows discussing indigenous rights.

The Tong Zhi Citizen only lasted 3 months, however, before the program was shut down. The decision to end the program, like the decision to start the program, was wrapped up in broader party politics, and was not specifically concerned with the acceptance or rejection of *tong zhi* rights. Throughout the duration of the radio program, the Tong Zhi Citizen did not receive any calls,

³⁷⁰ My translation of *tong zhi gong ming xing dong dian xian*.

AC

letters, or messages that insulted the producers or condemned homosexuality in any way. Three months after the radio station began to air, Ma Ying-jeou of the Kuomintang party won the mayorship of Taipei city. As part of the Green-Blue contest for political power, the newly elected Ma administration promptly cancelled all the radio shows established under the DPR's rule, including the *Tong Zhi Citizen*.

Everyday Serendipity, Social Chemistry, and Fun

For the two years after Ke Fe graduated from university, he served in the Taiwanese military. Taiwan maintained a policy of mandatory 2-year conscription in the early 1990s. During his time in the Taiwanese army, Ke Fe says he lost connection with the social movements he had participated in in college. When Ke Fe completed his service in 1992, he aimed to become a journalist because he wanted to "change people's opinions." During the day Ke Fe would work as a reporter or editor that he described as odd jobs here and there. According to Ke Fe, there were no gay organizations to participate in, and few job opportunities for young journalists, so "when [he] met any opportunities, [he] took them." In 1997, one of these opportunities came around when he ran across an ad by Chen Shui Bian's administration calling for applications for radio programs.

The *Tong Zhi Citizen* began every episode with a 10-minute overview of "international LGBT news."³⁷¹ For the rest of the hour, they would invite people to come talk and ask questions. On July, 1997 they aired a show that asked callers to proclaim their identities (sexuality, age, employment, hometown, nationality, etc.) on the air without giving their names. In another episode, Wang Ping – one of the 4 co-founders of the *Tong Zhi Citizen* – played the role of "Heterosexuality Expert and Doctor" and asked young heterosexual couples how they became straight. Ke Fe recounted this episode with bursts of laughter, and pointed out how much fun he had working on the *Tong Zhi Citizen*. Accordingly, Ke Fe explained to me that he kept looking for similar jobs

³⁷¹ Ke Fe, interview

discussing *tong zhi* issues after the radio show ended because he wanted to have a job that he both enjoyed and found fulfilling.

On March 8, 1998, Ke Fe remembers going out to dinner with Wang Ping and some other friends, and the group began to lament the recent suicides of *tong zhi* youth in Taiwan. They then began to brainstorm how they could address the issue of *tong zhi* suicides. One question led to another: "Do people understand *tong zhi*? What happens when *tong zhi* are unhappy and don't know who to turn to, or if they turn to teachers and nobody knows how to help them? What if we had a group that had people who could help them?" During this dinner conversation, Ke Fe and Wang Ping planted the seeds of the Hotline Association.

On June 27, 1998, Ke Fe, Wang Ping, and a few of their friends planned a fundraising evening reception (*wan hau*), attracting over 300 people.³⁷² From March until June, Ke Fe and Wang Ping ran the idea of creating a *tong zhi* telephone hotline with gay bar owners, t-bar owners, friends, and friends of friends. Ke Fe spoke of the first fundraising evening reception as a "product of the entire *tong zhi* community working together to sell tickets." The following 3 months, Ke Fe and Wang Ping organized workshops for interested volunteers. According to Ke Fe, the first workshop met 2 nights per week and lasted 3 months. The first 6 weeks focused on "gay culture," including an overview of gay history, gay organizations, and religion. The second 6 weeks focused on consultation and education, discussing techniques on how to listen and how to respond.

Throughout our discussion in January, Ke Fe repeatedly emphasized how he, Wang Ping, and the owners of gay bars and t-bars had a special social chemistry (*yuan fen*). Ke Fe emphasized how he had fun working with them, and expressed gratitude for the opportunity he had serendipitously come across in 1997 to start a new radio program under Chen Shui Bian's administration. Existing discussions that focus on ascribing the *tong zhi* movement in Taiwan as a product of local, global, or glocal factors have failed to recognize the important role of individual serendipity (the chance of coming across an ad for a new radio show), fun (what convinced Ke Fe

³⁷² In comparison, the annual fundraising evening reception that I attended in 2011 had over 2000 people in attendance.

AC

to continue working on *tong zhi* issues after the radio show), and social chemistry (the important ties that kept Ke Fe working on *tong zhi* issues).

Chiwei Cheng (b. May 30, 1976)

I spoke with Chiwei several times between July 2011 and January 2012. He was always casually dressed in jeans and a grey hooded sweatshirt, always smiling. After I told him I was interested in learning more about the history of the *tong zhi* movement in Taiwan, he would regularly let me know when he had time to talk between his various meetings and press conferences as General Secretary of the Hotline Association. Nearly every other day for the month of December 2011, I would meet him at a 7-11 convenience store near the *Da An* metro station in Taipei and he would explain Taiwan's *tong zhi* politics and history to me as we drove to his next engagement on his moped. I did not manage to record one of our conversations until October, when we scheduled two times to video chat through Skype. The following narrative is grounded in these two recorded Skype conversations, infused with my broader understanding of Chiwei from our other discussions and interactions.

The KMT had ended martial law by the time Chiwei was 11, and by the time he began college in 1994, Taiwan was well on its way with democratic reforms. The activists of the previous two decades had already worked to install democratic reforms and broken the silence on gay issues in public policy. Whereas Qi Jia Wei aimed to reform Taiwan to "be like New York," and Ke Fe saw his work with *tong zhi* issues as continuations of his broader aims to democratize Taiwanese government and society, Chiwei did not mention democratic reforms as part of his goals in joining the Hotline Association. Instead, he treated democracy and egalitarian values as an assumed truth, not something to push for, but something to defend.

The following narrative focuses on Chiwei's reasons for joining the Hotline association and traces Chiwei's memory of how the Hotline Association successfully applied for official

AC

government recognition to become the first officially recognized LGBT NGO in south-east Asia.

As with the previous two case studies of Qi Jia Wei and Ke Fe, I aim to explain how Chiwei and the Hotline Association interacted with the glocal power landscape. Within an increasingly bureaucratizing society that continued to uphold professors and good students with respect, Chiwei defended the democratic and harmonious values he had grown up with. Driven by personal experiences to support gay rights in Taiwan, Chiwei navigated through Taiwanese values, the rhetoric of democracy and egalitarianism, and bureaucratization.

Driven By Personal Experiences

First and foremost, Chiwei explains his initial involvement with the Hotline Association as driven by personal and social interest. Chiwei first began to volunteer with the Hotline Association when it formed in 1998 because he wanted to "do something for [himself]" (*wei zi ji zuo yi dian shi qing*).³⁷³ In the late 1990s before the internet became a popular way to meet other gay men in Taiwan, *G&L* magazine had a section at the back of each issue that included contact information and photos of men who were looking for friends and dates. In 1996, Chiwei contacted someone listed in an issue of *G&L* magazine and the two men developed a pen-pal relationship.³⁷⁴ Chiwei's *G&L* pen-pal was the first person he had communicated with who was openly gay, and the first person with whom he had discussed his own same-sex attraction. Because they lived in separate cities, they did not meet in person until several years later. Nonetheless, he had "broken the ice" and in his early 20s, Chiwei said he was "ready to meet other gay people."³⁷⁵ Responding to flyers for the Hotline Association posted around his campus at university, Chiwei attended the Hotline Association's "evening reception" (*wan huai*) – a fundraising event and an awareness campaign – on June 6, 1998 with the hope that joining the fledgling *tong zhi* organization would introduce him to

³⁷³ Chiwei, interview, 10:30.

³⁷⁴ Chiwei, interview, 9:35.

³⁷⁵ Chiwei, interview, 10:30.

AC

gay friends. According to Chiwei, other people joined the Hotline Association for similar social reasons: "people wanted to come to Hotline because here they could make friends."³⁷⁶ Accordingly, one of his priorities in the early years was to organize inter-volunteer social events. In this way, Chiwei saw the early role of the Hotline Association not only as a hotline to answer *tong zhi* related questions and concerns, but also as a social forum for the volunteers.

Navigating through the Taiwanese Values of Obedience and Harmony

At another layer of analysis, the form of Chiwei's ideals and actions followed the contours of local Taiwanese values. Chiwei explained to me that Taiwanese society has traditionally valued obedience and harmony. According to Chiwei's read of the Taiwanese power landscape, only through appeal to these values of obedience and harmony would gay rights progress forward.

As a volunteer between 1998 and 2000, Chiwei says he never left early or took any vacation. He really enjoyed his work at the Hotline Association, because it "empowered" him. After Chiwei helped the Hotline Association win a grant from United Way in 2000, Ke Fe – then general secretary (*li shi zhang*) of the Hotline Association – offered Chiwei a full-time job as a social worker.³⁷⁷ Chiwei began his first job as the first employee of the Hotline Association on January 1, 2001, then was voted to lead the organization as general secretary in 2008. Reflecting back, Chiwei explained that he was promoted in 2000 and again in 2008 not because he was smart, but because he was well-behaved (*hen guai*).

Always humble and friendly, Chiwei's philosophy as an activist focused around fostering harmony. He explained how when he spoke to individuals who called the hotline, when he gave workshops for Hotline Association volunteers, and later when he began to speak publicly on behalf of the Hotline Association, he never advocated for "coming out" if the individual's family had issues with homosexuality. What was most important, he explained, was that *tong zhi* people could find a

³⁷⁶ Chiwei, interview, 11:45; 17:35. Corroborated by Clemond, interview.

³⁷⁷ Chiwei, interview, 14:45.

way to live harmoniously in Taiwanese society, stirring up as little conflict as possible.

Navigating through the Status Placed on Universities, Professors, and Good Students in Taiwanese Society

When Chiwei explained the history of the tong zhi movement to me, he repeatedly emphasized the *Bei Yi Nu* incident as the crucial catalyst.³⁷⁸ Clemond also cited the suicides of these two *Bei Nu* students when I asked him why he began to politicize *tong zhi* issues in the 1990s.³⁷⁹ On July 25, 1994, two female students at *Bei Yi Nu* (北一女), the top ranked girls' high school in Taipei, committed suicide at the Su Ao Train Station in Taipei. Aged 17 and 18 respectively, Shi Ji Ya (石濟雅) and Lin Qing Hui (林青慧) were found dead in the bathroom of Su Ao Train Station in Taipei with suicide letters directed to their parents. In the suicide letter, the two girls explained why they killed themselves, expressing a fear that their in this society lacked the potential of ever being articulated, understood, or accepted:

"When you find this letter, please do not pity us. This decision was made after a long period of reflection. The reason why we gave up our lives is very difficult to articulate. Though words do not express precisely how we felt, we hope that our following explanation will help you to begin to understand. To be human is exhausting, and we faced more challenges than the average frustrations or pressures. This society did not suit our intrinsic qualities. No day in this society was easy, and we often found ourselves unable to escape from hopelessness. Our lives are so insignificant that to vanish will not cause any major disturbances. We leave with peace and serenity, accomplishing our final task."³⁸⁰ (My translation)

³⁷⁸ Chiwei, interview, 24:30.

³⁷⁹ Clemond, interview, 48:00.

³⁸⁰ <http://mypaper.pchome.com.tw/kuan0416/post/1320901966>

When Chiwei cited this event, he repeatedly emphasized that the two girls were not only students at *Bei Yi Nu* (北一女), the top ranked high school for girls in Taiwan, but were also two of the high school's top math students. What upset Chiwei most about the suicide of these two girls was that Taiwan had lost the social capital of two top students. As Sang overviews in *The Emerging Lesbian*, news coverage of the suicides at the time also repeatedly lamented how the two girls were gifted students in the most competitive girls' school in Taipei.³⁸¹

According to Chiwei, the Hotline Association understood the high social status of professors and top students in Taiwan in their strategy to push the Hotline Association through to receive official recognition from the state. The Hotline Association's first application to be recognized as an official organization was rejected. The Taiwanese government explained that they "supported homosexuals" (*zhi chi tong xing lian*), but did not "encourage homosexuality" (*gu li tong xing lian*). Two months later, the Hotline Association applied again. According to Chiwei, the new application included one main edit, the addition of 30-40 signatures of supportive Taiwanese professors.³⁸² By highlighting the support they received from the academy and from other leading democratic nations such as the U.S., the Hotline Association succeeded to earn official recognition from the Taiwanese government at the end of 2000.

Navigating through the Rhetoric of Democracy and Egalitarianism

By 2000, the rhetoric of democratization had been internalized by many Taiwanese. Though forwarding the process of democratization was not the priority of Chiwei's personal agenda, democratic rhetoric continued to be powerful in guiding his involvement in the *tong zhi* movement. Before the Hotline Association applied for official recognition, they were approached by three famous *tong zhi* figures – 陳俊志, 許佑生, and 楊宗潤 – to incorporate the Hotline Association into

³⁸¹ Tze-Lan D. Sang, *The Emerging Lesbian: Female Same-Sex Desire in Modern China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 233.

³⁸² Chiwei, interview, 18:10.

AC

an umbrella *tong zhi* organization that they were considering to create. According to Chiwei, 陳俊志, 許佑生, and 楊宗潤 believed that their celebrity would propel the *tong zhi* movement in Taiwan forward. In their proposal, they gave themselves the leadership as board members, turning all of Hotline's staff into subsidiary volunteers. According to Chiwei, the members of Hotline at the time rejected this proposal to cooperate with 陳俊志, 許佑生, and 楊宗潤 because they "strongly believed in the importance of equality." The Hotline Association, Chiwei argued, did not exist with any hierarchies, and they believed that it was important to maintain the structure of Hotline as an "equal" and "democratic" organization. Even the "general secretary" of Hotline, Chiwei explains, has always responded to the decisions of the group at large. The structure of the Hotline Association formed around a democratic model.

Navigating through Bureaucratization

According to Cindy Patton, "a frank movement did not, despite the existence of various student groups and other community-based queer or lesbian/gay groups, fully emerge [in south-east Asia] until the summer of 1998, when three groups – openly gay teachers, openly gay social workers, and a Marxist/queer group called 'queer and class,' who were active in anti-curfew and prostitute support work – joined together to rent a space that houses a hot line and drop-in center."³⁸³ Besides the three groups that Patton mentions, Chiwei recalls a fourth group in the hot-line coalition called the mutual help organization (*tong zhu huai*). In 2000, this hot line and drop in center received official ROC government recognition as the Hotline Association, becoming the first *tong zhi* organization to receive official recognition in southeast Asia.

According to Chiwei, one of the driving factors for the Hotline Association to apply for official recognition was to adapt to the shifting institutions of Taiwan's democratization processes.

³⁸³ Cindy Patton, "Stealth Bombers of Desire: The Globalization of 'Alterity' in Emerging Democracies," in *Queer Globalizations: Citizenship and the Afterlife of Colonialism*, ed. Arnaldo Cruz-Malavé and Martin F. Manalansan IV (New York: New York University Press, 2002), 211.

AC

As Taiwan's democratization was well underway in 2000, Taiwan's bureaucracy was expanding. The lack of official recognition was increasingly preventing the Hotline Association from participating in government sponsored events, such as human rights conferences, political debates, and public TV and radio shows. Before the Hotline Association received official recognition in 2000, the organization latched onto other already officially recognized organizations in order to participate in official events. For example, the Hotline Association attended a human rights conference at the beginning of 2000 under the name of Professor John KC Liu's (劉可強) NGO. Furthermore, individual and corporate donors increasingly asked for official receipts, which the Hotline Association could not supply without first gaining official government recognition. Ke Fe also added that the Hotline Association wanted to gain official government recognition so that they could apply for more phone lines.

American Financial Support

According to Chiwei, the second reasons why the Hotline Association applied for official recognition in 2000 was to qualify for funding from United Way Worldwide. United Way Worldwide, a philanthropy organization based in the United States, only accepted applications from organizations that were officially recognized by the organization's country's government.³⁸⁴ If we take this piece of evidence alone, it would seem that the Hotline Association's developments were shaped first and foremost by the prescriptions of the American organization with the funding. The Hotline Association's official recognition and the subsequent reception of United Way funding, however, has not controlled the direction of the Hotline Association's ideals or activities. Instead, with United Way funding, Chiwei became the first paid employee of the Hotline Association on January 1, 2001, and brought with him his own personal (and developing) experiences, values (democratization), concerns (the loss of top ranking students), and strategies (not advocating for

³⁸⁴ Chiwei, interview, 23:30, 33:25.

AC

coming out).

Conclusion

Through the narratives of Qi Jia Wei, Ke Fe, and Chiwei, I have aimed to trace one central theme: the overlapping roles and influences of local, global (particularly American), and individual forces, values, and experiences. Qi Jia Wei's pioneering campaign, Ke Fe's creation of the first official *tong zhi* radio program and his co-founding of the Hotline Association, and Chiwei's involvement to successfully apply for official recognition of the Hotline Association to become the first official LGBT NGO in south-east Asia, each of these steps are partially explained by the local, the global, and the individual. As important as the globalized power landscape developing in Taiwan in the second half of the 20th century in shaping the contours of the gay movement in Taiwan, were the individuals' interpretations of this dynamic power landscape, and the individuals' interactions with and within it.

CHAPTER FOUR

Discussion

Whether it be the Bolton Whitman Fellowship's spiritual conceptual of comradeship explored by Cocks, English boarding school friendships explored by Vicinus, "Down Low" African-American and Latino men explored by Keith Boykin, or Kunzel's work on men in prison, queer historians have worked to demonstrate how same-sex sexual subjectivity has not followed the contours of hegemonic prescriptions. By identifying LGBT "coming out" discourse as one of those hegemonic prescriptions, rather than assuming that LGBT "coming out" discourse liberates everyone across time and space, queer historians have shifted focus away from Foucault's original interest in identifying the origins of the modern homosexual, to focus more on the stories and voices of individuals who pull from a wide array of prescriptions (including sexology, law, and LGBT "coming out" politics) and experiences to define their own sexual subjectivities. In line with the lessons I have learned from developments in queer historiography, this thesis framed Americanization and LGBT "coming out" discourses as hegemonic prescriptions in and of themselves, rather than as the essential definition of liberation and progress. In the "Context and Periodization" chapter, I laid out the social and political landscape. In the "Case Studies" chapter, I traced how Qi Jia Wei, Ke Fe, and Chiwei navigated through and contributed to (re)create the hegemonic prescriptions around them. Ultimately, I have aimed to position local and global forces as the background of the true protagonists of the story: individuals. To understand the creation and the development of the gay movement in Taiwan, we not only need to understand the prescriptions set by political and social forces, but how key characters interpreted the power landscape around them.

Throughout the social and political setting I laid out in the "Context and Periodization" chapter and the scenes I chronicled in the "Case Studies" chapter, I have drawn out two themes in particular: Americanization and democratization. Though queer Asian scholarship has explored the

theme of Americanization, the thread of democratization has not been explored beyond its associations to Americanization. The following chapter contributes to current queer Asian scholarship by providing further evidence of how neither local nor global forces alone explain the developments of sexual identity politics in Taiwan. I critique the integrationist framework that posits that the *tong zhi* movement in Taiwan developed towards the U.S. LGBT movement model, and I critique the culturalist framework that posits the *tong zhi* movement in Taiwan was a direct continuation of traditional Chinese values. Though understanding the intertwined nature of local and global forces is crucial to understanding the depth and coloring of the history of the Taiwanese gay movement, even a glocal painting of the movement reveals but a layer of the story. In the second section of this chapter, I offer two other explanations for the mobilization of Taiwanese *tong zhi* organizations and programs that have been sidelined by queer Asian scholarship's focus on critiquing Westernization as globalization: 1) the *tong zhi* movement as a byproduct of national democratic reforms and party contestations; and 2) the *tong zhi* movement as integrally tied to the pioneering activists' personalities and personal experiences. Through my critique of the integrationist and the culturalist frameworks of analysis, I argue that the global, local, and the individual existed intertwined at different levels of analyses; each (uncleanly cut) layer contributes a partial truth to paint a more complete picture of the Taiwanese gay movement. At the end of this chapter, I pull these layers of analysis (glocal, local, and individual) together to take a closer look at Foucault's reverse discourse theory, the popularly cited foundation of the history of political sexual identities. I argue that today's trends to critique Foucault's reverse discourse framework through citations of non-Western examples are inappropriate, even though Taiwan's *tong zhi* movement developed along a different set of concerns and processes than the specific developments marked out by Foucault's *History of Sexuality: The Will to Knowledge*. We have yet more to learn from Foucault.

Complicating the Integrationist Framework

Here in the United States, we celebrate "LGBT History Month," claiming all historical homo-erotics as our own LGBT heritage.³⁸⁵ In particular, the Stonewall Riots are remembered as the starting point of the international LGBT movement. At the 25th anniversary of the Stonewall Riots on June 26, 1994 in New York City, the committee chose the UN as the starting point for its "global symbolism." The framing of the Stonewall Riots as the beginning of an international LGBT movement falls within an integrationist framework that proposes that Taiwan followed the tracks set by the Western model. Though citations of the U.S. repeated throughout my interviews and discussions with the male pioneers of the *tong zhi* movement in Taiwan, the integrationist framework alone veils the role of Taiwanese actors as they responded to American pressures and interpreted American developments.

Qi Jia Wei's reflections support this integrationist argument, as he explained his own actions as extensions of the Stonewall Riots. As discussed in the previous chapter, American influence runs throughout Qi Jia Wei's story: He "realized he was gay" when he learned the English word for "gay" in high school and traces his activism to the Stonewall Riots and the APA's removal of homosexuality from its list of mental disorders. However, Qi Jia Wei articulated developments in New York in ways that were alien to me. Qi Jia Wei imagined New York as the first place in the world to offer gay marriage, a factually incorrect ideal that nonetheless propelled Qi Jia Wei to dare to become the first gay activist in Taiwan. Through Qi Jia Wei's reflections, we see how the role of American influence filtered through his personal interpretations.

Similarly, Guang Tai's *The Man Who Escapes Marriage* (1976) – the first novel in Taiwan to discuss homosexuality (*tong xing lian*)³⁸⁶ – saw a surge of reprints in 1995, at the crux of the *tong*

³⁸⁵ See <http://www.lgbthistorymonth.com/>.

³⁸⁶ I would like to remind the reader here that the term *tong xing lian* was a transliteration of the sexological term homosexuality, and that other Chinese novels in the past have discussed same-sex desire without using the phrase *tong xing lian*.

tong zhi movement.³⁸⁷ In the novel, the character Andi cites the American Constitution as the source of his own future "freedom:"

"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 has clearly stated that people have the freedom to look for happiness. Don't you overlook the meaning contained in this small passage; it will give you a whole totally different view on life."³⁸⁸

As Huang pointed out in his analysis of *The Man Who Escapes Marriage*, the irony here lies in how homophobia would not have been so rampant in the United States in the 1970s if the U.S. Constitution had been interpreted by Americans the way that Andi does in the story. Further indicating this idealized "America" as imagined, Andi incorrectly alludes to the U.S. Constitution, not the Declaration of Independence, as the promise of "Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness." Though the role of the U.S. plays an important role in constructing Andi's ideals of a "free" future, his idealization is not a direct superimposition of American law or American developments, but an imagined construction of American law and American developments that have filtered through Andi's interpretations.

The "America" that Qi Jia Wei and Andi describe is fully tolerant and open about homosexuality before the AIDS crisis. In this way, Qi Jia Wei and Andi paint imagined landscapes of the U.S. that diverges from the stories of explicit homophobia of the 1960s and 1970s overviewed in oral history projects of gay men in the U.S. such as *Lonely Hunters* (1997).³⁸⁹ News from the U.S. did permeate the goals and design of the beginning of the *tong zhi* movement in

³⁸⁷ Hans Tao-Ming Huang, *Queer Politics and Sexual Modernity in Taiwan* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011), 45. It is interesting to note that Guang Tai explicitly cited the American Psychiatric Association's then recent decision to remove homosexuality from its list of mental disorders in 1973.

³⁸⁸ Huang, *Queer Politics and Sexual Modernity*, 47.

³⁸⁹ See James Thomas Sears, *Lonely Hunters* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1997).

Taiwan; however, this news from the U.S. filtered through the interpretations of the individual to create an imagined Western model.

Proposing that the Taiwanese *tong zhi* movement of the 1990s followed the tracks of the Western LGBT model also fails to recognize how the LGBT movement in the West in the 1990s was neither static nor monolithic. By assuming that Taiwan has been on the tracks towards a global model, one assumes that a standard global model exists. Yet, the developments, goals, and activism of the gay movement in the U.S. continuously developed in the 1990s, and continue to remain contested. As outlined in the "Literature Review," homoerotic subjectivities were multiple and contested throughout the 1990s within the West as well.

Complicating the Culturalist Framework

Critiquing the integrationist theories that position the West as the universal, Ding Nai-Fei and Liu Jen-Peng argue that the concept of tolerance is not a Western import but a traditionally Chinese value stemming from the Confucian court systems. Scholars and activists who focus on "rights," Ding and Liu argue, promote the "Euro-American model of the nation over and against governmentality based in religion, cultural/ethnic conventions, alternate political philosophies – like Confucianism – and alternate conceptions of modernity."³⁹⁰ Similarly, Patton has suggested writing the history of the Taiwanese gay liberation movement "through Confucianism"³⁹¹ and other "indigenous values."³⁹² Hung Mao Tien also argued that democratization reflected the KMT's official ideology of the "Three Principles of the People," a value system that Hung traces back to Sun Yat-sen and Confucius.³⁹³ Ding and Liu, Patton, and Hung's emphases on the importance of Confucianism in shaping the democratization that occurred in Taiwan falls within a culturalist

³⁹⁰ Cindy Patton, "Stealth Bombers of Desire: The Globalization of 'Alterity' in Emerging Democracies," in *Queer Globalizations: Citizenship and the Afterlife of Colonialism*, ed. Arnaldo Cruz-Malavé and Martin F. Manalansan IV (New York: New York University Press, 2002).

³⁹¹ Patton, "Stealth Bombers of Desire," 208-209.

³⁹² Patton, "Stealth Bombers of Desire," 199.

³⁹³ Lee David Tawei, *Taiwan in a Transformed World* (Dulles: Brassey's Inc., 1995), 2.

framework that proposes that Taiwan developed along its own set of tracks.

Culturalist arguments have focused on filial piety as a differentiator between Eastern and Western sexual subjectivities. Huang cites Pai's novel *Crystal Boys* to argue that "family remains the ultimate means of redemption for homosexual sons" in Taiwanese society.³⁹⁴ In *Crystal Boys*, the character A-Qing advises a friend, "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."³⁹⁵ To A-Qing, filial piety is of utmost importance. Wiggins' 1995 ethnographic study at New Park in Taipei similarly highlights Taiwanese gay men's priority concern for filial piety. One Taiwanese man Wiggins interviewed "feels that because his younger brother has recently married, his parents are more likely to be amiable about his own decision and not pressure him to do so."³⁹⁶ Emerging *tong zhi* political campaigns of the 1990s did emphasize filial piety as a top concern. The lesbian group *Taida Lamda* (The Society for the Study of Lesbian Culture at National Taiwan University) (formed 1994) considered "coming out to family" to be "the issue that most concerns them," because Taiwanese families expected their children to get married.³⁹⁷ As Ah Zhuang, a Chinese gay activist who had moved to San Francisco from Beijing, explained to Lisa Rofel, "We Chinese must look after our parents and not bring them so much grief . . . It is selfish to think only of yourself."³⁹⁸

Given the priority importance of filial piety in Chinese societies, Lisa Rofel concludes that the American "coming out" discourse is incompatible with Chinese worldviews. According to Rofel, coming out "implicate[s] an individual identity," conflicting against how most people in Chinese societies see themselves first and foremost as part of a larger family unit.³⁹⁹ Rofel argues

³⁹⁴ Huang, *Queer Politics and Sexual Modernity*, 118.

³⁹⁵ Huang, *Queer Politics and Sexual Modernity*, 118.

³⁹⁶ John A. Wiggins Jr., "'May I Talk to You?' Ethnosexual Encounters in Taipei's New Park: A Queer Ethnography," *East Asia: An International Quarterly* (2000), 154.

³⁹⁷ Tze-lan D. Sang, *The Emerging Lesbian: Female Same-Sex Desire in Modern China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 232.

³⁹⁸ Lisa Rofel, "Qualities of Desire: Imagining Gay Identities in China," *GLQ* 5 (1999), 461.

³⁹⁹ Lisa Rofel, "Qualities of Desire: Imagining Gay Identities in China," *GLQ* 5 (1999), 461.

AC

that a gay movement in Taiwan would not address the main issues posed by filial piety if it followed the outlines prescribed by the West. Cindy Patton similarly critiques the Western discourse of "rights" in Taiwan for "fail[ing] to recognize local queerness."⁴⁰⁰ Corroborating the critiques of Rofel and Patton, certain Chinese activists did see "coming out" tactics as inappropriate in their own societies. The Chinese Tongzhi Conference in Hong Kong in 1996 concluded, "Confrontational politics of the West should not be imposed upon Chinese societies."⁴⁰¹ According to the attendees of the Chinese Tongzhi Conference in Hong Kong, Chinese society continued to (and should continue to) value harmony over confrontation in the 1990s.

Culturalist claims that Chinese society is totally different from the West falls into a similar trap that integrationist claims fall into: Where integrationist claims assume a monolithic and static global LGBT model to work towards, culturalist claims assume a monolithic and static local Confucian model that Taiwanese men work within. Taking Qi Jia Wei's word regarding the successes of his fundraising campaigns in the night markets in the 1980s, he convincingly turned Confucian idioms on their heads to frame an open homosexual lifestyle as compatible rather than contradictory to filial piety.⁴⁰² Interpretations and applications of Confucian texts have been malleable. As Chu Wei-Chen explained to me, "today we continue to love our families first and foremost, but not necessarily with those traditional rituals."⁴⁰³ During my discussion with Ju Zhi, I asked him where he thought the *tong zhi* movement would be in 50 years. He answered with an anecdote of a conversation he had eavesdropped on recently at a restaurant, where a parent had explained how she was not worried that her son was feminine to another parent. Ju Zhi emphasized how this "would never had happened 15 years ago." In his view, "the concern over filial piety were diminishing and reshaping."⁴⁰⁴ The value of filial piety remained a priority in Taiwanese society throughout the 1980s and 1990s, but not as an incontestable or unchanging value.

⁴⁰⁰ Patton, "Stealth Bombers of Desire," 204.

⁴⁰¹ Wiggins, "May I Talk to You?," 155.

⁴⁰² Qi Jia Wei, interview.

⁴⁰³ Chu Wei Chen, interview.

⁴⁰⁴ Ju Zhi, interview.

Furthermore, the culturalists' critiques collapse upon themselves when we consider the important role that the European-American model of rights held in Taiwanese activists' own conceptions. By critiquing scholars and activists for focusing on the European-American models of rights, culturalists reiterate the prolific and reoccurring phenomenon of Taiwanese activists explicitly alluding to the Euro-American models of rights. As David, one of the members of the Gay Teacher's Association in the early 1990s and one of the first members of the Hotline Association in 1998 reflected, "We were late by 30 years, but we learned from the Americans."⁴⁰⁵ Taiwanese men and women cited the gay and lesbian discourses to understand the location of their own activism and to shape their ideals. When Yuxuan Aji translated the 1970 manifesto "The Woman Identified Woman" by the U.S. based Radicalesbians, she wrote in the introduction that "Feminism and Western queer theory at best have kept me from drowning. I must find a way to survive, with other lesbians."⁴⁰⁶ Instead of framing these discussions of European-American models as incorrect (as Ding and Liu do), we gain new insights into how and why the the *tong zhi* movement began in Taiwan when we shift the focus to describing how and why the Taiwanese repeatedly alluded to European-American models of rights in the 1980s and 1990s.

Complications further arise when trying to untangle what actions were purely tactics and what actions reflected deep-seated personal values. When Qi Jia Wei used the tactic of citing misogynistic discourses to disarm the antagonistic gangster at the night market, he admitted that he did not agree with the misogynistic discourses he was repeating, but saw misogyny as effective tactic to convince the gangster to respect him and donate to his cause. I hypothesize that for some, the European-American discourse of "rights" were seen as tools to forward other values, rather than as a replacement of existing values. As Alan Wachman argues, the *dang wai* forwarded the discourse of rights as a tool to neutralize the KMT authoritarian hegemony. More research on how the pioneers of the *tong zhi* movement in Taiwan utilized the discourse of rights may reveal further

⁴⁰⁵ David, interview, 49:50.

⁴⁰⁶ Yuxuan Aji, "Xishou zhi qian, fenli, you qi biayo," 17-18; cited in Sang, *The Emerging Lesbian*, 242.

insight into how imported discourses could forward local values.

Glocalization Theory is Correct, but Incomplete

Both integrationist and culturalist frameworks are ridden with theoretical holes. The Taiwanese gay movement was neither a purely local nor purely global story. Instead, the global and the local intertwined at different levels of analysis. News from the U.S. shaped Qi Jia Wei's ideals, just as traditional values and idioms shaped his strategies. The Hotline Association applied for official recognition in 2000 partially in order to qualify for funding from the U.S.-based philanthropic organization United Way. With funding from the U.S.-based organization, however, the Hotline Association pursued policies and programs that did not align perfectly with Western LGBT "coming out" prescriptions for liberation. Instead, their programs were infused with concerns for political rights (commonly categorized as a Western construct) and concerns for harmony and filial piety (commonly categorized as a Chinese construct). The hybridity of local and global forces seen through Qi Jia Wei and Chiwei's stories corroborate Martin and Patton's theories of Asian sexual subjectivities as products of glocalization.

Yet, glocalization does not fully explain how and why the Taiwanese gay movement began and developed. Through the stories of Qi Jia Wei, Ke Fe, Chiwei, and the other men I interviewed whose full stories I did not include in this thesis, we see how the hybrid of local and global forces were not the only prescriptions of sexual subjectivities, nor were glocalized prescriptions universally or monolithically absorbed. The following section takes a closer look at the topics and perspectives that the focus on local, global, and glocal has veiled.

What the Focus on Local, Global, and Glocal Has Veiled

A Product of Broader National Developments

Recently, the queer Asian project has been focused solely on the question of American influence, veiling other explanations of how and why the *tong zhi* movement developed in Taiwan. I am surprised that no discussions of the Taiwanese *tong zhi* movement have explicitly discussed how closely the developments of the *tong zhi* movement were intertwined with broader national developments. Throughout the stories of the *tong zhi* activists I interviewed, party politics and anti-authoritarian reforms shaped the contours of *tong zhi* activists' ideals and the successes and failures of *tong zhi* programming.

Taiwanese democratization in the 1980s and 1990s laid foundations for *tong zhi* programming in Taiwan. In 2000, the Hotline Association's reapplication for official recognition succeeded in large part because of the declared support of 30 – 40 Taiwanese professors. The active participation of these professors beyond the limited prescriptions of the KMT's national agenda would have risked expulsion from the academy 6 years earlier, before the passing of the University Law of 1994. Similarly emphasizing Taiwanese democratic reforms as foundational to *tong zhi* programming, Ke Fe views his own involvement with *tong zhi* politics as direct continuations of his earlier work fighting against government corruption.

Professor Liu's memory (or lack thereof) of the *tong zhi* movements beginnings further reveal how the *tong zhi* movement was enveloped in broader democratic reforms. I met with Professor Liu at a Starbucks near NTU to ask him more about his involvement with the Hotline Association in 2000. Where Chiwei remember's Professor Liu's sympathy as a "defining moment of the establishment of the Hotline Association," Professor Liu hardly remembered offering his support to the Hotline Association at all. Though he did not deny his support, he explained that the "Graduate Institute of Building and Planning in the College of Engineering" – the name of the NGO that Professor Liu co-founded in 1990 – had offered its support to several fledgling unofficial organizations at the time to allow them to participate at official conferences, and that now a decade later he was getting a lot of these unofficial organizations mixed up. As he explained, "Many

AC

communities came to us because we had a reputation for helping out the disadvantaged . . . I don't specifically remember the Hotline Association's proposal." The "Graduate Institute of Building and Planning" had formed as a working group in 1990 and registered as an official non-profit in 1994, composed of around 8 faculty members and 100 graduate students at the National Taiwan University's Department of Urban Planning. Mostly it was the students who decided what communities to help, and which proposals to accept; the faculty then decided what projects to either veto or get involved with personally. When I asked Professor Liu if any faculty members opposed the students' decision to support the Hotline Association in 2000, he said "I don't think anybody said anything about that one." Not seeing any space left to ask him about his specific support of the Hotline Association in 2000, I broadened the scope of my questions and asked why he and his colleagues had formed the "Graduate Institute of Building and Planning" in the first place. Professor Liu answered first by explaining how professors had been fired for speaking out against the Kuomintang government before the democratic reforms of the late 1980s and early 1990s, including his friend Professor Chen Gu Ing of the National Taiwan University's philosophy department. Professor Liu co-founded the Graduate Institute of Building and Planning as an NGO in 1990 in order to foster the role of academics in advancing democratic reforms.

When I spoke with Professor Liu, I was surprised that he had forgotten about helping the Hotline Association become the first gay organization in Asia to attend an officially sponsored conference. I had expected Professor Liu's public stance to support a gay organization – one of the first instances in Taiwan – to have been a brave, and contested step in Taiwanese politics. Yet, Professor Liu does not remember helping Hotline, except to the extent that he remembers helping a variety of fledgling social organizations in the 1990s that had sprung up out of anti-authoritarian reforms. According to Professor Liu's memory, *tong zhi* programming in the 1990s was not a specific topic of conflict or concern, but was wrapped up in broader anti-authoritarian reforms.

A Product of Individual Personality and Serendipity

The queer Asian project's narrow focus on the question of global, local, or glocal does not explain how and why certain individuals came to pioneer the gay movement in Taiwan. Cindy Patton's "Stealth Bombers of Desire" discusses the Taiwanese *tong zhi* movement, but she focuses on discourse alone and does not mention the stories, experiences, or perspectives of a single individual. Though none of us is immune to hegemony, we read the power landscape around us differently depending on what we see, who we know, and how circumstances coincide. When we consider the perspectives of individual men, we see how Patton's theories only partially explain how and why the Taiwanese began to work on gay issues in the 1980s and 1990s. When we analyze Qi Jia Wei's actions without understanding Qi Jia Wei as a person, we veil the importance of his self-confidence, wit, and non-traditional childhood⁴⁰⁷ in shaping how and why he began to organize gay programs and campaigns. When we analyze Ke Fe's pioneering steps in creating the first public gay radio program and co-founding the Hotline Association without understanding Ke Fe's personal story, we veil the importance that amusement and social chemistry played in shaping how and why he continued to work on *tong zhi* programming through to the present.⁴⁰⁸

Swartz (1997), Dreyfus and Rabinow (1999) and Crossley (2001) outline a phenomenological philosophy whereby "everyday life is at the bedrock of social existence."⁴⁰⁹ Pioneers of the *tong zhi* movement in Taiwan were not political robots that focused their lives on societal analysis or ideological creed; instead, certain steps towards pioneering *tong zhi* activism were founded upon concerns of daily life such as friendships, self-advancement, and amusement. The first catalyst for Clemond to begin to participate in *tong zhi* activism was "because the journalism department required me to increase my typing speed in order to graduate."⁴¹⁰ In order to

⁴⁰⁷ As a side note, the way Qi Jia Wei's family ate different dishes than other families on traditional holidays is not clearly a product of the West. Non-traditional here does not necessarily mean Western.

⁴⁰⁸ See the previous "Case Studies" chapter for more on Qi Jia Wei and Ke Fe's story.

⁴⁰⁹ Michael Savage, Gaynor Bagnall, and Brian Longhurst, *Globalization and Belonging* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE, 2005), 8.

⁴¹⁰ Clemond, interview, 32:00.

AC

practice his typing, Clemond signed onto the popular BBS online chat forum and stumbled upon a chat room that brought together several of the founding members of National Taiwan Normal University's first gay student organization *Lu Ren Jia*.⁴¹¹

Foucault's "Reverse Discourse" Model: Inapplicable yet Influential

Stringing these various levels of analysis (the global, local, and the individual) together, the following section transitions to discuss Foucault's reverse discourse theory, the popularly cited foundation of the history of political sexual identities. On the surface, Foucault's reverse discourse theory has proved to be an easy target of queer Asian scholars, as Asian examples of sexual identity politicization do not follow Foucault's prescribed outline. However, Foucault's reverse discourse theory did not provide prescriptions for gay movements across time and space, but specifically identified an epistemological shift in the West in the 18th and 19th centuries. Instead of comparing or contrasting the Taiwanese gay movement to the substance of Foucault's outlined shift in *The History of Sexuality: The Will to Knowledge*, I propose understanding the epistemological shift as a specific occurrence in the West in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Instead of adopting (or rejecting) Foucault's reverse discourse theory as an explanation of the gay movement in Taiwan in the late 20th century, I turn to Foucault's reverse discourse theory as a means of better understanding the discourses of American sexual subjectivities that proved to shape the contours of the Taiwanese gay movement.

I began this project with the intention of contributing to recent trends in queer history to complicate Foucault's model of "reverse discourse" as a simplistic theory that could not be applied outside of Europe and the United States. When I began this project, Cindy Patton had already begun to critique Foucault's "reverse discourse" model with examples from the Taiwanese *tong zhi* movement.⁴¹² Patton's work has highlighted how developments assumed to follow a teleological

⁴¹¹ Clemond, interview.

⁴¹² Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kplan, "Global Identities, Theorizing Transnational Studies of

progression in the West do not necessarily operate similarly in Taiwan. In "Stealth Bombers," Patton discussed how Taiwan allowed gay men to serve in the military in 1993, "prior – rather than in reaction – to civil rights/identity politics."⁴¹³

Though my own research further demonstrates how Foucault's reverse discourse model does not explain how the *tong zhi* movement developed in Taiwan, proving the inapplicability of the reverse discourse model in Taiwan does not exclude the influence of the linked histories of the reverse discourse developments that occurred in Europe and the U.S. in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The reverse discourse model may not be useful as a prescriptive framework of developments in Taiwan, but it is useful as a description of western developments that in turn shaped the *tong zhi* movement. In this way, Foucault's reverse discourse model helps us explain how and why the *tong zhi* movement developed in Taiwan.

In his *History of Sexuality*, Foucault forwarded reverse discourse theory to outline how individuals and groups could appropriate a negative identity that society had condemned them with, and reverse the negative discourse into something positive to organize around. Whereas gay men in the U.S. and Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries were explicitly discriminated against by the law, Taiwanese law has never explicitly mentioned homosexuality. The *tong zhi* movement in Taiwan responded to a different set of issues than the issues dealt with by European and American gay men. In response, whereas gay men in the U.S. and Europe organized to overturn anti-gay laws, gay men in Taiwan in the 1990s mostly organized around providing services. Foucault's *History of Sexuality* also outlined how the development of the homosexual identity and homosexual politics marked an epistemological shift away from perspectives of same-sex desire as merely an action. **In contrast, the Taiwanese *tong zhi* movement did not mark a shift in Taiwanese values, epistemology, or perspective.** Nonetheless, the developments laid out in Foucault's work should not be discarded unconditionally. Though Foucault's reverse discourse model is inapplicable as an explanation for Taiwan's *tong zhi* movement, the imagined shared history to the international LGBT movement

Sexuality," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian & Gay Studies* 7 (2001), 678.

⁴¹³ Patton, "Stealth Bombers of Desire," 198.

created a space for *tong zhi* to position themselves within the reverse discourse model.

No Issues?

Compared to other countries, homosexuality has not faced much persecution in Taiwan in the 20th century. Whereas the novels *East Palace, West Palace* (1996) and *Iron Ladies* (2000) portrayed directly oppressive political structures against lesbians in the PRC and Thailand respectively, and whereas both novels have been censored by local governments to varying degrees,⁴¹⁴ the Taiwanese writer Qiu Miaojin's lesbian novel *The Crocodile's Journal* (*Eyu Shouji*) (1994) won the prestigious Taiwanese newspaper *China Times*' Honorary Prize for Literature following Qiu Miaojin's suicide in mid-1995.⁴¹⁵ In 1996, the film *Fire* by Indian Canadian director Deepa Mehta sparked riots in Bombay and New Delhi lead by Shiv Sena, a Hindu right-wing organization that disapproved of the female homoeroticism in the film.⁴¹⁶ On December 14, 1998, *The Hindu* condemned lesbianism as "alien to Indian culture."⁴¹⁷ In contrast, in 1993, President Lee Teng-Hui publicly congratulated Ang Lee for his internationally recognized gay-themed film *The Wedding Banquet*, expressing the hope that Lee would further "help more people in the international arena to understand Taiwan clearly."⁴¹⁸

On April 9, 1976, Guang Tai published an article in the Taiwanese newspaper *China Times* titled "Why I wrote *The Man Who Escapes Marriage*." In this article, Guang Tai articulated how gay men in Taiwan did not face explicit discrimination in Taiwan: "Our society is harmonious, our

⁴¹⁴ John Nguyet Erni, "Queer Pop Asia: Toward a Hybrid Regionalist Imaginary" (paper presented at the first international conference of Asian Queer Studies, Bangkok, Thailand, July, 2005), 4.

⁴¹⁵ Fran Martin, "Stigmatic Bodies: The Corporeal Qiu Miaojin," in *Embodied Modernities: Corporeality, Representation, and Chinese Cultures* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006), 178.

⁴¹⁶ Gayatri Gopinath, "Local Sites/Global Contexts: The Transnational Trajectories of Deepa Mehta's *Fire*," in *Queer Globalizations: Citizenship and the Afterlife of Colonialism*, ed. Arnaldo Cruz-Malavé and Martin Malanansan (New York: New York University Press, 2002), 149-161.

⁴¹⁷ *The Hindu*, 14 Decemeber 1998

⁴¹⁸ Fran Martin, *Situating Sexualities: Queer Representation in Taiwanese Fiction, Film and Public Culture* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2003), 279.

AC

culture is profound, our nation (*min zu*) 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."⁴¹⁹

On the surface, from the perspective of those of us who come from country's that faced prevalent gay bashing and open discrimination against LGBT employees, the Taiwanese seemed not to have faced any discrimination whatsoever. When Qi Jia Wei told his classmates in high school in Taipei that he identified as "homosexual" (using the English word at first), he remembers that most, if not all of them said they did not care.⁴²⁰ He remembers his experiences in high school as openly homosexual so fondly that he jokingly explained to me that "the other guys knew that if they had to compete against me for girls, they would lose, and so they were actually relieved" by his "coming out."⁴²¹ On December 31, 2011 I spoke with Jacques Picoux, a French ex-patriot who had lived in Taiwan for over 30 years, and a retired French Professor at National Taiwan University. When I asked him why he had decided to stay in Taiwan three decades ago, he responded by saying that he found Taiwan to be equally, if not more open regarding homosexuality as in France. In 1996, the first issue of the gay magazine *G&L* included a sponsored message from the DPP proclaiming the party as the "tongzhi's tongzhi," or "the gay person's comrade."⁴²²

Furthermore, organized political opposition did not pose a huge barrier to the politicization of *tong zhi* issues. Ke Fe notes how nobody openly opposed the creation of his public radio show discussing *tong zhi* issues in 1996; neither did he receive any negative mail, any critical call ins, or any offensive messages. As David notes, "Taiwan was not a Christian society."⁴²³ Though today the island sees an increasing number of converts to Christianity, in the 1990s Christian opposition to homosexuality was unorganized and insignificant on the island where Buddhism has been the

⁴¹⁹ Huang, *Queer Politics and Sexual Modernity*, 51.

⁴²⁰ Qi Jia Wei, interview, 1:57:15.

⁴²¹ Qi Jia Wei, interview, 1:58:30.

⁴²² *G&L*, 1996, 1. Vincent has collected every edition of *G&L* since 1996. I thank him for allowing me to read skim through his collection.

⁴²³ David, interview, 42:50.

AC

predominant religion. According to David, "Homosexuality as an ideological issue was not controversial in Taiwan. In Buddhist thought, as long as it's people, no need to care too much about love. People are people."

Chiwei remembers that the public response to the Hotline Association's work was mostly either neutral or positive in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Teachers and professors, in particular, voiced their support. The only negative criticism that Chiwei remembers came from Taiwanese Christian groups, who have historically represented less than 5% of the Taiwanese population. In 2000, when the Hotline Association organized Taipei's first LGBT festival,⁴²⁴ Christian groups rallied to express their disapproval of the Hotline Association's work and condemn homosexuality as a Biblical sin. Ke Fe does not remember receiving any negative comments about his gay radio program in any call ins, physical mail, or telephone messages.⁴²⁵ In 1997, Ke Fe's radio show the Tong Zhi Citizen was created and cancelled as part of broader KMT/DPP political contestations. Ke Fe does not remember any special attention paid on the gay content of his show in discussions to create or cancel the show.

Legal Challenges?

The gay/*tong zhi* identity was not targeted by government laws in ways the U.S./European gay populations were targeted by explicitly anti-gay laws. Whereas histories of gay movements in Europe and the U.S. emphasize the role of anti-gay laws as catalysts to organize around, there were no anti-gay laws in Taiwan in the 20th century and arrests of gay men in Taiwan cannot be separated from broader authoritarian regulations on all Taiwanese people. When Qi Jia Wei opened a national public conference to talk with the press about HIV/AIDS issues – implicitly assumed to be tied with *tong zhi* issues at the time – he was arrested for speaking out against the KMT government and imprisoned for half a year. Given the severity of martial law and the absence of

⁴²⁴ Chiwei, interview, 20:05.

⁴²⁵ Ke Fe, interview.

any gay-specific laws, it is difficult to evaluate the extent to which the police arrested Qi Jia Wei because of the gay subject matter of his campaigns, or simply because he was speaking out against the ruling KMT.

Challenges faced by gay men in the 1980s and 1990s also cannot be separated from their class-location. After Chen Shuibian was elected mayor of the city of Taipei in 1994, he spearheaded a two-pronged project to make Taipei an "international" city, and a "city for the citizens" (*shi min cheng shi*) under the slogan "happy, hopeful Taipei City" (*xi wang kuai le de tai bei shi*).⁴²⁶ Part of Chen Shuibian's urban development project was to clean up New Park, the notorious cite for men to find same-sex sex in Taipei, by installing lighting and enforcing restrictions of entry after dark. The "*Tong Zhi* Space Action Network" (TSAN) – the first public adoption of the new *tong zhi* identity in Taiwan by political activists – formed in 1995 to oppose Chen Shui-bian's renovations. The TSAN framed the city's campaign to clean up New Park as a direct attack against *tong zhi*. Against the claims of TSAN, evidence suggests that the city government was more focused on cleaning up New Park as a cite for public sex, a scene of two recorded murders in the 1970s, and a space increasingly inhabited by the homeless.⁴²⁷ As Fran Martin suggested in "From Citizenship to Counterpublic" (2000), the focus of urban redevelopment of New Park was not on *tong zhi per se* but on public displays of sexual acts by the lower economic class, as Taiwan increasingly became a middle-class dominated society in the 1990s.⁴²⁸ In fact, the Chen Shuibian administration had been making attempts to portray itself as a gay-friendly administration. In 1996, after hearing complaints from the *tong zhi* community about the loss of New Park as a space for men to find sex with other men, the city government in 1996 agreed to

⁴²⁶ Fran Martin, "From Citizenship to Queer Counterpublic: Reading Taipei's New Park," *Journal of Transnational and Crosscultural Studies* 8 (2000), 81-94.

⁴²⁷ "Xie jian xin gongyuan, chengxiong dixiadao, qi yin tongxinglian buhuo Liao Xianzhong, baofu xinli zuosui, niangcheng yi si liu shang, jiqing dao zhi biantai, beiju ke wei yinjian" ("Pools of blood in New Park, murder on the subway, homosexuality is the cause, and now Liao Xianzhong has been arrested; the reason was vengeance, this resulted in one fatality and six injured persons; strange desire causes perversions; this tragedy can serve as a warning"), *Zhongguo shibao*, 6 March 1975, 2.

⁴²⁸ Fran Martin, "From Citizenship to Queer Counterpublic: Reading Taipei's New Park," 85.

publicly fund a gay club nearby as compensation.⁴²⁹ Martin suggests that the Taipei city government's urban reforms on New Park were focused on turning Taipei into a more middle-class and respectable society; what the city disapproved of in New Park was the behavior of the lower class. As Zhang Jingsen, the former Director of the Department of Urban Development, explained in 1996, gays bars in eastern Taipei were frequented by white-collar workers, while New park served as a gathering place of students and the unemployed.⁴³⁰ According to He Chunrui (1997), the free use of New Park as a space for same-sex sexuality was an "unauthorised kind of homosexuality that [could] not be the subject of the liberal language of 'gay rights.'"⁴³¹ In this way, discrimination was not targeted against *tong zhi* per se, but against lifestyles that were not contained within the bounds of the normative middle-class.

Class proved to be a distinguishing factor within the *tong zhi* movement as well. As Professor Frank Wang remembers, the first programs of the Hotline Association excluded anyone outside of the bounds of the normative middle-class lifestyle. He remembers how certain lower-class individuals who approached Hotline would "face difficulties"⁴³² in finding common ground with other participants, and also how the very timing of the programs and events assumed that participants held a 9 to 5 job.⁴³³

Invisibility & Frustration

Though gay men had not faced discriminatory violence or legal persecution in Taiwan in the 20th century, gay men did face other difficulties. As Shi Ji Ya and Lin Qing Hui, the two students from *Bei Yi Nu* who committed suicide in 1994 wrote in their suicide letter: "The reason why we

⁴²⁹ Lin Shuling, "Beishi Fu Jiang Jiaqiang yu Tongxinglian Tuanti Lianji," *Zhongguo Shibao* 13 (1996).

⁴³⁰ Fran Martin, "From Citizenship to Queer Counterpublic: Reading Taipei's New Park," 85.

⁴³¹ Fran Martin, "From Citizenship to Queer Counterpublic: Reading Taipei's New Park," 86.

⁴³² Frank Wang, interview, 30:20.

⁴³³ Frank Wang, interview, 31:10.

AC

gave up our lives is very difficult to articulate . . . This society did not suit our intrinsic qualities."⁴³⁴

When the Hotline Association applied to become an official organization for the first time in 2000, their rejection was supplemented with a letter that said that the Taiwanese government "supported" (*zhi chi*) *tong zhi* but did not "encourage" (*gu li*) it [homosexuality].⁴³⁵ Clemond cited this suicide letter when I asked him why he began to work on *tong zhi* organizing in the 1990s: "Though these incidents may not have been as disastrous (*bei ju*) as incidents in the U.S. like Matthew Shepherd's murder, small things did add up. The issues faced by Taiwanese homosexuals in the 1990s were structural pressures. The most severe discrimination was not bullying. If you slap someone, everyone knows that it is wrong. Matthew Shephard's murder was so obviously wrong. But the most harmful thing is being ignored by the whole social structure. To not be noticed is the biggest discrimination."⁴³⁶ When I asked David the same question regarding why he began to organize *tong zhi* programs, he responded by saying that *tong zhi* were "invisible in Taiwanese society." David cited the example of a transgender hospital employee he knew, who was not fired from the hospital for wearing women's clothes to work, but was told to stay in one part of the hospital so that nobody would see her.⁴³⁷ Given Taiwanese society's priority values of obedience and harmony, it is difficult to disentangle the extent to which the hospital's decision to hide David's friend – the transgender employee – in the back of the hospital was specifically due to her gender identity, or because they would have made the same decision with anyone who attracted too much attention on their appearance.⁴³⁸ As part of invisibility, there was also a sense of loneliness. Ke Fe remembers how a lot of youth messaged the Tong Zhi Citizen to ask questions or to say that they were lonely. Often, people would call in and then hang up instantly, which Ke Fe presumed would be when family

⁴³⁴ Ke Fe, "Yi ge ming xing nu zhong de zi you sheng zi sha yi hou" ("After the suicide of a start student"), *Ni bu zhi dao de Taiwan (The Hidden Taiwan)* (blog), April 28, 2010, <http://mypaper.pchome.com.tw/kuan0416/post/1320901966>. For a longer excerpt of the suicide letter, see the previous chapter "Case Studies."

⁴³⁵ Chiwei, interview, 17:10.

⁴³⁶ Clemond, interview, 48:30-53:30.

⁴³⁷ David, interview, 34:21.

⁴³⁸ I am not saying that this excuses the hospital from discriminating against the transgender woman. Instead, I am pointing out that it is important to understand the cultural context in Taiwan where any extra attention brought onto oneself is potentially harmful.

AC

came home, as cell phones were not popular yet. Increasingly throughout the 1990s, gay men and lesbians wanted to talk about their individual feelings, thoughts, and desires, and were frustrated that there were not have sufficient outlets to do so.

The frustrations articulated by Clemond, David, Shi Yi Ja, Lin Qing Hui, and Ke Fe were not specific to *tong zhi* (though they may have been worse for *tong zhi* than for heterosexuals), but also shared by other youth in 1980s and 1990s Taiwan. In the 1990s, many Taiwanese were increasingly frustrated by their feeling of individual invisibility. As Taiwanese youth growing up in the 1980s gained access and knowledge to other ways of life abroad, they increasingly sought outlets to express their own individuality in ways that cut against the hierarchical roles outlined by KMT authoritarian prescriptions. Chiung-Tzu Lucetta Tsai's "Dilemma and Conflicts in Taiwanese Women's Leisure Participation" (2010), for example, outlines how the younger generation of women in Taiwan have increasingly sought more "individualistic orientation."⁴³⁹

At the Nexus of Proclaiming Individuality and Maintaining Harmony

To alleviate the frustration of feeling invisible in society, the first *tong zhi* organizations did not focus on changing the opinions of the population at large, but on providing safe spaces for *tong zhi* individuals to feel comfortable amongst one another. *Tong zhi* organizers wanted to claim their own gay identity, while at the same time maintaining values of harmony, filial piety, and humility. In the mid-1990s, National Taiwan Normal University's newspaper expressed interest in interviewing Clemond, then the spokesperson for *Lu Ren Jia*. Clemond agreed to the interview, but used his English name "Clemond" as a mask. He did not want to come out to the interviewer (his classmate) or anyone who could potentially tell his parents.⁴⁴⁰ At the scheduled time, Clemond hid in one of the university's offices as a precaution to keep anyone from discovering that he was the

⁴³⁹ Chiung-Tzu Lucetta Tsai, "Dilemma and Conflicts in Taiwanese Women's Leisure Participation," *Social Indicators Research: An International and Interdisciplinary Journal for Quality-of-Life Measurement* 103 (2011), 141.

⁴⁴⁰ Clemond, interview, 38:30.

spokesperson of *Lu Ren Jia*. During this interview, Clemond was asked whether or not he thought that *Lu Ren Jia* should become a registered club.⁴⁴¹ He answered no, that *Lu Ren Jia* should not become registered as a university-recognized club because becoming an official club would require a group portrait for university records and "make the people we really wanted to help afraid of getting in touch with us."⁴⁴² In this way, Clemond reveals how *Lu Ren Jia*'s focus at the time was on providing direct social services for *tong zhi* individuals themselves, not necessarily changing national public policy. When I asked Clemond to elaborate on why *Lu Ren Jia* followed this strategy for most of the 1990s, he emphasized how though members of *Lu Ren Jia* wanted to openly talk about their same-sex desires with others, they did not want to "disturb" society at-large.⁴⁴³

Ke Fe and Vincent's radio shows were similarly focused on a *tong zhi* audience, rather than the broader Taiwanese population. One episode of Ke Fe's radio show from July 1996 played a compilation of call-ins of people proclaiming their gay identity, listing their age and hometown, and sharing pieces of their stories, without disclosing their actual names.⁴⁴⁴ According to Ke Fe, the motivation behind this episode was to let other *tong zhi* in Taiwan know that there were other Taiwanese who shared same-sex desire. He wanted Taiwanese *tong zhi* to feel less isolated, less lonely. In the early 1990s, Vincent worked for an underground anti-authoritarian radio program on the *Yao Zhao* station that aired every day Monday through Friday. Vincent would dedicate one day out of every week to discuss *tong zhi* issues. When I asked Vincent what he hoped the impact of his *tong zhi* radio programs were, he responded by citing letters from *tong zhi* listeners of his radio show: One Taoyuan University student mailed Vincent a letter to say thank you, explaining how he had burned his suicide note after listening to Vincent's show. Today, Vincent says that many people who meet him say thank you, as they had listened to his show growing up. Vincent has also received thank you letters from outside of Taiwan. One doctor in the mainland Chinese army wrote

⁴⁴¹ Clemond, interview, 42:45.

⁴⁴² Clemond, interview, 44:20.

⁴⁴³ Clemond, interview, 44:40.

⁴⁴⁴ One common way of maintaining secrecy at this time was through creating an English name to use in *tong zhi* circles.

AC

to Vincent to say how he had never dared to discuss his desires with anyone until he listened to Vincent's show. In this way, Vincent believes that he accomplished his goal to demonstrate to his listening *tong zhi* audience that there existed *tong zhi* people who lived honest and happy lives: "The newspapers only talk about AIDS and suicide, I talked about positive things on the show." For instance, Vincent aired a series of episodes discussing how to introduce a same-sex lover to parents while maintaining harmony and filial piety.

In Foucault's *History of Sexuality*, he cited the importance of Christian Europe's tradition of confessing sins as a foundation for the development of a European value to declare and define one's own individual identity and sexuality. This Christian heritage has not existed in Taiwan. Instead, Taiwanese *tong zhi* programs in the 1990s interpreted the increasingly cited discourses of individuality and human rights in ways that operated alongside their priority values of maintaining harmony and fulfilling their duties of filial piety.

Service-Based

Whereas Foucault's reverse discourse explanation highlights how the first gay organizations in the U.S. and Europe aimed to react against legal discrimination, the pioneering activists of the Taiwanese gay rights movement did not focus on fighting against legal discrimination – there was no legal discrimination to fight against – but instead were focused on providing health and social services to *tong zhi* individuals. The Mattachine Society formed in 1957 in the U.S. with a focus on legal rights. In contrast, Qi Jia Wei's pioneering campaign began with a focus on providing health services to HIV victims.⁴⁴⁵ According to Qi Jia Wei, "in order to solve the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Taiwan, I had to broach the subject of homosexuality."

The first *tong zhi* organizations did not focus on fighting against discriminatory laws or violence, but instead worked to foster socialization between *tong zhi* and to answer identity

⁴⁴⁵ Clemond, interview.

AC

questions. As Clemond recounts, the meetings of *Lu Ren Jia*, a gay group at the National Taiwan Normal University (NTNU) that formed in the early 1990s, focused on "helping one another answer identity questions such as 'Am I gay?' and 'What does it mean to be gay?'"⁴⁴⁶ Similarly, David, a member of the Gay Teacher Alliance and later one of the first volunteers at Hotline, explained how the Gay Teacher's Association had been formed as an underground organization with the main incentive of meeting other gay teachers.⁴⁴⁷ As one of the first members of the Hotline Association, David began to participate with the hopes of making social connections with other *tong zhi* at a larger scale.⁴⁴⁸

As the name suggests, the Hotline Association's first and only service at its inception in 1998 was to run a telephone hotline.⁴⁴⁹ I asked Chiwei, Clemond, and David about the calls they received from the first three years of the Hotline Association's establishment (1998-2001). All three explained that the vast majority of calls they received were questions about romance and self-identification.⁴⁵⁰ Callers often discussed their own heartbreak, expressing that they had no other *tong zhi* friends to talk to about the *tong zhi* aspect of their lives.⁴⁵¹ Other callers just "wanted confirmation about whether or not they're actually gay."⁴⁵²

When the Hotline Association did begin to run *tong zhi* programming besides the telephone Hotline in 2000, the focus of these programs was also not to fight against discriminatory laws or violence, but to socialize *tong zhi* people and discuss the meanings of being gay in Taiwanese society. The first three support groups were Family, HIV, and *Ba La G*. The family group held meetings to discuss what it meant to be *tong zhi* and filially pious in Taiwanese society at the time. The HIV group brought HIV positive *tong zhi* people together to form a support group and also help one another navigate the health services available to them in Taiwan. *Ba La G* was a group

⁴⁴⁶ Clemond, interview, 30:40, 36:10.

⁴⁴⁷ David, interview, 5:45.

⁴⁴⁸ David, interview, 7:35.

⁴⁴⁹ Chiwei, interview, 15:50.

⁴⁵⁰ Clemond, interview, 17:30.

⁴⁵¹ David, interview, 9:20.

⁴⁵² Clemond, interview, 16:30.

AC

organized and run by Clemond for "LGBTQ people without any friends to discuss *tong zhi* experiences and issues." Clemond remembers around 5- 12 people attending *Ba La G* every week, and he explained to me that many of the individuals were either afraid or chose not to meet other *tong zhi* on the internet, at gay bars, or through pen pals.⁴⁵³ The Hotline Association also hosted social events for volunteers in its early days. Chiwei explains how the Hotline Association established these breakout groups and organized social events for volunteers because "we believed that people wanted to come to Hotline was because here they could make friends."⁴⁵⁴ Clemond agrees, explaining that the "Hotline originally thought that meeting another *tong zhi* was helpful in and of itself."⁴⁵⁵

Not Explanatory, but Influential

Even if Taiwanese gay men were not targeted by any discriminatory laws or anti-gay violence, even when martial law regulated all Taiwanese people (not just gay people) who dared to speak up against the KMT administration, and even when urban reforms of the 1990s were more focused on "cleaning up" areas frequented by the lower-class (which overlapped with certain populations of the gay community) than on specifically targeting areas frequented by gay men, certain Taiwanese gay men saw these government regulations as direct targeting of gay men. The TSAN, for example, organized against the Taipei city's decision to renovate New Park in 1996 as a direct affront to homosexuality. As grounded and logical as is Patton's critique of the TSAN for misunderstanding the Taipei government's decision to renovate New Park as an enforcement of homophobia rather than middle-class normativity, Patton fails to explain how and why the TSAN would believe that Chen Shuibian's renovations of New Park was a policy of homophobic structural discrimination.

⁴⁵³ Clemond, interview, 1:08:20.

⁴⁵⁴ Chiwei, interview, 17:35.

⁴⁵⁵ Clemond, interview, 11:20.

To explain why the TSAN believed that Chen Shuibian's urban reforms were directly homophobic, I believe that it is important to look back at the history of the U.S./European epistemological shift marked out by Foucault. Though Taiwanese gay men did not follow the historical progressions marked out by Foucault's reverse discourse theory, they were knowledgeable of Foucault's reverse discourse theory. Several of the men I interviewed, including Clemond and Vincent, cited Foucault without my prompting. Accordingly, I propose that even though these Taiwanese men did not have personal experiences with gay bashings or homophobic structural discrimination, they understood that gay men in Europe and the United States had faced gay bashings and homophobic discrimination. Furthermore, Taiwanese men understood that western gay men had responded to gay bashings and homophobic discrimination by appropriating the gay identity, "reversing" the discourse, and forming gay political organizations. Even though none of the men I interviewed recalled any examples of gay bashings in Taiwan, Clemond and Vincent both alluded to examples of gay bashings in the United States as justifications for their activism and *tong zhi* programming. Clemond and Vincent reveal theoretical understandings of how men had historically faced discrimination in the West, and of how gay men could respond to this targeted discrimination by retaliating with identity politics. These two theoretical understandings shaped their conceptions of their own treatment under Taiwanese laws, and motivated them to make gay-specific programs and to push for gay-specific legal reforms. In this way, Patton's critique of Foucault's reverse discourse model fails to consider how Foucault's theories were powerful as ways in which Taiwanese men understood their place in society. Along these lines, it is interesting to note that the TSAN started as a university student revolt, lead by English majors who probably studied Foucault.⁴⁵⁶

Conclusion

⁴⁵⁶ Hans Tao-Ming Huang, "From Glass Clique to Tongzhi Nation: *Crystal Boys*, Identity Formation, and the Politics of Sexual Shame," *Positions* 18 (2010), 373-398.

This chapter has aimed to critique the ways in which the Asian gay movements have been discussed hitherto. I have argued that neither local nor global forces monolithically or universally defined the Taiwanese gay movement. Taking this critique one step further, I have argued that theories of glocalization have not fully captured the story of the Taiwanese gay movement. Decentering the focus away from questions of local, global, or glocal reveal two strands of insight into the developments of the Taiwanese gay movement: 1) the Taiwanese gay movement as an extension of broader democratic reforms; and 2) the Taiwanese gay movement as the product of individual personalities and experiences. When we string together these three layers of analysis (glocal, local, and individual), we form a clearer sense of what the issues were that Taiwanese gay men organized around, and how these pioneers went about spearheading a gay movement in south-east Asia. Through my exploration of how certain individuals interpreted national developments using Western frameworks that they had learned in university, I have aimed to contribute insight into the decade long project of challenging Foucault's reverse discourse theory.

Conclusion

Neither integrationist theories that propose that Taiwan is on the tracks set by the Western model nor culturalist theories that propose that Taiwan is on its own set of tracks captures the full chords of the Taiwanese gay movement. At times, the integrationist and culturalist notes are flat; together, the integrationist and culturalist notes play a dissonant chord. The addition of individual perspectives tunes these flat notes, while the addition of other notes, mainly democratization and the serendipity of life, resolves the dissonant chords. When we see the gay movement as neither an exact mirror image of the Western LGBT movement, nor an exact contrast, we begin to hear the complexity (and in my opinion, the beauty) of the overlapping voices.

In "Saint Foucault," David M. Halperin elaborated upon Foucault's conceptions of reverse discourse. Halperin described gay liberation as "not simply . . . a mirror reversal," "nor is it the exact opposite of homophobic stigmatization and oppression . . . Gay liberation, rather, is a surprising, unexpected, dynamic, and open-ended movement whose ultimate effects extend beyond its immediate tactics . . . It is a reversal that takes us in a new direction . . . To resist is not simply a negation but a creative process."⁴⁵⁷

This thesis has aimed to record the melody of the Taiwanese *tong zhi* movement. Where previous discussions of Asian sexual subjectivities have focused on discourse and theory, I have pulled in the voices of individuals. In my narrative, glocal developments have served as the stage setting and the bass notes; the individuals have been the protagonists of the play and the choruses of the melodies.

In the process, I have aimed to contribute and offer correctives to existing queer history, transnational history, and east Asian studies. Following Bravmann's suggestions to develop "postmodern queer cultural studies of history," I have echoed questions raised by queer historiography to not only challenge the hegemonic institutions of heteronormativity, but also to

⁴⁵⁷ David M. Halperin, *Saint Foucault: Towards a Gay Hagiography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 60.

question the institution of heteronormativity as hegemonic. I have not only questioned the roles of Western LGBT teleological assumptions, but have also proposed a decentering of queer Asian studies away from its focus on the question of local/global/glocal. By drawing out the notes of American influences, national political developments, and individual voices, I have aimed to demonstrate how the three can play the same song and overlay one another at different levels of analysis. To the question of whether or not the gay movement is a Western import to Taiwan, I would answer no and yes. To the question of whether or not the Taiwanese engaged with the Western LGBT movement, I would answer yes and absolutely. China and Taiwan's history with the West is not a recent phenomenon, and ideas, money, and values have streamed in and out between east and West at least for the last five centuries.

On my last night in Taiwan, the dissonance between global, local, and individual voices finally began to make sense to me and flow melodically. As I left Homey's Café – a trendy Parisian-styled coffee shop in central Taipei – my friend asked me if I wanted to join her at a private "lan pa." "A what?" I asked. For the two months in 2011 that I had lived in Taipei, I had been eagerly expanding my vocabulary of Taiwanese slang. "Lan" translates to blue in Chinese mandarin; "Pa" is short for "party" in English. Together, "lan pa" is a Taiwanese phrase that refers to homosexuality. "Lan pas" – a phrase that seamlessly mixed Taiwanese, Chinese, and English – were gay-specific parties where attendees dressed in blue. Like a "lan pa," the Taiwanese gay movement has been American, Taiwanese, Chinese, classed, and at times, fun and social. To simplify it distorts it, and to understand it, we must listen closely to the chords and melodies that the various voices play.

Works Cited

- Anderson, James Reardon. *Pollution, Politics, and Foreign Investment in Taiwan: The Lukang Rebellion*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1992.
- Altman, Dennis. "Global Gaze/Global Gays." *GLQ* 3 (1997): 417-436.
- Armstrong, Elizabeth A. *Forging Gay Identities: Organizing Sexuality in San Francisco, 1950-1994*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- Chao, Yengning. *Embodying the Invisible: Body Politics in Constructing Contemporary Taiwanese Lesbian Identities*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996.
- Chen, David W. "The Emergence of an Environmental Consciousness in Taiwan." In *The Other Taiwan: 1945 to the Present*, edited by Murray A. Rubinstein, 255-285. New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1994.
- Cheng, Tun-Jen and Stephan Haggard, eds. *Political Change in Taiwan*. Boulder: Lynne Rinner Pub, 1991.
- Cooper, John F. *A Quiet Revolution: Political Development in the Republic of China*. Washington, DC: Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1988.
- Bai, Xianyong. *Crystal Boys by Bai Xianyong*. Translated by Hsien-yung Pai. San Francisco: Gay Sunshine Press, 1990.
- Barnet, Richard J. and John Cavanagh. *Global Dreams: Imperial Corporations and the New World Order*. New York: Touchstone, 1995.
- Bland, Lucy. "Trial by Sexology?: Maud Allan, Salome and the 'Cult of the Clitoris' Case." In *Sexology in Culture: Labelling Bodies and Desires*, edited by Lucy Bland and Laura Doan, 183-199. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.
- Bland, Lucy and Laura Doan, eds. *Sexology Uncensored: The Documents of Sexual Science*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.
- Boellstorff, Tom. *The Gay Archipelago: Sexuality and Nation in Indonesia*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.
- Boykin, Keith and E. Lynn Harris. *Beyond the Down Low: Sex, Lies, and Denial in Black America*. Cambridge: De Capo Press, 2006.
- Bravmann, Scott. *Queer Fictions of the Past: History, Culture, and Difference*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Briggs, Laura, Gladys McCormick, and J.T. Way. "Transnationalism: A Category of Analysis." *American Quarterly*, 60 (2008): 625-648.
- Chang, Ling-yin. "KMT's Central Daily News Shuts Down." *Taiwan News*, June 1, 2006.
http://www.taiwannews.com.tw/etn/news_content.php?id=106952&lang=eng_news&cate_img=38.jpg&cate_rss=news_Politics

- Chun, Allen. "From nationalism to nationalizing." In *Chinese Nationalisms*, edited by Jonathan Unger, 126-147. Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1996.
- Cohen, Ed. *Talk on the Wilde Side: Towards a Genealogy of a Discourse on Male Sexualities*. New York: Routledge, Chapman and Hall, Inc., 1993.
- Cohen, William. *Sex Scandal: The Private Parts of Victorian Fiction*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1996.
- Cocks, H. G. "Making the Sodomite Speak: Voices of the Accused in English Sodomy Trials, c. 1800-98." *Gender & History* 18 (2006): 87-107.
- Cruz-Malavé, Arnaldo and Martin F. Manalansan IV, eds. *Queer Globalizations: Citizenship and the Afterlife of Colonialism*. New York: New York University Press, 2002.
- Damm, Jens. "Same Sex Desire and Society in Taiwan, 1970-1987." *The China Quarterly* 181 (2005): 67-81.
- D'Emilio, John. *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.
- Dikötter, Frank. *Sex, Culture and Modernity in China: Medical Science and the Construction of Sexual Identities in the Early Republican Period*. London: Hurst and Company, 1995.
- Doan, Laura. "'Acts of Female Indecency': Sexology's Intervention in Legislating Lesbianism." In *Sexology in Culture: Labelling Bodies and Desires*, edited by Lucy Bland and Laura Doan, 199-214. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.
- Doan, Laura. "Topsy-Turvydom: Gender Inversion, Sapphism, and the Great War." *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 12 (2006): 517-542.
- El-Tayeb, Fatima. "The Birth of a European Public." *American Quarterly* 60 (2008): 649-670.
- Erni, John Nguyet. "Queer Pop Asia: Toward a Hybrid Regionalist Imaginary." Paper presented at the first international conference of Asian Queer Studies, Bangkok, Thailand, July, 2005.
- Fleras, Jomar. "Reclaiming our historic rights: gays and lesbians in the Philippines." In *The Third Pink Book: A Global View of Lesbian Gay Liberation and Oppression*, edited by Aart Hendriks, Rob Tielman, and Evert van der Veen, 76-79 (Buffalo: Prometheus, 1993).
- Foucault, Michael. *History of Sexuality: The Will to Knowledge, Volume 1*. 1976. Reprint, London: Penguin Group, 2008.
- Gilmartin, Christina. *Engendering the Chinese Revolution*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
- Gopinath, Gayatri. *Impossible Desires: Queer Diasporas & South Asian Public Cultures*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2005.
- Gopinath, Gayatri. "Local Sites/Global Contexts: The Transnational Trajectories of Deepa Mehta's

- Fire." In *Queer Globalizations: Citizenship and the Afterlife of Colonialism*, edited by Arnaldo Cruz-Malavé and Martin Malanansan. New York: New York University Press, 2002.
- Grewal, Inderpal and Caren Kaplan. "Global Identities: Theorizing Transnational Studies of Sexuality." *GLQ* 7 (2001): 663-679.
- Hall Carpenter Archives. *Walking After Midnight: Gay Men's Life Stories*. Abingdon: Taylor & Francis Group, 1989.
- Hall, Lesley A. "'Disinterested Enthusiasm for Sexual Misconduct': The British Society for the Study of Sex Psychology, 1913-47." *Journal of Contemporary History* 30 (1995): 665-686.
- Hall, Lesley A. "Feminist Reconfigurations of Heterosexuality in the 1920s." In *Sexology in Culture: Labelling Bodies and Desires*, edited by Lucy Bland and Laura Doan, 135-150. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.
- Halperin, David M. *Saint Foucault: Towards a Gay Hagiography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Herring, Scott. *Queering the Underworld: Slumming, Literature, and the Undoing of Lesbian and Gay History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.
- Hershatter, Gail. "Sexing Modern China." In *Remapping China: Fissures in Historical Terrain*, edited by Gail Hershatter, Emily Honig, Jonathan N. Kipman, and Randall Stross, 77-93. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996.
- Hogg, Chris. "Taiwan move to allow gay unions." *BBC News*, October 28, 2003. Accessed April 25, 2012.
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/3219721.stm>
- Houlbrook, Matt. "Lady Austin's Camp Boys': Constituting the Queer Subject in 1930s London." *Gender & History* 14 (2002): 31-61.
- Houlbrook, Matt. *Queer London: Perils and Pleasures in the Sexual Metropolis, 1918-1957*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Hsiao, Hsin-huang. "The Rise of Social Movements and Civil Protests." In *Political Change in Taiwan*, edited by Cheng and Haggard. Boulder: Lynne Rinner, 1992.
- Hsieh, Shih-Chung. "From *Shanbao* to *Yuanzhumin*: Taiwan Aborigines in Transition." In *The Other Taiwan: 1945 to the Present*, edited by Murray A. Rubinstein, 402-419. New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1994.
- Huang, Hans Tao-Ming. "From Glass Clique to Tongzhi Nation: *Crystal Boys*, Identity Formation, and the Politics of Sexual Shame." *Positions* 18 (2010), 373-398.
- Huang, Hans Tao-Ming. *Queer Politics and Sexual Modernity in Taiwan*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011.
- Huang, Mab. *Intellectual Ferment for Political Reforms in Taiwan, 1971-1973*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1976.

- Huntington, Samuel P. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.
- Hurewitz, Daniel. *Bohemian Los Angeles and the Making of Modern Politics*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007.
- Jackson, Julian. *Living in Arcadia: Homosexuality, Politics, and Morality in France from the Liberation to Aids*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009.
- Jackson, Peter A. *Dear Uncle Go: Male Homosexuality in Thailand*. San Francisco: Bua Luang Books, 1995.
- Jackson, Peter A. "Thai Research on Male Homosexuality and Transgenderism and the Cultural Limits of Foucaultian Analysis." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 8 (1997): 52-85.
- Jameson, Fredric. *A Singular Modernity: Essay on the Ontology of the Present*. London: Verso, 2002.
- Ke Fe, "Yi ge ming xing nu zhong de zi you sheng zi sha yi hou" ("After the suicide of a start student"), *Ni bu zhi dao de Taiwan (The Hidden Taiwan)* (blog), April 28, 2010, <http://mypaper.pchome.com.tw/kuan0416/post/1320901966>.
- Kennedy, Elizabeth Lapovsky and Madeline D. Davis. *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community*. New York: Routledge, 1993.
- Ko, Dorothy. *Cinderella's Sisters: A Revisionist History of Footbinding*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.
- Kuo, Shirley W. Y., John C. H. Fei, and Gustav Ranis. *The Taiwan Success Story: Rapid Growth with Improved Distribution in the Republic of China, 1952-1979*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1981.
- Kunzel, Regina G. *Criminal Intimacy: Prison and the Uneven History of Modern American Sexuality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010.
- Lee, David Tawei. *Taiwan in a Transformed World*. Dulles: Brassey's Inc., 1995.
- Lei, Ling Yan. "Early Drama During the Period of Xin Hai Revolution." *Shanghai Artist* 5 (2011).
- Leupp, Gary P. *Male Colors: The Construction of Homosexuality in Tokugawa Japan*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
- Levy, Jack. "Explaining Events and Developing Theories: History, Political Science, and the Analysis of International Relations." In *Bridges and Boundaries: Historians, Political Scientists, and the Study of International Relations*, edited by Colin Elman and Miriam Fendius Elman, 39-85. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2001.
- Levy, Jack. "Too Important to Leave to the Other: History and Political Science in the Study of International Relations." *International Security* 22 (1997): 22-33.

- Li, Elek. "Tong Zhi de Dan Shen." Master's Dissertation, National Taiwan University, 2012.
- Liu, Petrus. Review of *Embodied Modernities: Corporeality, Representation, and Chinese Cultures*, by Fran Martin and Larissa Heinrich. *China Review International* 14 (2008): 516-520.
- Loos, Tamara. "Transnational Histories of Sexualities in Asia." *The American Historical Review* 114 (2009): 1309-1324.
- Lu, Hsiu-Lien Annette. "Women's Liberation: The Taiwanese Experience." In *The Other Taiwan: 1945 to the Present*, edited by Murray A. Rubinstein, 287-303. New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1994.
- Lum, David Raymond. "Philanthropy and Public Welfare in Late Imperial China." PhD Dissertation, Harvard University, 1985.
- Manalansan, Martin F. *Global Divas: Filipino Gay men in the Diaspora*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.
- Manalansan, Martin F. "In the Shadows of Stonewall: Examining Gay Transnational Politics and the Diasporic Dilemma." *GLQ* 2 (1995): 425-438.
- Martin, Fran. *Backward Glances: Contemporary Chinese Cultures and the Female Homoerotic Imaginary*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2010.
- Martin, Fran. "Stigmatic Bodies: The Corporeal Qiu Miaojin." In *Embodied Modernities: Corporeality, Representation, and Chinese Cultures*, 177-195. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006.
- Martin, Fran. "From Citizenship to Queer Counterpublic: Reading Taipei's New Park." *Journal of Transnational and Crosscultural Studies* 8 (2000): 81-94.
- Martin, Fran. *Situating Sexualities: Queer Representation in Taiwanese Fiction, Film and Public Culture*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2003.
- Martin, Fran and Larissa Heinrich. *Embodied Modernities: Corporeality, Representation, and Chinese Cultures*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006.
- Maynard, Steven. "Through a Hole in the Lavatory Wall: Homosexual Subcultures, Police Surveillance, and the Dialectics of Discovery, Toronto, 1890-1930." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 5 (1994): 207-242.
- Moody, Peter W. *Political Change on Taiwan: A Study of Ruling Party Adaptability*. New York: Praeger, 1992.
- Peng, Huaizhen. "Zhen jia tong xing lian." *Zong he yue kan* 155 (1981): 143-157.
- Puar, Jasbir Kaur. "Global Circuits: Transnational Sexualities and Trinidad." *Signs* 26 (2001): 1039-1065.
- Patton, Cindy. "Stealth Bombers of Desire: The Globalization of 'Alterity' in Emerging Democracies." In *Queer Globalizations: Citizenship and the Afterlife of Colonialism*, edited by Arnaldo Cruz-Malavé and Martin F. Manalansan IV. New York: New York University Press, 2002.

- Pflugfelder, Gregory. *Cartographies of Desire: Male-Male Sexuality in Japanese Discourse, 1600-1950*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.
- Povinelli, Elizabeth A. and George Chauncey. "Introduction." *GLQ* 5 (1999): 439-449.
- Pye, Lucian W. "Civility, Social Capital, and Civil Society: Three Powerful Concepts for Explaining Asia." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 29 (1999): 763-782.
- Raitt, Suzanne. "Sex, Love and the Homosexual Body in Early Sexology." In *Sexology in Culture: Labelling Bodies and Desires*, edited by Lucy Bland and Laura Doan, 150-183. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.
- Ritzer, George. *The McDonalidization of Society: The New 'American Menage.'* Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press, 1993.
- Rofel, Lisa. "Qualities of Desire: Imagining Gay Identities in China." *GLQ* 5 (1999): 451-471.
- Rubinstein, Murray A. "Taiwan's Socioeconomic Modernization, 1971-1996." In *Taiwan: A New History*, edited by Murray A. Rubinstein, 366-403. New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2007.
- Rubinstein, Murray A. "Political Taiwanization and Pragmatic Diplomacy: The Eras of Chiang Ching-kuo and Lee Teng-hui, 1971-1994," in *Taiwan: A New History*, ed. Murray A. Rubinstein, 436-496. New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2007.
- Sang, Tze-Ian D. *The Emerging Lesbian: Female Same-Sex Desire in Modern China*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003.
- Savage, Michael, Gaynor Bagnall, and Brian Longhurst. *Globalization and Belonging*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE, 2005.
- Scott, Joan W. "The Evidence of Experience." *Critical Inquiry* 17 (1991): 773-797.
- Sinnott, Megan. "Borders, Diaspora, and Regional Connections: Trends in Asian 'Queer' Studies." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 69 (2010): 17-31.
- Smith, Andrea. "Queer Theory and Native Studies: The Heteronormativity of Settler Colonialism." *GLQ: A Journal of Gay and Lesbian Studies* 16 (2009): 41-68.
- Sommer, Matthew Harvey. *Sex, Law, and Society in Late Imperial China*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2002.
- Sommer, Matthew Harvey. "The Penetrated Male in Late Imperial China: Judicial Constructions and Social Stigma." *Modern China* 23 (1997): 140-180.
- Stevenson, Harold W. "Why Asian Students Still Outdistance Americans," *Educational Leadership* (1993).
- Strand, David. *An Unfinished Republic: Leading by Word and Deed in Modern China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011.

AC

"Taiwan Ends 4 Decades of Martial Law." *New York Times*. July 15, 1987.

<http://www.nytimes.com/1987/07/15/world/taiwan-ends-4-decades-of-martial-law.html>

Teng, Ssu-yü and John K. Fairbank. *China's Response to the West*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006.

Tien, Hung-mao. *The Great Transition: Political and Social Change in the Republic of China*. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1988.

Tsai, Ching-Hwa. "The Deregulation of Higher Education in Taiwan." *Center for International Higher Education* (1996).

https://htmldbprod.bc.edu/pls/htmldb/f?p=2290:4:0::NO:RP,4:P0_CONTENT_ID:100038

Tsai, Chiung-Tzu Lucetta. "Dilemma and Conflicts in Taiwanese Women's Leisure Participation." *Social Indicators Research: An International and Interdisciplinary Journal for Quality-of-Life Measurement* 103 (2011): 131-144.

Upchurch, Charles. "Forgetting the Unthinkable: Cross-Dressers and British Society in the Case of the Queen vs. Boulton and Others." *Gender & History* 12 (2000): 127-157.

Vicinus, Martha. "Distance and Desire: English Boarding-School Friendships/" *Signs* 9 (1984), 600-622.

Volpp, Sophie. "Classifying Lust: The Seventeenth-Century Vogue for Male Love." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 61 (2001): 77-117.

Wachman, Alan. *Taiwan: National Identity and Democratization*. New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1994.

Wah-Shan, Chou. "Homosexuality and the Cultural Politics of Tongzhi in Chinese Societies." *Journal of Homosexuality* 40 (2001): 27-46.

Wang, Peter Chen-main. "A Bastion Created, A Regime Reformed, An Economy Reengineered, 1949-1970." In *Taiwan: A New History*, edited by Murray A. Rubinstein, 320-339. New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2007.

Waters, Chris. "Havelock Ellis, Sigmund Freud and the State: Discourses of Homosexual Identity in Interwar Britain." In *Sexology in Culture: Labelling Bodies and Desires*, edited by Lucy Bland and Laura Doan, 207-242. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.

Waters, Chris. "Sexology." In *The Modern History of Sexuality*, edited by Matt Houlbrook and Harry Cocks, 41-63. London: Palgrave, 2006.

Weeks, Jeffrey. *Coming Out: Homosexual Politics in Britain from the Nineteenth Century to the Present*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1990.

White, Louise G. *Political Analysis: Technique and Practice*. San Diego: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1998.

Wiesner-Hanks, Merry E. "Crossing borders in transnational gender history." *Journal of Global History* 6 (2011): 357-379

- Wiggins, John A., Jr. "'May I Talk to You?' Ethnosexual Encounters in Taipei's New Park: A Queer Ethnography." *East Asia: An International Quarterly* (2000).
- Wing, Wah. "Law Higher Education in Taiwan: The Rule of Law and Democracy." *Center for International Higher Education* 11 (1998).
https://htmldbprod.bc.edu/pls/htmldb/f?p=2290:4:0::NO:RP,4:P0_CONTENT_ID:100046
- Wireringa, Saskia, Evelyn Blackwood, and Abha Bhaiya. *Women's Sexualities and Masculinities in a Globalizing Asia*. New York: Macmillan, 2009.
- Worsley, Peter. *The Third World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970.
- Wu, Cuncun. *Homoerotic Sensibilities in Late Imperial China*. New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004.
- Wu, Cuncun and Mark Stevenson. "Male Love Lost: The Fate of Male Same-Sex Prostitution in Beijing in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries." In *Embodied Modernities: Corporeality, Representation, and Chinese Culture*, edited by Fran Martin and Larissa Heinrich, 42-60. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006.
- Zhenyu, Zeng. "Semantic Criticism: The 'westernization' of the concepts in ancient Chinese philosophy – A discussion of Yan Fu's theory of Qi." *Frontiers of Philosophy in China* 6 (2011).