

INTRODUCTION  
TAIWAN'S LITERATURE  
OF TRANSGRESSIVE  
SEXUALITY



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On the first damp, gray day of 1999, an unsuspecting passerby en route to the vegetable market in Taipei's Gongguan neighborhood, near National Taiwan University, might have been startled to stumble on a street-side drag show in full swing, aswirl with all the fabulous frocks and stellar talents of some of the city's better-known drag artists. The inquiring pedestrian might then have peered through the window of the adjacent bookstore to see stacks of Chinese paperbacks and lifestyle magazines crammed into a tiny retail area, jostling for space with rainbow flags, buttons, and posters. It was the opening party for Gin Gin's, Taiwan's first dedicated gay and lesbian bookstore.

Gin Gin's opening in the final year of the 1990s stands as a fitting culmination of a remarkable decade in which lesbian, gay, and queer sexualities became a major focus of public attention and anxiety in Taiwan's public sphere.<sup>1</sup> It would not be an exaggeration to say that

the 1990s marked a radical shift in the way sexuality was thought and spoken about in Taiwan, suggesting the stirrings of a new, public sexual culture unprecedented not only in Taiwan but in any of the Chinese societies of the Asia-Pacific region. The decade witnessed an extraordinary efflorescence of sexual subcultures and of discussion—both hostile and amicable—about homosexuality in public fora such as newspapers, television, radio, and Internet chat rooms, as well as at universities and academic conferences. Over this ten-year period, lesbian and gay social groups emerged in the major cities of Taipei, Taichung, and Kaohsiung and on university campuses island wide; lesbian and gay political activists lobbied the government on issues including HIV/AIDS, sexuality and urban space, and discrimination on the basis of sexual preference; heated opinions on homosexual marriage and gay rights flew back and forth in the local papers and on talk-back radio; and vibrant commercial lesbian and gay cultures emerged around bars, dance clubs, and glossy lifestyle publications. The Mandarin neologisms *tongzhi* (often used in ways comparable to “lesbian and gay”) and *ku’er* (a common rendition of “queer”) came into widespread circulation, and *tongzhi* art exhibitions and film festivals began to appear regularly. At the same time—and as an integral part of the new *tongzhi* culture—the decade saw the rise to prominence of the literary movement of *tongzhi* literature (*tongzhi wenxue*) and its subgenre *ku’er* literature (*ku’er wenxue*).

This collection presents ten key texts of 1990s *tongzhi wenxue* for the first time in English translation.<sup>2</sup> Like the commentaries that accompany the translations, this Introduction attempts to position *tongzhi wenxue* in relation to its role within the broader transformation in public discourse on sexualities in 1990s Taiwan.

The island of Taiwan, lying off the east coast of southern China, has undergone several successive waves of colonization, and its colonial history has profoundly shaped the contemporary culture that is the background to the stories collected here. Populated by a majority of Han Chinese, who settled on the island from the thirteenth century, joining the island’s Indigenous inhabitants, Taiwan was ceded to

Japan in 1895 as part of the settlement at the end of the Sino-Japanese War.<sup>3</sup> The Japanese administration enforced the use of the Japanese language, the teaching of Japanese culture and history, and Japanese law upon the colonized population, and Taiwanese culture today retains notable vestiges of its Japanese colonial history. In this volume, Wu Jiwen's story, "Rose Is the Past Tense of Rise," tells of a family profoundly influenced by its elder members, who grew up under the Japanese administration: Each member of this family, for example, is called by a Japanese rather than a Chinese given name.

Taiwan was handed over to Nationalist China in 1945 after Japan's defeat at the end of the Second World War. Four years later the Kuomintang (KMT, or Nationalist) party fled with the KMT army and its allies to the island after defeat by the Communist forces in the Chinese Civil War. The KMT governed the Republic of China on Taiwan until 2000. Following its move to Taiwan in 1949, the KMT enforced the use of Mandarin in place of both the local Minnan language (a dialect of Hokkien) and Japanese, taught mainland Chinese culture and history in schools, and enforced their own legal code.<sup>4</sup> The KMT-appointed presidents during this period, Chiang Kai-shek and Chiang Ching-kuo, maintained a harshly authoritarian rule based on the principle of anti-Communism and the idea that the KMT would one day wrest mainland China from the grasp of the Chinese Communist Party. Any form of political or cultural dissent was forcibly repressed, and the society was held under martial law for thirty-eight years, from 1949 until 1987.

In the late 1980s a series of far-reaching social, economic, and political changes began to occur in Taiwan's culture. Politically the 1980s witnessed massive changes associated with the weakening of KMT hegemony: Martial law was lifted in 1987, and the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), legalized in 1986, began actively to pursue a program of nativist mobilization against rule by the authoritarian, mainlander-dominated KMT. The political and bureaucratic regulation of culture waned as the KMT lifted its ban on the founding of new newspapers and ceased censorship of literary and political texts.<sup>5</sup> While the island's economy boomed, social change was

impelled by continuing islandwide urbanization, the rise of electronic media and information technology in everyday life, an explosion of new literary and cultural journals and magazines, the continuing growth of urban middle-class markets for literature, and the solidification of an unevenly postindustrial, late capitalist form of commodity culture.<sup>6</sup> These transformations continued and deepened into the 1990s, particularly with the diversification and strengthening of a range of grassroots political movements including feminism, the Indigenous people's movement, the trade union movement, the environmental movement, and the *tongzhi* movement. The 1990s also saw Taiwan's first direct presidential elections. In a historic victory at the 2000 election, Chen Shui-bian of the DPP became the Republic's first-ever non-KMT president.

In contrast to the clearly identifiable literary schools of modernism and nativism in the 1960s and 1970s, Taiwan's literary scene in the late 1980s and 1990s has been characterized by its fragmentation into a multiplicity of disjunctive styles. Perhaps appropriately, this period coincided with the spread of the discourse of postmodernism (*houxiandaiizbuyi*), which gained impetus from Fredric Jameson's greatly influential 1987 tour of the island.<sup>7</sup> Lin Yaode characterizes the new fiction of this period, which tends to reject the humanism and historicism of the modernist and nativist movements, as "a deconstructive tide arising from the collapse of older value systems."<sup>8</sup> Chu T'ien-wen's prizewinning 1994 novel, *Notes of a Desolate Man* (*Huangren shouji*), adumbrated in Chu's earlier short story "Bodhisattva Incarnate" (translated in this volume) is an emblematic instance of the 1990s mainstreaming of a postmodernist literary aesthetic that privileges narrative fragmentation, linguistic play, a contemporary urban setting, and a global imaginary. As well as such overtly postmodernist writing, fiction in this period encompasses an unprecedented variety of other styles and genres, from realism, surrealism, metafiction, psychological literature (*xinli wenxue*), urban literature, the nostalgic "literature of the veterans' neighborhood" (*juanqu wenxue*), Indigenous literature, and feminist writing, to popular forms such as fantasy, mystery, martial arts fiction, and science fiction.<sup>9</sup> As literary critic Chou Ying-hsiung points out in his intro-

duction to a recent collection of essays on contemporary Taiwan fiction, this plurality of literary styles and forms bespeaks a multiple, fractured experience of contemporary Taiwan society. Chou argues that this plurality raises philosophical and political questions about cultural authority by forcing readers to consider from whose point of view “reality” appears as such. He asks: “Is literature’s object ultimately the reality of the Chinese mainland, or Taiwan? The city or the countryside? Han Chinese, or Indigenous Taiwanese? Patriarchal or feminist? Heterosexual or homosexual? The culture of Hokkien workers or that of the veterans’ neighborhood?”<sup>10</sup> This moment of plural, disjunctive culture and literature provides the context for the stories of 1990s *tongzhi wenxue* translated here.

If one had to single out of this cacophony of literary voices one especially noteworthy development in the literary culture of 1990s Taiwan, one might justifiably cite the remarkable rise of the literature of transgressive sexuality. The new *tongzhi* fiction is as notable for its success in earning prestigious prizes from the literary establishment as it is for its sudden appearance and proliferation since the early years of the decade. In fact it seemed at times that not a literary competition went by without at least one prize being awarded to a *tongzhi*-themed short story, novella, or novel. Among the authors represented in this collection, major literary prizes have been won for lesbian-, gay-, or queer-themed work by Chu T’ien-wen (the 1994 *China Times* Novel Prize for *Notes of a Desolate Man*); Qiu Miaojin (the 1995 *China Times* Honorary Novel Prize for *The Crocodile’s Journal*); and Chi Tawei (the 1995 *United Daily News* Novella Prize for *The Membranes*).<sup>11</sup> Other literary prizes for *tongzhi* fiction were also won in that decade by Cao Lijuan (first prize in the 1991 *United Daily News* short-story competition for the lesbian-themed story “The Maidens’ Dance,” and the 1996 *Unitas* Honorary Novella Prize for *Regarding Her White Hair and Other Matters*); Ling Yan (the 1991 *Independence Daily* Novel Prize for her lesbian-themed novel *The Silent Thrush*); Du Xiulan (the 1996 Crown Popular Fiction Prize for her lesbian-themed *Rebel Woman*); and Dong Qizhang (the 1995 *United*

*Daily News* Special Novel Prize for his transgender-themed *Double-self*). In an interesting development in the closing years of this decade of queer literary brilliance, the gay and lesbian glossy magazine *Ge3L* established the Inaugural Global Chinese *Tongzhi* Literature Prize in 1998, a competition dedicated to rewarding excellence in new lesbian and gay literary production. Three of the authors represented in this collection — Chen Xue, Wu Jiwen, and Hsu Yoshen — served as judges in the new competition.<sup>12</sup> The continuing vigor of *tongzhi wenxue* at the end of the decade suggests that the 1990s may turn out to be only the beginning for Taiwan's literature of dissident sexuality.

Highlighting the historical and social factors that led to *tongzhi wenxue*'s emergence in the 1990s as a clearly defined field of literary production should not be taken to mean that before that decade, writers from Taiwan never wrote about intragender eroticism. Indeed, modern fiction in Chinese in general, including modern literature from Taiwan, has quite often touched upon sexual relations between people of the same gender.<sup>13</sup> For Taiwan's male *tongzhi* readerships, the 1970s and early 1980s fiction of Pai Hsien-yung in particular has played a key role in inaugurating the field of *tongzhi wenxue* (especially Pai's story collection *Lonely Seventeen* [1976]; his story "A Sky Full of Bright, Twinkling Stars" [1983], translated by the author in 1994; and his novel *Crystal Boys* [1983], translated by Howard Goldblatt).<sup>14</sup> However, for the purposes of this collection, I have focused on the more or less discrete and coherent movements known as *tongzhi wenxue* and *ku'er wenxue*, which fully emerge as such only in the 1990s.

The principle that unites the stories gathered here is their reception and interpretation as *tongzhi* or *ku'er wenxue* by a self-consciously *tongzhi* community of readers. To adapt Benedict Anderson's notion, this is a kind of "imagined community" of queer readers that developed a strong understanding of itself as such during the 1990s.<sup>15</sup> The coalescence of this community of readers is illustrated in the several anthologies of *tongzhi* and *ku'er wenxue* that appeared during the decade, edited by prominent local *tongzhi* intellectuals like Chi Tawei, Yang Zongrun, and An Keqiang, and including writing by

many of the authors translated in this volume (Chu T'ien-wen, Lin Yuyi, Lin Chun Ying, Hong Ling, Chen Xue, and Chi Tawei).<sup>16</sup> Popular discussion of the new *tongzhi wenxue* by its readership is evidenced in the proliferation of Internet sites with dedicated bulletin boards for this purpose (for example, the art and literature discussion space linked from the lesbian group Women zhi Jian's homepage, or the Tongzhi Wenxueyuan discussion board for male *tongzhi* writing).<sup>17</sup> In addition to facilitating the discussion of published works, *tongzhi* Web sites also provide space for the Internet publication of fiction by aspiring *tongzhi* writers and offer reading lists of published *tongzhi wenxue* like the one linked from the Tongnü zhi Wu site (itself named after Cao Lijuan's 1991 lesbian short story "The Maiden's Dance"), which lists fiction by Taiwanese authors including Qiu Miaojin, Cao Lijuan, Chu T'ien-hsin, Chu T'ien-wen, Wu Jiwen, Lin Yuyi, Lin Chun Ying, Hong Ling, Chi Tawei, Hsu Yoshen, Chen Xue, Dong Qizhang, Ping Lu, Lai Hsiang-yin, Li Ang, and others.<sup>18</sup> Also at a popular level, Taiwan's two 1990s lesbian and gay glossy magazines, *Ge3L* and *Together*, ran regular sections on *tongzhi* fiction, reviewing both local fiction and fiction in Chinese translation, as well as publishing short stories by local *tongzhi* popular writers. Undoubtedly, the consolidation of a self-conscious *tongzhi* reading public during the 1990s was also contributed to by the publication of a series of special queer-themed issues of scholarly journals, including *Chung-wai Literary Monthly*, *Unitas*, *Eslite Book Review*, and *Isle Margin*. These special issues were contributed to and edited by local scholars specializing in the analysis of the emergent *tongzhi wenxue*, and were consumed enthusiastically by a younger generation of *tongzhi* intellectuals.<sup>19</sup>

Illustrating how this new mode of cultural production and classification facilitates forms of *tongzhi* self-identification at the level of everyday life, I'm reminded of a conversation I had with a friend from the *nütongzhi* movement during my year in Taipei in 1995. On a visit to my apartment, after perusing my shelves of Taiwan fiction, my friend Li-Li remarked with satisfaction, "Hey! You've got practically all the same books my girlfriend and I have at our place!" Li-Li's remark could be interpreted as in a sense a performative state-

ment, discursively producing a collectivity that bound us together through our shared practices of *tongzhi* reading.

Following this principle of the *tongzhi* readership as imagined community, then, the tradition of *tongzhi wenxue* comes into being at the moment of its reception, interpretation, and appropriation by its readers, rather than necessarily in the moment of its production. With the exception of the younger *ku'er* writers included here (Chi Tawei, Chen Xue, Hong Ling, and Qiu Miaojin), it is not necessarily the case that all the authors represented in this volume have thought of themselves as contributing to the project of creating *tongzhi wenxue*. Rather, their work becomes meaningful as *tongzhi wenxue* through its appropriation, classification, and indeed politicization as such by its reading public.

This point also relates to the choice of title for this volume. *Angelwings* is a reference to the story by Chen Xue included here, "Searching for the Lost Wings of the Angel," in which Cao-Cao, the lesbian author protagonist, searches for the magically enabling "wings" that will enable her to escape her entrapment as an earthbound, flightless angel. For Cao-Cao, these wings are a combination of the resolution of her love for her lover/mother, and the realization of the power of her own writing in representing and producing her sexual subjectivity.<sup>20</sup> One of the implications of *Angelwings* as a title for this collection is that *tongzhi wenxue* has the capacity to act in this enabling way not only for *tongzhi* authors, but also for the *tongzhi* readerships that this fiction precipitates. In this way the fiction collected here does not simply represent emergent forms of sexual subjectivity, but also enables and produces them.

It would be impossible in a volume of this length to include every work classifiable as *tongzhi* or *ku'er wenxue*, expansive as this field has become. Inclusions here are limited first by the date of their publication: Ten stories have been chosen that appeared between 1989 and 1998, roughly demarcating the decade of the 1990s. This is partly in order to describe the outline of the *tongzhi* and *ku'er wenxue* movements that took recognizable shape only with the publication and reception of this material in the 1990s. Partly, too, the decision to



omit earlier gay- or lesbian-themed fiction (most obviously that of Pai Hsien-yung) is due to my desire to present the work of authors whose writing has not been extensively translated into English before now. Another factor restricting what appears in this volume is length: Since this is a collection of short fiction, I have not been able to include work by writers who have to date only published novels, such as the young author of popular lesbian fiction, Du Xiulan.<sup>21</sup> Inclusions are limited to one story per author, and individual stories have been chosen either for their exemplification of an author's style, or for their special popularity with *tongzhi* readerships. Even given these restrictions, it has been impossible to provide a comprehensive translation of all the major pieces of short 1990s *tongzhi* fiction; one regrettable omission is Cao Lijuan's now classic 1991 story about the relationships among girls in an all-girls' school, "The Maidens' Dance" (*Tongnü zhi wu*). Nevertheless, while it makes no claim to be an exhaustive catalogue of *tongzhi wenxue*, the collection does, I hope, delineate the major contours of this important literary movement.

The term *tongzhi* arrived in Taiwan from Hong Kong in 1992 as part of the Chinese translation for the "New Queer Cinema" section in Taipei's annual Golden Horse Film Festival.<sup>22</sup> Prior to this there had existed no generic term that at once politicizes sexual identification and notionally also includes both men and women. Since then *tongzhi* has commonly replaced the older *tongxinglian*, which, meaning "same-sex love," is a literal and comparably pathologizing translation of the sexological term "homosexuality."<sup>23</sup> *Tongzhi* is the standard term for "comrade" in the rhetoric of both the Chinese Communist Party and the KMT and is appropriated to mean something like "lesbian/gay," partly because its first character is also the first of *tongxinglian*. *Tongzhi* can also be read, perhaps, as a cheeky citation of the "National Father" (*Guofu*) of the Republic of China, Sun Yat-sen, whose celebrated deathbed pronouncement, "The revolution has not yet succeeded; the comrades must struggle yet," has also been appropriated for *tongzhi* political struggles.<sup>24</sup> The "queer"

of “queer theory” and “queer literature,” in contrast, has appeared most commonly in academic and literary discourse since the mid-1990s as the phonetic transliteration *ku’er*.<sup>25</sup>

Although notionally the term *tongzhi* applies to both women and men, the different genders of course occupy different social positions, particularly in relation to the hegemonic system of compulsory marriage and reproduction, and hence face different pressures in the expression of transgressive sexualities. This collection contains work by five men authors and five women authors, including four lesbian-themed stories by women, one gay-themed story by a woman, four gay-themed stories by men, and one transgender-themed story by a man. The stories themselves illustrate the complexities of men’s and women’s differential positionings vis-à-vis sexual practice and sexual choice. Arguably, men are subject to the particular pressure of bearing the responsibility of continuing the family name—as we see, for example, in Hsu Yoshen’s story, in which the mainland Chinese character’s elder brother begs forgiveness of the ancestors upon discovering his younger brother kissing another man. Women, though, face overall subordination within what remains, despite the untiring efforts of Taiwan’s feminist movements, an intensely patriarchal culture.<sup>26</sup> This is demonstrated, for example, by the conceptual linkage of the category “women” with the activity of reproduction and the related myth of women’s essential sexual passivity, explored in Chu T’ien-hsin’s story, and so roundly critiqued by the work of the three lesbian authors, Qiu Miaojin, Chen Xue, and Hong Ling.

The 1990s were marked by the unprecedented confluence of a number of social and historical factors that, combined, produced the conditions for the emergence of the new public cultures of sexuality, of which the fiction gathered here forms a part. As already noted, with the political liberalizations in the final years of the 1980s came an explosion in oppositional political movements. Among these, certain branches of feminism offered the space for the development of a thoroughgoing public critique of existing gender and sexual relations. Feminist social spaces provided much of the basis for the

emergence of new forms of lesbian feminist identity and lesbian community, as demonstrated by the fact that since its establishment, Taipei's Fembooks has been one of the city's main stockists of *tongzhi* fiction and theory. With the passing of time, the alliances between *tongzhi* groups and feminist groups have grown more complex, and in some cases *tongzhi* groups have split with the feminists in order to mark out the autonomy of their sexual politics. Nevertheless, in the earlier stages of the *tongzhi* movement's development, the feminist movement undeniably provided valuable and enabling support and resources.<sup>27</sup>

The vigorous *tongzhi* political movement that emerged in the 1990s, lent impetus in part by the feminist critique of existing gender relations, went on to intervene in the local politics of gender and sexuality on many different fronts. For example, in 1993 a coalition of *tongzhi* from various groups called a meeting with the Legislative Yuan to discuss the issue of legal protection of homosexual human rights. In 1996, the Tongzhi Kongjian Xingdong Zhenxian (Tongzhi Space Alliance) lobbied against the redevelopment of Taiwan's best-known gay male cruising area in Taipei's New Park, holding a series of public fund-raising and informational activities and meeting several times with the Taipei City Government to present their case. Although homosexuality is not explicitly deemed a criminal offense in the legal code of the Republic of China, police persecution of cruising under statutes on crimes against "cultural decency" remains disturbingly common.<sup>28</sup> *Tongzhi* groups have been active in mobilizing public protest against police harassment, particularly in the latter half of the decade. *Tongzhi* activists were also involved throughout the decade in other grassroots political movements, such as supporting the licensed sex workers whose work licenses were summarily revoked by Chen Shui-bian's Taipei City Government in 1997.

The rapid and ongoing urbanization of Taiwanese society over the past thirty years means that increasingly, ties to the family and the hometown are weakened. As younger people move to the cities for study and work, they move away from the ties of blood family and are increasingly able to forge nontraditional modes of extrafamilial intimacy—encompassing modes of collective sociality based

on *tongzhi* identification as well as same-sex sexual relationships—while geographically distant families are relatively less able to exert pressure on children to marry. During this same period, the wane of centralized government authority over culture and the rise of a consumer society has meant that culture is determined increasingly by markets and decreasingly by government decree. (Lending weight to the idea that the commodification of culture tends to open up hitherto unguessed-at possibilities, Chi Tawei wryly notes the startling appearance of posters on the sides of buses in the mid-1990s advertising a product called “Queer Underpants.”)<sup>29</sup>

The flourishing of commercial and social *tongzhi* subcultures in the 1990s had been preceded by the initial quiet stirrings of the movement in the 1980s.<sup>30</sup> Underground gay bars were already in existence at the beginning of that decade, while the first exclusively lesbian bars began to appear in its later years. HIV/AIDS activist Chi Chia-wei came out publicly to the media in 1986, but it wasn’t until 1990 that the first public lesbian or gay organization was founded—the lesbian social and activist group Women zhi Jian (Between Us; after the French film *Entre Nous*). In 1994 Women zhi Jian put out the first edition of its newsletter, *Nüpengyou* (Girlfriend), which is still published eight years later and has become a central medium for the reproduction of local lesbian subculture. In 1993 National Taiwan University’s gay student society, Gay Chat, was formed, prompting the formation of similar campus-based groups around the island in following years. In December 1993 the first aboveground lesbian or gay magazine, the lesbian *Ai bao* (Love paper) was launched. The ‘zine-style publication, which ran to four issues, was written and edited largely by graduate students from National Taiwan University and contained a mixture of theoretical and political articles, cartoons, poetry, and information about international lesbian icons like k.d. lang and The Indigo Girls.

In 1994 an islandwide local Internet system was established, enabling the beginnings of what proliferated over the second half of the 1990s into a massive interlinked local network of *tongzhi* Bulletin Board System sites, known as MOTSS boards (Members of the Same Sex), located largely on university servers and freely accessi-

ble to students. The emergence of the culture of *tongzhi wangyou* (*tongzhi* net-users) was immensely significant in the spread of the “imagined *tongzhi* community” into parts of the island distant from the big cities, and also into demographics, such as young students, unable to access public and commercial *tongzhi* cultures.<sup>31</sup>

In the same year, National Taiwan University’s official lesbian student group, the Lambda Society, was formed, and the third international Asian Lesbian Network conference was held in Taiwan, bringing together hundreds of women from all over Taiwan as well as from across the Asia-Pacific and South Asian regions, the United States, and Australia. The first edition of the glossy *tongzhi*-directed *Ge3L* magazine was released in 1996, and in 1998 was joined by the second such publication, *Together*.<sup>32</sup>

Alongside and often in concert with *tongzhi* social, commercial, and political activity, there developed a lively and politicized *tongzhi* academic and publishing culture. From early in the decade, a cohort of diasporic intellectuals began returning to Taiwan following graduate study in feminism, lesbian and gay studies, and related disciplines in the United States and Europe. Now teaching in English departments at major universities, including National Taiwan University and National Taiwan Central University, these scholars began offering courses in lesbian and gay studies and queer theory, and were soon organizing regular conferences on sexuality studies. The year 1994 saw the opening of Nüshudian (Fembooks), a feminist bookstore initially associated with the independent feminist organization Funü Xinzhi Jijinhui (Women’s Awakening Foundation), which became a major stockist of lesbian, gay, and *tongzhi*-themed books and journals in Chinese and English. In December 1995, Gay Sunshine Press was established, Taiwan’s first and only publishing house to deal exclusively with *tongzhi* fiction and nonfiction titles in Chinese, including translations of English-language works. In the same year a group of scholars established the Center for the Study of Sexualities (Xing/Bie Yanjiushi) at National Taiwan Central University. The Center now hosts regular conferences and visiting scholars in the field of lesbian, gay, and sexuality studies.

Aside from the support the nascent *tongzhi* movement found

among other oppositional political movements and the impetus it gained from social factors like urbanization and the rise of a commodity culture, the official cultural policy of the KMT government in the 1990s increasingly, if always ambivalently, embraced a liberal sexual politics. Some have seen this as a means toward promulgating an international image of Taiwan as a liberal, democratic society in implicit contrast to the People's Republic of China's reputation for authoritarian rule and repression of heterodoxy.<sup>33</sup> Illustrative of this is the enthusiastic official support for Ang Lee's gay-themed film *The Wedding Banquet*, the product of a cooperation between the government-owned Central Motion Picture Corporation in Taipei and Good Machine Production in New York. Dr. Jason Hu, director general of Taiwan's Government Information Office at the time, stated publicly when the film won the Golden Bear at Berlin in 1993 that "the significant meaning of *The Wedding Banquet*'s success is to tell the world that Taiwan has not only attained economic miracles, it has achieved cultural miracles, as well."<sup>34</sup> The progressive, globalized, bourgeois (post-"economic miracle") construction of Taiwan projected by the film is linked closely to its representation of an elderly Taiwanese couple's uneasy acceptance of their expatriate gay son. Thus, in contrast to other states in the region (for example Malaysia, Singapore, or the People's Republic of China), the official line on homosexuality in Taiwan during this period, if there was one, was one of ambivalent "tolerance" rather than overt repression.<sup>35</sup>

This general climate enabled the entry of the homosexual topic into public discourse in a number of unprecedented ways. Many queer-themed films were released throughout the 1990s; mainstream, art-house, experimental, and documentary. Aside from *The Wedding Banquet*, these also include Tsai Ming-liang's art-house trilogy *Rebels of the Neon God* (1992), *Vive l'Amour* (1994), and *The River* (1996); Mickey Chen's documentaries *Not Simply a Wedding Banquet* (with Ming-Hsiu Chen, 1997) and *Beautiful Youth* (1998); Li Xiangru's lesbian documentary *2,1* (1999); Wu Mi-sen's art-house feature *Fluffy Rhapsody* (2000), and a series of short student films including Weng Ching-ting's *Voice of the Sunflower* (2000), Allen Chang and Chen Tayu's *Travelling* (2000), and Wang Junhua's *So Long* (2000).

In 1994 two major daily newspapers, the *China Times* and the *Taiwan Libao* began running weekly columns on *tongzhi* culture. And in 1995 the first regular *tongzhi* radio shows went to air on independent radio stations. In 1996, author and well-known public figure Hsu Yoshen (whose story “Stones on the Shore” appears in this volume) married his long-term male partner in a public ceremony in Taipei City, attended by a representative of its then mayor, now president, Chen Shui-bian.

One should not forget, however, that the increased visibility of *tongzhi* cultures within Taiwan’s public sphere has also precipitated the emergence of new forms of homophobic violence. In 2001, for example, the plate glass window of Gin Gin’s bookstore was repeatedly smashed, leading *tongzhi* groups to publicly protest what they viewed as a hate crime. Another instance of rising homophobia is what came to be known as the TTV News Incident of 1992. In March of that year, a female reporter from TTV, one of Taiwan’s three free-to-air stations, entered a lesbian bar with a hidden camera and filmed the bar’s patrons without their permission or their knowledge. The footage, together with the reporter’s strongly homophobic commentary, was aired on TTV’s evening news and caused the catastrophic “outing” of several of the women to their families. Under pressure from *tongzhi* groups, the National Press Council eventually ruled that the program had been inappropriate, and TTV was forced to apologize. Ultimately, Qu Meifeng, the female reporter responsible for the story, even did an interview with *Together* magazine, ostensibly in an effort to clear herself of the smear of homophobia, and the interview appeared along with a series of photographs of Qu herself in appealing, faintly lesbian-styled poses and outfits.<sup>36</sup> But similar incidents involving the outing of unsuspecting *tongzhi* by television news and documentary media continued to occur. There were at least two more major cases in 1998 alone, and media voyeurism continues to be an important target of organized *tongzhi* protest.<sup>37</sup>

In addition to the social and historical factors discussed above, the rise of *tongzhi* cultures in 1990s Taiwan cannot be analyzed without a consideration of the role of global cultural flows. The emergence of dedicated centers, conferences, journal issues, books, and university

courses on nonstraight sexualities happened not in a vacuum but, in part, as a result of flows of scholarly knowledge into Taiwan from the circuits of globalizing lesbian and gay studies. Similarly, people's ways of understanding themselves as "gay" or "lesbian"—or, indeed, as *tongzhi*—did not well up spontaneously within individuals but arose, at least in part, as complex responses to the flows of globalizing gay style and politics. Given this, one set of questions raised by a collection like this one, which promises "queer fiction from Taiwan," is about the relationship between this apparently local and specific form of sexual identification in *tongzhi* and *ku'er*; and the Euro-American sexual cultures with which this volume's readers are likely to be more familiar. To pose the question in its crudest form, does the fiction collected here, now appearing alongside anthologies of lesbian and gay fiction from the United States, Britain, and Australia, simply represent an annex to Euro-American versions of nonstraight sexualities? Are the forms of dissident sexuality represented in these stories no more than far-flung expressions of a global and universal lesbian-and-gay movement and identity? Or, on the other hand, should we approach these stories as expressions of a unique and native form of sexual dissidence, particular and limited to Taiwan and with no necessary relation to more familiar sexual cultures?

Emphasizing as they do the intricate syncretisms of contemporary Taiwan cultures, the stories themselves suggest the inadequacy of this either/or approach to the question of this writing's linkage into global circuits versus its local particularity. For most of the stories gathered here, "Taiwan" itself is anything but a simple or self-evident cultural location. For the protagonist of Chu T'ien-wen's "Bodhisattva Incarnate," for example, personal memory of a childhood in 1960s Taiwan is populated with the televisual personae of Agent 99 of *Get Smart* and Sergeant Saunders of *Combat!* at the same time as it is overlaid with the theme song from the Taiwanese animated series *Jing Jing*. Wu Jiwen's "Rose Is the Past Tense of Rise" reveals a postwar Taiwan everywhere marked by the vestiges of the departed Japanese colonizer culture, while for the protagonist of Hsu Yoshen's "Stones by the Shore," "Taiwan" is a set of ambivalent and painful memories retrieved at a distance from his sojourn in



New York. The intellectual contexts of Qiu Miaojin's "Platonic Hair," Chu T'ien-hsin's "A Story of Spring Butterflies," and Lin Chun Ying's "Who is Singing?" are provided by Plato, Aristophanes, Nietzsche, Adorno, and Foucault, while the narrator of Lin Yuyi's "The Boy in the Pink Orchid Tree" recalls an adolescence spent reading Chinese philosophers Xiong Shili, Fang Dongmei, and Lao Sze-kwang, and Chinese historian Qian Mu. What the stories suggest, I think, is a local context characterized by its traffic with globalizing cultural flows, the location neither of a seamless absorption into global culture, nor of a pure and self-evident "cultural tradition."

As Chi Tawei proposes in his introduction to his two 1997 collections of queer fiction and theory from Taiwan, *ku'er* itself—and, I would add, also *tongzhi*—is best viewed as a kind of cultural hybrid, the syncretic product of "glocalization," or local appropriations of global discourses.<sup>38</sup> While the artistic, political, commercial, and subcultural emergence of *tongzhi* and *ku'er* cultures in 1990s Taiwan is clearly conditioned by globally mobile knowledge formations of lesbian, gay, and queer, nevertheless, when these formations reach Taiwan and take root, the specific cultural and historical conditions they encounter there—conditions, already, of cultural hybridity and mix—inevitably shape the forms of *tongzhi* and *ku'er* that arise. For example, as Chi also notes, while "queer" emerged in 1990s Euro-American contexts as a response to and critique of pre-existing lesbian and gay cultures and politics, the term *ku'er* was first used in Taiwan in the local journal *Isle Margin* in 1994, just two years after the local appropriation of the term *tongzhi*.<sup>39</sup> The uncanny simultaneity of the emergence of *tongzhi* sexual identity and *ku'er*'s post-structuralist identity critique suggests that the journey of lesbian, gay, and queer politics and theory to Taiwan follows the familiar pattern of disjuncture that Arjun Appadurai has argued characterizes cultural flow more generally in the era of globalization.<sup>40</sup>

In its theoretical forms, *ku'er* did take on "queer's" poststructuralist preoccupation with deconstructing sexual identity. But it was less concerned with a critique of *tongzhi* politics—since these had only been around as such for a couple of years—than with a generalized critique of the politics of sexuality dominant in broader Taiwan soci-

ety at the time. The local anxieties Chi notes over whether under these circumstances *ku'er* could be considered a faithful translation of “queer” echo more general anxieties about the relationship between modern Taiwan literary culture and the “Western.”<sup>41</sup> Criticisms that *ku'er* was merely slavishly derivative of Western models and inappropriate to Taiwan’s situation come uncannily close to the criticisms of Taiwanese literary modernism noted by Sung-sheng Yvonne Chang years earlier.<sup>42</sup> Ironically, what these ongoing anxieties about the relationships between Taiwanese and Western literatures and cultures signify most clearly is the ineluctable *linkages* between the two. Literary and cultural critics are correct in noting the influence of Euro-American culture on contemporary Taiwanese literature, since a degree of Euro-American influence is indeed an inescapable condition of Taiwan’s literary and cultural modernities. The argument that the appropriation of Western models is “inappropriate” to a Taiwan context seems less convincing, though, given the enthusiasm with which such models continue to be taken up locally and the rich and prolific results produced from this cross-cultural cross-pollination, amply evidenced in the stories collected in this volume.

The authors whose work appears in this volume might be divided along very rough generational lines into two main groups. The first group includes those born between the mid-1950s and the mid-1960s (Chu T’ien-wen, Chu T’ien-hsin, Lin Yuyi, Lin Chun Ying, Hsu Yoshen, and Wu Jiwen); the second, those born between the late 1960s and the early 1970s (Qiu Miaojin, Chen Xue, Hong Ling, and Chi Tawei). This division is reflected only partly in the ordering of the stories, which are organized according to their date of publication rather than the author’s date of birth. But the stylistic differences between the younger and older generation of writers are marked. In particular, while the older writers encompass a range of styles and narratorial techniques, the younger authors have enough in common stylistically and politically to be considered representative of *ku'er wenxue*, the more recent subgenre of *tongzhi wenxue*. These

younger writers, whose university years coincided with the first years of the *tongzhi* movement, are in general self-conscious about their status as “queer writers,” and address the topic of dissident sexualities in a direct and committed way in their writing. All of these younger writers—with the exception of Qiu Miaojin, who suicided at the age of just twenty-six, in 1995—were actively involved in the development of Taiwan’s intellectual and political *tongzhi* cultures throughout the decade. Chi Tawei suggests a provisional list of three characteristics that could be taken as definitive of *ku’er wenxue*.<sup>43</sup> First, it highlights the mutation and performance of identity both through its preponderance of metamorphosing characters such as vampires and werewolves (in Hong Ling’s writing), anthropomorphized animals (in Qiu Miaojin’s *The Crocodile’s Journal*), angels (in Chen Xue’s “Searching,” included here), and androids (in Chi Tawei’s *The Membranes*); and also through its playful narrative strategies that often obscure or problematize the identity of the narrator or protagonist (as in Qiu’s “Platonic Hair,” included here). Second, it emphasizes erotic fluidity and multiplicity rather than suggesting any clearly defined model of sexual identity. Third—and, I would suggest, most definitively—*ku’er wenxue* is marked by its highly committed political critique of existing forms of sexual and gendered power in present-day Taiwan. Among the stories collected here, such a critique is particularly evident in Chi’s own “A Stranger’s ID” and Qiu Miaojin’s “Platonic Hair.”

Despite the stylistic, political, and generational divisions between the *ku’er* writers and their slightly older counterparts, some common themes and preoccupations are evident across the collection. Most obvious among these is the question of relationships with blood family, which as Chris Berry notes in relation to queer East Asian cinema, sets these works apart from their Euro-American counterparts, which tend to de-emphasize the relationships of lesbian and gay characters to family.<sup>44</sup> It is the dominance of the ideologies of family in the cultural context of Taiwan and the tectonic shifts in the practices and meanings of “family” following the immense social upheavals of the past fifty years that compel these authors to explore homosexual identification in relation to the experience of blood

family. But the forms of family and “family values” that are represented in these stories are anything but simple or naively celebratory. Hsu Yoshen’s story centers on the gay protagonist’s conflicted and unresolved relationship with his father and includes the stories of two secondary characters estranged from their blood families, due to the latter’s rejection of their homosexuality. Both Chen Xue’s and Hong Ling’s stories thematize deeply ambivalent, troubled relationships between mothers and daughters, which oscillate between intense sexual love and violently destructive hatred. Wu Jiwen’s “Rose Is the Past Tense of Rise,” meanwhile, is the story of a man’s transgender journey toward becoming a woman, told within the context of the family, from aunt to nephew. The aunt’s narrative concludes with a stark statement of how her gender transition immediately became the family’s biggest secret and taboo. If blood family is central to these stories, then, it figures less as a self-evident or stable manifestation of “cultural tradition” than as a staging ground for rethinkings of individual subjectivities in relation to the often competing and always deeply-felt claims of both family and sexuality. In this process the notion of “family” is itself refigured and transformed as a result of the unorthodox desires that inhabit and haunt it.

The reworking of traditional gender formations is another theme found in more than one of these stories, and this reworking bespeaks a critical, *tongzhi* deconstruction of normative gender as much as it indexes the broader project of reimagining masculinities and femininities for Taiwan’s contemporary, posttraditional cultures.<sup>45</sup> Qiu Miaojin’s “Platonic Hair” is at once the clearest and most complex example of this, with its figuration of a “T” (comparable but not reducible to the English-language category “butch”) lesbian masculinity that approximates male masculinity both in sartorial style (suits, short hair, and aftershave) and in its erotic attraction to femininity. Here, sexual nonconformity is marked by a form of specifically lesbian gender crossing. Chu T’ien-hsin’s “A Story of Spring Butterflies,” also, self-consciously subverts the reader’s preconceptions regarding the narrator’s gender identity—though in this case with quite different consequences. Wu Jiwen’s male-to-female transgendered character, meanwhile, is driven in his early

years by a desire that is less an erotic attraction to other men than a yearning for a feminine gender identity. Each of these stories intimates the inextricable conceptual linkage of sexual with gender definition, while also suggesting the possibility of creative reconfigurations of both by variously queer subjects.

Written as they were during the 1990s, a decade in which Taiwanese people were themselves more than ever transnationally mobile in travel, overseas education, and long-term immigration, it's not surprising that several of these stories are concerned with the complexities of desire and sexual identification in diaspora. The clearest example is Hsu Yoshen's "Stones on the Shore," about a Taiwanese man who falls in love with a mainland Chinese dancer in New York City and through their relationship is able to move toward a resolution of his conflicted feelings about his family, Taiwan, and his own cultural identification as Chinese. As well as emphasizing the characters' final rejection of racist American "rice queen" culture, this story suggests a queering of the idea of "Chineseness" itself through its linkage of the protagonist's desire for Chinese cultural identity with his sexual desire for the mainland Chinese man Meng Gang. Lin Chun Ying's story, too, contains a section in which the narrator looks back at Taiwan from a lonely sojourn as a student in New York; here again Taiwan appears in the memory of the diasporic subject as something ambivalently desired: the location of an identificatory plenitude now irretrievably lost. The protagonist of Wu Jiwen's story similarly experiences Taiwan as lost origin, this time from the perspective of Japan. Taiwan, for this character, is a homeland so distant as to border on the illusory. When approached by a Japanese man who grew up in Taiwan during the Japanese occupation and now feels homesick for the island, Wu's protagonist creates for him a "fictive nostalgia" of Taiwan, describing "the picture of a childhood foreign even to himself." Each of these stories examines, in a different way, the intricate connections between sexuality and cultural location, and the unpredictable rescriptings of identification and desire that inevitably take place with mobility across geographic divides.<sup>46</sup>

What most clearly brings the *tongzhi wenxue* presented here together as a coherent body of work for an international readership is that, whether implicitly or explicitly, each of the stories calls into question the social structures that deny a legitimate place to individuals who cannot or will not perform heterosexual “normality.” As a literary movement, *tongzhi wenxue* effects a sustained critique of the status quo on sexuality that has stood so long unchallenged in Taiwan; indeed, this is also in large part what enables it to be appropriated and enjoyed by local *tongzhi* readerships. More than this, though, these stories compel a fundamental rethinking of the place and effects of queer sexualities within culture. Documenting the unpredictable micromovements of desire in everyday life, they figure the abiding copresence of nonstraight eroticisms *within* the school (Lin Yuyi), the family (Chen Xue, Hong Ling, and Wu Jiwen), the city (Chu T’ien-wen and Chi Tawei), and even marriage (Chu T’ien-hsin). In doing this, the stories collected here reveal the stirrings of unsettling desires at the very heart of contemporary Taiwan’s society and culture.

## NOTES

1. “Queer” is a term that emerged in the early 1990s in academic and activist circles as a critique of the identity politics of the earlier lesbian and gay studies and movement. The term was adopted in various ways in Taiwan during the same period. For further discussion see pp. 17–18.

2. The only exception to this is Chen Xue’s “Searching for the Lost Wings of the Angel,” which appeared in my translation in *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 7:1 (Spring 1999), 51–69. It was retranslated by Patricia Sieber in her (ed.) *Red Is Not the Only Color: Contemporary Chinese Fiction on Love and Sex between Women, Collected Stories* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001) under the title “In Search of the Lost Wings of the Angels,” 153–168.

3. On Taiwan’s early settlement by Han Chinese from Fujian, see Chen Kongli, *Taiwan lishi wangyao* (An outline of Taiwan’s history) (Taipei: Renjian, 1996: 17–31). For a more extended discussion of Taiwan vis-à-vis postcoloniality, see Ping-Hui Liao, “Postcolonial Studies in Taiwan: Issues in Critical Debates,” *Postcolonial Studies* 2:2 (July 1999): 199–211.

4. Minnan language is the dialect of Hokkien spoken in the south of

Fujian province and on Taiwan. In Taiwan it is also known colloquially, and in line with Taiwanese nativist sentiment, as *Taiyu* or “Taiwanese.” See Chen Kongli, *Taiwan lishi*, 319–325, 367–369, and Allen Chun, “The Culture Industry as National Enterprise: The Politics of Heritage in Contemporary Taiwan,” *Culture and Policy* 6:1 (1994): 69–89.

5. Hao Yuxiang, “Wo shi shei?!: Lun baling niandai Taiwan xiaoshuo-zhongde zhengzhi miwang” (Who Am I?! — The confusion of identity in Taiwanese fiction of the 1980s), *Zhongwai wenxue* (Chung-wai literary monthly) 26:12 (May 1998): 150–170. See also Sung-sheng Yvonne Chang, “Introduction,” in *Modernism and the Nativist Resistance: Contemporary Chinese Fiction from Taiwan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 1–22.

6. On modernism and nativism, see Chang, *Modernism*. On 1980s literature, see also Meng Fan and Lin Yaode, “Yi dangdai shiye shuxie baling niandai Taiwan wenxue shi” (Writing 1980s Taiwanese literary history from the point of view of the present), in Meng and Lin, eds., *Shijimo pianbang: Baling niandai Taiwan wenxue lun* (Toward the millenium: 1980s Taiwan literary criticism) (Taipei: Shibao, 1990), 5–12; Chen Sihe, “Dan kai fengqi bu wei shi: Lun Taiwan xin shidai xiaoshuo zai wenxueshishangde yiyi” (On the literary-historical significance of Taiwan’s new fiction), in Meng and Lin, eds., *Shijimo*, 327–360; Lin Yaode, “Baling niandai Taiwan dushi wenxue” (Taiwan’s 1980s Urban Literature), in *ibid.*, 361–397; Ye Shitao, *Taiwan wenxuede kunjing* (The dilemma of Taiwanese literature) (Kaohsiung: Paise, 1992); and Liu Chuncheng, *Taiwan wenxuede liangge shijie* (The Two Worlds of Taiwanese Literature) (Kaohsiung, Taiwan: Paise, 1992).

7. For a Marxist critique of the celebration of *houxiandai* by 1980s writers, see Lü Zhenghui, “Baling niandai Taiwan xiaoshuode zhuliu” (Mainstream fiction in 1980s Taiwan), in Meng and Lin, eds., *Shijimo*, 269–292. For a postcolonial critique of the appropriation of *houxiandai* in Taiwan, see Chen Fangming, “Houxiandai huo houzhimin: Zhanhou Taiwan wenxueshide yige jieyi” (Postmodern or postcolonial: An interpretation of postwar Taiwan’s literary history), in Chou Ying-hsiung and Liu Joyce Chi-hui, eds., *Shuxie Taiwan: Wenxueshi, houzhimin yu houxiandai* (Writing Taiwan: Strategies of representation) (Taipei: Rye Field, 2000), 41–64.

8. Lin, “Baling Niandai,” 376. Again, Hao Yuxiang suggests that “new generation” writing reflects the dissolution of national, cultural, and individual “identities,” as Taiwan culture is subject to the effects of postmodernist pluralism, increasing commodification, and cultural globalization (166). See also Ye Shitao, *Taiwan wenxuede kunjing*, 35–38.

9. Huang Fan and Lin Yaode's (eds.) 12-volume collection, *Xin shidai xiaoshuo daxi* (Great series of new era fiction) (Taipei: Xidai, 1989), divides the short stories of writers born after 1949 into eleven genres: political, urban, industrial/commercial, rural, psychological, historical/war, science fiction, mystery, martial arts, school/university, and romantic fiction. See also Liu Chuncheng, *Taiwan wenxuede liangge*. Cf. Lü Zhenghui, who links this new pluralist literary scene to the commodification of culture, comparing it with the "choices" offered by the late capitalist marketplace.

10. Chou Ying-hsiung, "Shuxie Taiwande liangnan celüe" (The strategic dilemma of writing Taiwan), in Chou Ying-hsiung and Liu Joyce Chi-hui, eds., *Shuxie Taiwan*, 16–17.

11. Literary prizes or placings have also been won by Chu T'ien-hsin, Lin Yuyi, and Lin Chun Ying for other work.

12. See An Keqiang, ed., *Loulan nü yu Liu Yue Qing* (The Lou-lan girl and June Blue) (Taipei: Re'ai, 1999) for a collection of commended stories. The 1998 prize was won by the young author Huang Huo for his homoerotic "The Lou-lan Girl and June Blue."

13. For an annotated bibliography of Chinese fiction from 1974–1997 that touches on same-gender eroticism or love, see Chi Tawei, ed., *Ku'er kuanghuanjie: Taiwan dangdai queer wenxue duben* (Queer carnival: A reader of the queer literature in Taiwan) (Taipei: Metamedia, 1997), 249–262. There exists a substantial body of scholarship on the literary construction of femininity and feminine intimacies in modern Chinese fiction. See for example Wendy Larson, *Women and Writing in Modern China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998); Sally Taylor Lieberman, *The Mother and Narrative Politics in Modern China* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1998); Lydia H. Liu, "Invention and Intervention: The Making of a Female Tradition in Modern Chinese Literature," in Susan Brownell and Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom, eds., *Chinese Femininities, Chinese Masculinities: A Reader* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2002); Tze-lan Debo-rah Sang, "Translating Homosexuality: The Discourse of *Tongxing ai* in Republican China," in Lydia H. Liu, ed., *Tokens of Exchange: The Problem of Translation in Global Circulations* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1999), and "The Emerging Lesbian: Female Same-Sex Desire in Modern Chinese Literature and Culture" (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1996); Xueping Zhong, "Sisterhood? Representations of Women's Relationships in Two Contemporary Chinese Texts," in Tonglin Lu, ed., *Gender and Sexuality in Twentieth-Century Chinese Literature and Society* (New York:



SUNY Press, 1993). Patricia Sieber offers a concise summary of some of this work in her Introduction to *Red Is Not the Only Color*; 1–35.

14. Pai Hsien-yung, “Mantianli liangjingjingde xingxing” (A sky full of bright, twinkling stars), in Alberto Manguel and Craig Stephenson, eds., *The Flamingo Anthology of Gay Literature: In Another Part of the Forest* (London: Flamingo, 1994), 284–290. A revised translation by Pai Hsien-yung and Patia Yasin appears in Pai Hsien-yung, *Taipei People*, Chinese-English bilingual ed. (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2000), 311–325. Pai Hsien-yung, *Crystal Boys* (*Niezi*), trans. Howard Goldblatt (San Francisco: Gay Sunshine Press, 1995).

15. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).

16. Chi Tawei, ed., *Ku’er kuanghuanjie*; Yang Zongrun, ed., *Zhongli xun ta* (Searching for him in the crowd) (Taipei: Gay Sunshine Press, 1996), and *Nande you qing* (A rare love) (Taipei: Gay Sunshine Press, 1997); and An Keqiang, ed., *Loulun*. See also Lu Jianxiong, ed., *Tata tatade gushi* (His stories, her stories) (Hong Kong: Worldson, 1996), which includes short *tongzhi* fiction from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and mainland China.

17. *Women zhi jian*’s discussion board is accessed from <<http://home.kimo.com.tw/wzjj.tw>> (accessed 27 Feb 2002); the *Tongzhi wenxueyuan* is at <<http://w02.wantclick.com/tempHtml/9266.htm?date=11>> (accessed 27 Feb 2002).

18. <<http://www.geocities.com/great5466/book/novel.htm>> (accessed 27 Feb 2002). See also Liu Jialing, “Kanjian tongzhi—Taiwan tongzhi wenxue yu yundong” (Seeing *tongzhi*: Taiwan’s *tongzhi* fiction and movement), at <<http://www.books.com.tw/activity/world-page/0914.htm>> (accessed 27 Feb 2002). Liu’s article refers to the writing of Pai Hsien-yung, Hsu Yoshen, and Qiu Miaojin, and discusses Wu Jiwen’s *Galaxies in Ecstasies*.

19. For example, *Chengpin yuedu* (Eslite book review) 17 (September 13–25, 1994), Special Issue on “*Tongxinglian*” (Homosexuality); *Daoyu bianyuan* (Isle margin) 10 (January 1994), Special Issue on *Queer*; in which Chen Xue’s “Searching for the Lost Wings of the Angel” first appeared (91–102); *Zhongwai wenxue* (Chung-wai literary monthly) 289 (June 1996) Special Issue on *Tongzhi lunshu* (Queer studies); *Chung-wai Literary Monthly* 303 (August 1997), Special Issue on *Yanyi xing yu xingbie: Ku’er xiaoshuo yu yanjiu* (Proliferating sexual and gender differences: Queer studies and queer fiction), ed. Liou Liang-ya; *Chung-wai Literary Monthly* 312 (May 1998), Special Issue on *Guaitai qingyuxue* (Queer sexuality), ed. Chang Hsiao-hung;

*Lianhe wenxue* (Unitas) 148 (February 1997), Special Issue on *Feichang aiyu: Tongzhibixue, tongzhi wenxue* (A different love: *Tongzhi* studies, *Tongzhi* fiction).

20. For a detailed discussion of Chen's story in these terms, see Fran Martin, "Chen Xue's Queer Tactics," *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 7:1 (Spring 1999): 71–94.

21. The one exception in this regard is the excerpt that appears here from Wu Jiwen's 1998 novel, *Galaxies in Ecstasies*, which stands equally well on its own as a piece of short fiction, as it in fact originally appeared when serialized in the *China Times*.

22. See Xiao Wenhui, "Zheige ren feichang Lin Yihua" (This guy is very Edward Lam), in *Chengpin Yuedu* (Eslite book review) 17 (Sept 13–25, 1994): 54–56.

23. On the entry of the medical discourse on homosexuality into China during the Republican period, see Tze-lan Deborah Sang, "Translating Homosexuality," 1999, and "Emerging Lesbian," 1996: 95–107, and Frank Dikötter, *Sex, Culture and Modernity in China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1995), 137–145.

24. For example, see Ni Jiazhen, "Jiuling niandai tongxinglian lunshu yu yundong zhuti zai Taiwan" (Homosexuality theory and activism's agency on 1990s Taiwan), in He Chunrui, ed., *Xing/bie yanjiude xin shiye* (Visionary essays in sexuality/gender studies), Vol. 1 (Taipei: Metamedia, 1997), 125–148. Sun's pronouncement in Mandarin is "*Geming shangwei chenggong, tongzhi reng xu nuli.*"

25. *Ku'er* appears perhaps most prominently in Chi Tawei's two collections of *ku'er* literature and theory, *Queer Carnival* and *Ku'er qishilü: Taiwan dangdai queer lunshu duben* (Queer archipelago: A reader of the queer discourses in Taiwan) (Taipei: Metamedia, 1997).

26. See also Sieber, "Introduction," in her (ed.) *Red Is Not the Only Color*, 1–35.

27. For further discussion see Tze-lan Deborah Sang, "Feminism's Double: Lesbian Activism in the Mediated Public Sphere of Taiwan," in Mayfair Mei-hui Yang, ed., *Spaces of Their Own: Women's Public Sphere in Transnational China* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 132–161.

28. The laws most often used to prosecute those showing homosexual behavior in public are those which criminalize *fangbai shanliang fengsu* (the endangering of fine customs and traditions) (Article 2, Clauses 80–84 in the "Laws for the Protection of Social Order," in Zhang Zhiben and Lin Jidong, eds., *Zui.xin liufa quanshu* [The latest edition of the six legal categories] [Taipei:

Da Zhongguo, 1996]), and those which specify *fangbai fenghua zui* (the crime of endangering cultural decency) (Criminal Law Article 16, clauses 224, 225, 227, 233, Zhang and Lin, eds., *Zui xin*, 390). See also note 35.

29. Chi, *Archipelago*, 9.

30. References for the social history sketched here are Zheng Meili, *Nü'er quan: Taiwan nütongzhide xingbie, jiating yu quannei shenghuo* (Girls' circle: Taiwan lesbians' gender, family, and lesbian life) (Taipei: Nüshu, 1997); Taida Nütongxinglian Wenhua Yanjiushe (Lambda), *Women shi nütongxinglian* (We are lesbians) (Taipei: Shiren, 1995); Yuanyuan Chuanbo Qihua Xiaozu (Yuanyuan Broadcasting Planning Committee), *Airen tongzhi* (Tongzhi lover) (Taipei: Jin Bolo, 1996); and Antonia Yengning Chao, "Embodying the Invisible: Body Politics in Constructing Contemporary Taiwanese Lesbian Identities" (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1996), 28–46.

31. See Chris Berry and Fran Martin, "Syncretism and Synchronicity: Queer'n'Asian Cyberspace in 1990s Taiwan and Korea," in Chris Berry, Fran Martin, and Audrey Yue, eds., *Mobile Cultures: New Media and Queer Asia* (Durham: Duke University Press, forthcoming 2003).

32. However, both these magazines had ceased publication by 2001.

33. Cindy Patton, "Yuwang yinxing hongzhaji: Xinxing guojiazhong 'yiji' quanqiu hua zhi xianxiang" (Stealth bombers of desire: The globalization of 'alterity' in emerging democracies), trans. Zhuang Ruilin, in Center for the Study of Sexualities, ed., *Working Papers in Gender/Sexuality Studies* 3–4 (1998): 301–323.

34. Quoted in Peng Jinhua, "*Xi yan yongbao jinxiong jiang*: Taiwan dianying yangmei guoji" (*The Wedding Banquet* embraces the Golden Bear Award: Taiwan movies win high acclaim at Berlin Film Festival), *Cosmorama*, April 1993, 9.

35. Of course, this does not mean that in practice all harassment of *tongzhi* automatically ceased. Despite the cultural policy linking Taiwan with liberal sexual politics, as noted above, police harassment of publicly cruising *tongzhi* went on more or less unabated. See Lin Hsien-hsiu, "Tian zheme hei feng zheme da baba zenme hai bu huijia? — Wuguan 'tongzhi yexing quan'" ("The wind's so fierce and the sky's so black, how come Daddy's still not back? — Nothing to do with 'tongzhi's' right to walk out at night"), *Tugou* (Together) 1, January 1998, 22–24.

36. Ding Wenling and Yin Xiangzhi, "He tongzhi woshou: Zhuanfang huati renwu — Qu Meifeng" (Shaking hands with *tongzhi*: Special interview with the topical Qu Meifeng), *Tugou* (Together) 1 (January 1998): 115–118.

37. In 1998, a reporter from the Dong Sen cable network illicitly filmed the

premiere of Mickey Chen's gay-themed film *Beautiful Youth*. Footage from the film was included in a TV program, accompanied by strongly homophobic commentary, and even after vociferous protest from *tongzhi* groups no apology was forthcoming. The same year saw a similar incident involving a CTS news crew secretly filming at a lesbian bar. See protest site at <<http://www.womenet.org.tw/action/film/protest.html>> (accessed 10 December, 1999).

38. Chi, *Archipelago*, 11, and *Carnival*, 11. Liou Liang-ya concurs on the productive hybridity of 1990s erotic fiction in its cross-fertilization with Euro-American and Japanese thought. Liou, *Yuwang gengyishi: Qingse xiaoshuode zhengzhi yu meixue* (Engendering dissident desires: The politics and aesthetics of erotic fictions) (Taipei: Metamedia, 1998), 9–10.

39. Chi, *Archipelago*, 9–16.

40. Arjun Appadurai, "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy," in *Modernity at Large* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 27–47.

41. Chi, *Archipelago*, 10–11.

42. Chang, *Modernism*, 5–7.

43. Chi, *Archipelago*, 13–15.

44. Chris Berry, "Asian Values, Family Values: Film, Video, and Lesbian and Gay Identities," in *Journal of Homosexuality* 40:3–4 (2001), Special Issue on *Gay and Lesbian Asia: Culture, Identity, Community*, ed. Peter A. Jackson and Gerard Sullivan: 211–232. In *Families We Choose*, Kath Weston cites a discourse common in the U.S. that presumes the conceptual opposition of "gayness" to "kinship," meaning that overwhelmingly, "claiming a lesbian or gay identity has been portrayed as a rejection of 'the family' and a departure from kinship." Weston, *Families We Choose: Lesbians, Gays, Kinship* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 22.

45. I use the term "posttraditional" not to imply that contemporary Taiwanese cultures exist "after" tradition in a literal sense; the "post" in this term is meant more in the spirit of Rey Chow's definition of the "post" in "postcolonial," meaning something like "under the continuing, though transformed, influence of." Rey Chow, *Ethnic After Idealism: Theory-Culture-Ethnicity-Reading* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1998), 150–151.

46. For a detailed discussion of sexuality and diaspora, see Benigno Sánchez-Eppler and Cindy Patton, "Introduction: With a Passport Out of Eden," in Patton and Sánchez-Eppler, eds., *Queer Diasporas* (Durham, N.C., and London: Duke University Press, 2000), 1–14.



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