Niezi and Its Legacies: Tracing the Emergence of Gay and Queer Subcultures in Taiwan

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Abstract

This thesis seeks to trace the representations of male homosexuality in Taiwanese society since the 1970s, with a specific focus on the legacies and representations of Pai Hsien-yung's novel *Niezi* (*Crystal Boys*, published in 1983), widely regarded as the first full-length novel themed on homosexuality in Taiwan's literary history. Set in 1970s Taiwan during the Martial Law period, the novel's portrayal of the underground homosexual community and male prostitution culture based in Taipei's New Park (now 228 Park) did not capture critical attention or gain commercial success when published, owing to the then conservative social atmosphere. Nonetheless, after the lifting of Martial Law, as Taiwan became a democratised nation with mature elective democracy and participation in globalised cultural circuits, *Niezi* became canonised and politicised as the iconic text for a sequence of social activism regarding homosexual human rights in academia and related cultural activities in the 1990s and 2000s. Even today, *Niezi* is still considered the most debatable representative homosexual literary text in Taiwan's homosexual community.

While *Niezi*'s iconic status has stood the test of time over the past three decades, the changing interpretations of the text offer a great resource through which to examine the representations of male homosexuality in Taiwan during this period. Taiwanese society transformed from an authoritarian regime in the 1970s and 1980s, to quasi-democracy in the early 1990s, then full elective democracy in the mid-1990s, and now Taiwan has fully joined the globalised circuits of the capitalist economy, with free markets, cross-cultural communication and rapid flows of information. This social transformation brought about changing interpretations of *Niezi*, in which male homosexuality was no longer a social taboo, and activist cultural critics started to demand equal rights for homosexuals inspired by Euro-American theoretical discourse and social reform. The social transformation also saw two visual adaptations of the novel through the forms of film and television, which I shall examine in this thesis. I will also demonstrate not just how male homosexuality has been represented in different social contexts, but also what has contributed to the endurance of *Niezi*'s legacies in the past three decades. In addition, while there was a great amount of homosexual literature produced after the lifting of Martial Law owing to social liberalisation, the thesis will also consider *Niezi*'s continuing iconic status.

DECLARATION

No portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

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Notes on Chinese and Japanese Characters and Materials

This thesis uses the Hanyu Pinyin system of romanised Chinese words, names and phrases, except for preferred spellings or official names, as in Taiwanese names for people, places and cultural organisations. All Chinese characters cited in their Romanised forms in the thesis are listed in the Chinese Glossary. The ordering of Chinese and Japanese written names follows their conventional forms. Some parts of the thesis, particularly Chapter Five, involve Japanese characters, phrases and passages, which are also listed in the Japanese Glossary.

English translations from Pai Hsien-yung's *Niezi* and *Taipei Ren* (*Taipei People*) are quoted from Howard Goldblatt's translated version (1990) and the Hong Kong University's published Chinese-English bilingual edition (2000) respectively.

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Introduction

Homosexuality, *Niezi*, and the Nation

Travis S. K. Kong, a scholar from Hong Kong, notes that a queer friend from Taiwan once described Pride Parade to him as a "territorialisation of public space" (1). In her book *Situating Sexualities*, Martin notes the emergence of the idea of Queer Nation in Taiwan's public discourse by quoting the foreword of the second issue of Taiwan's first openly gay and lesbian magazine *Ai Fu Hao Zizai Bao* (*Ai Bao: Love Paper*), published in June 1994: "Queer Nation is a politics, a strategy, a utopia, and a concrete existence" (*Ai Bao* qtd. in Martin *Situating Sexualities* 1). Pride Parade, gay territorialisation, and Queer Nation, these all symbolise the significant transformation in the socio-cultural discourse on homosexuality in Taiwanese society since the 1990s. Since this time, Taiwan has witnessed a booming emergence of gay and lesbian cultures through various public discourses, such as academia, specialist bookshops, activist organisations, and the entertainment industry. At the same time, owing to the influence of US-trained Taiwanese academics who returned to Taiwan at the end of the 1980s and early 1990s, the past two decades have also seen the appearance of thriving queer theories within the nation's academic institutions (Martin *Situating Sexualities* 2). The idea of Queer Nation or gay territorialisation is one of many indications of a thriving queer theoretical discourse and a recognised homosexual subculture in Taiwan.

The appearance of this social transformation in the public discourse on homosexuality can be attributed to the introduction of sexual politics influenced by American academic and activist cultures and an idea of queer nationalism through this imagined transnational community. By speaking of the imagined transnational community, I am following Benedict Anderson's explication of the emergence of a modern nation as an imagined community, generated by the people who consider themselves as a part of that community owing to their socially "invented" mutual identification (Anderson 6-7). In his seminal book, *Imagined Communities*, Anderson argues that the creation of imagined communities came into existence because of "print capitalism" (44). Aware of the majority of the population's limited understanding of Latin, the capitalist entrepreneurs instead maximised circulation by printing their books in the vernacular language in order to make more profit. With the growth of printing technology, the circulation of books printed in vernacular language increased and facilitated a large and profitable commodity market for

books and newspapers. Under this circumstance, a common linguistic discourse emerged and readers were gradually able to understand each other. A sense of belonging thus formed and contributed to the development of modern national consciousness and the first European nation-states. In those newly formed European nation-states, social concepts and ideas were spread by the standardised vernacular language printed in books and newspapers, which the people read in their daily lives and which generated mutual identification, even though not all of the people had physical face-to-face contact (Anderson 6-7, 31-46). It was a sense of belonging, comradeship, and mutual understanding connecting them within their nation-states, their imagined communities. Hence, Anderson describes nationalism as "cultural artefacts of a particular kind" (4).

The idea of queer nation or gay territorialisation in Taiwan to a certain degree reflects the idea of an imagined community as theorised by Anderson, yet a sub-nation within a nation. This concept of an imagined queer community can be framed at both local and global levels. Numerous Taiwanese cultural critics point out that the proposal of this imagined community in Taiwan is inspired by *Niezi* (*Crystal Boys*),[1] the first full-length local novel on a homosexual theme, written by a renowned author, Pai Hsien-yung, and published in 1983. In this novel, Pai intended to look at the issue of homosexuality from a local point of view, to write about a world that belongs to the homosexuals living in Taiwan (Pai qtd. in Zeng 344). Set in the 1970s, the novel begins with the following portrayal of New Park, a homosexual cruising space in Taipei, capital of Taiwan, narrated by the protagonist, A-Qing, a teenage boy banished by his father owing to his same-sex desire:

> There are no days in our kingdom, only nights. As soon as the sun comes up, our kingdom goes into hiding, for it is an unlawful nation. We have no government and no constitution, we are neither recognised nor respected by anyone, our citizenry is little more than rabble… (Pai 17).

With this passage, Pai conjures up a shadow homosexual nation that flows silently underground to demonstrate the oppressive social situation for homosexuals in 1970s

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[1] For instance, citing Ma Lu's article, Huang Tao-ming points out that Taipei's New Park in which *Niezi* is set is the most well-known homosexual nation in Taiwan owing to the novel's canonic status (*Queer Politics* 133). I shall discuss this in detail in Chapter Four of this thesis.

Taiwan. The homosexual subordination is demonstrated in this passage from the banished narrator A-Qing. As A-Qing, his companions and other homosexuals are banished from their homes to New Park, New Park has become a space for their imagined homosexual community in which they share a similar underground life style. This generates mutual identification between them though not everyone knows each other in Taipei's New Park. New Park is a 'kingdom', an 'unlawful nation' for their illegal and unrecognised existence within Taiwanese society. Owing to its pioneer status in the literary history regarding homosexuality in Taiwan, *Niezi*, the name of the novel, became a signifier for homosexuality in public discourse by the end of the 1980s (Huang Tao-ming *Queer Politics* 2) and the novel itself has been continuously politicised, interpreted, and represented by activist cultural critics in the 1990s and 2000s to support the social activism of homosexuals and other sexual minorities. That is, the space of New Park and the readership of the novel *Niezi* have generated the concept of an imagined queer community in Taiwan.

At the global level, the idea of queer nation is seen to be associated with a sexual politics from 1990s US activist and academic culture. As Martin points out, "in 1993, Henry Abelove was able to remark without undue irony that 'what Queer Nation really means is America'" (Abelove qtd. in Martin *Situating Sexualities* 2). This would evidence *Ai Bao*'s special issue of Queer Nation or the idea of gay territorialisation as the arrival of US-dominated Western theoretical discourse on sexualities, especially given the fact that, since the end of the 1980s numerous returned US-trained scholars had brought queer theories to Taiwan's academia. Although the queer nation in Taiwan is said to be inspired by *Niezi*, it actually marks an appropriation of an Americanising cultural and sexual discourse for a local politics (the politicisation of *Niezi*) critical of the state's oppression of homosexuals. In other words, 'Queer Nation' is in fact the sign of a localised American sexual politics through new interpretations of *Niezi*.

The reinterpretation of Pai Hsien-yung's *Niezi* has been widely regarded as a symbolic practise of literary analysis in searching for a canonical figure of homosexual identity (Huang Tao-ming *Queer Politics* 2; Liou "At the Intersection" 193; Lim 240; Zeng 20). Since its publication in 1983 (it was first serialised by *Xiandai Wenxue* (*Modern Literature*) magazine between 1977 and 1978), *Niezi* has been popular among homosexual readers and, after the lifting of Martial Law, was canonised as the first full-length

homosexual novel in Taiwan's literary history. Pai has also been considered a literary icon in sexual minority communities owing to his pioneer status in presenting elements of homosexuality in literature. Set in the 1970s and published in 1983, after three decades *Niezi* still stands as the most popular and representative homosexual novel today. However, in these three decades, Taiwan actually experienced a series of political and social transformations, including the imposition of the Martial Law regime, the lifting of Martial Law, the democratisation of the country, the booming of homosexual social activism, the booming of homosexual literature, and the introduction of queer theory into Taiwan's academia, which all indicate that today's Taiwan is very different from the Taiwan in which *Niezi* was written. Several questions can be raised here regarding *Niezi*'s legacy. How has *Niezi* been received in the past three decades? Are there any changes in perceptions of the novel as the socio-cultural circumstance transforms in Taiwan? Why today are numerous Taiwanese homosexuals and cultural critics still drawn to the novel? Those questions will be examined and answered in the following chapters along with an analysis of Taiwan's changing historical narratives. This thesis aims to show that, with the transformation of society, *Niezi* has been reinterpreted and adapted in ways that relate to the changing cultural and political context. The changing representation of *Niezi* reflects the cultural imaginary of homosexuality in different times.

0.1 Colonial Histories and the Emergence of Today's Taiwanese Consciousness

The impact of transnational cultural trends after the lifting of Martial Law has seen numerous scholars, primarily returning from the United States, bringing back various cultural theories elucidating the cultural identity of contemporary Taiwan. Several imported concepts, including "Postmodernism" and "Postcolonialism", have been utilised by different scholars to describe the cultural scene of Taiwan's post-Martial Law era based on the discussion of Taiwan's multicultural influences resulting from its colonial histories (Chen Fang-ming 26-27). Nevertheless, those cultural and philosophical thoughts in the United States and Western Europe and their colonies emerged from different historical backgrounds and societal and economic foundations than Taiwan's. Martin also notes that, owing to its more recent colonisation by China and Japan, Taiwan distinguishes itself from the majority of nations and states formerly colonised by European nations and represented

in postcolonial studies (*Situating Sexualities* 11). This prompts literary and cultural critics in Taiwan to rethink the limitations of the Eurocentric theoretical norms. Hence, in this section, I would like to trace Taiwan's colonial histories while developing certain perspectives regarding the country's historical and geo-political locations which collectively conditioned post-Martial Law Taiwan.

While Taiwan underwent brief Dutch and Spanish occupation in the 17th century, the colonisation of ethnic Han Chinese by the Zheng Kingdom established by Zheng Chenggong[2] and two-hundred-year rule as an outlying place by China's Qing empire (Martin *Situating Sexualities* 9), it is the more recent history of Japanese colonialism and KMT Chinese regime after World War II that has shaped the complexities of today's cultural scene. In 1895, Taiwan was ceded to Japan under the Treaty of Shimonoseki owing to Qing China's defeat at the end of the first Sino-Japanese war. From then, Taiwan underwent fifty years of Japanese colonial rule. In these fifty years, Japan transformed the social fabric of Taiwanese society through not only political oppression and economic exploitation, but also the imposition of Japanese culture on the people of Taiwan. After Japan's defeat at the end of World War II, Taiwan was handed back to the Chiang Kai-shek-led the Republic of China, the KMT (Kuomintang) government. After this, a series of re-Sinicisation programmes were launched to assimilate semi-Japanised Taiwanese residents. Nonetheless, the KMT government's oppressive handling of the retrocession of Taiwan led to much discontent on the part of Taiwanese people and further led to the tragic 228 Massacre and imposition of Martial Law. In this section, I would like to argue that the discussion of today's Taiwanese consciousness at the political level is shaped by the Japanese cultural influences and disillusioned expectation about the KMT rule in the post-war years.

Japan's colonial rule of Taiwan can be categorised into three phases, the early years (1895-1915), doka (assimilation 1915-1937), and kominka (imperialisation 1937-1945). It was the last two phases which influenced Taiwan most owing to the Japanese rulers' imposition of Japanese cultures and customs on Taiwanese (Ching 6-7; Tsai 98). According to Tsai, in the period of doka, the idea of "extension of policies in Japan proper

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[2] During the Zheng reign, the majority of the Han Chinese immigrants were Minnan and Hoklo ethnicity from the provinces of Fujian and Guangdong on Mainland China.

to colonies" was proposed by the first appointed Japanese civilian Governor-General, Den Kenjiro, to educate Taiwanese as Japanese (Tsai 98). Taiwanese were educated to understand their roles as Japanese subjects to help integrate the economy of Taiwan into Japan effectively. Learning Japanese was rewarded and the public school was mandatory. If a Taiwanese student possessed reasonable proficiency in Japanese, s/he could attend the same schools as Japanese students. Nonetheless, although it was proposed that Taiwanese be seen as Japanese, there was still an inequality between Taiwanese and Japanese as most of the opportunities were given to the latter first (Zheng 47-48). In fact, it was still difficult for many Taiwanese to compete with privileged Japanese at political and social levels. Nonetheless, those who were able to progress their education, particularly those who had the opportunity to study in Japan, had ambivalent feelings towards Japanisation, as they witnessed the gap between the metropolitan Japan and agricultural Taiwan. This is best exemplified by Lu's summarisation of then Taiwanese intellectuals' views of modernisation. He states,

> From the standpoint of colonial rule, it is very natural that Japan, especially Tokyo, has become the most important place to study "abroad" for the Taiwanese intellectuals…The only other choice, mainland China, surely lags behind Japan in its degree of modernity. As a result, Japan monopolized the horizon of modernity for the Taiwanese intellectuals. Without a standpoint for comparison, they unknowingly assumed Japan to be the most modernized nation in the world, and conflated "modernization" with "Japanization" (Lu qtd. in Ching 28-29).

Although secondary citizenship under colonial rule was detested, the better-educated Taiwanese residents and social elites actually admired the disciplinary prosperity of Japan and considered that Japanese colonialism might bring Taiwan a similar scale of modernisation. This ambivalent attitude towards Japan later appeared again after the retrocession of Taiwan to the KMT government, as I shall explain later.

A more radical policy of cultural assimilation by the Japanese empire, kominka (imperialisation), was further put into practice by instilling Taiwanese residents with the Japanese spirit after the outbreak of the second Sino-Japanese war in 1937, which overlapped with World War II. In an attempt to ensure Taiwanese residents remained "komin" (loyal subjects) and fought for Japan in the war, kominka measures including

education being delivered solely in the Japanese language and the ban on using Taiwanese languages in public, adoption of Japanese names, and worship of the Japanese religion Shinto were instituted (Lamley 236). Leo Ching describes that, while doka was aimed to encourage Taiwanese to become Japanese, kominka was launched to transform the colonised Taiwanese into imperial subjects who should feel willing to die for the Japanese Emperor and the country of Japan (94). While the war was expanded to the larger scale of Pacific war after Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, kominka was further intensified by sending more and more Taiwanese soldiers to the battlefields in South East Asia and the Pacific Islands. Owing to the assimilation policies in the periods of doka and kominka, the cultural effects of Japanese colonisation on the construction of Taiwanese cultural identity are thus said by Hillenbrand to be enduring and to continue to the present in some "cosmetic ways" (*Literature* 79).[3]

Nonetheless, one of the main reasons why some cultural legacies of Japanese colonialism, such as the use of Japanese terms in Taiwanese languages, have endured and the memory of Japanese colonialism is not totally negative in today's Taiwanese society can be attributed to the turbulent social situation in post-war Taiwan caused by the KMT government (Kuomintang) and its imposition of Martial Law. Martial Law was put into practice in 1949, mainly in response to the aftermath of the 228 Incident, also known as the 228 Massacre, an event I discuss further below. Scholarly discussions of the 228 Massacre in Taiwan have widely attributed its cause to the failure of the new Chinese mainlander rulers' post-war handling of Taiwan's retrocession. According to Steven Philips's summary of the scholarly discussion, the colonial legacy of Japanese rule made the "cultural reintegration" of Taiwan difficult at that time (276). Following Japan's defeat at the end of World War II, Taiwan was returned to the KMT Nationalist government of the Republic of China. However, both Taiwan and China had drastically changed between 1895 and 1945 in terms of their socio-economic relation. Under Japan's fifty years of colonial rule, although economically exploited and politically oppressed, Taiwan in fact enjoyed some modernisation owing to Japanese rulers' industrialisation and improvement of the country, including infrastructure building and increasing literacy, because of the popularisation of education (although in limited fields and taught in Japanese), compared

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[3] For example, in the Taiwanese language, Japanese terms such as obasan (aunt), tatami, or sakura (cherry blossom) are still used nowadays.

with the chaotic situation on the Chinese mainland, which saw the Xinhai Revolution, warlord rule, Western semi-colonialism and Japan's invasion of China (Phillips 277). Therefore, the retrocession of Taiwan was actually very complex.

Although the KMT troops were initially welcomed by local residents owing to the residents' initial naïve thinking that they would bring about the end of colonialism and political oppression, in reality, the KMT administration caused much discontent among native Taiwanese. Owing to their World War II experiences which led to their intense animosity towards everything Japanese, the Chinese Nationalists immediately launched a series of re-Sinicisation programmes to assimilate Japanised Taiwanese residents, whom they described as "enslaved" (nuhua). In his article, 'Were Taiwanese Being "Enslaved"?', Huang Ying-che explores the KMT officials' attitudes toward Japanised Taiwanese in the post-war years before the 228 Incident. In this article, Huang particularly points out that the language barrier between the Chinese Nationalists and Taiwanese was considered the biggest difficulty for the KMT government's re-Sinicisation programme at that time. According to one estimate, by the end of World War II, while most Taiwanese residents spoke Taiwanese languages, approximately 70 percent of them used Japanese (qtd. in Huang Ying-che 318). Owing to this high percentage of Japanese users among the Taiwanese population, numerous government officials and government-sponsored newspapers criticised Taiwanese as being enslaved by the Japanese education system.[4] Although the KMT administration established a committee for the promotion of Mandarin to replace the Japanese that had been spoken among the better-educated Taiwanese during the colonial period in April 1946, it did not immediately turn many Taiwanese people into proficient Mandarin users able to handle official political work effectively. This meant that those Taiwanese who were seeking positions in the governmental administration were excluded (Phillips 285). Further, the focus on the Chinese Civil War[5] on the mainland, which Nationalists took as their real homeland instead of Taiwan, left the reconstruction of the economy and the public infrastructure of war-torn Taiwan in chaos. This saw Taiwan in significant economic decline, with large-scale hyperinflation, famine, unemployment

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[4] See (Huang Ying-che 314-317)

[5] A war fought between the KMT party of the Republic of China and the Communist Party of China for the control of the mainland from 1929 to 1949. It ended up with China's division into two Chinese governments — People's Republic of China (PRC) on the mainland and Republic of China (ROC) in Taiwan.

and the rise of commodities' prices. The undisciplined KMT Nationalist soldiers and corrupt officials also committed a huge number of crimes including robbery, theft and fraud. Philips cites a Taiwanese person's observation at that time: "When a Chinese with some influence wanted a particular property, he had only to accuse a Formosan [Taiwanese] of being a collaborationist during the past fifty years of Japanese sovereignty" (Peng qtd. in Philips 284). The language barrier and different mentalities in respect of cultural identity led to considerable misunderstanding between the Chinese mainlanders and Taiwanese.

In response to the accusation of being enslaved and to the worsened social and living conditions after the retrocession, the Taiwanese elites started to cite the advantages of the Japanese colonial and education system as correctives for the KMT administration and hoped the KMT government could launch the same policies. For instance, a Taiwanese intellectual and writer, Wu Zhouliu, complimented the science and advanced technology provided by Japanese education (Wu qtd. in Huang Ying-che 318). While the KMT government decided to ban the use of Japanese in middle schools, Wu continued to express his dissatisfaction:

> The disarmed Japanese[6] is carrying out an important mission of introducing culture. Most of the culture of the world has already been translated into Japanese. One can come into contact with all sorts of world cultures as long as one knows Japanese…There is nothing strange about it; in fact, it is something to be delighted about…For the sake of culture, we should re-examine the whole issue in a balanced way to see whether preserving Japanese would hinder Chinese culture. In my opinion, only governmental publications should abolish Japanese language versions (Wu qtd. in Huang Ying-che 319-320).

Wu emphasised that the Japanese language was not only a connection with Japan, but also a conduit with world culture. As Japanese was the intellectual language used by better-educated Taiwanese in the colonial period, the Japanese language was considered an important translation source to study the most advanced science, cultural theories and political movements in the world for those Taiwanese social elites, especially given the fact that Japan's modernisation occurred much earlier than China's. While the Chinese Nationalists associated Japanisation with enslavement, better-educated Taiwanese elites

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[6] The reason why Wu says 'disarmed Japanese' is because of the defeat of Japan at the end of World War II.

considered Japanisation to be a modernisation, though they recognised the colonial violence of Japan at the same time. Nonetheless, possessing a drastically different attitude towards Japan, the KMT Nationalists decided to further centralise governmental power. These cumulative tensions between Chinese Nationalists and Taiwanese eventually erupted in the 228 Incident on February 28th, 1947. The incident was initially triggered by an argument between a cigarette seller and a Nationalist officer. A passerby was shot dead during the argument and the whole incident caused local Taiwanese wrath. The next day, local residents strongly protested against the government by demanding autonomous rule, but were violently suppressed by the KMT government. Permitted by then KMT leader Chiang Kai-shek, the Nationalists in Taiwan began a massacre of local dissidents, citing the excuse of the suspected alignment between local people and the Communists and Japanese from the 228 Incident onwards. An official total of the number of deaths remains unknown, but "more than ten thousand people" were said to have been killed during and after the incident (Huang Tao-ming *Queer Politics* 11). For the next three decades, the KMT government banned the mention of the 228 Incident in the media and in public. The aftermath of the 228 Massacre further saw an intense build-up of conflict between Taiwanese and Chinese mainlanders and the emergence of Taiwanese sentiment and nationalism.

After retreating to Taiwan owing to his defeat at the end of the Chinese Civil War in 1949, Chiang Kai-shek directly put the country under Martial Law in an attempt to constrain any anti-government action and thinking on the part of the Taiwanese residents. He had produced a socio-political hierarchy, with Chinese mainlanders controlling the whole political system and institutions, while native Taiwanese (benshengren, the ethnicity of minnan and hoklo, the Han Chinese settlers since the 17th century) and aboriginal people (yuanzhumin) were all excluded. Under these socio-political conditions, a quasi-nostalgia for Japanese colonialism grew among numerous Taiwanese.

At the same time, the Taiwanese people's attitude towards Japan after World War II might have been influenced by the US political and military presence as well. The US military maintained its presence in Taiwan from the late 1940s to the 1970s in order to prevent Communist China's expansion. The enactment of "the Mutual Defence Treaty" in 1954 consolidated the connection between the US and Taiwan, which saw "two US army bases" established on the island (Hillenbrand "GIs and the City" 405; Huang Tao-ming

Queer Politics 13). As both Taiwan and Japan were integrated into the US anti-Communism alliance during the Cold War era, they naturally became allies under the US dominance. Although the KMT government still possessed a certain degree of hatred towards Japan owing to World War II, Communist China was considered the real enemy and military target now. The economic integration of Taiwan into the US and Japan-dominated export-oriented capitalist economy also opened Taiwan's market to both countries and substantial investment from them along with other nations. Its tremendous economic growth had earned Taiwan a reputation as "the world's manufacturing factory" by the end of the 1970s (Huang Tao-ming *Queer Politics* 12). Because of the economic ties with Japan and the US-dominated anti-Communism political alliance, the anti-Communist China sentiment was actually more the major nationalistic agenda than anti-Japan sentiment in the Martial Law period. Although the relation between Taiwan and the US soured owing to the latter's recognition of the People's Republic of China as the legitimate Chinese government, which caused Taiwan's expulsion from the UN in the 1970s, the US remained the military support for Taiwan's independent status against communist China's aggression.

Following Chiang Kai-shek's death in 1975, his son, Chiang Ching-kuo, who then succeeded him as the leader of Taiwan, made a decisive political move many scholars called the initial "Taiwanisation" to allow more native Taiwanese elites to hold governmental positions (Rubinstein "Political Taiwanisation" 436). Political dissidents also began to seize this moment to challenge the KMT authoritarian regime. With the gradual relaxation of Martial Law, the years from the late 1970s saw public protest and struggle against the KMT government with the demand for liberalisation of different voices within Taiwanese society. I shall discuss this further in the following chapters.

The period of Martial Law lasted until 1987, when then KMT leader Chiang Ching-kuo decided to lift it. Taiwan started to enter a completely different stage of social development. With the lifting of Martial Law, many constraints in the society were gradually relaxed, and people were able to openly convey their discontent with the government and challenge the government's long-imposed Sinocentric ideology. In the 1990s, Taiwan elected the first non-mainlander president, Lee Teng-hui, who promoted the concept of Taiwanese as a "hybrid ethnicity" that includes Minnan and Hoklo (benshengren), the island's Aborigines (yuanzhumin), Chinese mainlanders (waishengren,

Chinese immigrants who arrived under the KMT government after World War II), and inheritances from Dutch, Spanish and Japanese colonialism (Yvonne Chang *Literary Culture in Taiwan* 20). In 2000, the first elected non-KMT president, Chen Shui-bian, from the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), openly promoted the ideology of an independent Taiwan and suggested that Taiwan might deal with the Chinese government on "a state to state basis" (Martin *Situating Sexualities* 11). The identity of Taiwan, instead of the other China, has increasingly been developed through appeals to the values of democracy, liberalism and cultural pluralism. Taiwanese consciousness (Taiwan yishi) is now becoming the dominant cultural formation in society with powerful support from Taiwanese nationalism (Yvonne Chang *Literary Culture in Taiwan* 190).

While colonial histories and cultural pluralism conditioned the political debate about Taiwaneseness in the post-Martial Law era, the Japanese period is particularly discussed in public in today's Taiwan. While some might suggest that the Taiwanese people's quasi-nostalgia caused by the KMT's authoritarian regime and 228 Massacre made cultural Japan acceptable, the emergence of Japan fever (ha-ri) in the 1990s Taiwan—a cultural trend and desire for Japanese cultural products and consumer goods among younger generations—also accelerated the prevalence of cultural Japan in Taiwanese society, best exemplified by the 2008 blockbuster Taiwanese film *Haijiao Qi Hao* (*Cape No. 7*). The film depicts twin love stories. One is an unfulfilled romance between a Japanese teacher and Taiwanese student Tomoko at the end of World War II. Owing to Japan's defeat, the Japanese teacher is deported to Japan and so leaves Tomoko. On his way back to Japan, he writes seven love letters for Tomoko but never posts them to her. After he dies, his daughter finds the letters and posts them to Taiwan in 2008. However, they were addressed to an old address, Cape No 7, which now has another name. The undelivered love letters are received by the hero of the other romance, A-Ga, who works as a postman and a rock band lead singer and falls in love with a Japanese woman working as a PR coordinator in Taiwan, who also happens to be named Tomoko. A-Ga tries to trace the history of the town and finally finds the Tomoko to whom the love letters are addressed. While the romance between the Japanese teacher and Tomoko is not fulfilled owing to war, after six decades, the Taiwan-Japan romance is completed by the other couple (Wei *Cape No. 7*).

Chialan Sharon Wang describes *Cape No. 7* as the nostalgia for the Japanese period being "consumed" and "commodified" (147). The film contains numerous Japanese popular cultural elements including Japanese popular songs, Japanese language and even participation of a popular Japanese idol actor and singer, Atari Kousuke. Those elements make Japan and nostalgia for Japan trendy for the younger generation even though they did not experience Japanese colonialism themselves. The title and lyrics of the film's theme song, *South of the Border*, are actually inspired by a Japanese term, the Southern Country (nankoku), a romanticised term for Taiwan when tourism to Japan's colonies became trendy in Japan in the 1920s (Liao 44),[7] and at the same time reminiscent of the title of a novel by Murakami Haruki, *Kokkyou no Minami, Taiyou no Nishi* (South of the Border, West of the Sun).[8] This, along with other of the author's books, was widely read, and Murakami became massively popular in Taiwan, particularly among young people, during the Japan fever. This demonstrates the commodification of nostalgia in *Cape No. 7* in appealing to both the old and young generations. Although the film still triggered some criticism from those pro-KMT cultural critics,[9] it swept Taiwan's film market and became the biggest blockbuster that year. *Cape No. 7* exemplifies how the elements of Japanese culture have deeply influenced Taiwan's cultural production, which I shall examine later in the thesis.

Taiwan's cultural scene nowadays is heavily affected by the post-war complex of Chinese, Japanese and American legacies. President Lee Teng-hui's pluralistic redefinition of Taiwanese cultural identity and what *Cape No. 7* demonstrates certainly lie in the elaboration and representation of Taiwan's past colonial histories and at the same time

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[7] During the colonial period, Taiwan was often imagined and portrayed as the exotic south by several Japanese artists, who emphasised the beauty of Taiwan as tropical, wild, and primitive, in contrast to the cultural, delicate, and spiritual beauty of Japan. A romantic term, nankoku (the Southern Country), was thus used to represent Taiwan. For more details, see (Liao 39-65).

[8] Chialan Sharon Wang points out that the name South of the Border originates from a 1930s American folk song; Murakami's book title may be inspired by this, while *Cape No. 7*'s theme song is reminiscent of Murakami's book title, a geopolitical connection between the US, Japan and Taiwan and cultural influences can be perceived (142).

[9] For example, a journalist called Xu argues that the interrupted Japan-Taiwan romance resuscitated after six decades through A-Ga and Tomoko symbolises "Taiwan's lingering servility towards its excoloniser" (qtd. in Chialan Sharon Wang 140).

corresponds to the newly globalised and democratised Taiwanese society.[10] While the liberalisation of cultural activities and social issues regarding human rights are achieved in the name of Taiwanese nationalism, Taiwan's cultural arena is also facing competition from the global market and capitalist forces today. This complex cultural, political and economic Taiwaneseness has also influenced the representations of Pai Hsien-yung's *Niezi* in the past three decades.

While *Niezi* has been regarded as a symbolic discussion through which to search for canonical representations of homosexuality in the past two to three decades, numerous criticisms regarding the novel have been created in correspondence with this search (Huang Tao-ming *Queer Politics* 2; Liou "At the Intersection" 193; Lim 240; Martin *Situating Sexualities* 56; Zeng 20). This thesis intends to situate the novel inside a bigger picture of the social transformations of Taiwanese society in the past three decades, presenting the novel as a changing cultural product influenced, regulated and represented by different socio-political contexts. As well as textual analysis, different forms of representations of the novel, namely the film and TV adaptations, will be included in the thesis's examination, which is timely and different from previous criticism regarding the book. This thesis aims to demonstrate that the transformation of the society has given rise to different representations of the novel, in which the changing ideas about homosexuality and attitude towards same-sex desire in Taiwanese society in the past three decades can be perceived.

0.2 The Dominant Cultural Formations and the KMT

The KMT government established a single political and cultural system that attempted to shape Taiwan's residents' attitudes in order to view it as the defender of legitimate Chinese

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[10] Elucidating Hall's explication and use of the term identity in the era of globalisation, Carsten Storm and Mark Harrison point out that national identity has been transformed by transnational communication, which suggests that the idea of concrete national boundaries is challenged by cross-cultural communication. The idea of national identity is now re-explicated by transnationalism and discursive geo-political situations. Based on Hall's notion, Storm and Harrison suggest that the Taiwanese could find their identity through collectivism, such as the "global" or the "transnational" as a part of "alternative" identity formation owing to the country's unrecognised international status (10). The Post-Martial Law political redefinition of Taiwan's nationhood certainly appears to correspond to this contemporary globalised understanding of identity formation. I shall discuss this in more detail later in the thesis.

tradition after 1949 (Chi 14-17; Storm 283; Yvonne Chang 74-75). Under this circumstance, Taiwan's cultural discourse was heavily embedded in the KMT political agendas in the Martial Law era, which dominated the canonisation of mainstream and legitimate cultural and literary productions. This Nationalist control over the cultural discourse and its influence on Taiwan's inhabitants during the Martial Law era appear to fit Williams' definition of hegemony: "it is a whole body of practices and expectations, over the whole of living: our senses and assignments of energy, our shaping perceptions of ourselves and our world" (Williams 110). In this section, I will first examine the extent to which the notion of hegemony in Marxist cultural theory is useful to approach the development of literature at a dominant level in the context of Martial Law Taiwan, and then discuss hegemonic cultural discourse and literature in their context.

The discussion of hegemony in Marxist cultural theory has been accorded a further significance owing to an Italian Communist thinker, activist, and political leader, Antonio Gramsci, who developed a complex usage of the term. According to Gramsci's elucidation, the term hegemony is used to demonstrate how the dominated classes in post-1870 industrialised Western European countries consent to the ruling classes' dominations, instead of being simply coerced or forced to accept inferior positions. This is an extension of the traditional definition of hegemony. In Gramsci's work, hegemony is a form of control implemented through a society's superstructure which he splits into two major levels in order to define and discuss. One is called "civil society". "Civil society" is the ensemble of organisations commonly seen as "private", such as "churches" (Gramsci 12). For Gramsci, civil society in Western European nations should be considered as a class power because its means of regulating human relationships and disciplining of social conduct can be deeply political. Civil society represents true social hegemony within a society's cultural formation. The other is called "political society" or "state", taken by Gramsci as a society's "direct domination or command" (ibid) from the government, which is highly political. In terms of these two levels of superstructure, Gramsci's concept of hegemony refers to the former, meaning that hegemony originates from the "spontaneous consent" given by the mass of the population to the social organisations (ibid), not from mere political manipulation or opinion. This may make some argue that the sense of hegemony in Marxist cultural theory does not fit the context of Martial Law Taiwan, which was at that time dominated by the KMT government's authoritarian regime.

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Nonetheless, it is also worth noting that, although Gramsci's concepts of civil society's social hegemony and state's governmental and political rule relate to different kinds of social control, they can be combined under certain conditions. In Gramsci's view, political government is "the apparatus of state coercive power", which "legally" enforces discipline on those who do not consent actively (12). This apparatus is usually put into practice when spontaneous consent to political commands has failed. Under these circumstances, civil society and political government would be brought together into an "integral state" (Gramsci 267). In an integral state, "hegemony is protected by the armour of coercion" (Gramsci 262-263) owing to the combination of civil society and a government's political manipulation. In the complex structure of an integral state, the ruling class sustains its dominance by imposing dictatorial rules and coerces the ruled classes to consent. The context of Martial Law Taiwan might be described as an integral state. As native Taiwanese did not fully consent to the KMT administration's political policies after World War II, most cultural and social institutions were firmly controlled by the KMT Chinese Nationalists, putting Martial Law into practice after 1949. Under Martial Law, Nationalist Sinocentric social hegemony is protected by the governmental coercive power and cultural activities were firmly controlled by the government.

Williams further points out that hegemony is not always simply a combination of dominant elements and features. According to him, hegemony is "more or less an adequate organisation and interconnection of otherwise separated and even disparate meanings, values and practices, which it specifically incorporates in a significant culture" (115). This process of incorporating cultural elements from certain pasts is of major cultural importance, which leads to Williams' notion of "tradition". Owing to the means of incorporation of some important historical phases within the hegemony, what Williams' means about tradition is "not just a surviving past but a selective tradition" (ibid). From a whole possible area of the past, certain values are selected as social norms for inhabitants of the society to comply with, while certain other values are either reinterpreted and diluted to a certain degree or excluded in the interest of the dominant class. This is what selective tradition means and is mostly spread by "formal institutions" (Williams 117). Most cultural productions, including literary works, are often introduced to people by different social institutions, for instance, by school education, which transmits selective knowledge and meanings in literary texts from teachers to students, or by mass media such as newspapers

and magazines, which publish and promote selective social meanings in a work or creative writings to the public (Williams 117-18). All these institutional forces are involved in the artistic and cultural discourse in continually shaping and re-shaping the dominant culture. How the selective Chinese cultural traditions were brought into Taiwanese society through literature will be analysed based on Williams' concept of selective tradition in relation to institutions of the time and people of the dominant class.

In the post-1949 years, literary creations were heavily conditioned under the circumstance in which the government's politically trustworthy allies can apparently be seen at all levels of the cultural bureaucracy. According to Yvonne Chang, the KMT government exclusively took mainlanders as their trusted allies to enforce strict regulatory control over cultural productions (*Literary Culture in Taiwan* 76). Mainlanders generally had experienced the second Sino-Japanese War and Chinese Civil War, which led to their intense hatred of the Japanese invaders and nostalgia for the lost mainland. Thus, through them, the government could effectively impose guidelines on all kinds of cultural discourses, such as school textbooks and newspapers, in an attempt to re-Sinicise native Taiwanese populations whose ambivalent feelings towards their former coloniser were quite different from mainlanders'. Furthermore, with the ban on using Japanese and Taiwanese dialects, educated native Taiwanese in the Japanese colonial period were not able to effectively protest against the government's hegemonic Sinocentric ideology and were virtually excluded from the Taiwan literary scene in the early post-1949 years, giving mainlanders a decisive edge to spread selective Chinese cultural traditions (ibid; Chi 15). That is to say, mainlanders exclusively occupied the positions of power.

With this decisive edge, the KMT government and its mainlander allies can effectively manifest their political agendas and Nationalist moralism through literature, widely termed "Combat Literature" for the "anti-Communist campaign" (Chi Pang-yuan 16; Yvonne Chang *Literary Culture in Taiwan* 79). In Yvonne Chang and Chi Pang-yuan's studies of Combat Literature, this genre of writing was said to be mostly practised by "army-based writers" who had followed the Nationalist government to Taiwan. Works of Combat Literature were often created to "condemn the evildoings of the Communists", remind compatriots of the need to be well prepared to take back the mainland in the near future, and "eulogise the heroism of the Nationalist soldiers" (ibid). Despite being inspired by nostalgia for the lost mainland, works of Combat Literature illustrate a sense of hope

from their authors' experiences and literary characteristics, best illustrated by Sima Zhongyuan's *Huang Yuan* (1956). As summarised by Chi, in *Huang Yuan*, a young mother brings her son to visit the grave of his father who died during the Chinese Civil War, and teaches the boy the names of wild plants growing around it. Sima Zhongyuan utilised those growing plants as metaphors to symbolise the hope of the wandering sons settled in Taiwan who inherited their fathers' dreams. Beyond the gloomy sense of the graveyard, it is actually full of promises (Chi Pang-yuan 18). This kind of sentiment of hope was largely praised by the government. Chinese youngsters were at that time expected to admire their fathers' courage and heroic deeds during the Chinese Civil War. They were encouraged to possess the same anti-Communist sentiment and nostalgia for the lost mainland and fulfil their fathers' unachieved goal by trying to win back their fatherland. The anti-Communist sentiment was thus established as a mode of masculinity for young Chinese males in accordance with the underlying ethos of the Nationalist militarist patriarchy.

In addition to Combat Literature, as communication between the mainland and Taiwan was basically terminated after the Chinese Civil War, the introduction of the literature from the Chinese mainland was also censored in response to the Nationalist cultural policy. For example, works written by mainland writers between 1930s and 1940s were banned (Chi 15). At this time, in order to resinicise Taiwan, some imperatives of the New Life Movement on the mainland promoted by Chiang Kai-shek were brought to Taiwan, which further emphasised the importance of Confucianism based on filial piety and patriarchy and nationalism and the rejection of individualism, liberalism and communism.[11] The works of mainland Chinese literature selected by the government generally tended to reflect those cultural values, such as *Peiying* (*Reflections of My Father*) by Zhu Ziqing and *Yangge* (*Rice Sprout Song*) by Zhang Ailing. The former centred on themes related to filial piety and the father-son relationship, vividly describing the agony of the hero who senses his father's health deteriorating owing to the sacrifice he has made

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[11] According to Zarrow, inaugurated in September 1934, the New Life Movement was enforced by legal measures and promoted by Chiang Kai-shek, as he believed that traditional values, including Confucianism, played a crucial role in creating a disciplined society. Chiang's visions of Confucianism focused on the virtues of "propriety", "frugality", "honesty", and "sense of shame". Individualism was particularly attacked. Confucianism was also combined with military standards of disciplines, such as emphasis on absolute obedience, students sweeping floors in school, and washing their faces and taking showers in cold water. Chiang believed that these measures could develop each person's inner discipline and create polite society (255-58).

for his family (Zhu 1928). The latter portrayed the hardships suffered by the people of a Shanghai suburban town at hands of the communists (Zhang 1954). Both works were selected as compulsory texts in school education in Taiwan. The filial relationship between father and son depicted in *Peiying* and anti-communist sentiment in *Yangge* were considered proper perspectives dictated by the traditional literary conventions and Nationalist moralism; in Williams' words, literature of a selective tradition was deployed in the interest of the dominant KMT government.

0.3 Pai Hsien-yung and Modernism

The Sinocentric cultural hegemony supported by the KMT government in Taiwan appeared to be shaken by the US's political and military presence from the late 1950s. Given the United States' pivotal role as Taiwan's biggest financial and military sponsor against Mainland China, Taiwan actually joined the US-led anti-Communist alliance in the Cold War era. The American cultural presence meanwhile brought with it some liberal social ideas. Feeling that literary education was highly political and non-politicised creative writings were limited, progressive intellectuals decided to seek inspiration by turning to American cultural discourse. At this time, the Americans founded "the US Information Service", which provided considerable access to American intellectual resources (Yvonne Chang *Literary Culture in Taiwan* 94). The dynamic interaction with the US and the popularity of American culture led to numerous progressive young intellectuals becoming eager to increase their knowledge of Western thought in order to catch up with what was happening in the world. With the US's strong presence, the KMT government relaxed its powerful control over academia to a certain degree, owing to their connection with the US Information Service, and this made possible the rise of the Modernist Literary Movement.

The Modernist Literary Movement in Taiwan is commonly considered as having been officially inaugurated by the publication of the literary journal *Xiandai Wenxue* (*Modern Literature*) in 1960, founded by a group of then undergraduates of the Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures at the National Taiwan University, including Pai Hsien-yung, Chen Jo-hsi, Wang Wen-hsing and Ouyang Tzu. In addition to creative works written in Chinese, this magazine also published many translations of

fictional and critical works, mostly from Euro-American modernist literature. Although the magazine initially served as a creative writing space for those undergraduate students majoring in European and American literature at National Taiwan University, it turned out to be a reputable centre for literature loosely defined as "modernist" in Taiwan. The founding members of the magazine have been commonly termed "modernist writers" (Yvonne Chang *Modernism and the Nativist Resistance* 4-5; Tung 47).

This Western-influenced Modernist Literary Movement could be regarded as a 'non-dominant' culture in relation to the hegemony of the Nationalists' selective Sinocentric tradition in Martial Law Taiwan. According to Williams, non-dominant cultural practices may be "alternative" or "oppositional" and these can be further categorised into "residual" or "emergent" formations (121-27). By residual, Williams means that some meanings, practices and values have been effectively formed in the past, but they are still active in the contemporary cultural formation (122). That is, the residual may not be only an effective element in the past, but also an effective component of the present. Those social meanings which cannot be substantially recognised within the dominant culture in a specific period may survive and become "incorporated", possibly with a certain "re-interpretation" or "dilution", into the dominant culture as the society transforms over time (123). As for emergent cultural formations, Williams means those "new meanings", "new values", "new practices" and "new experiences" that are continually being created (ibid). Nevertheless, Williams warns us to be alert to how early a cultural practice is and to what extent it could be seen as emergent in relation to the dominant culture, as it may be difficult to distinguish those which are really elements of some new phase of the dominant (123-24). I would now like to account for the rise of the Modernist Literary Movement as an emergent cultural formation in relation to the mainstream literature of Martial Law Taiwan.

In *Literary Culture in Taiwan*, Yvonne Chang employs Williams' ideas, describing the Modernist Literary Movement as an "alternative" cultural practice in relation to the KMT Nationalist Sinocentric hegemony and the Nativist and Localist Literary Movement during the Martial Law era. For Chang, owing to the movement's borrowed American liberal discourse at the time of the US's strong military and cultural presence, the cultural visions modernists introduced were "initially fraught with centre-threatening" potential (*Literary Culture in Taiwan* 6). Nonetheless, led by Taiwan's intellectual elites, the

modernist dissident formations were quickly "assimilated" by the dominant cultural establishment (ibid). This argument may be based on the fact that the majority of the protagonists of the Modernist Literary Movement were second-generation mainlanders of cultural elites. While mainlanders were generally taken as the Nationalist government's close cultural allies, their activities were regarded tolerantly by the KMT. Although many modernists were said not to hold as strong an emotional tie to the Nationalist government as their parents did, they were still considered to possess some nostalgia for the mainland, which saw many of their works undergoing a synthesis of the selected elements of traditional Chinese culture and Western literary culture. As for the Nativist and Localist literary movements, Yvonne Chang frames them as oppositional cultural formations owing to their more confrontational criticism of the KMT political ideology. Emerging in the 1970s in response to the diplomatic crisis, on-going capitalist economic modernisation and later President Chiang Ching-kuo's relative loosening of government control over different political voices, both movements emphasised the cultural roots of Taiwan owing to the betrayal by the country's closest ally the US, and the KMT's continuing political oppression. The protagonists of the Nativist movement used literature to voice criticism of the government's pro-Capitalist policies which caused social problems in Taiwan's rural agricultural life. The Localists criticised the KMT government's oppression of Taiwan's local cultural heritage and independence, particularly from the Japanese colonial period (ibid: 7). The Localism's emphasis on the independence of Taiwan was increasingly becoming popular after the lifting of Martial Law, assisted by the growing Taiwanese consciousness.

Although Yvonne Chang's conceptual framing of modernism as an alternative in relation to the KMT hegemony and politically oppositional Nativism and Localism makes sense, various factors had actually contributed to the modernist works' synthesis of selected elements from the Chinese and Western cultures. Although the majority of the movement's protagonists were second-generation mainlanders, they were in fact not satisfied with the Nationalist government's authoritarianism and repressive cultural norms. As Pai points out during an interview: "I feel identified with classical Chinese culture, but in terms of politics, my ideal Republic of China was already gone after 1949" (Pai qtd. in Zeng 351). Furthermore, although some migrated mainlander writers, such as Ji Xian, Luo Fo, and Zhou Mengdie, who experienced the modernist movement on the Chinese

mainland during the 1920s and 1930s, had already introduced some modernist aestheticism and experiments in poetry from the mid-1950s on (Chi Pang–yuan 19), the liberal sensibilities on sexuality *Xiandai Wenxue* founders adopted from Western modernism were avant-garde thematic conventions and deviated from the ethical norms and Chinese literary tradition defined by the KMT government. Therefore, as a whole, in an attempt to frame the Modernist Literary Movement accelerated by *Xiandai Wenxue* in the Martial Law period in light of Williams' notions, I would reframe it as a dissident faction attached to the dominant group, owing to their liberal sensibilities partly inherited from Western modernism, which were at odds with KMT ethical norms. Political opposition was not possible at that time; hence this dissidence was expressed in oblique, aesthetic terms.

Under the pressure of authoritarian rule, political opposition was not possible owing to the closure of a series of liberal or politically engaged magazines. *Xiandai Wenxue*'s founders created the journal as an "aesthetically-oriented" literary journal rather than engaging in politics or social issues (Ko 81; Yvonne Chang *Modernism and the Nativist Resistance* 3). By creating *Xiandai Wenxue* as an aesthetically-oriented literary journal, the members of the magazine were, on the one hand devoted to introducing aesthetics, concepts and writing techniques from foreign literature, mostly from the Euro-American modernist canon; on the other hand, they displayed a strong concern for "the future of Chinese literature" by arguing that learning from the foreign literature was a way to connect China's longstanding literary tradition with the real world and to improve their critical thinking (Inaugural Statement of *Xiandai Wenxue* qtd. in Ko 81). By learning from the foreign and connecting Chinese literature with the world, the synthesis of the Chinese and Western became the ideal vision of the modernists' literary creations. This is best evidenced by Pai's preface to an anthology of *Selected Fiction of Modern Literature* (1977), entitled "Retrospect of *Xiandai Wenxue*", widely seen as the most vivid reflection of and testimonial to the modernism facilitated by *Xiandai Wenxue:*

> The thirty-three writers [in the anthology] have their own language and techniques. Some employ allegory and symbolism, others make use of stream of consciousness and psychoanalysis. Some are earthy and realistic, others are elegant and imaginative. Tradition is fused with modern, what is Western is mixed with Chinese. The result is a kind of literature that combines the ancient and the modern, the Chinese and foreign. This is the reality of Taiwan in the 1960s. Vertically, it has

inherited the rich culture of five millennia; horizontally, it has been impacted significantly by Europe and America (Pai qtd. in Ko 83).

Witnessing the Western influence on liberal thought, some traditional Chinese cultures were considered by the writers of *Xiandai Wenxue* to be in the past in spite of the Nationalist government's reconstruction. However, in some sense, they felt they could not totally turn to Western ideologies such as scientific ideas originated in the West as the foundation of new national building because of their own loyalty to classic Chinese cultural heritage. Therefore, modernists welcomed the multicultural literary and conceptual practices into their creative writings. Pai Hsien-yung has been widely considered more willing as well as more successful in synthesising classical Chinese cultural and literary elements and Western literary concepts and techniques in his works than any of his *Xiandai Wenxue* peers (Yvonne Chang *Modernism and the Nativist Resistance* 90-91).

Pai was born into a military family of Hui ethnic background (Muslim) in Guangxi, China, 1937. His father, General Pai Chung-hsi, was a renowned KMT soldier owing to his experiences against the warlords during the Republican era in China and during World War II. Pai's mother, Ma Pei-chang, was widely regarded as having been a woman of virtue among women of rank in her time, being an understanding wife supporting her soldier husband (Siu 1). Owing to his family background, Pai's childhood education was heavily influenced by his father's Nationalistic Chinese values, including patriarchal ones. Pai was also well-educated in classic Chinese literature. This explains Pai's knowledge of Chinese tradition in his vivid portrayals of various Chinese cultural scenes in his works, best exemplified by his most famous collection of fiction, *Taipei Ren* (Taipei People, 1973), in which references to classic Chinese cultures and histories, such as kunqu, rosewood chairs, and Tang poetry, are extensively cited. After World War II, Pai and his family settled in Hong Kong and he was converted to Christianity when visiting a Baptist school there. In 1952, Pai and his family moved to Taiwan. He joined the Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures at National Taiwan University in 1957 to study literature. In 1958, Pai commenced his writing career by publishing his first literary creation, *Madame Chin* (Siu 1; Zeng 354). In 1960, Pai founded *Xiandai Wenxue* along with his close university friends, including Ouyang Tzu and Wang Wen-hsing. By the time that the fifteenth issue of the magazine was published in 1963, all of the founding members including Pai were in higher education institutions in the United States learning American

and European critical and literary works. Studying and working in the United States, Pai still provided the new editorial board with his creative works and continued to supply crucial financial and practical support to the magazine at this time (Tung 47).[12]

In 1973, *Xiandai Wenxue* was unfortunately forced to shut down because of a financial crisis just before the publication of the fifty-second issue. Nonetheless, Pai's determination and persistence made the dream of re-issuing *Xiandai Wenxue* come true, as he arranged for it to be sponsored by a publisher, Chen Zhong (Morning Clock), from 1977 to 1984 (Tung 47). As a whole, Confucian and patriarchal values, transnational experiences, and changes of religions, particularly Buddhism—as most of Pai's works were written under this religious background, a religion to which he converted whilst in the US—complicatedly conditioned Pai's literary creations.

Yet, despite the fact that many of the modernists' novels including Pai's appeared to be non-political on the surface owing to the portrayal of past Chinese cultural glory, dissidence towards the KMT cultural norms can be perceived in them. In 'Traces of Reality: Alternative Realism in Taiwan during the 1960s and 1970s', Carsten Storm writes,

> The change in aesthetic forms by introducing Western literary traditions and by entering world literature… is no less a reaction to KMT policies than the nativists' vision of an alternative collective identity. In a certain sense, the modernists' view might even be called more subversive, since it rejected not only specific contents of the KMT's agenda, but transcended the borders of the dominant discursive field, which was political (284).

Indeed, modernism tends to imply socially liberal sensibilities inspired by the selected foreign novels of the Euro-American modernist canon, as each issue of *Xiandai Wenxue* introduced a foreign modernist novelist, along with translations of some of his or her literary productions. Selected writers included Franz Kafka, Thomas Wolfe, Thomas Mann, James Joyce, D.H. Lawrence, Virginia Woolf, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Jean-Paul Sartre,

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[12] Pai went abroad to study creative writing and literature at the Iowa Writers' Workshop of the University of Iowa in 1963. After earning his MA degree from Iowa, he became a professor of Chinese Literature at the University of California, Santa Barbara, and resided there until he retired in 1994. During his stay in Santa Barbara, he maintained close connections with *Xiandai Wenxue* and continually published his works through the magazine in Taiwan. Meanwhile, he also offered his teaching salary in Santa Barbara to support the magazine's maintenance.

Eugene O'Neill, William Faulkner, and John Steinbeck. In Pai's works, the voices of those excluded because of gender, sexuality, and erotic desire, were centrally placed among his literary creations. In *Taipei Ren* (*Taipei People*) both male and female same-sex desire and women's eroticism are portrayed in a series of short stories, such as 'Gulianhua' (Love's Lone Flower), in which female homosexuality and a life of prostitution are explicitly depicted, and 'Youyuan Jingmeng' (Wandering in the Garden, Waking up in the Dream), which Pai points out is inspired by Woolf's *Mrs. Dalloway*. Pai specifically mentions that Woolf's "stream of consciousness" literary technique is utilised to depict Madame Chian's (the story's heroine) memory of her past affair with General Zheng, in which Madame Chian's sexual desire for Zheng is explicitly revealed (Pai qtd. in Li 149-151). His *Niezi*, published in 1983, vividly demonstrates his humanistic compassion towards homosexuals under the then social oppression. The candid descriptions in his works are often sympathetic to homosexuality, eroticism and women with low social status, deviating from the traditional Chinese familial and patriarchal systems, which were regarded as constraints on the individual's personal values.

Although modernism was not considered politically oppositional to the KMT hegemony, it was clearly socially dissident as it tended to emphasise liberal sensibilities toward some of the society's lower stratum and individuals' psychological and inner struggles. These liberal sensibilities were not totally assimilated by the dominant KMT agenda during the Martial Law period. For example, while Pai's *Taipei Ren* was critically acclaimed by mainstream critics, most criticism only focused on Pai's delicate sensibilities in portraying traditional Chinese culture. Themes of libido in the book were not mentioned. Stories regarding same-sex desire, like 'Love's Lone Flower' and 'A Sky Full of Twinkling Stars', were ignored by critics. Only Pai's close friend Ouyang Tzu paid critical attention to them, as I note in Chapter One of the thesis. Chapter Two, meanwhile, indicates that when *Niezi* was published in 1983, the early critical reception of the book mostly downplayed the homosexual themes as well. This demonstrated that issues deviant from the traditional cultural values relating to sexuality and gender roles were still not recognised by the dominant cultural critics or the government. While modernism was said by Yvonne Chang to be assimilated by the cultural hegemony later in the Martial Law period, this was more to do with many modernists' focus on mainlanders' lives in Taiwan, portrayals of nostalgia for classic Chinese culture and the use of residual literary styles

inspired by the Western modernist canon which enabled their works to be assimilated by the dominant culture, a selective modernism accepted by the KMT-promoted cultural sphere.

The avant-garde experiments with Western-styled artistic forms and thematic conventions in relation to human desires in modernist works are distinguishable from the selective traditions of Chinese literature and mainstream Combat Literature. Although political opposition was not possible within the government's controlling system, numerous socially deviant writings were tacitly created in questioning the prevailing Nationalist ethics. Some of the modernist works have remained influential in relation to advocating feminism and gay liberation since the relaxation and lifting of Martial Law. For example, citing influence from modernist works, Li Ang created the novel *Shafu* (*The Butcher's Wife*, 1983), in which the heroine, Lin Shi, has been unbearably treated as a sex possession by her butcher husband. No longer able to withstand her husband's sexual abuse, Lin Shi chops him to death with his knife. A Taiwanese critic has commented that Lin Shi is a "symbolic female meting out revenge by feminist literary scholars and activists, not only for herself, but for all the oppressed women of thousands of years" (Chung 154), and this is echoed by other critics. Pai's *Niezi* is also a work that has been taken as crucial for social movements for human rights as the society transforms, a point I develop extensively in this thesis.

0.4 Chapter Outlines

In examining the Taiwanese state and the production of sexualities, this thesis adopts the methodological approach of cultural materialism to understanding identity development as a cultural product whose construction is always corresponding to a particular social context and historical phase in which different forms of representations are continually practised. Chapter One will demonstrate how the public discourse on male homosexuality was developed under the integral state of the Martial Law regime. In response to the cultural context in which homosexuality was situated, how Pai's earlier writings addressed the issues related to homosexuality and social oppression of homosexuals will be thoroughly examined. Two questions can be raised here: How was male homosexuality represented in

public discourse in Taiwan in the Martial Law period? Under what heteronormative conditions of gender roles has the male homosexuality been stigmatised?

Chapter Two will provide a reading of *Niezi* and an analysis of the reception of the book in order to examine the critical attitude towards homosexuality in the late Martial Law period. The historically contextualised reading of *Niezi* poses the following questions: How are homosexuals singled out as a shamed group through the portrayals of the young protagonists in the novel? What are the dynamics of same-sex relations between the boys and their punters? How does Pai demonstrate his compassion towards homosexuals under the then socio-cultural conditions? In relation to the reception of the novel, how were the elements of homosexuality in *Niezi* received by the critics? What prompted Pai's intellectual position to urge recognition of homosexual subculture by rereading *Niezi*?

Chapter Three deals with the first film adaptation of *Niezi* in the 1980s. Although since the late 1970s the authoritarian reign had been softened to a certain degree owing to President Chiang Ching-kuo's series of economic developments and political openness to native Taiwanese at a local level, the cultural discourse on sexualities remained constrained, as witnessed in this first film adaptation. Released in 1986, just a year before the lifting of Martial Law, this on the one hand symbolises the softened constraints on cultural productions, but on the other hand, the censorship imposed on the adaptation actually shows that the changes in public discourse on homosexuality remained limited. This chapter will focus on the analysis of the film adaptation at this transitional period for Taiwanese society.

Nonetheless, both the developing economic and political transitions laid down the foundation for what happened after the lifting of Martial Law in 1987, when democracy, globalisation, and capitalism combined to produce a newly globalised and liberalised cultural environment in Taiwan. This social transition saw the universities and cultural institutions related to academia emerging as the new dominant cultural authorities. This was mostly accelerated by numerous returned US-trained scholars who reestablished the theoretical discourse in academia, particularly on the studies of literature, culture and sexualities. In order to adjust to the new institutional environment, most academics, writers and cultural activists developed new conceptual frameworks influenced by the Western academic culture to discuss different social topics. Their cultural and critical productions

constantly show the mixture of selective residual influences of the previous era's literary formations and emergent critical discourses, such as queer theories. Under these circumstances, the academic culture and literary creations in Taiwan bear greater resemblance to their counterparts in the West and Japan. This phenomenon is best demonstrated in homosexuals' newly established social activism in the name of human rights. How has male homosexuality been configured in Taiwan since the lifting of Martial Law? What identity politics have Taiwanese activists and academics adopted? How has *Niezi* been politicised in homosexual activism? How has the novel been interpreted to represent the homosexual community in Taiwan? What is at stake in imagining gay citizenship in relation to the contemporary social order? Those questions will all be focused on and examined in Chapter Four.

With the political democratisation and homosexuals' developing activism, *Niezi* played a crucial role in generating the visualisation of the history of homosexual struggles and has become an iconic literary text for the homosexual community in Taiwan. As the society liberalised in the 1990s and 2000s, a new TV adaptation of *Niezi* was made in 2003 which was said to present a more faithful account of the novel than the 1986 film version. Chapter Five will examine such claims for this TV production. After more than a decade of representative democratisation and homosexual activism, to what extent could homosexuality be presented in the TV drama? What are the differences between the TV adaptation and novel? What cultural elements has the director selected and added to the adaptation? Was the reception of the TV series positive? These questions will be analysed in Chapter Five.

Owing to the development of democracy and a trend towards globalisation, *Niezi* has been transformed into different critical and visual interpretations to construct the idea of male homosexuality. Yet why does *Niezi* stand the test of time, and why is it constantly discussed instead of the homosexual literature published later in the 1990s and 2000s? A stage play version of *Niezi* was even made in 2014. The concluding chapter will discuss the reasons and how the historical trajectories of the residual literary formations and emergent cultural and theoretical discourses continue to negotiate in the space of interpreting *Niezi* in contemporary Taiwan.

Chapter One

Homosexuality under Martial Law

It is commonly agreed that, since the early 1990s, homosexual visibility has rapidly become one of the most influential cultural forces sweeping Taiwanese society (Chen Li-fen 385). It is particularly regarded as an example of the recognition of the people long marginalised in Taiwanese society, who have been gradually recognised since the lifting of Martial Law in 1987. Nonetheless, Chen also points out that it is noticeable that other minority voices that have also emerged in the same period have not achieved the level of success and publicity that homosexual visibility has enjoyed in its relatively short years of activist development (386), especially given the fact that there was no organised movement relating to homosexuals or other sexual minorities until the 1990s. Unlike its US and Western European counterparts, where homosexual movements have enjoyed a relatively long history and played a pivotal role in the formation of homosexual identity politics, Taiwan's cultural discourse on homosexuality was certainly not born with similar assistance. Rather, homosexual identity politics and signifiers nowadays in Taiwan have been largely constructed and represented based on literature produced in the Martial Law period which has been actively re-interpreted by activist academics and cultural critics in the last two decades. Thus, when it comes to discussing contemporary homosexual identity politics in Taiwan, it would be useful to trace the history of literature dealing with the homosexual theme, and the extent and ways that the idea of homosexuality was produced in literature in relation to the whole cultural and political environment, as this chapter will show.

Since its publication in novel form in 1983 (it was first serialised by *Xiandai Wenxue* magazine between 1977 and 1978), *Niezi* has been popular among homosexual readers and was specifically canonised as the first full-length homosexual novel in Taiwan's literary history after the lifting of Martial Law. Pai has also been considered a literary icon in sexual minority communities owing to his pioneer status in presenting elements of homosexuality in literature. However, it is worth noting that the creation of *Niezi* was actually not through a sudden inspiration in Pai's writing career. Since the 1960s, with the emergence of the Modernist Literary Movement, Pai had been writing portrayals of same-sex desire in short stories using concepts borrowed from Western modernism.

Examples include his early works such as 'Dream of the Moon' ('Yue Meng') and 'The Lonely Seventeen' ('Jimo de Shiqisui').[13] Pai later achieved literary fame with his most famous work, *Taipei Ren* (*Taipei People*, 1973), a collection of short stories portraying the lives of mainlanders who immigrated to Taiwan with the KMT troops during the 1950s. In *Taipei Ren*, two stories dealing with explicit homosexual themes in response to the social atmosphere and public discourse on homosexuality were collected—'Mantian Li Liangjingjing De Xingxing' (A Sky Full of Bright, Twinkling Stars) and 'Gulianhua' (Love's Lone Flower). Although Pai did not produce confrontational criticism of the government in *Taipei Ren*, he courageously pioneered humanist compassion towards homosexuals by creating these two stories, at odds with the prevailing social attitude. It is important to conduct an examination of both 'Mantian' and 'Gulianhua' in relation to their situated context, especially given the fact that *Niezi* has inherited certain concepts and themes from the two works. In this chapter, I shall demonstrate public discourse on homosexuality in the Martial Law period first and then carry out a textual analysis with respect to the context.

1.1 The Construction of 'Chinese Nationalist Respectability'

In Martial Law Taiwan, nationalism and respectability were allied to determine the social norms, including the proper attitude towards sex and gender roles. Unlike in Europe, where the middle classes had historically been the main force regulating the social and sexual orders and the state and church increasingly reflected middle-class values in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in Taiwanese society it was the state that established the moral codes. By respectability regarding Taiwan's context, I am referring to the KMT government's prevailing Sinocentric orthodoxy, which was predicated on Confucian morality. During the Martial Law period, according to Makeham, it was not uncommon for scholars both within and outside Taiwan to contrast Taiwan with China, describing Taiwan as "a bastion of traditional Chinese culture", conventionally identified as "Confucian" (187). This was regarded negatively by the Communists on the Mainland.[14] In order to

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[13] 'Dream of the Moon' and 'The Lonely Seventeen' were later collected in another collection of Pai's fiction, called *The Lonely Seventeen*, published in 1984, after Pai achieved his literary fame.

[14] Best evidenced by the Cultural Revolution during the 1960s in China

demolish the Japanese colonial legacy and to stand as the legitimate Chinese government against Communist China, a series of programmes fostering cultural re-construction were carried out to establish the social norms in accordance with the KMT rulers' definitions of traditional Chinese culture. Instances include the following: publication of selected classical Chinese literary works; a symbolic National Palace Museum was constructed where key Chinese antiques were exhibited; academic roles in universities were exclusively occupied by scholars trained in pre-war China; the Four Books (*Analects*, *Mencius*, *Daxue*, and *Zhongyong*)[15] were embedded into the compulsory school education; and Confucius' birthday was celebrated as a national holiday (ibid). Through these methods, Confucian morals, specifically filial piety, deference to elders, and respect for teachers and authority figures were used as a strong basis to establish the KMT rulers' Nationalist respectability and capacity to rule Taiwan effectively.

With the selected Confucian morality advocated as a pivotal means for the KMT rulers' Sinocentric cultural re-construction programmes, the Martial Law period saw KMT nationalism closely tied to the Confucian respectability prevalent in Taiwan's cultural discourse. Although Taiwan started to experience some steady economic growth and industrialisation during the first two decades of the Martial Law period, significant changes to this dominant political and cultural system were not allowed by the Nationalist government (Damm 68). As Allen Chun puts it:

> Confucianism was invoked essentially as a set of stripped down ethical values which had a specific role in the service of the state. As a generalised moral philosophy, or a kind of social ethics that could be easily translated into secular action, Confucianism entailed here a devotion to filial piety, respect for social authority, and everyday etiquette (137).

The family was taken as a mirror of the state and society in correspondence with Confucian respectability. By emphasising family values Confucianism set up the foundation of political and social relations from the state to every family unit, centring on the leader/subject, teacher/student, father/son and husband/wife moral hierarchy, within which the morally inferior (the latter in each of these pairings) were dominated by the morally superior (the former) (Huang Tao-ming *Queer Politics* 85). This moral hierarchy

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[15] The Four Books are four essential books centered on advocating Confucian moralities in Chinese history.

established an ideal masculine Taiwanese society within which institutions and family remained patriarchal. This dominant respectability defined the place of every insider of the Nationalist respectability who accepted the norms and excluded the dissident outsiders, who were considered immoral. Taiwanese society before the relaxation of Martial Law is thus commonly described as being "heterosexualised", in accordance with the KMT government's patriarchal ethical codes (Damm 68).

In an attempt to define ideal manliness as the social norm, the KMT government on the one hand glorified the image of Nationalist soldiers who fought in the Chinese Civil War, and on the other established the authority of the police administration. The creation of the prevailing anti-Communist or Combat Literature provided plentiful materials eulogising the masculinity and heroism of Nationalist soldiers. [16] Their manliness and patriotism were significantly praised in those literary works and their sons were expected to possess the same qualities to win back the Mainland by fulfilling their fathers' unfulfilled mission. As for the police, they were assigned a pivotal role in sustaining the government's legal regulations in order to protect the Confucian respectability supported by KMT nationalism. In 'State Power', Huang Tao-ming evidences this role of the police in the society by quoting a speech by Chiang Kai-shek, the moral guardian of Taiwanese residents, addressed to Central Police College students in 1953:

> We have to first govern the people as their parents and teachers in guiding, teaching and disciplining them. It is only when you cannot govern them as their parents and teachers that you have to seek recourse to the law. Therefore everybody must know that we should try our best to make people listen to our admonishments and to be loved and cherished by us (Chiang qtd. in Huang Tao-ming "State Power" 238).

Since the police were assigned absolute authority to regulate the public, they were considered the people who could judge the moral and immoral, the normal and abnormal, and the legal and illegal in correspondence with the government's defined social norms, and they owned the right to punish outsiders, particularly sexual dissidents.

In order to protect the sexual insiders of the dominant Nationalist respectability, "the Police Offence Law" was established to police and punish those considered sexual

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[16] See the Introduction

dissidents (Huang Tao-ming "State Power" 240). According to Huang, the Police Offence Law was specifically targeted at regulating female sexuality by "licensing prostitution" (ibid). Before the official establishment of the Police Offence Law, the regulation of prostitution was initially taken as a central task in re-constructing Chinese national identity in Taiwan. It was observed that Taiwan's prostitution culture was deeply influenced by Japanese colonialism at the time, which saw the establishment of geisha houses, Japanese-salon-style coffee houses and hostess culture during Taiwan's Japanese colonial period (Lin qtd. in Huang Tao-ming "State Power" 239). Hence, while the KMT government intended to implement its Sinocentric cultural reconstruction on the island, the Japanised prostitution culture was included in the social reformations which were aimed at purging the Japanese colonial legacy in Taiwan, evidenced by Huang's citation of a passage by Taipei Police Administration in 1946, "our Taiwanese countrymen were allowed under the Japanese occupation to wallow in immorality which must be rectified" (Taipei Police Administration qtd. in Huang Tao-ming "State Power" 239). Rooting out prostitution became tied to Chinese Nationalist ideology.

Further, Huang also points out that the sexual needs of the Nationalist army made the policy of banning prostitution controversial. Therefore, the KMT government started a pilot scheme in 1949 to license prostitution businesses, which lasted for six years ("State Power" 240).[17] In 1955, the government finally officially adopted the licensing policy to set up licensed brothels, however, with four regulations which local authorities were to follow. Citing Wang's article, 'The Science of Security Policing' (1969), Huang points out that these four regulations entailed "rooting out illicit prostitutes completely";[18] "rescuing those forced into prostitution", "guiding the licensed prostitutes to regain respectability by getting married", and, finally, re-affirming the police "to be the authority in the matter of

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[17] Under this pilot scheme, a prostitution business could only be run by the licensed brothels, in which sexual intercourse with licensed prostitutes was allowed. According to Huang, the licensed prostitutes were required to have regular health check-ups in order to keep their work permits. If they were found to have contracted a venereal disease, their work permits would be revoked until they were successfully treated. In addition, they were required to wear uniforms whilst they were working. If the women were found to have an indecent manner, the police and their employers could punish them in accordance with the Police Offence Law ("State Power" 240). The government's attempt to solve the problem of the professional army population's sexual needs saw the running of a number of licensed brothels all over Taiwan.

[18] The government launched a policy called "linjian (unannounced inspection)", which allowed the police to check any brothels, hotels, wine houses or tea rooms without any prior notice in order to detect illicit prostitutes. If a woman offended the police, the identity of indecency would be hers forever (Huang Tao-ming "State Power" 241-242).

licensed brothels" ("State Power" 241). The regulations governing prostitution on the one hand show that prostitutes were subjugated as men's heterosexualised sex objects, and on the other reveal that although prostitution was allowed by the government to a certain degree, government officials still aimed to reform prostitutes as "moral housewives" in accordance with family values (ibid). Policing prostitution also gave rise to a binary frame of female sexuality by drawing a distinction between the virtuous woman and the prostitute. The latter was considered inferior to the former and was at the bottom of the patriarchal sexual hierarchy defined by the Nationalist law. Although prostitution was a contradiction to familial values, under the patriarchal condition of serving men's sexual needs, it was in a sense tolerated.

Male homosexuality was also taken as a main form of sexual deviance from Nationalist respectability. According to Martin, in Martial Law Taiwan, the legal regulations often utilised to discipline men showing same-sex conduct in public are from "the Criminal Code" ("passed in the Republican Mainland China in 1935 and brought into Taiwan from 1945 onwards"), in which conduct that was "fanghai shanliang fengsu" or "fanghai fenghua" ("deleterious to virtuous customs or social morals") was criminalised (13). According to Antonia Chao's 'Global Metaphors', male homosexuals were also often arrested in the name of the law article "qizhuang yifu (wearing odd outfits)" (378). Yet, in both legal codes, there was no direct reference to or denotation of homosexuality. Chao interprets this governmental attitude towards referencing same-sex contacts, claiming that:

> Homosexuality during this period of time was completely out of the domains of eroticism. This is not to say that male homosexuality had not been considered a form of sexuality in orthodox thinking, rather that it was so obviously deviant and abnormal that its unrepresentability needed no further elaboration (Chao "So, Who Is the Stripper?" 236).

The assumption that Taiwanese residents should understand homosexuality as deviance led to the lack of a specific legal category for male same-sex contact. Based on the names of the legal articles regulating male homosexuals in the Martial Law period, male same-sex contact was often associated with cross-dressing and socially immoral conduct. Transgression from the normative gender appearances resulted in greater disciplinary attention paid to male homosexuals than female prostitutes.

The fact that male homosexuals were disciplined by these legal articles in Martial Law Taiwan can be attributed to the historical narrative on the deployment of sexuality on the Republican Mainland (Huang Tao-ming *Queer Politics* 53-54; Martin *Situating Sexualities* 30-33). In *The History of Sexuality* (1976), Foucault views the modern investigation and organisation of sexuality, sexual practices and identity as the discursive effects generated by "institutional power" under the prevalence of "medical and psychiatric science". The modern concept of homosexuality emerged as a fixed and perverse identity due to the prevailing "medical and psychiatric" examination and analysis of same-sex desire in late nineteenth-century Europe (Foucault 37-50). This modern discourse of sexuality was later brought into China in the early twentieth century, mainly introduced by the May Fourth intellectuals and writers. This movement then gave rise to a new idea about sex and generated a shift in perceptions of sexuality in Republican China. As Bret Hinsch points out, the male homosexual tradition in Imperial China was based on the "sexual acts" whilst, in the Republican era, it was increasingly associated with "species" and "fixed identities" (Hinsch qtd. in Huang Tao-ming *Queer Politics* 7). Same-sex desire came to be increasingly stigmatised by the May Fourth Chinese intellectuals with a fixed reasoning supported by their appropriated medical discourse in the Republican era.[19] The new idea about sex thus arose.

During the Republican era, homosexuality was mostly associated with a fixed idea of "renyao", which carried strong gender and political implications in China (Kang 33). Literally, it meant human monster or human freak. The term first came into being to describe people transgressing patriarchal rules on gender roles in the late Ming Dynasty (Zeitlin 106-109).[20] In the early twentieth century, those named renyao in China were generally "cross-dressers", "intersex people who might have sex with both men and women", "Beijing opera dan actors",[21] "male prostitutes", and "any men who behaved and

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[19] For more details on how Western medical discourse on sexuality was appropriated by May Fourth intellectuals, also see Deborah Tze Lan Sang's *The Emerging Lesbian: Female Same-sex Desire in Modern China* (2003) and Kang Wenqing's *Obessions: Male Same-sex Relations in China, 1900-1950* (2009).

[20] According to Zeitlin's studies, female-to-male gender transformation in the Ming Dynasty denoted positive meaning because it symbolised the possibility of producing an heir – while male-to-female gender transformation was considered negatively for its deviance from patriarchal familialism (107-108).

[21] 'Dan' is the general name for female roles in Chinese opera, performed by males in the Republican era. The most well-known male dan actor is Mei Lan-fang (Kang 37).

dressed in a feminine fashion and had sex with other men" (Kang 34). The existence of people who were considered renyao was taken as evidence of a social and political crisis of the country by writers and journalists, as China was suffering from its semi-colonial situation. This is best illustrated by a 1932 article about an amateur Beijing opera dan actor in the newspaper *Tianfengbao* (*Heavenly Wind*), and by a 1934 policy by the Nationalist government to regulate people's public behaviour.

The writer of the article published by *Tianfengbao* first describes the life of a Beijing dan actor, how beautiful and elegant he looked, how many men have slept with him and how tender and tactful he was in bed (*Tianfengbao* qtd. in Kang 36). After these descriptions, the writer immediately turns to link the actor's sexual transgression and national crisis, continuing, "I realise that such a unique creature does exist. The country is on the verge of extinction because freaks and monsters are present. Such a person probably is renyao" (*Tianfengbao* qtd. in Kang 37). In the comments, the writer blames people like the unnamed actor for the country's political crisis. In 1934, during the New Life Movement initiated by the Nationalist government, a policy about fenghua (virtuous custom) was introduced against people like the renyao. In Kang's analysis of this policy, its "purpose was to change the negative image of Chinese people in the eyes of foreigners and to elevate the international status of the nation" (35). Proper appearance and public conduct in accordance with individual's assigned gender role were considered necessary for reforming social moralism and changing foreign nations' attitude towards China. As these examples demonstrate, the interpretation of renyao as gender confusion and a sign of national crisis was often connected with the struggle of semi-colonised China. As national respectability was established by the New Life Movement, renyao was largely considered deviant from Chinese nationalism. The term renyao and its connotations, including cross-dressing, gender confusion, effeminacy, and male prostitutes, were later brought into Taiwan in 1949, after the KMT government officially retreated to the island, to represent people who had male same-sex contact in public.

Despite the fact that the dominant patriarchal circumstances were preoccupied with issues of female prostitution, which marginalised the legal practice of regulating male (homosexual) prostitution in post-war Taiwan, several scholars observed that ample

evidence in journalistic discourse showed that male prostitutes were also subject to police control and largely associated with the Republican Chinese concept of renyao. According to a number of ethnographic surveys on the prostitution culture in the Martial Law period, the re-used Republican Chinese term renyao had a strong historical resonance to represent male (homosexual) prostitutes in the minds of the Taiwanese public (Huang Tao-ming "State Power" 247; *Queer Politics* 53-54). Citing Antonia Chao's newspaper article 'Renyao, a History of Fraud' (1997), Huang points out that the term renyao first appeared in Taiwan in the trial of "'Zeng Qiuhuang the Renyao' in 1951". Zeng Quihuang, who was convicted for fraud in 1951, created a stir in the media owing to his overt effeminate conduct when he was in court. His ambiguous gender identity, judged from his appearance, feminine clothing and gestures, led to the description of him as renyao in the media coverage of this trial. Insulting terms such as "bunan bunu (neither man nor woman)" or "niuni zuotai (an artificial and exaggerated manner)" were also applied to describe Zeng's unmanly gestures (Chao qtd. in Huang Tao-ming *Queer Politics* 54-55). This case saw the use of renyao emerge in public discourse and it has been often associated with cross-dressing and effeminate men since then.

The term renyao came to be prevalently associated with male prostitutes and same-sex contact in the early 1960s. In *Queer Politics*, Huang Tao-ming's analysis of the representation of renyao in the journalistic discourse at this time indicates that the term signified a group of male prostitutes cruising and working in the area of Sanshui (Three River) Street in Taipei's Wanhua red light district. As Huang puts it, in 1961, the *Zhengxin Xinwen Bao* (*the Detective News*) first exposed the underground business of male prostitutes in Sanshui Street to the public (*Queer Politics* 55). The writer of this report, Yang Wei, depicts those male prostitutes as appalling, base, filthy and grotesque "renyao" and suggests that they would have a bad influence on children as they had been seen dressed in women's clothes and trading with men. He further blames the police's corruption for neglecting such an ugly business in the past few years (Yang qtd. in Huang Tao-ming *Queer Politics* 55). After this report, the use of renyao in public gradually objectified the image of male prostitutes as cross-dressers in correspondence with the Republican concept of the term to describe males who dressed in a feminine fashion and had sex with men. It corresponded to qizhuang yifu (wearing odd outfits) as a frequently cited criminal act to arrest male prostitutes (Martin *Situating Sexualities* 13). As this case

demonstrated, homosexuality was represented based on a binary and heterosexualised frame of male sexuality in public discourse, a fixed base femininity imposed on male (homosexual) prostitutes in contrast to the ideal manliness promoted by the Nationalist patriarchy. Sanshui Street also became known for fostering renyao, and numerous other newspapers tried to unearth their underground business in this area, too.[22]

Apart from Sanshui Street, Huang also points out that Taipei's New Park became a spatial signifier for male prostitution in the late 1950s as well (*Queer Politics* 57).[23] The best known evidence according to Huang is an article from the *Dazhong Ribao* [*Public Daily*], entitled 'Xin Gongyuan Renyao Zhongzhong' [Shadowy Renyao Haunts the New Park] (1971). The writer of this report not only depicts the effeminacy of cross-dressing male prostitutes based in New Park, but also how they went there to trade. According to the article, most of the Park's "renyao" were runaway children led by a leader in renyao business who encouraged them to make money by engaging in same-sex sexual acts with older males. Although the police had undertaken actions such as entrapment to eradicate male prostitutes in New Park, they still had difficulty in rooting them out completely (*Public Daily* qtd. in Huang Tao-ming *Queer Politics* 57-58). Incidents reporting how the police behaved towards male prostitutes occasionally appeared in the press from the late 1950s and throughout the 1960s and 1970s.

While the police continually targeted the business of male prostitutes, the abuse of arrested men cruising around New Park was often heard of. In his ethnographic book *Going to the Company: New Park as the Gay Male Erotic Space* (2005), based on interviews with those legendary male homosexuals who had frequented the Park since the Martial Law era, Lai Zhengzhe points out that police harassment and abuse of male homosexuals were common throughout the whole Martial Law period (114-26). Although male homosexuals regularly gathered together in New Park, the police raids made the area into a dangerous space for its cruising homosexual men. Under this circumstance,

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[22] The *Formosa Journal*, *United Daily News* and *Detective News* all further unearthed other cases of male prostitutes based in the same district, such as the case of Chen Zhushun on 13th October 1962 (Huang *Queer Politics* 56).

[23] The activities of male prostitutes in the area of New Park were first exposed by the *Lianhe Bao* [The *United Daily*]: 'Xin Gongyuan Biancheng Nanchang Guan, Ying Su Zhuang Deng Pai Jing Xunluo' [New Park turns into a male brothel; the authorities should install street lamps and send police to patrol the area], 22nd Jan 1959 (Ibid).

sometimes even passersby would physically bully those who committed same-sex conduct in public in this area. As Ta K, the owner of the first gay bar in Taiwan, recounts gay life in the late 1960s, "you could not talk about things like same-sex relations in public in those days. Two guys I knew of once got seriously beaten up because they openly flirted" (Ta K, qtd. in Hu 67). The conditions of male prostitutes in the New Park and the underground culture they led were later sketched by Pai in his short story, 'Mantian Li Liangjingjing De Xingxing' (A Sky Full of Bright, Twinkling Stars 1969).

Through the workings of state power, a dominant patriarchal sexual order premised on policing prostitution came to be established within the Nationalist respectability in post-war Taiwan, sustained by the Police Offence Law, which regulated the norms of sex. Within this patriarchal system of sexuality, sexual minorities, specifically female prostitutes and male homosexuals, were placed at the bottom of the sexual hierarchy by the banning and regulation of prostitution in Taiwan. This dominant respectability gave birth to a public discourse on homosexuality carried out by a "heterosexual interpellation", defined by Didier Eribon as "a set of processes of 'subjection,' processes as much collective as individual to the extent that there is a common structure of inferiorisation at work" (59). That is, under heterosexual interpellation, homosexuals are not only singled out by their sexual preferences, but also subjected by the dominant heterosexual power and order through different forms of insult. And this inferiorisation of homosexuality was supported by the KMT Nationalist respectability, which gave rise to a set of generalised subjectivities imposed on homosexuals in Martial Law Taiwan, as witnessed by the use of insulting language such as 'renyao' in the press to represent homosexuals. Despite the fact that the male same-sex relationship was not expressly prohibited or named, under these dominant patriarchal circumstances it was in fact outlawed as effeminate, cross-dressed male prostitution.

With men and masculinity preoccupying the social morals, the possibility of sexual contact between women was totally absent from public discourse and the legal code of the KMT administration (Martin *Situating Sexualities* 13) owing to the ideas of virtuous women's place as submissive housewives and female prostitutes' imposed discursive position as heterosexual men's sex objects. Because of the absence of public discourse on female homosexuality, Pai's 'Gulianhua' (Love's Lone Flower), the first literary work to represent female same-sex desire in Taiwan, can be seen as the pioneer construction of

homosexual women in both literary and social discourses (Zeng 107). Pai's humanist compassion towards prostitutes and pioneer recognition of the possibility of a female same-sex relationship even made 'Gulianhua' an important text in the discussions of feminism after the lifting of Martial Law. For instance, when the DVD of the film version of 'Gulianhua' and related products were released in 2005, it was marketed as an important contemporary feminist work (Lin qtd. in Gender/Sexuality Rights Association Taiwan).[24] In the next sections, I would like to approach Pai's attitude towards homosexuals by analysing the two works I have specifically mentioned so far, 'Gulianhua' and 'Mantian Li Liangjingjing De Xingxing', along with an analysis of the socio-cultural context in which the stories are set and Pai's borrowings from Western modernist discourse.

1.2 The Emergence of a Homosexual Subculture

In *Gay and After* (1998), Alan Sinfield defines the post-Stonewall years in North America and North-western Europe as "post-gay" and claims they have seen numerous opportunities offered to people of marginalised sexualities to recognise and express themselves through developed institutions (*Gay and After* 6). Because this phenomenon has been seen mainly in big cities in the West, Sinfield has termed the post-Stonewall non-heteronormative identities as "metropolitan", and placed them within the "metropolitan sex-gender system" (ibid). The metropolitan gay and lesbian identities emerged in the capitalist urban areas in the West and later spread to big cities of the globe (ibid). The spread of a metropolitan sex-gender system in the world has accelerated the interactions between the Western and the local perspectives to view and discuss same-sex desire in various ways.

From what Sinfield has observed, the main reason for the emergence of metropolitan gay and lesbian identities is a "weakening of family ties" (*Gay and After* 7). This weakening of family ties has been mainly caused by the pervasiveness of capitalism, which requires young people to learn various work skills with which their elders are not

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[24] For instance, in the book about the film version of *Gulianhua* published at this time, some passages of Virginia Woolf's *A Room of One's Own* are quoted along with the film script of *Gulianhua*. Regarding this, Pai Hsien-yung describes Woolf as a feminist icon who would understand the story of *Gulianhua* (Lin qtd. in Gender/Sexuality Rights Association Taiwan Web).

familiar and to move around the nation and the world. Under such circumstances, it is common that younger people do not share their parents' perspectives of different social issues, including those relating to gender and sexuality. Thus, Sinfield points out that when young gay and lesbian individuals encounter hard times, they actually rely more on "friendship networks", "social services" which support equal rights for gay and lesbian people or "pension schemes" to sustain themselves in their society (ibid).

This metropolitan disaffiliation from the family owing to capitalism also spread to Taiwan in the 1970s. On the one hand, owing to the political and military alliance with the US since the post-World-War-II years, the development of the economy in Taiwan has been hugely influenced by capitalism brought by the US. Capitalist economic factors started to accelerate social changes including views regarding gender and sexualities during the 1970s when Taiwan became largely industrialised and modernised. An urbanised society had also forced numerous younger individuals to migrate to the cities for better working opportunities and to live in the suburbs. This led to two phenomena in relation to familial and sexual relations in Taiwan's metropolitan areas, particularly the capital, Taipei: a weakening of traditional family ties and the migration of homosexuals to the metropolis. Before the 1970s, Taiwan was generally considered an agrarian society in which extended families were common (Rubinstein "Taiwan's Socioeconomic Modernisation" 385), with grandparents, parents, uncles, aunts, cousins, brothers and sisters all living nearby or in the same household. Nonetheless, owing to the prevailing capitalist economy and structures of society, the nuclear family which was composesd of only parents and children gradually became the norm mainly among the middle-class families of urban Taiwan. More and more women were active in work and were therefore economically independent, which gradually allowed them to pursue a personal life as men did. This saw the realities of "the two-breadwinner families" (ibid), which implied sexual equality between men and women. At the same time, as capitalism gave rise to the ideas of moving around the country to pursue better working opportunities and life experiences, gay individuals also congregated in big cities in order to pursue their own personal lives with fewer traditional familial constraints. The emergence of a gay subculture in the metropolis of Taiwan can be explained by what Didier Eribon has noted in his seminal book, *Insult and the Making of the Gay Self* (2004). According to Eribon, cities have always been the refuge of gay people because they allow more anonymity to be maintained,

which is hardly possible in small towns and villages within which the close social networks are more commonly seen. Under the developing capitalist socio-economic condition, cities are also considered to provide more opportunities for gay people to gain economic independence after they leave home. As a result, homosexual communities are gradually formed in big cities, commonly based in pubs or bars, parks, restaurants and lodges, which has significantly given rise to some visible gay space in the metropolis (24-26), for instance, the gay quarter in Paris. Similarly, in Taipei, New Park became such a gay space.

1.3 Taiwanese Modernism and the Outsider

According to Zemgulys, Western literary modernism has "a vexed relation to the past": in "its efforts to break with the past, to alter the past through new traditions, to re-tell the past in ways transformative of the present" (1). This modernist sentiment can be attributed to the crumbling of the old order in early twentieth-century Europe,[25] evidenced by growing new social aspects written in Modernist Literature, such as the rejection of Victorian ideals of gender roles and human relationships. By writing the new perspectives of their time, away from Victorian standards, Western modernists in the early twentieth century felt the need to redefine the human world and social relations, instead of inheriting rigidly codified rules.

One of the main challenges to the old orders regarding human relationships was the modern attitude towards sex. In *Bloomsbury, Modernism, and the Reinvention of Intimacy* (2011), Wolfe specifically examines the roles of writers from the Bloomsbury Group, a representative Western modernist group of novelists, intellectuals, philosophers and artists, and their influence on feminism, gay liberation and other aspects of culture and politics. As demonstrated by the works of writers such as Virginia Woolf, the Victorian assumptions about gender stereotypes were broken, with various kinds of desires produced owing to the struggles between the Victorian and modernist concepts of marriage, family and sexuality (Wolfe 1). For instance, in Woolf's *Mrs Dalloway*, although the heroine, Clarissa, has been married to Richard for thirty-three years, she has not been a devoted wife as she continues

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[25] As Childs points out, "The nineteenth century experienced a spreading disillusionment with existing models of the individual and the social, the Western world was transformed and reinterpreted by Marx, Freud and Darwin, who respectively changed established notions of the social, the individual and the natural" (21).

to love Peter. Her treasured memory of a same-sex kiss with Sally years ago also suggests that she may have been bisexual. Nonetheless, Richard provides Clarissa with a home where she can host parties. Marriage to Richard at least gives her a stable life and safe material environment, which Peter may not be able to offer (Woolf 1925). As Clarissa's complex mentality suggests, human subjectivity cannot be easily and clearly explained by any definite notions about marriage and relationships in modernist writings. Instead, they represent various kinds of desires, which are not constrained by any fixed rule and could co-exist at the same time.

Unlike the relatively liberal social atmosphere within which Western modernism developed, the modernist movement accelerated by *Xiandai Wenxue* in Taiwan emerged under the KMT authoritarian regime, which made Taiwanese modernists' literary creations non-confrontational on the surface. As a non-dominant literary branch, modernists in Taiwan had to state their discontents strategically in their writings in sustaining the circulation of *Xiandai Wenxue* under the dominant Nationalist social discourse. This led to the transformation of their spirits of resistance into sentiments of "self-exile" (Ouyang qtd. in Chi Ta-wei "Male Homosexuals' Sexual Desire" 134), in most of their literary creations owing to their inability to come to terms with living under the current social and political ideology. This writing of self-exile was assisted by the borrowed Western modernist creative techniques and concepts to release Taiwanese modernists' increasing inner anxiety and hopelessness. Their feeling as outsiders to the KMT rulers' prescribed Nationalist respectability inspired them to create exiled characters in their novels. In their opinion, under the repressive socio-cultural circumstance, dissident outsiders were doomed and could only release their inner sorrows and discontent by exiling themselves. By appearing to demonstrate sympathy with such dissidence, self-exile became a main characteristic. This can be seen in Pai's works collected in *Taipei Ren*.

As its Western-sounding title suggests, the writing of *Taipei Ren* was inspired by James Joyce's *Dubliners* (1914), one of the most representative Western modernist works. Both *Taipei Ren* and *Dubliners* take a city where their authors have lived at particular periods of time as the background. As wanderers in Taipei and Dublin, they respectively present myriad components in their native cities and a different social consciousness and moralism in response to prevailing Nationalist discourse. While the paralysis generated by Irish nationalism and Catholicism in the early twentieth century is criticised by Joyce in

Dubliners, the stultifying effects of legitimate Chinese culture promoted by the KMT Nationalistic agenda is considered by Pai to be psychologically traumatising for the mainlanders living in Taipei, as their nostalgia remains unfulfilled in *Taipei Ren*. These similarities between Pai and Joyce, in spite of the different contexts led to some comparison between the two works in Taiwan's academia (Gao xix).

In the studies of Western modernist writings, the city has long been a recognised theme because a transformation from past to present is often first felt in a metropolis. Numerous artistic and literary avant-garde movements took shape in Western capitals owing to a series of intense social transformations accompanied by the crumbling of old social orders and the increasing modernisation in the early twentieth century. As one critic contends:

> When we think of Modernism, we cannot avoid thinking of these urban climates, and the ideas that ran through them: through Berlin, Vienna, Moscow and St. Petersburg around the turn of the century and into the early years of the war; through London in the years immediately before the wars; through Zurich, New York, and Chicago during it; and through Paris at all times (qtd. in Harding 16).

London, New York, Paris, these Western capitals represent the ideas of transformational and cosmopolitan phenomena in relation to the past and cross-cultural communications with other countries in the present. These emerging cultural discourses were often used by modernist artists and novelists to create arts and writings based in the metropolises they served.

Nonetheless, unlike cosmopolitan capitals such as London, Paris, or New York, fate, religion and Irish nationalism constitute Dublin's imagination as a modernist literary city, witnessed by Joyce's writing of *Dubliners*. Set in the early years of the twentieth century when Ireland was still ruled by the British, the fifteen short stories of *Dubliners* vividly portray middle-class life in Dublin in response to then Irish nationalist feeling and Catholicism. Joyce claimed that he intended to chronicle the life of Dublin in four stages of life — "childhood", "adolescence", "maturity" and "public life", beginning with youth in an unnamed boy in 'The Sister' and progressing in age to culminate in the last work, 'The Dead' (Joyce qtd. in Harding 35). In *Dubliners*, the city of Dublin is depicted as a metropolis full of the mentally repressed and life-imprisoned figures from all these four

stages of life. Joyce intended to challenge the overwhelmingly oppressive Catholic Nationalist ideology at that time by relieving Irish people's tensions and sympathising with their spiritual emptiness. His conflict with his native city is vividly portrayed in the "paralysis" possessed by the Dubliners (Joyce qtd. in Pierce 129), caused by the exhaustion of contemporary Irish nationalism.

As one of Joyce's letters suggests, "My intention was to write a chapter of the moral history of my country and I chose Dublin for the scene because that city seemed to be the centre of paralysis" (Joyce 1906 qtd. in Pierce 139). This is demonstrated by *Dubliners*' characters' inability to alter their constrained lives, which gradually causes their psychological collapse. These moments of paralysis often lead to Dubliners' doomed ending and death seems to be the only way to relieve them, as best evidenced by the first story in *Dubliners*, 'The Sister'. The theme of the story centres on the relationship between an unnamed boy and Father Flynn. On the day of Father Flynn's impending death, the boy's aunt, uncle and Old Cotter have a conversation about his past and his relationship with the boy. Through flashbacks of this conversation, Father Flynn is shown to have been an intelligent, well-trained and religious priest whom the unnamed boy greatly admires. Nonetheless, Father Flynn could not cope with the daily pressure of being a parish priest, which finally causes his fatal deterioration in health. After hearing the conversation, the boy now feels extremely sorry for him instead of admiring him (Joyce 1-7). Father Flynn's death symbolises his life entombment thanks to his commitment to the Irish Catholic Church. He is gradually deemed a failure by the unnamed boy in the story, as the boy puts it: "I found it strange that neither I nor the day seemed in a mourning mood and I felt even annoyed at discovering in myself a sensation of freedom as if I had been freed from something by his death" (Joyce 3). While the Irish Catholic Church, taken as a symbol of nationalistic Irish identity in the story is considered to paralyse Father Flynn, the unnamed boy subtly reveals his eagerness to escape the same fate and actually finds Father Flynn's death a relief. This ending demonstrates the prevalence of the Irish Catholic Church in paralysing Dubliners' minds and souls, and suggests that some of them may wish to free themselves from Irish Catholic constraints.

Like *Dubliners*, Pai's *Taipei Ren* displays an overall plan surrounding "age", divided by 1949, the year of the end of the Chinese Civil War (Ouyang 80), which saw the fall of China to the Communists. The collected stories in *Taipei Ren* depict the lives of

people who came from the Mainland to Taiwan in the 1950s.[26] Ouyang Tzu describes the significance of certain recurrent themes regarding *Taipei Ren* as a sense of "past and present", in which people are portrayed as young men and women when they left Mainland China but now in Taiwan, decades later, they are either middle-aged or old people (ibid). All of them are haunted by their memories of past events in China, which have directly influenced their daily lives in Taipei city. Although they are now called Taipei people, they do not mentally belong to Taipei. Further, according to Ouyang, Pai utilises the idea of the past to convey his ideal vision of old China, which generally represents "youth", "sensitivity", "tradition", "love", "spirit", "soul", "past glory", "beauty", and "the ideal". In contrast, the present is utilised to represent the KMT-ruled Taiwan, which generally represents "old age", "paralysis", "lust", "flesh", "ugliness", and "reality" (ibid). The settings of scenes in Taipei and the Mainland are often interwoven, with settings shifting between now and then in the work, filled with motifs that are suggestive of the time and space of pre-war China (ibid) and references to traditional Chinese arts, fashion, places and literary tradition, such as Buddhism, traditional clothing, Beijing opera, classic Tang poetry, Shanghai Paramount Ballroom and rosewood Chinese furniture. Nonetheless, no matter how glorious the lives of these 'Taipei characters' were back in the Mainland, they are all now living in a Taiwanese society full of injustice, repression, and impersonal human relationships. They all face significant confusion when identifying themselves with China or Taiwan, which finally leads to their psychological paralysis. Their paralysis, which is owing to the turbulent time of the Chinese Civil War, haunted memories back in pre-war China, the sense of insecurity and the repressed social atmosphere caused by the KMT government's cultural policy in Taiwan, is what *Taipei Ren* depicts and what Pai sympathises with.

While Joyce demonstrated his disagreement with the exhausted Irish nationalist sentiments among people of the middle class in *Dubliners*, Pai's disagreement with the prevailing KMT Nationalist discourse in *Taipei Ren* was more directly towards the state, which regards itself as being in exile. This is reflected through Taipei characters' spirits of self-exile in various senses. Although Pai was from a mainlander social background and influenced by the education of classical Chinese literature, he did not agree with the then

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[26] In the book's preface, Pai specifically dedicates this collection "to the memory of my parents and the time of endless turmoil and anguish through which they lived" (1).

conservative social discourse on sexuality and sexual dissidence (Pai qtd. in Zeng 340). The stories with sexual dissidents as heroes occupy a significant portion of *Taipei Ren*, best exemplified by the characters of the social butterfly, Yin Hsueh-yen, in 'Yongyuan De Yin Hsueh-yen' (The Eternal Yin Hsueh-yen), the dance-hall hostess, Jin Daban, in 'Jin Daban De Zuihou Yiye' (The Last Night of Jin Daiban), the winehouse woman, nicknamed Commander-in-Chief (Yun Fang), who is in love with a winehouse prostitute, Dainty, in 'Gulianhua' (Love's Lone Flower), and a group of male homosexual prostitutes cruising in Taipei's New Park in 'Mantian Li Liangjingjing De Xingxing' (A Sky Full of Bright, Twinkling Stars). The frustrated desires of these characters caused by the state regulation of society are the main theme of the volume. Without any solution to their pre-destined fates, all they can do is exile themselves in a corner of the society. As a self-exiled wanderer who rejected the dominant KMT moral codes, Pai strategically registered his discontent with the state and his humanist compassion towards the oppressed dissidents living in Taiwan. Here I focus on the works 'Mantian Li Liangjingjing De Xingxing' (A Sky Full of Bright, Twinkling Stars) and 'Gulianhua' (Love's Lone Flower) owing to their dealing with themes regarding same-sex desire.

By claiming that Pai is strategic in his writing, I am first referring to his synthesis of the elements of traditional Chinese culture with his discontent with the state in the works of *Taipei Ren*. Reminiscent of the world of Republican China with plentiful references to pre-war Chinese arts and literature, *Taipei Ren* was described by a critic, Hsia Chih-ching, as "a history of Republican China" and Pai's "obsession with China" (Hsia 3), a sentiment strongly approved by the KMT government. Nonetheless, under the surface of Pai's 'obsession with China', dissidence is revealed implicitly or sometimes relatively explicitly in many of the collection's works. 'Mantian Li Liangjingjing De Xingxing' provides one instance. The plot of 'Mantian' alludes to the growth of the Shanghai film industry in the 1920s and 1930s through a male homosexual character, the Guru. The Guru was once the biggest star in the days of silent film under contract with the Galaxy Motion Picture Corporation in Shanghai. He is best known for his role of Tang Pohu in *Three Smiles*, but is later eclipsed by the emergence of sound in film. Nonetheless, he makes a comeback by directing the film *Loyang Bridge,* starring his young 'prince charming', Chiang Ching, considered to be the re-incarnation of himself. The box-office for the film is a huge success. Yet unfortunately, the car accident which causes the death of Chiang Ching

ruins the Guru's dream again. Now, he is an old and homeless male homosexual cruising around Taipei's New Park, haunted and paralysed by the memories of his past glory and Chiang Ching.

The Guru's past glory back in the Mainland has been a popular topic of conversation among other male homosexual characters cruising in Taipei's New Park. Through conversations regarding the Guru, myriad faces of dissident humanity are vividly portrayed in the work. This depiction of the lives of dissident homosexual characters certainly provides a humanist consciousness of and witness to a group of different, multiple, myriad components that display an active communal life in a corner of Taipei city. 'Mantian' could be taken as a prelude to *Niezi*; it briefly depicts the life of a group of male homosexuals cruising around Taipei's New Park. For the first time after its exposure by the press, New Park as homosexuals' gathering place was picked up as a subject for creative works in Taiwan's literary history. 'Mantian''s homosexual characters are respectively nicknamed the Guru, Ah Hsiung the Primitive, Dark-and-Handsome, and Little Jade, which indicates the anonymity homosexual individuals seek in a metropolis full of strangers. Although all of the characters come from different social backgrounds, they are thrown into each other's lives owing to their dissident sexuality and every night they gather together around the lotus pond in the Park to listen to each other's past life experiences, particularly those from the Guru, the hero of this story. Just like the gay quarter in numerous Western cities such as Paris or San Francisco, a communal active life led by homosexuals in New Park gave birth to a homosexual space and community in the city Taipei.

Nonetheless, despite the fact that the city represents a space for freedom and self-definition for homosexuals, it can be a place of misfortune. In his *Insult*, Eribon crucially points out that "the city is both the place in which gay culture comes to exist and the place in which that culture is subject to social surveillance in its most basic and quotidian forms" (41). Social control of the homosexual subculture and various forms of hostility towards visible homosexual communities actually flourish with the rise of the migrating homosexual population. The Western cities constantly regarded as symbols of freedom, such as Berlin, Paris, San Francisco, Amsterdam or New York, are in fact at the same time the guardians of moral orders, religion, familial values, and oppression of women and homosexuals (Eribon 44), which have seen police harassment of gay people frequently

occur in these places. While enjoying the freedom and economic independence in the city, homosexuals are forced to live with numerous forms of violence and verbal abuse. It can be said that the city is a space where homosexual subculture and its social control exist in tension with each other.

Similarly, in Taiwan, as the homosexual cruising places were gradually exposed by the press, the police control over the male (homosexual) prostitutes significantly increased. Since the late 1950s, in Taipei, the police harassment of male prostitutes occurred constantly in the exposed homosexual cruising districts, witnessed by the social reportage in the previous section. As the moral guardian of the society, the police possessed absolute authority to punish those considered morally dissident, including male homosexuals, according to the Police Offence Law during the Martial Law period. In the story of 'Mantian', Pai touched on this social phenomenon by turning the plot to the arrest of the Guru for his male same-sex conduct in public after depicting his experiences back in Shanghai. It is the negative representation of male homosexuals from journalistic discourse that gives rise to the fictionalised narrative of the Guru's arrest in this work. The Guru one day bumps into a school-boy whose gorgeous look reminds him of Chiang Ching. Drunk at the time and long haunted by memories of the past, the Guru hugs him and mumbles 'my prince charming'. The school-boy cries out, people gather and then the police come to arrest the Guru. After several months, the Guru is seen again in New Park; however, with a significant change in his appearance, as illustrated by the following passage:

> Just when the excitement in the Park was at its height, the Guru arrived out of nowhere; his appearance was so sudden everybody was astounded, awestruck…He was unusually well-groomed, which made his shock of white hair all the more striking, but he was walking with difficulty, as if he had been wounded somewhere (Pai 322-324).

This passage, reminiscent of Lai's ethnographic survey of police harassment of men cruising around the New Park area, could be regarded as a strategic depiction of the police's inhumane treatment of male homosexuals in 1960s and 1970s Taiwan. The phrase 'as if he had been wounded somewhere' is a subtle depiction of the Guru's now crippled figure, but it manages to suggest the considerable abuse he has obviously suffered after being arrested. 'Somewhere' here could be taken as a euphemism to refer to this abuse by

the police, implying that they have wounded his genitals. While male homosexuals were seen as moral dissidents harming the innocent public, the Guru's 'wounded masculinity' symbolises a castration of male homosexuals for their aggression towards moral people. The Guru's 'castration' leaves him feminised, a symbolic imposition of stigmatised femininity to represent homosexuality at this time. By writing the euphemism 'somewhere', Pai offered room for readers to judge how cruel the police could be.

However, as if the Guru's deteriorated physical condition is not enough to show the inhumanity of the police and government towards homosexual men, after his reappearance, Pai subsequently turns the plot into another case of a male prostitute being abused by the police. The Guru's appearance reminds the other characters of how cruel the police can be to people on charges of 'fanghai fenghua' (deleterious to fine custom), as the following passage demonstrates:

> The police could be very cruel sometimes, especially to people on morals charges [fanghai fenghua]. Once a little Sanshui Street fairy hooked a wrong customer and got arrested; the police really fixed him good. By the time he got out he'd been so scared he'd lost his voice; when he saw people he could only open his mouth and go *ah*, *ah*. People said he'd been beaten up with a rubber hose (Pai 324).

This passage mentions two scenarios with which male homosexuals were often associated in the press—charges of 'fenghai fenghua' and the red light district of 'Sanshui Street', another homosexual cruising place like New Park. After the media exposure of the area of Sanshui Street which male prostitutes frequented, it became a targeted space for the police to crush the business of male prostitutes from the 1960s onwards. While readers might have still been working out the degree of the police's brutality towards homosexuals after reading the previous passage, this subsequent passage's realistic reflection of the police harassment of a male prostitute could help them realise the possible abuse that the Guru had suffered, suggested by the euphemistic meaning of 'somewhere'. After the above excerpt from 'Mantian Li Liangjingjing De Xingxing', the story immediately ends with the Guru's pathetic disappearance into the dark grove of plants in New Park. Without any further explicit critique of the social milieu, this scene vividly reveals male homosexuals' self-exile owing to their feelings of doomed helplessness and endless anguish caused by the society and police. While the city is a place symbolising sexual freedom, it can also be

a place of perdition where homosexuals need to learn how to live in isolation and confront any violent and verbal harassment, as the Taipei characters show.

Despite the fact that *Taipei Ren* received considerable critical attention after its publication, 'Mantian Li Liangjingjing De Xingxing' was almost ignored by mainstream critics owing to the conservative social atmosphere and prevailing Nationalist respectability. The only criticism regarding 'Mantian' in the Martial Law period was written by Pai's close colleague at *Xiandai Wenxue*, Ouyang Tzu. In her article 'The Language and Intonation of "Mantian Li Liangjingjing De Xingxing"' (1976), collected in her seminal critique on *Taipei Ren*, *Wangxie Tangqian De Yanzi* (*Swallows in front of the Noble Mansions of Wang and Hsieh*), Ouyang praises Pai's vivid portrayal of the lives and difficulties of male homosexuals frequenting New Park. Described as a minority group abandoned by society, male homosexuals are "doomed" to an unavoidable miserable fate in Ouyang's opinion (173). This pessimistic concept of 'fate' used to interpret Pai's stories also appears in Ouyang's criticism of 'Gulianhua' (Love's Lone Flower), the other work with an explicit homosexual theme in *Taipei Ren*.

'Gulianhua', the first literary creation portraying female same-sex desire in Taiwan, tells the story of a famous courtesan in pre-Communist Shanghai, Yun Fang, who secretly longs for a young female opera singer, Baby Five. After Baby Five's premature death by suicide and the onset of the Chinese Civil War, Yun Fang leaves war-torn Shanghai for Taiwan, where she has become a winehouse woman nicknamed Commander-in-Chief and meets a young winehouse girl, Dainty, whose unbearable life experiences remind Yun Fang of Baby Five. Hence, Yun Fang gradually transfers her incomplete love with Baby Five to Dainty by nurturing and protecting Dainty from her thuggish male patrons. In the passage of time and at the intersection of fate, the lives of Baby Five and Dainty are revealed throughout the storyline. They are both constantly intertwined in Yun Fang's heart.

'Gulianhua' not only presents the theme on female same-sex desire, but also the inferior status of women, particularly female prostitutes, in Taiwan's patriarchal society. The winehouse where Yun Fang and Dainty work is frequently full of men who are negatively portrayed as either thuggish patrons or old sex maniacs, as best represented by

the character Ko Lao-hsiung, nicknamed Yama, 'the King of Hell', who has unbearably abused Dainty, as Yun Fang recalls:

> I don't understand what it is in Dainty's fate that's brought about such retribution, that's attracted such demons. Ever since she got mixed up with Yama, it's as if her soul was snatched away. Whenever he came to the Mayflower to pick her up she'd go along meekly; every time she came back she was all bruises, her arms full of needle marks…I told her just how dangerous these underworld thugs are. Dainty just looked at me vacantly, as if she were under a spell (Pai 250).

Although Dainty is suffering from Yama's brutal sexual abuse, she cannot help passively submitting to this mistreatment. The same situation also happened to Baby Five back in Shanghai. In the story, both Dainty and Baby Five often and only respond "This is my lot, Sister" (Pai 238) when Yun Fang tries to persuade them not to continue the work that they do. They seem to be, as the above passage suggests, 'under a spell', to accept their fate. Their subordination to continuous abuses leads to their tragic endings. However, whereas Baby Five commits suicide, Dainty has her revenge by beating Yama to death with an iron. She then goes insane, and is locked in an asylum by the sea by the Nationalist police, who claim that she would bite people.

While women were regarded as morally inferior to men in the gender hierarchy of heterosexualised Taiwanese society, female prostitutes were further singled out as sexual dissidents outside the Nationalist respectability. Yet prostitutes' imposed social position as heterosexual men's objects for sex and sexual release made their despised existence necessary, which led to their unjust suffering, caused by their male patrons. In 'Gulianhua', the winehouse's male patrons and the Nationalist police certainly symbolise this patriarchal power and oppression. Those male patrons, portrayed as sex maniacs, always brutally demand that the heroines do whatever the patrons want. Although Yama's mistreatment of Dainty led to his own death, Dainty is actually the one to be punished by the police owing to the law's defence of the insiders of Nationalist respectability and exclusion of sexual dissidents.

Regarding the story of 'Gulianhua', Ouyang Tzu makes another crucial point by suggesting the religious concept which inspires Pai's portrayal of the heroines' suffering in this work. In her criticism on Gulianhua, entitled 'The Deep Implication and the Author's

Writing Skills in "Gulianhua'" (1976), Ouyang alludes to the suffering of the heroines through a Buddhist concept of "nie" (sin), which she explains as the human suffering caused by "wrongdoings committed in one's former life or by one's ancestors" (158). Baby Five and Dainty's "masochistic tendency" are said by Ouyang to be caused by their "nie" in atoning for the sins of their presumably dead fathers, who sexually abused and abandoned them when they were alive (ibid). By connecting the concept of nie to masochistic tendencies, Ouyang emphasises that 'Gulianhua' attributes an idea of predestination to people of the lower social stratum, such as prostitutes and homosexuals. Owing to their marginalised social status, they had no opportunity to change their lives, and so were doomed due to social oppression.

'Doomed ending', 'fate', and 'sin (nie)', by using these terms to describe the fate of homosexuals, Pai reveals his pessimistic view about the lives of homosexuals and prostitutes under the dominant Nationalist respectability. Under the Martial Law regime, Confucianism is used like a sacred doctrine to discipline and paralyse people's minds, like the parallel of the Irish Catholic Church in Joyce's *Dubliners*. Although Pai intends to show his sympathy with the sexual dissidents oppressed by Taiwanese society, he too is constrained by Confucian familialism owing to his family background and has no clear solution to this situation. After the publication of *Taipei Ren*, Pai fully committed himself to writing *Niezi*, where the themes portrayed in 'Mantian' and 'Gulianhua' were further expanded on and resulted in more complicated discussions of homosexuality during the relaxation of Martial Law.

Chapter Two

Niezi (*Crystal Boys*): Exiled and Sinful Sons

This chapter continues to address the central problem of the thesis I developed in the previous chapter by proposing a historically contextualised reading and reception of Pai Hsien-yung's works. This part of the thesis will focus on *Niezi*, the only full-length novel created by Pai. It begins by showing the focus of *Niezi* as a continuation of the themes portrayed in the previously analysed two short stories, 'Mantian Li Liangjingjing De Xingxing' (A Sky Full of Bright, Twinkling Stars) and 'Gulianhua' (Love's Lone Flower), and proceeds to examine the underground homosexual community represented by the novel. In the two to three decades after its publication, several studies on *Niezi* were carried out; in relation to sexual politics, political critique, and Pai's semi-autobiography; based on the novel. For example, Fran Martin studies criticism surrounding the novel regarding the location of New Park where the book is set as an allegory of Republican Chinese nationalism shifted into a symbol of Taiwanese nationalism and homosexual citizenship from the 1980s to 1990s (45-100). Huang Tao-ming writes in detail about the Martial Law journalistic discourse on homosexuality and its representation in *Niezi* (83-112). Margaret Hillenbrand gives a brief account of the representation of Taipei city in the novel in relation to the developing ideas about sexualities under the circumstances of Taiwan's economic miracle and Confucian patriarchy in the 1970s (*Literature* 199-207). In the following, by situating the work within the context of Martial Law Taiwan, I would like to specifically argue that the novel presents a particular homosexual shame caused by the prevailing KMT-defined Confucian familialism and examine how its homosexual characters seek recompense and salvation for their stigmatisation by this familial norm. As well as presenting the main themes of *Niezi*, I would also like to analyse how the novel began to become an iconic symbol for the homosexual subculture by analysing the changing reception of the book after its publication.

While *Niezi* is widely taken as the first full-length homosexual novel in Taiwan's literary history by today's literary critics and social activists, this pioneer status was not immediately recognised when it was published in 1983. By analysing how the novel was received in the beginning, this chapter will conduct an examination of the criticisms regarding the novel after its publication. According to Iser, the reading and reception process of a literary work is "the result of an interaction between text and reader, as an

effect to be experienced, not an objective to be defined" (Iser qtd. in Holub 83). A text's readers are no longer seen as a group of people passively receiving information from the author. This corresponds to Raymond Williams' cultural materialist idea of notation, the written form of reading, which involves the complex active production of meanings and the interaction with the situated socio-cultural context (170). There is actually a certain kind of heuristic connection between the written text and the critic/reader. This chapter intends to demonstrate how early critics interpreted the themes related to homosexuality in accordance with a conservative social context and agenda, and why the homosexuality in the book later started to be recognised. In terms of the last question, I shall argue that it was partially Pai's intellectual work that accelerated the recognition of homosexuality in the novel.

2.1 Homosexual Shame

First serialised by *Xiandai Wenxue* from 1977 and published as a full-length novel in 1983, *Niezi* relates the stories of a community of young male prostitutes and their patrons and clients based in and around Taipei's New Park in 1970s Taiwan. At the start of the novel, the young homosexual protagonist, A-Qing, who is discovered having a same-sex liaison with his chemistry lab supervisor, is forced to drop out of school after a sensational announcement on the campus noticeboard. This shame leads to his father's ineluctable wrath and A-Qing's lifelong banishment from his own family. From then on, A-Qing sees Taipei's New Park, populated by people who share his destiny, as his replacement home. Most of the young boys there become male prostitutes in order to find life security and comfort in their banished fortune under the guardianship of Chief Yang, a father figure in New Park. In this replacement home, A-Qing befriends Little Jade, Wu Min and Mousy and each evening they gather with others around the park's lotus pond to tell and listen to stories that have happened in New Park. The most recurrent tale is of the legendary and tragic love between the Dragon Prince and Phoenix Boy, who frequently cruised around the park before Dragon Prince killed Phoenix Boy owing to the former's sudden wrath and long-standing frustration over the impossibility of their love. Following the arrest of A-Qing and several other boys by the police and the imposition of a late night curfew on New Park, Chief Yang sets up an underground gay bar, Cozy Nest, backed by a former KMT

general, Fu Chong-shan (Papa Fu), whose son committed suicide owing to Fu's unforgiving attitude towards his same-sex sexuality. Since then, Fu has been suffering from this trauma and trying to atone by becoming a father figure to homosexual sons like A-Qing. After its exposure by sensational reports in the tabloid newspapers, Cozy Nest is forced to close and the boys leave each other to pursue other possibilities in order to survive (Pai 1983).

Portraying a homosexual underworld surrounding the male prostitutes based in and around Taipei's New Park, *Niezi* is full of local colour. Although the novel was written when Pai was teaching at the University of California in Santa Barbara, and he must have been aware of North American gay activism, the book seems to hardly touch on the identity politics arising in the United States. The US is only mentioned as a place of exile in relation to Dragon Prince's life experience in New York. As Pai points out in an interview, he intended to create *Niezi* as a "Chinese homosexual novel" (Pai qtd. in Zeng 344), within which the portrayals of homosexuals' oppressed lives are largely inspired by the representation of homosexuality in the public discourse of Martial Law Taiwan, and the prevailing Confucian familial values are basic to the exile and suffering of the novel's homosexual protagonists. The main scene of the book centres on the controversy over the homosexual cruising space in Taipei's New Park. While male prostitution was not a common theme in Taiwan's literary creation from the 1960s to the 1980s, Pai continuously depicted it, starting in 'Mantian', and expanding into a full-length fictional work with *Niezi*.

The concept of the original title of the book, *Niezi*, literarily means 'cursed sons' or 'sinful sons', and continues the theme of 'Gulianhua', as discussed in the previous chapter based on Ouyang Tzu's criticism. While the Buddhist perspective of nie denotes a predestined suffering planted by the wrongdoings of one's ancestors, Pai applies this religious idea at a familial level in *Niezi* to argue that a homosexual son's sin is inherited from his father's wrongdoings. By means of using *Niezi* as the title, Pai on the one hand accuses the father of turning his back on his parental responsibility to take care of his children. That is, a homosexual son's suffering is caused by his father's sin in expelling him from his home. On the other hand, embedding the religious idea of nie into the title, Pai intends to arouse people's compassion towards homosexuals because they are doomed by the dominant Chinese Confucian familialism. Pai was using this notion to render his

justification of homosexuality less controversial in the then conservative social context. Deviance from Confucianism causes the boys' banishment and gives rise to their inner struggles in the book. This constitutes their homosexual shame.

In order to create *Niezi* as a novel speaking for 'Chinese homosexuals' living in Taiwan, Pai opens the novel by indicating that this shame is caused by the prevailing KMT-defined Confucian familialism,

Book I: Banishment

Three months and ten days ago, on a spectacularly sunny afternoon, Father kicked me out of the house…He was brandishing the pistol he'd carried as a brigade commander back on the Mainland…He was screaming in a trembling, hoarse voice filled with anguish and fury:

YOU SCUM (CHUSHENG)! YOU FILTHY SCUM (CHUSHENG)! (Pai 13)

The above passage opens the novel by depicting the homosexual protagonist A-Qing's banishment from his family owing to his same-sex relations with his lab supervisor. 'Chusheng', which literally means 'domestic animal' in Mandarin, is commonly utilised as an insulting term by parents or elders in the family to devalue the dignity of their descendants by describing them as unfilial, incompetent, unreliable and good-for-nothing children, just like domestic animals which wait to be fed and do nothing. This term is used by A-Qing's father to describe A-Qing's intolerable conduct, illustrating how having same-sex relations could lead to a person's degradation as a disgraceful 'chusheng' in families of Martial Law Taiwanese society. A-Qing's father's unconstrained wrath has left the boy emotionally dispossessed and tormented, and with a sense of unworthiness after being labelled as an animal. From then on, A-Qing sees Taipei's New Park, inhabited by other young boys sharing the same destiny as himself as his substitute home. The boys all regard their family backgrounds as a source of 'shame' owing to being stigmatised as a disgrace by their fathers.

According to Munt, 'Shame' is a psychological emotion caused by "embarrassment and humiliation" and often lingers heavily in the human thoughts for a long time (Munt

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2).[27] In *Queer Attachments: The Cultural Politics of Shame* (2007), Munt historicises shame and further points out that shame can be politicised and works at different levels. For instance, at a national level, nations such as ex-empires, for example, Germany and Japan, have to spend decades rebuilding or struggling with their shamed national images owing to the war crimes they had committed during World War II (Munt 3). At a social level, within most states, shame is often operated to single out particular groups and stigmatise them. Those groups are typically, as Munt exemplifies, "the urban poor", "rural labourers", "gypsies", "sex workers", "homosexuals", or "minority ethnicities" within a nation (ibid). Through stigmatising these groups, different politicised shames could effectively be imposed on the repressed. Possessing less power, the shamed groups or individuals would also unconsciously internalise the stigmatisation into their psyches (ibid). Gradually, this facilitates the formation of the same stigmatised individuals and psychic life caused by shared shame. I will focus on analysing the pattern of shared shame possessed by homosexuals living in Martial Law Taiwan.

Speaking of homosexual shame, it is often associated with "insult", something that Didier Eribon has thoroughly investigated in relation to homosexuality in his book *Insult*. Eribon points out that gay men and lesbians usually learn about their shared difference through the force of particularly insulting "linguistic acts" which see homosexuals stigmatised by certain words and descriptions because they are the target of something that can be said in a certain way (16). In other words, homosexuals possess less power than the general public:

> If someone calls me a 'dirty faggot' (or 'dirty nigger' or 'dirty kike'), that person is
> not trying to tell me something about myself. That person is letting me know that
> he or she has something on me, has power over me. First and foremost the power to
> hurt me, to mark my consciousness with that hurt, inscribing shame in the deepest
> levels of my mind. This wounded, shamed consciousness becomes a formative part
> of my personality (Eribon 16).

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[27] For more details of psychological reasoning about 'shame', see Donald L. Nathanson (1997) 'Shame and the Affect Theory of Silvan Tompkins' Lansky', collected in Munt (2007) *Queer Attachments: The cultural politics of shame*: xiii-xv.

The effects of these injurious speech acts have deeply shaped a homosexual shame within a social context. These insulting acts have established a barrier between the mainstream public and dissident homosexuals and led to the insulted homosexuals internalising that barrier within their psyches. Through imposed insults, homosexual individuals realise and internalise their stigmatised image, as they may understand themselves as something like 'dirty faggots' as well.

Similarly, in Taiwan, the group of homosexuals cruising in New Park was singled out in the Martial Law period by an 'unnameable' Nationalist operation of shame, backed by the Police Offence Law and accompanied by a series of insulting descriptions representing people committing same-sex conduct in journalistic discourse. Without any direct legal reference to homosexuals, a stigmatised femininity and the idea of male prostitution were imposed on the public's understanding of male homosexuals based on some insulting terms which originated in Republican Mainland China, specifically renyao. The term was based on a binary and heterosexualised frame of male sexuality—a generalised immorality (e.g. having same-sex sexual contacts with men) and base femininity (e.g. cross-dressing) possessed by homosexuals in contrast to the ideal manliness defined by the Nationalist respectability which was considered to be possessed by heterosexual men. In brief, the homosexual shame produced by the insults of the heterosexualised public can be largely attributed to homosexuals' transgression of the gender roles and appearance idealised by the KMT rulers.

In the previous chapter, I outlined the Confucian familial values, such as filial piety, deference to elders, and loyalty, as the foundations of the political and social relations defined by the KMT government. The family system remained patrilineal and patriarchal, as it was organised in accordance with strict age and gender hierarchies (father/son, husband/wife). Patrilineal familial continuity was particularly emphasised. It is often said in Mandarin, 'bu xiao you san, wu hou wei da', which means no male heir to continue the family bloodline is the biggest deviance from traditional Chinese filial piety. While maintaining the family bloodline became such compulsory practice in most Taiwanese families, it was even embedded in religious practice and expression. As Chou Wah-san points out, homosexual children's parents often feel ashamed when facing their "ancestors" (34) because their children may not be able to produce any heir. In other words, disobeying this rule of family continuity symbolises disrespect for every ancestor.

Under the dominant patriarchal circumstance, homosexual sons are seen as deviant from Confucian familial values, especially given the fact that no male heir would be born among them. Homosexuals are hence shamed because they fail to fulfil their family responsibilities. Meanwhile, possessing absolute authority in the family, fathers can thus punish their unfilial homosexual sons because of their disobedience to their elders and ancestors by insulting them, even banishing them from their families, as illustrated by the opening of *Niezi*. Just as Pai points out in an interview regarding the idea of father in his works, "Father represents an attitude, a value, a position, and homosexual offspring – the clash between son and father is actually the clash between individual and Chinese society" (Pai qtd. in Gao 10). That is, to resist the father is to resist the social authority. While banishing A-Qing from the family, his father holds the pistol he had carried as a brigade commander during the war. The pistol can be regarded as a phallic symbol assigned by the state owing to A-Qing's father's use of it to serve the Nationalist army. Use of the pistol in this scene symbolises the homosexual protagonist's clash with and exile from the family and phallic authority. As a Nationalist soldier fighting against Communists during the Chinese Civil War, A-Qing's father has already set a lifelong goal for his son to be an honourable soldier in the future, too. The Nationalist soldier's masculinity and manliness is what the government praises as the symbol of the nation. Yet A-Qing's sexuality is not considered to fit this conventional life path his father has laid down for him. The same agony happens to Fu Wei, a first-rate soldier who is discovered to have had same-sex contact with his colleague in the army. Unable to obtain the forgiveness of his father, Papa Fu, a former Nationalist general, he commits suicide. In the portrayal of the fathers of A-Qing and Fu Wei, filial piety, patriarchy and the state are mutually connected as a powerful ideology by which homosexuals are stigmatised as unmanly and unfilial and thus placed at the bottom of social hierarchy. Unaccepted by the society and incapable of fighting against the dominant social milieu, homosexual sons can only hide themsleves in a dark corner of the country, Taipei's New Park. The disappointments and insults that the fathers have shown the homosexual protagonists have left the recipients emotionally shamed and haunted by the memories of their relationships with their families. The homosexual shame caused by the deviance from Confucian famililism also deeply influences the boys' pursuit of same-sex relations in which a power differential can be perceived.

2.2 Power Differentials

In Chapter One, I elucidated the historical specificity of Confucian ethical norms on gender roles and sexuality in 1970s Taiwan by analysing the alliance between nationalism and respectability as a Chinese Nationalist respectability. While the proper attitude towards sexuality was set in this Nationalist respectability, the legal regulation was established to police and punish those considered sexual dissidents by the state, including male homosexuals. Male homosexuals were often associated with male prostitutes and ascribed a base femininity in public discourse, as they were often called renyao or considered to be cross-dressers. In brief, prostitution and femininity were the two main regulated ideas when it came to the idea of male same-sex desire.

The conflation of femininity and prostitution in representing male homosexuality is demonstrated in *Niezi*, which Alan Sinfield describes as "a conflation of subordinations", as witnessed by Chief Yang's calling of the boys "You bunch of shit-eating fairies" or "Little Fairy" (Pai 20, 27) in New Park (*Gay and After* 66). The use of fairy to call the boys shows that homosexuals and women figures are being conflated because they were both placed lower down the social hierarchy defined by the KMT Nationalist respectability. This conflation of homosexuals (male prostitutes) and non-virtuous femininity is further demonstrated by A-Qing's description of his late mother and the similarity between them. As a housewife, A-Qing's mother is constantly occupied by domestic work and mistreatment by her husband. Having eloped, she then becomes involved in sex works before ending up dying of syphilis. Her elopement with some younger man has given rise to A-Qing's unconscious accusation of her abandonment of her children and disloyalty to her husband for not being a virtuous housewife. Although she is abused by her husband, A-Qing does not sympathise with her for that. However, at the same time, A-Qing also identifies with his mother because of his similar roaming fate. As he puts it:

> In that moment it dawned on me that Mother and I were a lot alike in many ways. She'd spent most of her life running away, roaming, searching, only to wind up battered and broken in this bed under a mountain of sweat-soaked bedding and a filthy mosquito net, her body invaded by disease, just waiting to die. And me, I'm part of that same sinful flesh that has seen so much evil. I've followed in her

footsteps, always running away, roaming, searching. At that moment I felt very close to my mother (Pai 59).

On the one hand, this passage stresses that A-Qing comes to identify with his mother when he realises both of them are banished from the family owing to their deviance from their supposed familial and gender roles. Although it is the father who has caused them to suffer and roam the streets, they are the ones to be punished because of their subordinated position. On the other, this passage further emphasises the idea of the novel's title, nie (sin). A-Qing's construal of his mother as sinful is not only informed by the internalisation of the authoritative policing mechanism of his father and the patriarchal society, but also his belief that his mother's sin has passed down to him, as he has followed in her footsteps. When A-Qing was born, his mother was also convinced that he "was retribution for her sins in the past life" (Pai 53) owing to her difficult labour caused by him. Their hereditary 'nie' and sinful flesh have already foretold that they are doomed to suffer by searching for their lost love endlessly.

Interestingly, in the same-sex relations in *Niezi*, the boys are always positioned as feminine, whereas the older male characters, such as their leader in New Park, Chief Yang, and their older patrons and sugar daddies are not. This clearly relates to power hierarchy. Alan Sinfield describes this homosexual underworld in the novel as a version of "patriarchal-paternal-patronal structure", in which the boys often use titles like "papa", or "chief" for their carer or leader (*Gay and After* 62). Like in a family structure, Chief Yang, the master, often arranges new clients for the boys, whereas the boys need to gain Chief Yang's permission to pursue their life outside New Park (ibid). For example, Little Jade's sugar daddy, Lin San, needs Chief Yang's permission to let Little Jade work for him (Pai 93-94; Sinfield *Gay and After* 62). While masculinity is considered superior in the KMT-defined patriarchal familial culture, in this family-like structure of the homosexual world, the older men, presented as master, father, leader or chief, are similarly positioned as superior and masculine. This power arrangement surrounding age hierarchy is also extended to the same-sex relations between the boys and their older patrons.

In *On Sexuality and Power* (2004), Alan Sinfield argues that interpersonal relations are organised by certain hierarchies with some power differentials of our social life. Based on numerous individual stories and literary works about same-sex relations that circulate in

the United States and Britain, and in many other countries he has read, Sinfield mainly lists four persistent correlations that have organised same-sex relations and fantasies in diverse societies. They are "age", "gender", "race" and "class" (*On Sexuality* 4). Among each of them, binary relations are founded as a "violent hierarchy", in which "one governs the other", such as an older partner initiating a younger partner in the case of age difference, or one partner taking the role of a man and the other of a woman through gender difference in relationships (ibid). These power structures developed in modern societies directly influence and give rise to our psychic life. While many people would consider desire to be "free-ranging", it often shows ineluctable "fixity" (*On Sexuality* 1) based on these power hierarchies. The social oppression, in fact, makes hierarchy in relationships "sexy" for the oppressed, to a certain degree (*On Sexuality* 2).[28] Power and sexuality are associated with each other because of the former's sexiness and attraction.

A hierarchical pattern in same-sex relations can also be found in Pai's *Niezi*, in which same-sex community and same-sex desire are structured primarily around "age" (*Gay and After* 66). Age constitutes one of the pivotal hierarchies in the gender and social system of post-war Taiwanese society, which emphasises the parent-child (father-son) relation as almost every child needs an adult carer to grow up and for life guidance. This helps to account for the power of Confucian familial values as one of the main social and political establishments in which deference to elders, particularly to fathers, filial piety and loyalty are valued in the patriarchal and patrilineal Taiwanese society.

In *Niezi*, nearly all of the novel's main protagonists seek replacement paternal love despite the fact that the father's image is symbolically associated with authority and oppression. From the very beginning of the story, after being banished from their houses the boys have taken New Park as their replacement home and regard Chief Yang, a father figure who has been frequenting New Park for many years, as their surrogate guardian and leader. Under his guardianship, the boys become prostitutes in order to find life security in place of paternal love. They compensate for what they have lost by having sexual relationships with 'older male patrons' (though partially for money), as demonstrated by the relationships between Wu Min and Mr. Zhang, Little Jade and Old Zhou, Little Jade

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[28] For example, as Shepherd points out, "I am in love with the image and idea of white manhood…if I cannot be that at least I can have that, if only for the night, if only for the week or the month" (Shepherd qtd. in Sinfield *On Sexuality* 2).

and Lin San, and A-Qing and Dragon Prince (Wang Kui-long). This 'sugar-daddy dynamic' symbolises the boys' quest for a replacement home and male parent,[29] and forms the fantasy base for the boys' sexuality.

Nevertheless, the search for paternal restitution can sometimes lead to a psychically violent drive which tortures the boys. Take the relationship between Wu Min and Mr. Zhang as an example, best summed up by the following conversation between Wu Min and A-Qing:

> A-Qing, you know I stayed home and behaved myself during that year I lived with Mr. Zhang. I didn't go out on the prowl even once. I did everything he wanted, even though he had a terrible temper. He had a thing about cleanliness, so I got down on my hands and knees and mopped the floors every single day. And he was always yelling at me at first because I didn't know how to cook. But I taught myself with cookbooks, and one time he said, 'Wu Min, you make bean-sauce carp as good as Emei restaurant.' You don't know how happy that made me, because I figured he really liked me. So you can imagine how shocked I was later that day when he blew up for no reason at all and ordered me to move out that very day (Pai 29).

The passage shows that both Wu Min's love for Mr. Zhang and their relationship are mentally violent. Although there seems to be passion between Wu Min and Mr. Zhang, most of the time it shows a masochistic tendency in Wu Min to adapt to Mr. Zhang's demands. This trait can also be attributed to his nie (being banished from home by his father), which makes him suffer considerable mental cruelty from Mr. Zhang. He even commits suicide owing to his frustration over the impossibility of this relationship. However, Mr. Zhang shows no sympathy towards him.

The masochistic tendency demonstrated in Wu Min's same-sex passion towards Mr. Zhang lies the sense of homosexual shame, which torments all the other young protagonists, too. The previous section of this chapter has delineated that the homosexual shame *Niezi* demonstrates is caused by family issues and the boys' transgression of filial piety. This section has further outlined the social norms organised through age difference

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[29] The sole exception to this pattern of sexual liaisons between sugar daddies and destitute adolescents is A-Qing's genuinely filial relationship with the philanthropist, Fu Chong-shan (Papa Fu).

and patriarchy. This age and patriarchal hierarchy is hard to remove from personal lives because it flows through psyches. This psychic reality determines the boys' consciousness in *Niezi*. They are conscious of their shame caused by their broken family backgrounds and can only accept whatever their sugar daddies demand if they want to keep their substitute fathers and homes. This hierarchy organised through age difference in Taiwanese society even gives rise to unfair treatment of the boys when it comes to judging the immorality of same-sex contacts between the older and the younger. For instance, in the very beginning of the novel, A-Qing is the one to be punished, whereas the conduct of the lab supervisor, 'the older and morally superior teacher', is hidden or touched on lightly by the school. The older person's lack of responsibility has led to the effect that the younger is demonised. While the older represents authority and moral superiority, the negotiation of this age hierarchy demonstrates a persistent strain in Taiwanese homosexual imaginings.

Based on the interpretations of *Niezi*, it is obvious that age hierarchy is internalised in homosexuals' psyches. In the story, this sees the young protagonists looking for older patrons as their substitute fathers in the realm of sexuality despite the fathers' symbolic bond with power and oppression. As Foucault points out, power "penetrates and controls everyday pleasure, pervading the entire social order and human relations in both positive and negative aspects" (11). It constructs several hierarchies which are integral to desire. The power of age hierarchy lays the ground rules for Taiwanese homoeroticism. Owing to the power arrangement surrounding age hierarchy in same-sex relations, imposed femininity, and prostitution, the boys are generally the ones who are considered homosexuals while their older or married patrons or punters do not share the homosexual shame with them. For example, A-Qing in fact feels a shameful difference between himself and Mr. Yu, even though Mr. Yu conducts same-sex contact with him at the same time (Pai 271-272). These inegalitarian same-sex relationships and the boys' conformity reveal how oppressive and unfair is the environment in which male prostitutes (homosexuals) live, and may also be a moderate move on Pai's part to issue his hope for a more understanding and tolerant society for homosexuals in spite of his pessimitism.

2.3 *Niezi*'s Reception

2.3.1 The Politics of Familialism

Owing to Pai's literary status, which had been established by *Taipei Ren*, *Niezi* grabbed the attention of several literary critics. Nonetheless, while homosexuality was not a major theme in literary writing at that time, the early critical responses to the novel still reflected the constraints of social conventions. As Williams' notion of notation suggests, the production of written forms for reading, such as criticism, is imbued with situations of historial context and writers' identities (Williams 170). The socio-cultural conditions of reception and intentions of the writer determine the meaning of a text. The critic's views often correspond to her/his historical context and literary traditions. Based on this idea, this section intends to demonstrate how the text of *Niezi* was read by the conservative mainstream critics in order to be accepted by the dominant cultural conventions in 1980s Taiwan.

Owing to the Martial Law regime and then conservative cultural atmosphere, the homosexual themes in *Niezi* were mostly read by critics in accordance with the dominant KMT Nationalistic respectability regarding gender roles framed by patriarchy. During the first two years after *Niezi*'s publication, major critical readings of the book generally framed the novel's homosexual theme within the patriarchal politics of familialism, specifically father-son relationship. This period saw three major academic critiques of the book: 'Niezierchongzou' (*Niezi*'s Duet) by Cai Yuanhuang, 'Chengchuncaomushen: Lun Niezi De Zhengzhi Yishi' (On *Niezi*'s Political Consciousness) by Yuan Zenan, and 'Taozhepan Jinsha: Xiping Niezi' (Panning This Plate of Sand: On *Niezi*) by Long Yingtai (Zeng 29-31; Ying 61-62), which all reflected the political limits in which the critics were situated. The only review sharing Pai's compassion towards homosexuals is 'Pai Hsien-yung De Niezi' (Pai Hsien-yung's *Niezi*) by Ying Fenghuang. However, this review is only a brief introduction of new publications including *Niezi*, which briefly mentions that *Niezi* "vividly portrays the life of homosexuals at different levels which make the readers feel sympathetic to them" (Ying qtd. in Zeng 28). As the review was only a short introduction without any analysis and was not published in the major section of the newspaper, it was unlikely to have made much impact on the public. Therefore, the critical readings of *Niezi* at this time were generally dominated by the critiques by Cai, Yuan and Long.

In '*Niezi*'s Duet', claiming a Freudian analysis of the novel, Cai Yuanhuang argues that A-Qing's homosexuality is caused by his "weak father" and "masculine mother" (79). For Cai, A-Qing's father's weakness is caused by his career failure as a soldier and his betrayal of his wife, whereas A-Qing's mother's masculinity is caused by her elopement with some young man (80). This shows that A-Qing's parents do not follow the Confucian familial norms and gender roles. Growing up in this deviant and unhealthy family, A-Qing becomes homosexual, and Cai utilises Freud's analysis of Da Vinci's memory of his childhood to solidify this argument,

> A strong father will guarantee that his son makes the right decision and chooses the right person to love — a person of the opposite sex. In other words, Freud seems to suggest that the son's same-sex conduct and desire may be caused by a family composed of a weak father and a masculine mother (80).

Under the circumstance of a weak father and a masculine mother, A-Qing has replaced his mother in looking after his younger brother since her disappearance and tried to look for a strong father-substitute to take care of him. Cai concludes that this abnormal familial relationship, which is not in accordance with the established social norms relating to gender roles, leads to sons being homosexual. Hence, Cai asserts that, in order to save A-Qing from being a homosexual, a proper familial and father-son relation is necessary, which is realised by Papa Fu. Papa Fu is considered by Cai to be the only proper father figure for A-Qing in the novel, owing to his KMT soldier background and approved masculinity, whereas other characters, like Chief Yang, are not, owing to their homosexuality. For Cai, Papa Fu set himself as a role model by demonstrating an ideal authoritative masculinity and disciplining A-Qing so that the youth understands the importance of filial piety. A-Qing is thus exposed to a positive influence and gives up his obsession with same-sex eroticism by finding a proper job at the end (86). Nonetheless, Cai's reading is in conflict with the father-son relation between Papa Fu and Fu Wei. In Papa Fu's recounting of their relationship, he has been acting as an ideal masculine father and Fu Wei, his son, is expected to become a promising general in the army. Yet it turns out that Fu Wei is homosexual. However, Papa Fu actually regrets his unforgiving attitude towards Fu Wei after Fu Wei commits a suicide. While there is no explanation for the cause of Fu Wei's same-sex desire, Cai's selective reading of the book suggests he is dutifully disseminating the KMT government's approved patriarchal values and ideal

masculinity. The so-called Freudian analysis may just be a claim or selective theoretical embellishment.

In 'On *Niezi*'s Political Consciousness', Yuan Zenan positions *Niezi* as a political novel. Beginning his account with an interview with Pai, Yuan recalls that he told Pai that he can clearly perceive the political theme in *Niezi*. For Yuan, under the surface of homosexuality, *Niezi* contains "multiple themes" that centre on Pai's nationalistic feeling towards the Republic of China (52). He asserts that *Niezi* is a book about the destination of the nation of the Republic of China, demonstrating Pai's sympathy for the expulsion of the Republic of China from the UN and mockery of people who do not possess similar patriotic feelings as him. As many of the protagonists are from the mainlander familial background and their fathers remain royal servants for the KMT government, this is emphasised in Yuan's nationalistic reading of the novel.[30] Nonetheless, Yuan also notes that in the interview, Pai makes no comments on his interpretation, remaining quiet on this point (ibid). Pai's silence may be a disagreement with Yuan, but Yuan seems to suggest that he, Yuan, has unexpectedly perceived Pai's political theme and so Pai feels embarrassed.

Yuan's assertion of homosexuality as just a surface of *Niezi* is caused by his limited understanding of homosexuals, influenced by the then representation of homosexuality in public discourse. In the first section of the criticism, Yuan writes,

> A real homosexual story would not purely depict students who are playing basketball. Rather, it may depict which student of them possesses the best athletically-built body. A homosexual would not waste his time to help a homeless and brain-dysfunctional boy whom he may not be interested in. They are very busy in burying themselves because the possibility of them dying is particularly high (53).

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[30] In *Situating Sexualities*, Martin explores how Yuan interprets *Niezi* as a political novel, focusing on Yuan's interpretation of the dark iamge of Taipei's New Park as Taiwan's diplomatic crisis and the crusing homosexual protagonists as the escapist residents of Taiwan who do not possess any concern and patriotical feeling towatds the country (57-62). This section of the thesis will focus on the part related to Yuan's opinion of homosexuality in the criticism which Martin does not touch on.

This passage reflects Yuan's negative view of homosexuality and the panic caused by the outbreak of the AIDS crisis at that time. [31] Yuan's first two sentences assume that homosexuals' minds are full of erotic desire; therefore, they only pay attention to what their desired masculine men look like instead of what they are doing. While Pai had not come out by the time of *Niezi*'s publication, Yuan may have presumed that Pai was a heterosexual writer. Thus, he explains that, as a heterosexual, Pai can simply describe a group of students playing basketball instead of focusing on depicting what their bodies look like. The last two sentences of the passage show the general attitude towards the AIDS crisis in 1980s Taiwanese society. While AIDS was perceived to be a disease affecting homosexuals at that time, Yuan assumes that the homosexuals' death rate may be much higher than that for heterosexuals. Because homosexuals always need to deal with their deadly crisis, they would not have time to help other people. Owing to this limited understanding of homosexuals, Yuan frames the book's portrayal of homosexuality in accordance with the dominant negative attitudes, at odds with Pai's intention to arouse compassion for homosexuals. While Pai's depiction of mainlanders, KMT soldiers and filial piety matches the dominant conservative social norms, the book's theme of homosexuality is taken as the secondary point by Yuan, as he explains it as simply a writing strategy to hide Pai's political satire. As at the end of this section of criticism, Yuan compliments Pai's wisdom in using the world of homosexuals to demonstrate his political satire under the circumstance of the AIDS crisis, which made many traditional critics avoid talking about homosexuals. While those traditional critics may not spend time reading *Niezi* and perceiving any political element in the book, owing to the book's seemingly homosexual surface, Pai can show his political satire implicitly and avoid any criticism or accusation. Hence, Yuan praises Pai's writing strategy as unprecedented and successful (53).

Another important account of *Niezi* was written by a well-known Taiwanese intellectual, Long Yingtai. Long is from a KMT military family. Her father was a KMT military police officer who served the KMT party during the Chinese Civil War. She became well-known for being a columnist in the *China Times* and for producing a series of social criticism regarding the social problems caused by rapid economic development at that time. Those serialised writings in the column were later collected and published in

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[31] For details of the public panic over the AIDS epidemic, see Wu (1998)

book form as *Ye Huo Ji* (*The Wild Fire*). By the time of writing the criticism regarding *Niezi*, Long was already an established cultural critic because of this book (Department of Chinese Literature On-line, Huafan University).

In her criticism 'Panning This Plate of Sand: On *Niezi*', Long places the father-son relation as the central theme of the book. Although Long recognises homosexuality in the main protagonists cruising in New Park, she describes them as a group of teenagers who have gone astray. For Long, *Niezi* is a story about the teenagers' journey to maturity and familial love, and the importance of the father-son relation is the key to bring them to achieve this goal. By achieving this goal, they will no longer be homosexuals. Long also argues that the same point can be applied to other kinds of rebellious teenagers, who can replace the homosexual protagonists in the story (54). In other words, Long considers the novel to be an ordinary tale of father-son conflicts instead of a homosexual book, as the homosexual element is replaceable and the story would not change greatly if it were to be replaced. If the conflicts between father and son can be overcome, the rebellious teenagers may realise how much their fathers love them and become mature in order to fulfil their filial piety.

Furthermore, Long points out that the novel does not discuss "the problems of homosexuality and its accompanied guilt, shame, self-doubt and self-hatred", which means that the boys may not really be homosexuals (54). She generalises about the life situation of every homosexual without allowing for individual differences, which shows that her idea about homosexuality is limited by the dominant social bias in the public discourse. Moreover, Long's view reveals her possible misreading of the novel as guilt and shame are actually shown in the main protagonists, particularly A-Qing, throughout the book. In the novel, the young homosexual characters all see their broken homes as a mark of disgrace and exile. Many of them share similar life experience of banishment from their families, and it is a common consensus that people of the park try not to touch on each other's family issues. This shared hidden guilt and shame caused by deviance from Confucian patriarchal rules haunt the main characters throughout the storyline.

While the accounts written by Cai, Yuan and Long demonstrate how the mainstream critical reading of *Niezi* was constrained by the then conservative social attitude, it is remarkable that the book was not banned for its portrayal of homosexuality.

This can be explained in part by the critics' emphasis on the familialism in *Niezi*. While Pai demonstrated a non-confrontational tone by depicting the idea of predestination for homosexuals and the sons' craving for family, the critics interpreted these points by reading them as an emphasis on Confucianism suggesting that filial piety and heterosexualised familial relationships are the ultimate means to solving the sons' problematic same-sex desire. Despite the fact that Pai utilised the boys' struggle for familial love to plea for understanding of them in a less controversial way, the portrayal of this struggle was viewed differently by these conservative critics in order to conform to dominant cultural norms. This actually helped Pai escape some official criticism of justifying homosexuality. As Pai remained silent about the critiques without arguing about his compassion for homosexuals in the book, the first two years after *Niezi*'s publication saw the book read within the indicated frame of KMT Confucian respectability.

2.3.2 After 1985: *Niezi* as a Symbol for Homosexual Subculture

The previous chapter delineated how a sexual subculture emerged owing in part to metropolitan disaffiliation from the family caused by capitalism. This section will explain how to make sense of the emergent sexual subculture through cultural activities. According to Sarah Thornton, studies of subculture are attempts to make sense of people as members of various social groups and to map out how they have been represented and recognised in society. It is generally agreed that subcultures are groups of people who share a dissident perspective, such as "a problem", "an interest" or "a practice", which distinguishes them from the members of other social groups ("General Introduction" 1). As Thornton further elucidates, while struggling over space and recognition, subcultural groups would bring some "disorder to the security of a neighbourhood" owing to their deviance from the established social norms emphasising domestic or familial culture (ibid 2). In other words, those groups identified as subcultures have tended to be perceived as deviating from the heteronormative ideals of adult communities.

Thornton further specifically categorises two main types of subcultural groups. First, the groups studied as subcultures are often positioned by themselves and/or others as "deviant" (Thornton "General Intriduction" 4). For instance, gay and lesbian subcultures defy compulsory heterosexual and familial rules. They often carve out underground

metropolitan spaces for their own practices of sexual relations or cruising for sex (ibid). Second, social groups described as subcultures have often been perceived as at the bottom of the social hierarchy owing to social differences of class, ethnicity and age; for instance, black, Hispanic, working-class, poor and youth subcultures (ibid). This categorisation of subcultural groups demonstrates that the ways and practices of life within subcultures are often put in a comparative position with those of mainstream cultures. The ways of life within mainstream cultures, such as family-centred communities, heterosexuality, or obedience to laws, are usually seen as "normal", "average" and "dominant", whereas those within subcultures are mostly condemned or enjoy a consciousness or style of "otherness" or "difference", which leads to them being stigmatised (Thornton "General Intriduction" 5). As a pivotal concept to look at deviance from the dominant culture, the idea of subculture certainly lays the theoretical ground for examining different forms of dissent, including sexual dissidence.

The representation of homosexual subculture in public, as Sinfield points out, is often the aggregate of what cultural activists do, and that includes the arts, literature, film, academic articles and cultural criticism (40). As one of the central arguments in *Gay and After* (1998), Sinfield reframes Antonio Gramsci's term, organic intellectual, which he relates to the roles of subcultural producers whose work mainly involves articulating ideas alternative to or dissident from dominant ideologies (Sinfield *Gay and After* 151-152). That is, as a LGBTQ intellectual, he or she must act up by producing various reflective cultural works oriented towards the dissident and marginalised groups in order to encourage critical debate.

Pai's intention to write *Niezi* was mainly to plead for society's understanding and tolerance, whereas the intention to produce subcultural work about homosexuals was not clear. Yet, since 1985, a series of critical and social activities in which Pai participated established him as an intellectual. According to Gramsci, intellectuals can be divided into two types. One is the already established "traditional intellectuals" who would "put themselves forward as autonomous and independent of any social group" (151). The emergent homosexual subculture may sometimes co-opt autonomous traditional intellectuals to speak for it. The other is called the "organic intellectual", said to be produced by the (LGBTQ) subcultural group itself when there is a (LGBTQ) social movement (Sinfield *Gay and After* 151-152). Nonetheless, by the mid-1980s, the social

conditions for becoming an organic intellectual in Taiwan were not really there. The homosexual subculture was still hidden and fearful, without the support of social movement. This section intends to show that Pai became one of the pioneer organic intellectuals of the homosexual subculture in Taiwan, albeit in a distinctive way conditioned by the particular conditions at that time. Since 1985, Pai has played an important part in speaking for homosexuals in public. He did not make public his sexual identity as homosexual until 1988, during an interview in Hong Kong organised by *Playboy* (Pai qtd. in Zeng 338). Thus, it can be argued that Pai himself is from the homosexual subcultural group, but was closeted when he participated in social activities related to homosexuals in the 1980s. However, regardless of his closeted situation, Pai is an organic intellectual and, in part, he makes homosexual subculture possible through his intellectual effort, as the followings show.

The making of *Niezi* as a public symbol for homosexual subculture is said to have been mainly caused by the AIDS crisis and Pai's intellectual work for the homosexual subculture. In his *Queer Politics*, Huang records a round-table discussion regarding the advent of the AIDS epidemic, which was held in Taipei on 10 September 1985, in which Pai played a crucial part. According to Huang, this was the first public forum convened for so-called experts to discuss the question of homosexuality. At a time when AIDS was homosexualised, homosexuality was considered a threat to public health and was thus discussed from medical and sociological points of views in the round-table discussion (*Queer Politics* 117). Nonetheless, different from those so-called medical specialists, Pai pointed out the history of homosexuality in the world by citing "Greek love" and "the universality of homosexuality in literature", which worried the other participants (ibid). While this round-table discussion was covered by the press, Pai's comments were also harshly criticised by the media. For example, *The Crime Sweeping Weekly* criticised Pai's talk as "a shameless show" (*The Crime Sweeping Weekly* qtd. in Huang Tao-ming *Queer Politics* 117). Although Pai's viewpoints were not well-received by most of the conservative critics, he continued to focus on making a subcultural work for homosexuals.

In 1986, Pai for the first time defied the previous criticism regarding *Niezi* by writing the article, 'Bushi Niezi: Ge A-Qing De Yifengxin' (Not a Sinful Son: A Letter for

A-Qing), published by the *Human World* on the 20th of April.[32] In this article, Pai on the one hand places importance on the reconciliation between father and son, and on the other hand, encourages the homosexual teenagers like A-Qing to confront social oppression, by exemplifying a social activism that he witnessed in the US. The reason why Pai urges reconciliation is because he knows that those banished homosexual sons are craving for familial love. He explains that the relation between the boys and their leader Chief Yang in New Park is like a family structure. Because the boys are banished from their homes, they are all searching for a substitute family to compensate for what they have lost, and achieve this by taking Chief Yang as their surrogate guardian (Pai 1). The desire for a father leads to their same-sex relations with older patrons throughout the whole story. The inegalitarian same-sex relation is caused by the struggle with Confucian familialism and the boys' pain is caused by the broken father-son relation rather than by their same sex desire.

Meanwhile, Pai urges Taiwan's homosexual teenagers to be honest about their same-sex desire. According to Pai, although discrimination and social injustice are unavoidable for homosexuals, as long as they are honest with themselves, they can keep their dignity and fight for equality with other people (Pai 1). In solidifying this argument, Pai writes concerning the homosexual activism he witnessed in the US. After fifteen years of struggle for equality, since the 1970s, a law to protect homosexuals against workplace discrimination was finally passed by the New York City Council (ibid). This ratified that homosexuals should not be afraid of standing up to confront social injustice. Furthermore, Pai gives the examples of some renowned historical figures like Tchaikovsky, Socrates, Alexander the Great, Walt Whitman and Oscar Wilde to emphasise that, in spite of their sexuality, they each made their mark on world history (ibid). In other words, Pai is trying to convey that, although life is full of harshness and injustice, homosexuals can still find a way to fulfil their life goals and change their situation.

'Not a Sinful Son' demonstrates Pai's changed viewpoint about the idea of fate after years of study in the US. While the title of *Niezi* connotes the meaning of predestination and doomed life, which reveals Pai's pessimistic view about homosexuals'

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[32] This article is briefly mentioned by Huang in his *Queer Politics*, in which he briefly talks about the issue of familial love and filial piety Pai raises in the article. Huang only focuses on the redemptive values in Pai's urging of homosexual sons to understand their fathers' suffering, whilst I intend to focus on analysing the points upon which he does not touch.

fate, this article shows that Pai now thinks homosexuals' destiny can be changed by activism or various intellectual works, to a certain degree. Although Pai still urges the reconciliation between father and son, at the end of the article he writes that he believes one day fathers will accept his son as a homosexual because he loves him and the son can thus rid himself of the accusation of being unfilial (Pai 1). This ending suggests that the familial acceptance of homosexual sons is achievable and they can still be seen as filial sons by fulfilling other familial duties. Moreover, Pai later confessed his sexual identity as homosexual during an interview in Hong Kong organised by *Playboy* (Pai qtd. in Zeng 338). Pai's late coming out means that he may not be able to set himself as an example of familial reconciliation as by this time his parents had already passed away, but it shows his determination to carry out his intellectual activities for homosexuals in public by speaking for them and to highlight the homosexuality in his works. His life experience in the US provided an insight for Pai, who had foreseen the continuing complex relation between foreign ideas and local values in the globalised world. After the lifting of Martial Law, as the KMT social constraints have been gradually demolished, the development of a homosexual subculture has been promoted in accordance with the Western metropolitan model. This has seen the mediation of Western ideas at the local level by the re-reading of *Niezi* and translations of Western cultural theories on gender and sexuality. I shall analyse the development of subcultural works for homosexuals in Taiwan since the softening of Martial Law in the following chapters.

Pai's interpretation of the homosexual theme in *Niezi* led to some other critics focusing the elements of homosexuality in his writing. After 1985, with homosexuality gradually being paid public attention owing to the AIDS panic and Pai's intellectual activities, the new readings of *Niezi* mostly either defied the previous criticism or emphasised the book's homosexual theme. In his 'The Search for Heaven: On *Niezi*', Wu Biyong opens the article by saying, "Pai Hsien-yung hopes *Niezi* to be read as a novel about homosexuals" (101). Because of Pai's wish, Wu places the focus of his reading on the elements of homosexuality in the book. Like Pai, Wu defies the previous criticism of *Niezi*, particularly Long Yingtai's, arguing that homosexuality is not necessarily related to broken familial relationship. While Long Yingtai argues that homosexuality could be eliminated by overcoming the conflicts between father and son, Wu thinks this view is too contrived. For him, broken families may lead to rebellious teenagers, but those teenagers

may not necessarily be homosexuals (104). Instead of arguing about what is causing homosexuality, Wu points out that Pai suggests homosexuality is a part of humanity. People should use humanistic compassion to sympathise with those marginalised homosexuals (103). In addition, Wu also gives some credit to 'A Sky Full of Twinkling Stars', a work ignored by most critics because it deals with homosexuality. By describing the work as a prelude to *Niezi*, Wu compliments 'A Sky''s pioneer literary portrayal of New Park as a gay cruising space and argues, that because it is written as a short story, it cannot show all the myriad faces and emotions of homosexuals in detail. For Wu, *Niezi* completes the mission 'A Sky' initiates (102). Another literary critic, Le Mu, even framed *Niezi* as "the first novel in modern Chinese written literature to take homosexuality as its subjects…*Niezi* should be regarded as a book which describes homosexuality directly without any discrimination and prejudice" (120). In 'Pai Hsien-yung's novels', Ying Fenghuang not only emphasises the homosexual themes in *Niezi*, but also points out that the criticisms made by Cai, Yuan and Long were clearly constrained by the conservative social atmosphere in the early 1980s (61-62). These criticisms all demonstrate that *Niezi* was inaugurating a process of being canonised as a homosexual novel, even as the first modern Chinese-written homosexual novel. Under the circumstances of Pai's intellectual work, the book was also adapted as a film in 1986, the first film production to be focused on homosexuality in Taiwan's cinematic history. Pai also played an important part in the making of the film, as I shall highlight in the next chapter.

Chapter Three

Filming *Niezi*

This chapter will analyse the film of *Niezi* as a pioneering cinematic cultural expression of male homosexuality and alternative gender performances, and present a historically contextualised reading of the film and the critical discussions surrounding it in the year preceding the lifting of Martial Law. After the 1970s, owing to the softened totalitarianism under President Chiang Ching-kuo's reign, the Taiwanese consciousness movement (Taiwan yishi) emphasising Taiwan's local culture instead of Sinocentrism manifested itself in many different art forms. According to June Yip, a variety of art emerged at this time as a Taiwanese nativist cultural act. For instance, preservation of the local architectural heritage became a cultural project, as exemplified by the restoration efforts in traditional Taiwanese towns, such as "Lu Kang". A similar revival of interest in folk tradition was also witnessed as *Hansheng* (*Echo*), a journal which became popular, was founded to introduce local folk arts. Local theatrical traditions and aboriginal ritual practices from numerous nativist cultural activists also captured people's attention (49). In the early 1980s, this nativist cultural spirit reached Taiwan's film industry, which gradually established film as a prestigious form of art and filmmaking as a strong cultural act of the Taiwanese nationalistic spirit.

As the film industry boomed in the context of nativist cultural activism in the 1980s, it was considered that cinema could even carry greater potential for building national identity and accelerating liberalisation of the long-oppressed social groups than literature. As Yip explains, this was because cinema primarily relied on the "visual image and spoken word", which can reach out to "both literate and illiterate audiences" in society (50). The power of cinema was thus well recognised by numerous cultural activists and filmmaking started to be considered as a means to liberalise cultural expression. In the name of speaking for the oppressed, filmic attention also focused on issues related to homosexuality at this time, and this resulted in the adaptation of *Niezi* in 1986, the first locally produced homosexual film. This chapter will examine the film adaptation of *Niezi*, with respect to institutions, political context, and intellectual work behind the film's production, situating its dissidence in relation to Taiwan's transitional historical condition.

3.1 1977-1987: Towards Political 'Taiwanisation'

The years between 1977 and 1987 witnessed Taiwan's political transition from "hard totalitarianism" to "soft totalitarianism" (Rubinstein "Political Taiwanization" 437). In the late 1970s, the KMT government of Taiwan, led by Chiang Ching-kuo, the son and heir of Chiang Kai-shek, took the initial steps that would lead to the emergence of two major political parties competing for power through elective democracy after the lifting of Martial Law. These steps broadened the political participation of native Taiwanese and led to a more liberal society with a greater degree of critical expressions from the public and media (ibid). As the hegemony of President Chiang's integral state started to incorporate disparate practices, Taiwanese consciousness and sentiment emerged in Taiwan's political realm.

In his article entitled 'Political Taiwanisation and Pragmatic Diplomacy', Rubinstein attributes Chiang Ching-kuo's Taiwanisation policies to his democratisation of the political system at local levels despite the fact that one of the hegemonic foundations of his power was still police surveillance ("Political Taiwanisation" 437). Chiang was aware that his nation could be torn apart by the existing ethnic tensions between mainlanders and native Taiwanese. Therefore, he tried to defuse this tension by allowing more well-trained native Taiwanese (e.g. Lee Teng-hui) into the political system (ibid). This gave birth to the first political faction outside Taiwan's one-party government, known as the 'tang-wai'. Many members of the tang-wai later formed the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) in 1986, the biggest opposition party to the KMT. The late 1970s saw the KMT Nationalist regime being challenged by members of the tang-wai who had been able to win contests for "the Taiwan Provincial Assembly and twenty-one out of seventy-seven seats in the government's legislative body" ("Political Taiwanisation" 440). At the same time, the KMT Nationalists' political ideologies concerning 'the legitimate government of China' and 'Taiwan as a province of the Mainland' were powerfully challenged by tang-wai activists who were abiding by their Taiwanese national identity, and were reluctant to accept the KMT's hegemonic Sinocentric political discourse. The confrontational atmosphere thus also built up owing to the increasing emergence of different voices from tang-wai in opposition to the government at this time.

The confrontation between them and the government finally led to a violent clash during a street demonstration, which became known as "the Kaohsiung Incident", on the 10th of December, 1979 (Rubinstein "Political Taiwanisation" 441).[33] Many core members of the tang-wai were arrested and put under increased surveillance and constant harassment. The KMT government even leaked stories to the press about the tang-wai activists' personal lives which contained "prurient details" in order to further scandalise them (ibid). The dang-wai movement was abruptly suppressed. Although President Chaing Ching-kuo showed his willingness to open the political system to native Taiwanese, he demonstrated his limits by putting an end to the tang-wai movement and reasserting that only the KMT possessed real dominance. That is, under the President Chiang's reign, dissent was not allowed in a politically confrontational sense.

From 1980 to 1985, the tang-wai challenge was suppressed, but the Chiang reign continued to open parts of the political system to native Taiwanese and expanded certain freedoms, though with some modifications and limits owing to the Kaohsiung Incident. For instance, in order to avoid confrontation, the procedure to apply to hold a street demonstration was refined with new and more complicated tactics (Tien qtd. in Rubinstein "Political Taiwanisation" 443).[34] Yet, in the view of contemporary observers, including President Chiang, the state could go too far in the direction of repression, and should not repeat the same mistakes as the former president did after the 228 Incident. Hence, native Taiwanese who did not commit to radical political actions were still used and promoted in local political institutions (Rubinstein "Political Taiwanisation" 443). This contributed to President Chaing Ching-kuo's softened regime owing to his selective reformation by integrating some native Taiwanese into the mainlander-dominated political system.

While confrontational political dissidence was not allowable, President Chiang turned to other social and economic reforms in order to improve his image, which had been damaged by the Kaohsiung Incident, and boost positive public opinions about him. The

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[33] The Kaohsiung Incident, also known as the Meili Dao (Beautiful Island) Incident (members of the tang-wai regularly published a political magazine called *Meili Dao* in order to disseminate their political pursuits), erupted because members of the tang-wai staged street protests against the KMT government's diplomatic policies at that time. They were violently suppressed by the KMT-hired local police. For more details, see Rubinstein ("Political Taiwanisation" 441-443).

[34] It was argued that the KMT-tang-wai conflict was made possible by increasing street demonstration by the people against the state (Tien qtd. in Rubinstein "Political Taiwanisation" 471).

socio-economic modernisation of Taiwan in fact significantly grew during the years of Chiang's rule. According to Rubinstein, during the 1980s, Taiwan's manufactured exports grew by a further "267 percent in value" based on successful industrialisation since the 1960s. While the population grew at "2 percent" per year, the labour force increased by "3.6 percent" (Rubinstein "Taiwan's Socioeconomic Modernisation" 372). By the end of the 1980s, Taiwan even emerged as the world's largest exporter of "personal computers" (Rubinstein "Taiwan's Socioeconomic Modernisation" 374). President Chiang's industrialisation and export-oriented manufacturing economic strategy contributed to the rise in employment in industrial sectors and the emergence of various educational reforms—for example, the increase in the number of years of free public education—in order to create a multi-skilled labour force which was able to cope with the introduction of new technology. The basic educational system was finally set up in 1978, and consisted of primary school for six years, junior high school for three years, senior high school for three years and higher education provided by universities (Rubinstein "Taiwan's Socioeconomic Modernisation" 378). Students were required to pass entrance exams to enter senior high schools and universities. Although most universities provided graduate school training and degrees, numerous college graduates tended to continue their studies at American, Japanese and European graduate research centres of higher education ((Rubinstein "Taiwan's Socioeconomic Modernisation" 380).[35] Those Euro-American and Japanese-trained PhD students later returned to Taiwan and brought back new theoretical discourses in Taiwan's higher education system.

In addition to the reforms of the educational system and industrial strategies, President Chiang simultaneously put the programme of "Ten Major Projects" into practice in order to improve transportation and infrastructure. This programme included "the construction of a north-south superhighway", "the construction of a new full-scale international airport", "the development of two new port facilities", and improvements to the nation's "railway system" (Rubinstein "Taiwan's Socioeconomic Modernisation" 373). Because of these developments, the pace to connect the metropolis where people work and the suburb where people lived increased and communications between Taiwan and other

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[35] There were a number of foundations for scholarly exchange and government sponsorships for students to study abroad established in the late 1970s, for example, the "Fulbright Foundation" (Rubinstein "Taiwan's Socioeconomic Modernisation" 380).

countries became easier and quicker. Altogether, the successful economic developments since the 1960s earned Taiwan the reputation of 'Taiwan Miracle'.

The social forces unleashed by the economic transformation and increasing communications with other countries led to a new sense of activism outside the rigidly codified political ideologies. These later paved a new road for core members of the tang-wai to challenge the state again—members of which had been released thanks to Chiang's decision to liberalise the society and lift Martial Law between the years 1986-1988 (Rubinstein "Political Taiwanisation" 446-47). [36] Chiang passed away in 1988 having chosen Lee Teng-hui, a native Taiwanese, as his successor, which symbolised a continuing Taiwanisation of the country. In brief, the years under Chiang Ching-kuo's reign saw the integral state of Taiwan transformed from hard totalitarianism to soft totalitarianism, in which reconciliation between mainlanders and native Taiwanese emerged and the socio-economic reformation was effected. The activist social forces unleashed by President Chiang's reformations also significantly contributed to Taiwan's multifaceted cultural and literary scene at the same time, and the film industry boomed along with the trend of initial Taiwanisation.

3.2 Taiwan New Cinema and Nation Building

As Benedict Anderson argues, in the modern age, the development of a national consciousness among a group of people has been generated by "print capitalism"—through newspaper or novels whose vernacular language narrating a shared community has been crucial to produce senses of belonging and images of the nation (24-5). Nonetheless, both Ray Chow and June Yip argue that, since the creation of cinema, the historical shift from print media to the "technologised visual image" has greatly altered human perceptions of the imagined community. How we perceive our nation and cultural identity has become increasingly dependent on analysis at the "visual level" rather than in print media, especially in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries when, along with television, cinema has become an increasingly dominant medium as technology grows (Chow 12; Yip 50).

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[36] Those released tang-wai activists formed the biggest oppositional political party, the DPP, in 1986. Although the DPP was not officially recognised by the government until 1991, it was not purged or suppressed during the intervening five years.

Cinema's visual effects can demonstrate different national images, such as village traditions, rural beauty, people and traditional costumes dramatically, quickly, and straightforwardly, which allow people to recognise them immediately without necessary recourse to imagination. Cinema's use of dramatic visual images can actually produce stronger cultural impressions on its audience.

Cinema's production of nationalistic feelings of identification in its audience has performed several cultural functions, best exemplified by 'heritage cinema'. The idea of cinema as a heritage industry can be traced back particularly to the British film industry in the 1980s and early 1990s. According to Monk, the so-called "heritage film" or "heritage cinema" was shaped by the cultural and political mood fostered by Margaret Thatcher and her Conservative Party in the 1980s (2). Heritage film was pre-occupied with the British traditions invented at this time. By saying "invented tradition", I am following Hobsbawn's usage of the term, which is taken to mean that traditions are actually "invented" and "formally instituted" (Hobsbawn 1). These include "the royal Christmas broadcast in Britain (formally instituted in 1932)", and symbolise a set of practices seeking to emphasise certain values and norms of conduct (ibid). The emphasis on the repeated values and conduct also symbolises a retreat to the selective and imagined past, or in Williams' word, 'selective tradition'.

On the one hand, the invented traditions in heritage cinema can produce cultural visions of national identity and belonging, which provides a form of retreat from the present. As John Hill has observed, the growth of heritage culture in British cinema can be regarded as a response to the discontent created by "social upheavals", "economic decline" and "a loss of international standing" (74). Heritage cinema not only offers escapism by returning to the past, but also senses of stability at a time of different social tensions. According to numerous British scholars, heritage films in the UK are often adapted from classic literary works, mostly works from or based in the Edwardian period, and the invented traditions in them often feature a romanticised portrayal of the British past, with emphasis on the life of the aristocracy or bourgeoisie instead of the working class, spectacular period settings, luxurious clothing and furniture, and elegant landscapes of city and countryside, through which a highly class-specific Britishness is invented and

visualised (Hill 77).[37] They reveal some social groups' longing for the security of place and bounded tradition.

On the other hand, heritage films are attractive to both domestic and foreign middle-class tourists. As Hill also argues, British heritage cinema has been a significant way of marketing the nation within "the global division of tourism" (74).[38] Tourists are attracted to visit British heritage sites that have been romanticised through cinematic portrayals. Tourism makes a significant contribution to the British economy and has accelerated the growth of the services industry owing to tourists' consumption. In brief, heritage cinema in a way played an important economic role in the UK of the 1980s and 1990s.

In Taiwan, under the circumstance of socio-economic reforms after the late 1970s, cinema emerged as a new form of cultural entrepreneurship. This also saw the idea of Taiwanese tradition visually portrayed and marketed by cinema. Nonetheless, different from British Heritage Cinema, the invented Taiwanese tradition; that centred on nation building and identity on the island of Taiwan; was nativist dissidence, dissenting from the official culture of the KMT government's Sinocentrism. The term 'nativist', which has been applied to Taiwan in terms of the nativist movement since the 1970s, means Taiwan's pre-1945 inhabitants and their descendants and those who identified Taiwan as their home (Chi Pang-yuan 23). Long unsatisfied with the KMT government's repressive rule, nativists criticised the KMT's mentality of being passengers in Taiwan, which took the Mainland as the real homeland and suppressed Taiwanese local cultures and languages through their Sinocentric political discourse. Furthermore, after the US recognised the People's Republic of China as the legitimate Chinese government and broke diplomatic relations with Taiwan, numerous Taiwanese felt betrayed by their closest ally. This further accelerated the nativist sentiment because now many Taiwanese people felt they must stand strong by themselves. The ideology of "Taiwan jie (Taiwan complex)", "a cultural

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[37] The most well-known heritage films include Merchant Ivory's adaptations of E.M. Forster's works, such as *A Room with a View* (1985), *Maurice* (1987), *Howard's End* (1992) and adaptation of Katsuo Ishiguro's *The Remains of the Day* (1993).

[38] According to the data Hill quotes from Nigel Thrift, in 1987, 15.6 million foreign tourists spent more than 6 billion pounds in the UK, and only the United States, Italy, France and Spain made more money from tourism than the UK (Hill 74).

identification with the island of Taiwan", then emerged in Taiwan's literary scene in opposition to the "Zhongguo jie (China complex)", an identification with China (Martin *Situating Sexualities* 20), which saw the emergence of a Nativist Literary Movement in which numerous Taiwanese writers concentrated on portraying Taiwan's past traditional agricultural and rural life in their works, expressing themselves in local languages (Yvonne Chang "Literature in Post-1949 Taiwan" 412), and sometimes even Japanese.[39] When Chiang's regime softened in the late 1970s and 1980s along with the modernisation of economy and society, this nativist trend was visualised in Taiwanese cinema, which saw numerous adaptations of nativist literary works and cinematic portrayals of Taiwan's rural landscapes.

The history of filmmaking in Taiwan has involved active governmental interferences and propaganda. In her study of the history of Taiwan cinema, June Yip points out that, owing to the KMT regime of Martial Law, Taiwan's film studios during that time were all devoted to making films that concentrated on the crimes of Communists and the development of Republic of China on Taiwan as the legitimate government of the Chinese mainland and the inheritor of traditional Chinese culture, including Confucian familialism. The Central Motion Picture Cooperation particularly functioned as the propaganda wing of the KMT, mainly producing documentaries for the party and armed forces (52). Although the government still encouraged private filmmakers to produce their own films and participate in the annual Golden Horse Film Awards in order to have their artistic achievements acknowledged,[40] those private film organisations and their featured filmmakers were under the strict supervision of the "Government Information Office", which made money available through loans (ibid). Under the supervision of the Government Information Office, private filmmakers' film productions were required to be politically correct in order to win the approval of the Office, otherwise, their films would be banned from being shown in cinemas. Furthermore, the judges of the Golden Horse Awards were actually "government representatives" rather than professional filmmakers, which meant that the Golden Horse Awards were also more concerned with politically

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[39] For instance, as the Japanese title of a novel by Huang Chun-ming demonstrates, *Sayonara Zaijian* (Sayonara! Goodbye). 'Sayonara' is Japanese for goodbye.

[40] Founded in 1962 and held annually, the Golden Horse Awards are Taiwan's equivalent of the US Academy Awards.

correct film themes rather than aesthetic and creative achievement (Yip 53). In brief, private film organisations and filmmakers in Taiwan were generally constrained by governmental censorship under the circumstance of Martial Law.

This situation in the film industry gradually changed when Taiwan entered the last phase of Martial Law. This period saw the ascent of a new director at the Government Information Office. Sung Chu-yu is now widely considered the pioneer who offered numerous innovative suggestions for rebuilding the long-stagnant filmmaking industry in Taiwan (Yip 53). According to Lent, he helped to implement the following pivotal policies in order to reinvigorate the film industry and filmic productions' creativity: First of all, Sung intended to re-organise the Golden Horse Awards to honour artistic and creative achievement rather than politically correct content. By doing this, Sung insisted that the awards' jury should be composed of film professionals instead of government representatives. Secondly, Sung created the Golden Horse Awards International Film Festival. By learning from award-winning foreign films, he hoped that the quality of local film productions would be improved. Thirdly, Sung strongly encouraged Taiwanese film entries in foreign markets and high-profile international film festivals and cooperation with other countries (Lent qtd. in Yip 53). For example, the government at this time signed several co-production agreements with a number of Japanese film companies and sent some of the co-produced films to international competitions (Yip 52). Together, these modifications gave rise to positive changes in the government's view of cinema and accelerated both the quality and quantity of Taiwan's film productions.

The rise of cinema in Taiwan's artistic field in the 1980s, along with nativist cultural activism, gave rise to the emergence of a new trend that came to be known as 'Taiwan New Cinema'. The name of this movement in Taiwan's film industry indicates two levels of meaning. One is the difference between the new cinema and established studio system at the local level. A group of young people, mostly born in the late 1940s and 1950s, began their filmmaking career in the 1980s. This group is said to include Ko Yi-cheng, Yang Te-chang, Tseng Chuang-hsiang, Hou Hsiao-hsien, Hsiao Yeh, Wu Nien-chen, Chu Tien-wen and Ting Ya-min, etc (Berry and Lu 4-8; Yip 54). Some of them are directors and some are screenwriters. They believe that cinema can reflect contemporary socio-political structures and lifestyles, and develop national identity. As Ting Ya-min notes:

The New Cinema directors restored cinema to the status that it deserves, to its proper place in our cultural fabric. Future filmmakers must never forget the powerful influence that the cinema has on our outlook. The New Cinema directors revitalised cinema by bringing it back to our cultural roots, back to this piece of earth called Taiwan. They brought its field of vision home to our native soil, to everyday realities, to the people and events that surround us (Ting qtd. in Yeh and Davis 59).

By 'restoring cinema to the status it deserves', Ting actually means that cinema should be utilised to present native cultures through artistic means without any political constraints. In order to make 'Taiwan' the focus of film themes, the Taiwan New Cinema directors either presented harsh critical views of contemporary social conditions and government policies or promoted native Taiwanese consciousness. For instance, *Guangyin De Gushi* (*In Our Time*), an anthology film with four short segments surrounding different time backgrounds, 1950s, 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, directed by Tao Te-chen, Edward Yang, Ko Yi-cheng, and Chang Yi respectively, is a film which depicts how the country's modernisation would bring disaster to Taiwan's traditional life style and purity of people's hearts. In promoting native Taiwanese consciousness, literary works by Huang Chun-ming, one of Taiwan's Nativist Literature representatives, were one of the primary sources for film adaptation owing to their complex depictions of contemporary Taiwanese life. This is evidenced by the director Hou Hsiao-hsien's decision of adapting Huang Chun-ming's *Erzi De Dawanou* (*His Son's Big Doll*):

I chose to film *His Son's Big Doll* precisely because it was a story by Huang Chun-ming…The world described in Huang's stories is the very world in which we grew up—a world that is intimately familiar to all of us. Moreover, this is a world that hadn't, up to that point, been given any representation on film. When the opportunity arose to bring this world to the screen, therefore, we were all eager to do it (Hou qtd. in Yip 61-62).

The promotion of Taiwanese language was also one of the primary focuses of *His Son's Big Doll*, in which all dialogues are dubbed in Taiwanese. Long suppressed by the KMT's Sinocentric cultural regime, the use of Taiwanese language could be interpreted as a

rejection of the absolute cultural authority enjoyed by Mandarin.[41] Given the subversive potential of Taiwan New Cinema vis-à-vis on the cultural and political hegemony of the KMT, it was quite remarkable that many of the Taiwan New Cinema films were produced under the state-owned Central Motion Picture Corporation (Yip 55). This situation confirmed Sung's effective restructuring of the Government Information Office. It also further demonstrated that, although political confrontation was not allowed at the governmental level in the 1980s, the possibility of dissent in the realm of the arts was in a sense tolerated.

Furthermore, the name Taiwan New Cinema also indicates the connection between Taiwanese local cinema and world cinema. As Wu Nien-chen, one of the well-known Taiwan New Cinema directors points out, in the early 1980s, the state-owned Central Motion Picture Corporation began to offer new opportunities to young filmmakers owing to some new enlightened guidance from the Government Information Office. Many of them were newly returned graduate students from the United States with academic degrees in film studies. Wu was convinced that those young returned filmmakers would utilise film as an effective medium to promote social change by introducing what they had experienced in the society of their Western counterparts (Wu qtd. in Yeh and Davis 77). The Western liberalism these young professionals brought with them was deemed progressive. Films were utilised as various cultural expressions through calling for liberalisation of the society and the long-oppressed social groups. Furthermore, along with the Government Information Office's new policy of introducing more foreign films to Taiwan, particularly films from the US, Japan, Europe and Hong Kong, Taiwanese cinema productions were influenced by world cinema and integrated into it. As cinema gradually became a progressive cultural form for social activism under the circumstance of softened totalitarianism, the adaptation of *Niezi* also joined this social trend.

The director of *Niezi*, Yu Kanping, is listed as one of the Taiwan New Cinema directors. Though relatively unknown in public, he is compared to directors like Wu Nien-chen or Hou Hsiao-Hsien. Yu started his career in media in 1974, and has worked in the industries of television, cinema, documentary and advertising. He began his directing career in 1979 and achieved his career highlight by making the musical film *Da Cuo Che*

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[41] For details of *His Son's Big Doll*, see (Yip 62)

(*Papa, Can You Hear Me Sing*) (1983), which vividly depicts the familial love between a speech-impaired army veteran and his adopted daughter. The real significance of *Da Cuo Che* is that the plot calls for a strong reconciliation between mainlanders and native Taiwanese, as the mainlander father raises his adopted native Taiwanese daughter without political barriers. The title of the film's theme song is also in Taiwanese language. This film was released eight times in Taiwan and won four Golden Horse Awards.[42] Both its box office success and critical acclaim established Yu as a well-recognised mainstream director in Taiwan's film industry. Even nowadays, this film is still listed as one of the Taiwan New Cinema Classics (Taiwanpedia), and Yu Kanping's status as one of the representative Taiwan New Cinema Directors is largely attributed to it.

As a director of Taiwan New Cinema, Yu's intended social mission of reconciling tensions between mainlanders and native Taiwanese has been both valued and recognised. In fact, the generation of Taiwan New Cinema filmmakers embodied both Chinese mainlanders and native Taiwanese. While the directors of the New Cinema came from both mainland and native Taiwanese families, they all belonged to a generation for which the only real home they knew was Taiwan. The blurring of the mainlanders and natives was one of the central means of reconciling the ethnic tension between them. With regard to the directors of Taiwan New Cinema, both mainlanders and natives are Taiwanese citizens. As Hou Hsiao-hsien, whose family was from Mainland China, pointed out during an interview, "All my films have sought, first and foremost, to bring out the nativist spirit of Taiwan" (Hou qtd. in Yeh and Davis 157). This inclusive spirit of Taiwan New Cinema also deeply influenced many of Yu's film productions.

Yu's filmmaking also extended to representations of socially marginalised groups, as witnessed by *Niezi*. Yu's adaptation of *Niezi* not only acknowledged the contributions of mainlanders to Taiwanese society as the author of *Niezi*, Pai Hsien-yung, was from a mainlander background, but also those of long-marginalised homosexuals. While Taiwan New Cinema emphasised the themes of native Taiwanese soil, everyday realities, and the people and events that surround everybody, Yu included homosexuals as one of the types

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[42] By the 1980s, the Golden Horse Awards had already been restructured by Sung and became a reliable organisation for acknowledging a film's artistic value instead of its thematic concerns.

of people, as if homosexuals were a Taiwanese ethnicity. As Yu pointed out during an interview when asked about his motivation to make an adaptation of *Niezi*:

> The story of *Niezi* was immediately engraved on my heart after the first time I read it. I was impressed by Pai's delicate portrayals of humanity and could sympathise with the struggles of the boys in Taipei's New Park (Yu qtd. in Zeng 376).

By adapting *Niezi* for the big screen, Yu was convinced that a social call to understand, sympathise and accept homosexuals could be effectively made.

Unlike the films Yu had previously directed, which were mostly under the production of state-owned film companies, *Niezi* was produced under an independent cinematic organisation called Dragons Group Film Company. Information about Dragons Group is limited, as the company only operated for eight years in total, from 1983 to 1991, according to the historical archive of Taiwan's film companies (Taiwan Cinema Web). During these eight years, the company only produced and released seven films, one film per year on average. This suggests that Dragons Group was a relatively small-scale film organisation at that time, given the statistic that, since the end of the 1970s, over two hundred films were produced annually (Yip 52). The company's source of funding for the production of *Niezi* is unknown, according to available information. Yet its list of released films includes Hong Kong-made productions and several of them show cooperation with some well-known Hong Kong actors. It could be suggested that Dragons Group may have had connections with the Hong Kong film industry. Yu's cooperation with Dragons Group for the adaptation of *Niezi* can be thus taken as a calculated move. Although the environment of Taiwan's filmmaking was significantly liberalised in the 1980s, as shown by the critical and commercial welcome of Taiwan New Cinema, it might still have been a sensitive issue to produce a film about same-sex relationships as there was no precedent for this type of film in Taiwanese society. Yu did not intend to challenge the limits of state-owned film organisations greatly. Nonetheless, noticing the market forces went against the dominant conservatism, in order to produce the film, he turned to a Hong Kong-connected filmic company as an alternative move. Furthermore, it could also be a calculated move on the part of Dragons Group. Numerous productions of Taiwan New Cinema were commercially successful, which in other words suggested that audiences were interested in cultural expressions of Taiwan's oppressed natives and social groups. Dragons Group,

focusing on potential profits, took a risk in sponsoring Yu's adaptation of *Niezi* by making the first homosexual film in Taiwan's cinematic history.

3.3 Producing *Niezi*

After persuading Dragons Group Film Company to sponsor the adaptation of *Niezi* by using his established status in the film industry, based on his achievement with *Da Cuo Che*, Yu immediately contacted the novel's author, Pai Hsien-yung, to write the screenplay. Pai's participation in the film production increased his status as an organic intellectual. The ultimate aim of Pai and Yu's intellectual work was to produce the first homosexual film in Taiwan. Yet, while the film marks the further development of a homosexual subculture that is semi-legitimate now owing to the transformation of the film industry, Pai and Yu were concerned by the possible negative social reactions to and potential censorship of it as the prostitution activities of boys in New Park were still considered illegal. Indeed, Dragon Group's announcement of making of a film based on *Niezi* created noise in the journalistic and public discourse. Since this was the first film dealing with explicit homosexual themes and there was no specific regulation prohibiting film companies from producing features containing elements of homosexuality, the Government Information Office officials could only state that "they discouraged such a subject and urged the film to be as reserved as possible lest it be banned" (The Government Information Office qtd. in Huang Tao-ming *Queer Politics* 118). The Government Information Office's reaction to the adaptation of *Niezi* revealed that, while the film industry was gradually liberalised from various political constraints in the 1980s, subjects related to same-sex relations remained sensitive as there was no precedent in cinematic cases. It also proved that Yu's turning to Dragons Group to make the film was the right move as the project of adapting *Niezi* may not have been accepted by the state-owned film associations. Nonetheless, allowing the production of *Niezi* to a certain degree symbolised a negotiation between the filmmakers and the Office. It could be that the Government Information Office officials hoped to maintain the liberal image they had developed over the years by supporting Taiwan New Cinema films. As long as the scenes in *Niezi* were not over the considered limit in showing content in relation to same-sex desire, the film could still be tolerated for production and distribution in cinemas.

Under this circumstance, Pai had to simplify and revise the original story just to make the release of the first Taiwanese homosexual film possible, owing to the risk of it being banned and the Government Information Office's strict supervision. In addition, due to the Government Information Office's supervision, the film's casting encountered a great deal of difficulty. According to Yu, although he had previously enjoyed some commercial success as an established figure in the Taiwan film industry, most famous actors refused to play homosexual roles in this film (Yu 376). Thus, Yu had to employ a group of young unknown actors as the film's cast. The only exception was the award-winning actor Sun Yue, who had been in some of Yu's previous works such as *Da Cuo Che*, and who agreed to play the role of Chief Yang. Sun was praised for his charitable act by Yu and was said to have joined the film because he courageously identified himself with the humanitarianism conveyed by the original novel (ibid). Given this historical context, intellectuals' interests were actually simultaneously shaped by various social interactions with the contemporary dominant groups and ideologies. They were able to forge sympathetic identifications with homosexuals, but insofar as they did this as intellectuals they were engaged with concerns owing to socio-political limits, which saw the following changes to the original novel in the film of *Niezi*.

3.3.1 Effacing Desire

While the original novel of *Niezi* relates the stories of a community of young male sex workers and their clients and patrons based in and around New Park in the Martial Law era in the 1970s, the film version chose to emphasise the value of familial warmth and filial piety instead of centring on the sexualised space of New Park, which is considered a symbolic home in the boys' collective imagination in the novel. In order to accentuate the theme of familial love for the boys, Pai and Yu merge the characters of Papa Fu and Chief Yang in the novel into one role in the film, nicknamed Mama Yang, played by Sun Yue, and a new character, Aunt Meng, is added. In the film, Mama Yang, an effeminate and caring old man and Aunt Meng, a tough, head strong landlady but a dear friend of Mama Yang, have provided lodgings for the boys, who have been banished from their homes. After being banished from his family by his father, A-Qing, the film's protagonist, finds his way to New Park and meets Mama Yang, who successfully persuades Aunt Meng to

take him in. In Aunt Meng's house, A-Qing befriends Little Jade, Wu Min and Mousy, who have also been provided with lodgings thanks to Mama Yang's sympathy for them, though they are still required to pay a small amount of rent each month. In order to earn a living, each evening the boys gather together in New Park to hook up with clients, by which practice A-Qing becomes acquainted with Dragon Prince and a brother-like relationship develops between them. Later on, when the park is under curfew, the boys gather instead at a bar called Cozy Nest, run by Mama Yang. The film ends with Mama Yang's sudden heart attack and death. After Mama Yang's death, A-Qing follows his advice to go back home, and asks for his father's understanding and forgiveness (Yu *Niezi*).

Owing to this shift of focus in the plot, the male prostitution culture of New Park depicted in the novel is only euphemistically presented in the film, which I call visual euphemism. Using visual euphemism, male same-sex interactions are mainly shown through eye contact between the boys and hustlers/sugar daddies in the park. However, the interaction between A-Qing and Dragon Prince is not presented in sugar daddy dynamics. Instead, their relationship is ambiguously portrayed between lovers and friends until Dragon Prince finally asks A-Qing, 'would you like to be my little brother?'. A-Qing's instant, joyful response of 'yes' further confirms that their relationship is more a brotherhood or comradeship rather than a suspected same-sex romance. Moreover, the legendary, tragic love story between Dragon Prince and Phoenix Boy and Dragon Prince's subsequent exile in New York in the novel are totally eliminated in the film version. Dragon Prince's complex background in the book is largely simplified into a caring older brother role in this New Park community.

Given the circumstance that visual presentation of same-sex desire was constrained, both Yu and Pai decided to create a metaphor for the homosexual protagonists in the film — a group of white egrets (bai lu). The use of a group of flying white egrets as a metaphor for the boys symbolises the exile mentality and solitude of male homosexuals in society from the perspective of Chinese cultural tradition. Bai, literally meaning white in Chinese, connotes purity, innocence and kind-heartedness. Lu, a species of heron, puns on the word for road in Mandarin. The punning of lu for heron and road has led to the egret being utilised as a symbol for 'bon voyage' in Chinese culture; thus, numerous sculptures of egrets can be seen on traditional Chinese architecture in Taiwan, particularly on the roofs and pillars of temples (Li 100-102). Bai lu, white egrets, may be regarded as

symbolising the exiled boys in the film, bidding the boys bon voyage on this endless lonely journey. Throughout the film, the scene of a group of flying white egrets in the sky is interwoven with the story, appearing several times, including at the end. Perhaps one day, the boys may no longer be seen as sinful and their innocence and struggle will be recognised by the public in Taiwan. This is what Yu and Pai hoped (Yu 378).

3.3.2 Feminisation and Little Jade

Among the changes to the original novel in the film, the casting of Little Jade, the most camp, deviant and daringly effeminate homosexual character in the book, was also of interest. This role is played by a girl who is dressed as a young boy. When asked why they used a female actor to give a cross-dressing performance during an interview, Yu replied:

> If we really employ an effeminate boy to play Little Jade, the film will probably have a bad influence on the audience. Further, using an effeminate boy would probably put the other actors under pressure as it might make them feel that a 'real sinful son' [niezi] was on stage. Thus, we use a cross-dressed girl to play the part. The effect should be pretty much the same (Yu qtd. in Huang Tao-ming *Queer Politics* 225).

Yu's reply demonstrates two crucial points, one regarding the stigmatised public idea about male homosexuality, the other about the film's constraint in representing male homosexuality. In relation to the former, it is suggested that male homosexuality is strongly associated with femininity, as only an effeminate boy would be seen as a 'niezi'. In relation to the latter, owing to the concern about the public's response and other actors' feelings towards visual presentation of a 'real sinful son (niezi)', the casting of Little Jade is 'heterosexualised' by utilising a girl's cross-dressing performance. In the story, the character of Little Jade is involved in several relationships with different sugar daddies and cunningly tries to seduce one of them in order to jump off the boat in Japan. In an attempt to make the representation of the deviant and manipulative Little Jade possible, these two points are complicatedly intertwined behind the cross-dressing casting of Little Jade.

The cinematic representation of Little Jade by using a female actor dressed as a young boy reflects the stigmatised image of the male homosexual as a type of 'castrated'

and 'illicit female prostitute', which I have analysed in Chapter One. In Chapter One, by analysing one scene of the story 'Mantian Li Liangjingjing De Xingxing' (A Sky Full of Twinkling Stars), collected in *Taipei Ren*, in which Pai implies that the hero Guru's genitals may have been wounded by the police, I demonstrated how castration can be symbolically performed on male homosexuals. Pai suggests that several inhumane treatments would be used to punish arrested homosexuals by utilising euphemism in this novel. This violence, which stems from society's connection of male homosexuals to debased femininity, is symbolically presented in the film of *Niezi* as well, in which Little Jade's genitals are truly removed by the character being played by an actress. While the male prostitution culture of New Park depicted in the novel can only be presented in visual euphemism in the film owing to the limits imposed by the Government Information Office, Little Jade's lines remain comparatively faithful to the original novel, as best illustrated by his/her repeated line of "I am going to take a bite out of that bastard's dick" (Yu *Niezi*) when s/he mentions his/her lost father. This further proves the unrepresentability of homosexuality in the legal and public discourse of the Martial Law period. The unrepresentability of male homosexuality in public discourse led to the invisibility of the male prostitution culture in its first cinematic presentation. Only the feminised, or 'castrated', Little Jade possesses the voice to express his/her desire. Although the image of castration of the father and by a daughter in the feminised Little Jade's line was presumably provocative, it was actually considered safer to be shown. In other words, femininity, even base femininity, was considered more acceptable than homosexuality in society. Therefore, in order to be allowed to demonstrate his existence, the male homosexual needs to be transformed into a woman first. Though the type of woman into which he is transformed is a 'grotesque' one, 'she' represents the circumscription of male homosexuality and is at least allowed to be included in the public domains of eroticism. Thus, that femininity in male homosexuality and the feminisation of male homosexuals in the film of *Niezi* are historically and culturally constructed and imposed. While homosexuality was not conceived in terms of identity categories in Martial Law Taiwan, an identification with women constituted the very basis of their identity in orthodox thinking at this time.

Except for the underlying association between male homosexuality and femininity, the casting of Little Jade can also be seen as a means of ensuring the audience perceives

Niezi as a non-homosexual film. As the noted passage by Yu suggests, only an effeminate boy would be considered a real niezi (real homosexual). In other words, as long as there is no effeminate boy shown in the film, there would be no explicit visual presentation of male homosexuality. Using a girl to portray Little Jade is regarded by Yu as a means of weakening the character's undertone of same-sex desire. Although it is a cross-dressed performance, it is not difficult to tell that it is a girl playing this part, given the fact that except for her short hair and boyish t-shirt and hat, there is no extra alteration to her appearance and voice to make her look and sound like a boy. Members of the audience who have not yet read the original novel may thus unconsciously perceive Little Jade's expression of desire as a heterosexual form. While the other actors in the film consider themselves non-effeminate, according to Yu's passage, and are constrained to demonstrate same-sex contact, using a girl to portray the effeminate Little Jade further reassures the audience and Government Information Office that the novel is heterosexualised in its first cinematic representation by not allowing the showing of an actual homosexual (an effeminate boy).

3.3.3 Alternative Familial Subjectivity and Feminism

In spite of the pressure on the filmmakers, the production reveals a certain degree of negotiation between the Government Information Office and Yu and Pai in terms of the performance of gender roles in the film. It has been elucidated that in the film, instead of depicting New Park as the boys' home, the home created by Mama Yang and Aunt Meng provides the boys with real familial warmth and care, in which every member interacts with each other as a family. In this family, however, a reversed gender role play is demonstrated, which sees Mama Yang as an effeminate and loving old man and Aunt Meng as a tough and independent middle-aged woman. Aunt Meng basically dominates the whole family affair. The permitted showing of this feminist thinking can be attributed to the on-going women's movement, which may have achieved a certain social recognition from the government and society by the time of *Niezi*'s production.

The women's movement in Taiwan started in the 1970s. Lu Hsiu-lien is widely regarded as its pioneer in Taiwanese society (Rubinstein "Taiwan's Socioeconomic Modernisation" 385). According to Rubinstein, in the 1970s, as a government employee,

Lu launched a series of feminist activities, including opening "a coffee shop" to serve as a meeting ground for women, and "a publishing press" that published feminist literary, theoretical, and social works, including articles attacking some of the government's social policies which were considered patriarchal.[43] After her study at Harvard Law School as a visiting scholar, she returned to Taiwan in 1978 and became one of the core members of the tang-wai movement (ibid). Lu's effort inspired more and more women activists to join the movement in the late 1970s and 1980s. The increasing influence of the women's movement along with the social transformation of gender roles and sexual relationships owing to socio-economic modernisation also changed people's views of familiar roles men and women played. In spite of the political upheaval of the Kaohsiung Incident in 1979, President Chiang Ching-kuo chose not to oppress the social movements at a local level as a symbol of his selective assimilation of different voices into the KMT hegemony and softened regime. Hence, the women's movement endured and continued to influence society. By the time of *Niezi*'s production, the women's movement had already been in existence for a decade.

The recognition of men's and women's changing familial roles owing to the transformation of society and the growth of the women's movement may have led to the idea of an alternative familial subjectivity to the Confucian familial system in this film. Unlike New Park, which Pai describes as kingdom (wangguo) and nation (guodu), a symbolic challenge to the strictures of the KMT regime in the novel, the home in the film turns this challenge towards patriarchy and the authority of the father, highlighted by an added scene in which A-Qing's father comes to Aunt Meng's house to look for him. In this scene, A-Qing's father is scolded by Aunt Meng for not being a loving and responsible father whilst Mama Yang tries to calm her down. On the one hand, Pai and Yu recognise the importance of family in one's life by creating a home for the boys in the film and emphasising their craving for family; on the other hand, they also suggest that a different type of family dominated by women is possible and it can offer familial warmth as well, even more than the traditional patriarchal familial system.

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[43] For instance, Lu wrote an article criticising a governmental plan to reduce the number of women allowed to enter the universities (Rubinstein "Taiwan's Socioeconomic Modernisation" 385).

The creation of the character of Aunt Meng in the film and the feminisation of Little Jade also reveal the film's feminist undertone. In the family of Aunt Meng, Mama Yang and the boys, Aunt Meng is the financially stronger, providing lodging and food for Mama Yang and the boys, though asking for a small amount of rent each month. Aunt Meng's toughness and her superior economic status deviate from the dominant patriarchal familial thinking. She is in charge of her life and commands the movement of the other male members as they live under her shelter. She does not rely on anybody to live her life. As for Little Jade, played by a girl, the character's desire is unconstrainedly demonstrated compared with the 'other' boys, highlighted by her/his repeated line of "I am going to take a bite out of that bastard's dick" (Yu *Niezi*) when s/he mentions her/his father. This strong challenge to the father's authority symbolises a potential castration of the father. Furthermore, this castration is going to be performed by the son/daughter. Little Jade's desire not only signifies the loss of the father's masculinity, but also a deviance from patriarchal filial piety. The allowed showing of such feminist sentiment is evidence that the women's movement may have attained a certain degree of accomplishment by the end of the Martial Law period.

3.4 Conclusion

While the novel is a multi-layered narrative that addresses several themes, including power arrangements in same-sex relations, the idea of same-sex desire, homosexual shame and reconciliation between father and son, it is changed into a heterosexualised story related to familial value with a feminist undertone in the film. Despite all the self-censorship carried out to simplify and revise the original story to fit with the cultural context, the film was further censored three times by the Government Information Office officials and underwent another inspection by a panel of several media scholars. At the end it was released as a certified adult film with twenty-one cuts (Yu 377). According to Yu, many of the cuts relate to Dragon Prince's family background (378), given the original story that Dragon Prince's father used to be a KMT general during the Chinese Civil War and has remained a devoted servant of the Nationalist government. This further proved that, although dissent towards to patriarchy at familial and social levels was tolerated by the added portrayal of Aunt Meng, homosexuality's possible association with the masculine

image of KMT soldiers and government in the film remained a sensitive issue, as dissidence at political level was still not allowed under President Chiang Ching-kuo's reign. Thanks to this political pressure placed on Yu and Pai, the absence of a KMT patriarch in the film can also be taken as an unintended radicalism, as Dragon Prince's exile owing to his father's familial authority is not presented. It unintentionally contributes to the development of a feminist undertone in the film.

Although the film did not do well at the box office owing to limited circulation, the public controversy regarding the making of the film that occurred before its release proliferated Niezi as a term for homosexuals in the journalistic discourse, as the controversy of 'the first homosexual film, *Niezi*' was spread by the press and newspapers to the whole nation. For example, Huang points out that the *Teacher's Friend* (*Shiyou*) *Magazine* used the term Niezi to describe adolescent homosexual conduct in one of its published articles in 1986 (*Queer Politics* 119). When later shown in New York, the film received a standing ovation from the audience, which garnered attention from Taiwan's media, too. It was further selected as the opening film of the first Los Angeles Gay and Lesbian Film Festival. Although the film's production encountered a significant amount of social pressure and difficulty in Taiwan, this outcome was said to have repaid every participant, including, said Yu (378), himself and Pai. The comfort Yu took from the positive reviews abroad reveals a transitional social scenario under globalisation. The softening of Martial Law and the reformation of Sung Chu-yu to encourage Taiwanese films' entry into the foreign market has shifted the direction of Taiwan's film industry. In order to capture international attention, the Taiwanese film industry made several films specifically for the foreign market and international film festivals. Although Yu's film version of *Niezi* was not particularly made for international competition, his response to the film's positive reception in the US suggests he too was pleased by being recognised by the West. This cultural trend towards Westernisation was furthered by the lifting of Martial Law. Numerous US-trained scholars returned to Taiwan at this time and brought with them Westernised cultural discourse on homosexuality to challenge the stigmatised image put forward by the KMT government, which I shall analyse in the next chapter. Although the film adaptation of *Niezi* was constrained in its screen presentation of homosexuality by the then relatively conservative social atmosphere, its pioneer status foretold that, in the post-

Martial Law Taiwan and the era of globalisation, media and Westernisation would play a crucial role in constructing the image of homosexuality in contemporary Taiwanese society.

Chapter Four

Towards Neoliberalism: The Emergence of Identity Politics

This chapter seeks to explore representations of male homosexuality, with particular focus on the legacy of *Niezi* and Taipei's New Park, where the novel is set, in relation to how the local and global intersect in 1990s Taiwan. The lifting of Martial Law in 1987, a milestone in Taiwan's socio-political history, officially liberalised Taiwan from previous political and social constraints and opened up the society through the spread of new media, and expanded commodity exchange and travel with the rest of the world. The post-Martial Law years saw Lee Teng-hui, the first native Taiwanese to gain control of the KMT party in 1988, using his power to reconstruct the long dominant and repressive Sinocentric political ideology by redefining 'the idea of Taiwan'. A radical shift emerged at this time to reform Taiwan's political arena and national identity. For the former, fighting against more conservative mainlander members in the party, Lee reformed the KMT by putting forward more native Taiwanese for the Central Committee in the early post-Martial Law years, including a woman member—the first time a woman had been part of the party's central power (Rubinstein "Political Taiwanisation" 448). For the latter, a Taiwanese nativist political ideology was proposed by President Lee to differentiate the Taiwanese from Chinese identity in rewriting Taiwan's nationhood (Martin *Situating Sexualities* 77).

According to Martin, Lee redefined the relationship between Taiwan and the Chinese mainland primarily through emphasis on the globalised economy. Lee sought to regard the Chinese mainland less as an "historical and cultural source" than as a "profit source" (Martin *Situating Sexualities* 78) because of its cheaper labour and bigger market. China became a production base for investors in that economy through Lee's 'New Taiwan' proposal. Further, Lee defined Taiwan's democratisation as an "historical beginning", in which Taiwan began to have full constitutional democracy, fostering unity by connecting different ethnicities and recognising the diversity of communities based on cultural pluralism (Yvonne Chang *Literary Culture in Taiwan* 20-21; Martin *Situating Sexualities* 77).[44] This was distinct from the single party and ideology of the Communist Chinese mainland. Through President Lee's rewriting of the meaning of Taiwan, the idea of 'the other China' (Republic of China) began to fade away and the ideology of 'New

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[44] See the Introduction.

Taiwan' began to rise since the lifting of Martial Law. In 1996, the first Taiwanese presidential election took place, which Lee won, and symbolised that Taiwan was entering an era of representative democracy from one of quasi-democracy.

The increasingly democratised socio-political environment saw Taiwan's openness to the flow of information from the world, which led to the country's entry into a phase in which globalisation and local culture became inextricably bound together. Under the circumstances of democracy and globalisation, Taiwanese society saw the blooming of cultural pluralism to recognise different social groups at different levels. The long marginalised social groups, including homosexuals, started to require the government and public to pay attention to their struggles and oppression, demanding equal human rights for themselves. This developing cultural pluralistic and democratic circumstance created a liberal environment in which to discuss various social issues where people could expect a great deal of different opinion, not only consensus, especially in the terrain of gender and sexuality. The 1990s, the moment of transition in Taiwan, saw the emergence of a new, complex identity politics in relation to homosexuality. This chapter will demonstrate how male homosexuality has been configured through identity politics since the lifting of Martial Law, focusing on the role played by *Niezi* in particular.

4.1 Neoliberalism and Globalisation

In *Cool Capitalism*, Jim McGuigan broadly summarises the three phases of capitalist development in the West (specifically, the US and Western Europe): "liberal", "organised" and "neoliberal" (129). McGuigan explains that the liberal phase is what Marx analysed in the nineteenth century when international business and trade were developed in a relatively "unregulated manner in various national pockets". The organised phase was developed during the mid-twentieth century owing to the growth of "large corporations" and "monopolistic practices" and "socialist challenges caused by labour movements", and in response to socialism in the East during this Cold War era. With the collapse of Communism and the retreat of social democracy in the late twentieth century, a reversion to the liberal phase emerged in certain respects, which McGuigan calls a neoliberal discourse on "free market" and "moving commodities" (9-44; 129). However, under these capitalist circumstances, some quasi-socialist features are called into question in

combining with neoliberalism. This has seen social welfare systems established in several countries, which are financially maintained by their governments to take care of their citizens and residents, for example, the National Health Service (NHS) in the UK.

Unlike its Western counterparts, Taiwan underwent a slightly different path to neoliberalism in the late twentieth century. Although Taiwan was under Martial Law for thirty-eight years, the economy of Martial Law Taiwan was actually influenced by the US, owing to the American military and political presence on the island. In the 1960s and 1970s, cheaper and educated labour, and the support of the KMT government attracted numerous international companies, mostly from the US and Japan, to move into and invest in the country. The previous chapter has delineated how Taiwan's economy grew quickly under President Chiang Ching-kuo's reign. Taiwan became the manufacturing factory of the world, with the label 'Made in Taiwan' widely seen in the global market in the 1970s and 1980s (Huang Tao-ming *Queer Politics* 12). This massive economic growth and development earned Taiwan the reputation of "Taiwan Economic Miracle" and it was seen as one of the "Asian Four Tigers" or "Asian Four Dragons" (Rubinstein "Taiwan's Socioeconomic Modernisation" 371). By the end of the 1980s, Taiwan was already an advanced and developed nation with a mature economic system (Rubinstein "Taiwan's Socioeconomic Modernisation" 377).

After the lifting of Martial Law in 1987, Taiwan entered a new socio-political phase by embracing globalisation and democracy. Higher salaries and increasing living expenses in a now developed country meant that the bigger Taiwanese companies moved their production bases to China and Southeast Asia. The then President, Lee Teng-hui, sought to regard China as a profit source within the globalised economy in his political New Taiwan proposal. In the globalised economy, Taiwan's focus has been on high technology, producing microelectronics, personal computers and smartphones (Martin *Situating Sexualities* 78; Rubinstein "Taiwan's Socioeconomic Modernisation" 374). The phrase 'Taiwanese Brands' replaced 'Made in Taiwan' and joined the global competition with other established international companies. The post-Martial Law years saw Taiwan officially entering the phase of neoliberal capitalism.

After the lifting of Martial Law, owing to the democratisation of the society and the developed and mature economy, the state was gradually required to minimise its

intervention in most socio-economic affairs. According to David Harvey, the role of the state in neoliberalism is to guarantee "the quality and integrity of money. It must also set up those military, defence, police, and legal structures and functions required to secure private property rights and to guarantee by force, if need be, the proper functioning of markets" (Harvey qtd. in McGuigan 134). Yet, beyond these tasks, state intervention must be kept to a bare minimum because neoliberal discourse values entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within the free market and for free trade (ibid). In the process of transformation from state to market, a set of binary oppositions can be seen. Drawing on what Harvey, Bourdieu and Wacquant have theorised, McGuigan points out that those binary oppositions are: "from state to market, from constraint to freedom, from closed to open, from rigid to flexible, from immobile to dynamic or moving or self-transforming, from past to future, from stasis to growth, from uniformity to diversity or authenticity, from autocratic (totalitarian) to democratic, from collectivism to individualism" (139). This process is generated by globalisation, in which the cultural goods from different countries flow around the world.

While the state was gradually required to minimise its intervention in market and media in the post-Martial Law years, Taiwan's market has reflected these characteristics of neoliberalism. Freedom of the flow of information and commodities around the world has contributed to the variety of products, both local and imported, people in Taiwan can consume. The competition of different products and brands in a free market has led to various marketing strategies to attract consumers' attention. The attractiveness of marketing and advertising has given rise to a consumerism in which consumers are obsessed with branding, which McGuigan terms "cool seduction" (108-109). As McGuigan observes, contemporary young adults have become sophisticated in decoding the promotional messages of different products. They find pleasure in decoding advertising texts complicated by "ironic", "cynical", "double meanings" and "intertextuality" instead of promotions with straightforward messages (110). They are able to interpret the characters in an advertisement and judge whether the product is cool or not. Buying and possessing a cool product may be regarded as a symbol of a person's taste. As the iPod's promotional message suggests, "we are what we consume rather than what we produce" (qtd. in McGuigan 115). An iPod is now one of the essentials of youth culture because of its considered 'coolness'.

While the process of cool seduction has become a trend under the neoliberal circumstance, globalisation is a pivotal factor in generating this process (McGuigan 139). Under globalisation, the interdependence of economic and cultural activities emerges. Nonetheless, globalisation has actually percipitated the dominance of Western, Westernised cultures, and especially US culture, around the world through free trade and dynamic markets. For example, in 2004, Hill and Knowlton Public Relations Co. Ltd conducted a "China Cool Hunt" survey of students in Beijing and Shanghai. The research evidence showed that those Chinese students associated the idea of 'cool', whatever that means, with "leading Western or Westernised brands", most notably with "Nike, Sony, Adidas, BMW, Microsoft, Coca-Cola, IBM, Nokia, Samsung, Ferrari and Christian Dior" (Hill and Knowlton Public Relations Co. Ltd, qtd. in McGuigan 2). American Hollywood film productions are another good example. Hollywood films have spread around the world and occupy a huge percentage of the global film market. The global appeal of Western cultures, particularly American culture, constitutes coolness in the contemporary global market and travels into culturally dominated nations and regions.

Similarly in Taiwan, under globalisation, the market has generated various imported foreign products, advertising, TV programmes and films. Economically, having become an advanced and developed nation after years of the Taiwan Economic Miracle, Taiwanese companies have now joined international branding competitions. This has seen the commercial success of Taiwanese brands like ASUS, ACER, HTC smartphones and Quanta Computer. Culturally, numerous returned US-trained Taiwanese scholars introduced Western cultural and theoretical discourses into Taiwanese society and academic institutions, which saw the emerging and growing prestige of Euro-American theories to frame Taiwan's post-Martial Law socio-cultural situation and interpret Taiwanese literature. For example, Chen Fang-ming points out that, according to some US-trained scholars of native Taiwanese background, like Liao Ping-hui, post-Martial Law Taiwan should be regarded as "postcolonial Taiwan" because the KMT regime was a type of neo-colonialism which oppressed local Taiwanese culture, the use of Taiwanese language and the socio-political status of native Taiwanese. What Taiwanese intellectuals therefore faced was actually like a "recolonised era" (32). Since the lifting of Martial Law, the Chineseness advocated by the KMT government has been gradually deemed outdated. Instead, foreign cultures, particularly the US-led Western and Japanese cultures, have

become a crucial part in the cultural scenes of democratised Taiwan. This circumstance has had a great impact on the representations of homosexuality in Taiwanese society after the lifting of Martial Law as well.

4.2 The Prestige of Academia

Since the lifting of Martial Law, one of the cultural phenomena to emerge under neoliberalism has been the globalisation of academic institutions, thanks to the returned US-trained scholars who have contributed to the establishment of gay, lesbian and queer studies as a major intellectual research fields in Taiwan. Most of them now teach in English and foreign languages departments at major Taiwanese universities, such as National Taiwan University and National Taiwan Central University, and offer academic materials on gender and sexuality studies. As Martin describes, "Taiwan is one place where Euro-American queer theory has had a very strong impact and has for the past several years been in the process of creative adaptation and localisation for research focusing on dissident sexual culture within Taiwan" (*Asiapacific Queer* 12). The rigidly represented idea about homosexuality in the Martial Law era was now challenged by the free flow of information from around the world, and gradually superceded by the culturally dominant Euro-American academic discourse.

The reason why academics have been influential in generating new ideas about the representation of homosexuality can be attributed to the highly regarded "cultural capital" they possess. In speaking of cultural capital, I am following Pierre Bourdieu's usage of the term in his seminal work *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (1984). In this book, Bourdieu proposes that those who possess a high volume of "cultural capital" are considered legitimate people to determine what constitutes "taste" and transmit it within a society (87). Cultural capital legitimises the taste makers. In 'The Forms of Capital' (1986), Bourdieu defines cultural capital in three forms: "the emobodied state" (e.g. learned knowledges and skills, such as bilingual or multilingual skills in translation), "the objectified state" (e.g. cultural goods, such as canonised literature and paintings) and "the institutionalised state" (e.g. academic qualification) (242). These forms of cultural capital contribute to the elevation of a person's social status in a society. The people who possess cultural capital have typically tended to be academics, artists, cultural critics,

writers, and specialist advisors. They may not be necessarily wealthy, but what they say and do is highly regarded as legitimate references or standards for appreciating artistic works. For example, the rich, in order to show their 'high-brow taste' in paintings in their houses, may take advice from specialist critics before buying them. In other words, people who possess a high volume of cultural capital have played a major role in the transmission of 'legitimate' culture and tastes.

Well-educated elites, such as academics and lecturers, are also considered to be legitimate taste makers because of their academic capital, mostly determined by individual academic's educational qualifications and published works. Bourdieu terms academic capital an "institutionalised" cultural capital (*Distinction* 328-330; "The Forms of Capital" 245-246). If someone has a prestigious academic degree (e.g. Oxford or Cambridge), he or she would possess more cultural capital because s/he would be considered to have more capacity and critical thinking to judge the quality and sophistication of artistic works. In contrast, those who have not received higher education will not be considered to possess legitimacy in the transmission of cultural tastes. Cultural capital, in brief, is considered to be embodied and institutionalised by academics through education.

In Taiwan, academics who have been trained in the US are more highly regarded than locally trained scholars because the American academic culture and critical discourse are prestigious, whereas Taiwanese academia is considered as lacking critical development owing to the long KMT regime. After the lifting of Martial Law, many activist academics sought inspiration from the United States and Western Europe to reform the ideas about sexualities in an attempt to get rid of the constraints of conservative Chinese cultural values established by the KMT. They introduced identity politics not only in relation to homosexuality, but also many other sexualities and sexual intimacies, advocating equality and pluralism by recognising different voices and challenging heteronormativity, as described by Chen Fang-ming, "the large-scale appearance in Taiwan of nationalist literature, indigenous literature…feminist literature, gay literature, and ecological literature not only stood as testimony to the arrival of an intellectually pluralistic era but also pointed to an imminent, rich harvest of literary works" (26-27). While gender, sexuality and queer studies are institutionally embedded and accorded a significant academic prestige, universities and related research organisations have become the major focus of cultural activities in relation to activism and identity politics promoting different sexualities in

Taiwan. This is best demonstrated by the evolution of the 'tongzhi movement' and the 'kuer movement'.

4.3 The Emergence of Tongzhi

The term tongzhi officially refers to 'same will' and 'comrades' respectively in the Chinese language, and was first associated with homosexuality by a Hong Kong theatre artist, Lin Yihua, as a Chinese translation of 'Queer' for the title of 'New Queer Cinema Festival' in Hong Kong in 1989. The term tongzhi is a Chinese translation from a Soviet Communist term for comrade, which refers to the revolutionaries who shared "comradeship" (Chou 27). It was first introduced by the 'National Father' of the Republic of China, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, before the revolutionary overthrow of the Qing Dynasty, to describe his followers —"The revolution has not yet succeeded; comrades we must struggle still" (Sun qtd. in Chou 27). The Chinese word tong literally means same/homo, the same word for homo (sexual) in Chinese and also puns on the first formal term for homosexuality in Mandarin, tongxinglian, [45] while the word zhi means goal or spirit. Tongzhi later became a Chinese slang term to refer to homosexuals owing to its "positive cultural reference" to Dr. Sun's revolution and "gender neutrality" (Chou 28) in Chinese-speaking societies. Based on the socio-cultural context of being considered deviant to traditional Chinese social morality and the family-kinship system, the aim of this term's coinage was to re-name homosexuals "positively" as being as normal as heterosexuals within traditional Chinese society, and situate homosexuals within the Confucian familial context (Chou 28; Liou "Queer Theory and Politics in Taiwan" 125). Instead of sexual preference, the family-kinship system is taken as the basis of the identity of a person in tongzhi discourse. Because of its emphasis on the relationship between family and homosexuals, the term tongzhi began to circulate in Taiwan from 1992 onwards and became popular.

In her article entitled 'Homosexuality and [the] Cultural Politics of Tongzhi in Chinese Societies' (2001), Chou Wah-shan summarises the cultural scenarios for tongzhi

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[45] The term is said to have entered the Chinese language as a Japanese loan word, doseiai (same-sex love), the same kanji (the Chinese characters used in the Japanese language) as the Mandarin tongxingai (Sang 278). See Japanese Glossary.

issues based on the general scholarly discussions in Chinese-speaking regions and countries: as filial piety is given central value in the society, individuals are first and foremost considered members of the family. Hence, the major problem for most tongzhi is their beloved parents who think their tongzhi children are deviant for not getting married and producing heirs. Parents would also feel ashamed to face their ancestors, relatives, and neighbours if the secret of their children's sexuality emerged.[46] While filial piety is given a pivotal importance in defining a person in society, hurting his or her parents is one of the most painful things for tongzhi children to experience in their lives (Chou 34). Therefore, the focus of the tongzhi movement is the familial context in which tongzhi people are situated. This focus on homosexual shame owing to deviance from the familial order led to Pai's *Niezi* being appropriated as the key text by tongzhi activists.

The framing of *Niezi* as the first full-length tongzhi novel is common in Taiwanese society now. For example, Martin points out that the novel's publication date was cited as the first entry in the appended Taiwan tongzhi history timeline during a radio programme related to the homosexual movement in Taiwan organised by Yuan Yuan Broadcast (Yuan Yuan Broadcasting Committee qtd. in Martin *Situating Sexualities* 56). In a Taiwanese scholar Chu Wei-cheng's edited anthology *The History of Taiwanese Tongzhi Literature*, *Niezi* was also listed as a milestone in the history of tongzhi novel owing to its pioneer status as the first full-length homosexual novel and for its themes related to familial issues between a father and a homosexual son (12). Through this politicised tongzhi readership, an imagined tongzhi community is established based on *Niezi* and the background in which the book is set. Yet, as the society has greatly changed since the lifting of Martial Law, a reinterpretation of the novel has developed related to the emerging dominance of pluralistic New Taiwan in order to get rid of the stigmatised image of homosexuality during the Martial Law period.

The reinterpretation of *Niezi* was regarded as a tongzhi sexual politics to rename homosexuals positively. For example, Huang points out that the society Gay Chat, the first officially recognised gay student society founded at National Taiwan University, tried to resignify New Park as a gay social space instead of a cruising sexual space, as witnessed

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[46] It is often said that, traditionally, parents like to compare their children to sons or daughters of other people in terms of "achievement", "social status" and "the extent of filial piety" (Chou 34).

by an article called 'Tongzhi Gongheguo' (The Republic of Tongzhi), collected in the book *Tongxinglian Banglian* (The United States of Homosexuality), published by Gay Chat. According to Huang, the author Ma Lu, knowing that New Park may be well known owing to *Niezi* and has long been imagined as a gay cruising space associated with sleaze in the mass media, argues that those cruising gay men do not represent the whole homosexual community. It may be true that 'some' people do go there for sexual encounters, but New Park actually is more a social place where homosexuals go to meet new friends, as it may be the only public space for them (Huang Tao-ming *Queer Politics* 132-133). By arguing this, Ma downplays the chance sexual encounters among the cruising homosexuals and ignores the history of male prostitution. Huang suggests that this could be Ma's intentional move to counter the cultural stereotype of male homosexuals as promiscuous planted during the Martial Law period (*Queer Politics* 133). That is, there is a variety of male homosexuals cruising in New Park, some for socialising, some for sex. They are not necessarily male prostitutes, but people from different walks of life.

While New Park was considered to be inhabited by male prostitutes or renyao in the Martial Law period, it was gradually considered a territory owned by 'respectful tongzhi' in the post-Martial Law years during the tongzhi movement in order to dissociate homosexuality from the idea of male prostitution. Nonetheless, by promoting the image of respectful tongzhi, it actually contradicts the idea of homosexuals from different walks of life. Owing to academia's major role in the tongzhi movement, tongzhi was increasingly associated with middle-class academics, well-educated university students and writers. While ignoring or downplaying the history of male prostitution, these tongzhi activists continued to situate tongzhi within the familial context by emphasising the oppression of homosexuals and how homosexuals craved understanding and familial warmth, as the boys in *Niezi* demonstrated. In other words, tongzhi were not only respectful, but also conforming, struggling and pitiful. As they made an effort to change the homosexual stereotype of male prostitution, these tongzhi activists created an elitist standard and conforming style of gay identity, and New Park was now an imagined tongzhi community.

The establishment of *Niezi* as a tongzhi classic during the early period of tongzhi activism first connected Taiwanese homosexuals through the book's focus on a reconciliation between father and son. Yet the reinterpretation of the novel practised by tongzhi activists showed that a selective image had been made to differentiate the present

from the past for homosexuals and this gave rise to an exclusive idea about homosexuality. This emergent idea of respectful tongzhi gradually became dominant in the 1990s (Lim 240). Furthermore, while the familial order and pressure on tongzhi was the main focus of the movement, there was actually no clear solution for how to bring about the reconciliation between parents and tongzhi children, only a sympathetic image of the tongzhi children's struggles. These circumstances led to the following questions: Are all homosexuals respectful and well-educated tongzhi? Does the tongzhi movement suggest that a respectful and well-educated tongzhi is more acceptable by society? Do the struggling tongzhi people arouse more sympathy from the public than male prostitutes? Are tongzhi people considered better than male prostitutes? These unsolved problems at this stage led to the introduction of 'kuer identity' (translated from 'queer'). Kuer was said to break with this seemingly normative and positive image of homosexuality, and to encourage a more confrontational strategy of facing the society instead of just repressing inner struggles and seeking understanding and tolerance.

4.4 'Kuer' Dynamics

The concept of queer in Taiwan first appeared in Liang Nung-gun's book, *Pleasure and Sexual Difference* (1989) and Chang Hsiao-hung's *Postmodernism/Woman* (1993) (Liou "At the Intersection" 192). Nevertheless, it was not until 1994 that the queer movement in Taiwan officially took shape in the Queer Special Issue of a prestigious academic journal, "*Daoyu Bianyuan* (*The Isle Margin*)", edited by three famous Taiwanese activist writers and translators, Chi Ta-wei, Hung Ling and Tang Tangmo (Liou "Queer Theory and Politics in Taiwan" 128; Lim 235). The journal itself was said to be a "radical intellectual journal" by presenting penetrating cultural and political views on Taiwanese society (Lim 235). By presenting penetrating and radical views, the journal was basically assisted by the analysis and translations of Western theories to criticise and comment on various contemporary social issues in Taiwan. The journal's historical archive demonstrates that *The Isle Margin* was heavily influenced by Western theoretical discourse which saw the introduction of a number of Euro-American theorists and translations of their critical theories, including Benedict Anderson, Derrida, Freud, and feminist and queer theories. It focused on issues of nationalism, ethnicity and gender and sexuality in order to issue

challenges to the cultural values and norms established by the KMT government during the Martial Law period. The original title of the magazine, daoyu, referring to Taiwan, and bianyuan, referring to margin, symbolises the marginalised groups in Taiwanese society. That is, the magazine sought to implement a reform on issues related to socially marginalised groups.

This reform saw the introduction and translation of queer theory in the tenth issue of the journal. Summarised by a conference held by the publisher of *The Isle Margin* with its three editors and other scholars and writers including Josephine Ho, Huang Tao-ming and Ping Lu in 1994, queer is defined as any sexual orientation, sexual desire, or sexual preference considered abnormal by the discourse of heteronormativity, which adheres to traditional values about marriage, patriarchy, job, morality, and monogamy. In queer discourse, any kind of sexuality or sexual conduct, including homosexuality, bisexuality, asexuality, transgender identity, polyamory, sodomy, incest, sex workers, and so forth, should be encouraged and respected. In brief, queers do not seek to be identified with 'normality', and demand that people should respect their difference (The Recorded Historical Archive of Taiwanese Kuer qtd. in Ho 47-64). In other words, queer theory not only breaks the boundary between heterosexuality and homosexuality, but also boundaries among various sexualities and intimacies. Owing to its mobility to cover different sexual identities and behaviours against traditional values, the concept of queer has been preferred by a number of Taiwanese cultural scholars, writers and social activists to advocate various gender and sexual subjectivities, including homosexuality, in contrast with tongzhi, which generally focuses on gays and lesbians and promotes a positive and middle-class homosexual image by downplaying the facts of homosexual prostitution or other forms of same-sex sexual encounters.

In her seminal article 'The Social Logic of Subcultural Capital' (1995), Thornton draws on Pierre Bourdieu's idea of "cultural capital" to suggest that subcultural capital can also be "objectified or embodied" through certain special forms of fashion consumption, style or manner acquired by members of a subculture, helping differentiate themselves from members of the mainstream or other groups (202-203). Exemplified by British club culture, Thornton suggests that subcultural ideologies are a means by which youths imagine their own and other social groups, and "assert their distinct character and affirm that they are not anonymous members of an undifferentiated mass" ("The Social Logic of

Subcultural Capital." 201). In order to fulfil their unique cultural agenda, the youth of club cultures may create their own dress codes, listen to a particular music genre, mostly heavy metal, independent or dance music and drink particular beers or wines. In other words, the clubbing crowds congregate based on their specific shared taste in music, dance styles, fashion materials and their recognition of 'cool' people with similar tastes to themselves. This led Thornton to describe club cultures as "taste cultures" ("The Social Logic of Subcultural Capital." 200). The clubbing youth construct their circle by similar tastes and claim the inferiority of others who do not identify with them.

The taste symbolised by subcultural capital can be seen as a rejection of the mainstream, and actually a sense of superiority to it. People who possess subcultural capital usually consider themselves, or are considered to be, cool, having better taste, or being unique or bohemian. The mainstream, in contrast, is considered more boring, clichéd or similar to everyone else, and therefore without character. For example, in the youth club culture, people tend to listen to rock music, whereas mainstream music, such as the theme song of *Titanic*, would be considered 'cheesy', though it was commercially successful. Therefore, subcultural capital is in a way associated with the idea of 'cool'. And this is the inspiration for the kuer movement to reject the mainstream, not only the heteronormative, but also the 'homonormative'.

'Kuer' is the official translation of the term queer in Mandarin. This term consists of the Chinese characters 'ku', a transliteration of the English slang 'cool', meaning fashionable and smart, and 'er', meaning son, child, and young people. In brief, queer as kuer means cool youngsters, cool people or smart people in Taiwanese Mandarin. While the term queer has possessed a mixed meaning (could be negative) to signify people with same-sex desire in the US, it was introduced into the post-Martial Law Taiwanese context with a pride politics for sexual minorities symbolising smartness, as the translation literarily suggests, 'queer is cool'. In other words, queer as kuer in Taiwan may be different from the original usage of the term to a certain degree. What kind of homosexuality was represented by the kuer discourse in Taiwan will be examined in this section.

Edited by up-and-coming translators and novelists Hung Ling, Chi Ta-wei and Tang Tangmo, this special 'kuer' issue of *The Isle Margin* features excerpts from two

Chinese translations of Jean Genet's *A Thief's Journal* by Hung, and Manuel Puig's *Kiss of the Spider Woman* by Chi, along with Hung and Chi's prefaces. The timing of this kuer issue coincided with the publications of these two translated foreign novels. An article entitled "Little Kuer Encyclopaedia" (Xiaoxiao Kuer Baike), in which various categories of kuer cultural productions and ideas are listed (Chi, Hung and Tan 47-71), and several other shorter features contributed by other writers and readers are also incuded. In his article 'How to be Queer in Taiwan', Song Hwee Lim describes this combination of the introduction of kuer and the two translated foreign novels by the editors as a form of marketing strategy (239). As he puts it:

> In post-martial-law (1987) Taiwan—which witnessed a booming industry of homosexual-themed literature and publication, and with the term tongzhi occupying a central discursive position for same-sex sexuality—what better way to highlight one's publication and translation by introducing something new, something hot, and indeed something as cool as kuer? (239-240).

By associating their translated works with kuer, the editors and translators could differentiate their works from mainstream tongzhi literature by tagging how 'cool' and different their works might be. This led to the entry on "kuer zoupin (Kuers' Works)" in the "Little Kuer Encyclopaedia" (69) and Chi Ta-wei's discussion of representative Kuer literature in the journal article 'Zai Heiye Li Choucha De Jidushan Gangmen' (The Moving Asshole of the Count of Monte Cristo in Darkness): for the first time the term queer as kuer was used as a category of creative literary writing in Taiwan. According to Chi, not only Genet's *A Thief's Journal* and Puig's *Kiss of the Spider Woman*, but also *Kamen no Kokuhaku* (*Confessions of a Mask*) by Mishima Yukio, *Death in Venice* by Thomas Mann, *Leaves of Grass* by Walt Whitman, *The Picture of Dorian Grey* by Oscar Wilde, *Dream of the Red Chamber* by Cao Xueqin, and several plays by Tennessee Williams are on the list of representative Kuer literature ("The Moving Ass Hole" 45-46). This list not only includes American and European literary works, but also novels from Argentina, China and Japan.

Although there is no explanation for why these works are called 'kuer literature' in the journal, the editors briefly state that the style of kuer works is to get rid of the darkness and portrayals of homosexuals' fear and suffering in *Niezi* by Pai, (Chi, Hung and Tang

69). In other words, kuer literature is mainly and loosely defined based on its dissimilarity to *Niezi* and the traditional familial pressure on homosexuals. Given the fact that *Niezi* had been a well-recognised literary classic since the late 1980s, and a major text for the tongzhi movement, this distinction was made by the activist scholars and writers of the kuer movement as a rejection of mainstream ideas about homosexuality. In the kuer movement, a kuer is not confined by social norms. Rather, a kuer embraces and verbalises what he or she is, and demands that society get used to individual differences. Furthermore, kuer does not only represent homosexuals, but also any other non-heteronormative sexualities and intimacies, representing an emphasis on transgression of the boundaries between sexualities, moralities, and gender performances. The activists of *The Isle Margin* seek to bring out the issues related to ambiguities between morality and immorality, denying absolutism in society. That is, no one actually occupies a firm position to judge what is right and what is wrong. As the motto "we are here, we are queer [kuers], get used to it" (qtd. in Chou 28) demonstrates, it is society that should try to accept the existence of kuers. For kuer activists, the politicisation of *Niezi* by the tongzhi movement presents a normative image of homosexuals to society in order to arouse sympathy from the public. Kuers, on the other hand, advocate their uniqueness, bohemianism, and rebellion instead of demanding sympathy.

Yet the coolness of kuers at the same time shows an admiration for everything Western or Westernised, particularly American. Take the distinction between kuer literature and *Niezi* as an example. The categorised kuer literary works by Chi, including works by Mishima, Genet and Mann, is not satisfactory, because these books are also dealing with the darkness and inner struggles of homosexuals. This is particularly so in *Confessions of a Mask*, in which Mishima vividly describes his struggles to come to terms with his same-sex desire and negotiate familial expectations and pressure. Kuers seem to suggest that reading a foreign classic or writing in a Westernised way is smarter and superior to reading local works like *Niezi*, as witnessed by the title of Chi's journal article 'The Moving Asshole of the Count of Monte Cristo in Darkness'. The book *The Count of Monte Cristo* is actually not listed as kuer literature in Chi's article, but the book title is queered despite the fact that it is not related to kuer literature. This shows that queering a foreign work is considered cool by Chi as a means of attracting critical attention and making the journal distinct. This sense of coolness is also demonstrated by Hung Ling and

Chen Shui, along with Chi Ta-wei, who tag their works as 'Taiwan Kuer Wenxue' (Taiwan kuer literature). In their works, Western philosophies are extensively quoted in the storyline, often mixed with the use of Mandarin and English terms, as exemplified by Chi Ta-wei's collection of fiction, *Mo* (*Membrane*). In the book's first story, 'Membrane', set in a futuristic scientific world in 2080, the clone protagonist, Momo, is visited by her patron, Jo Bati, who claims to be the representative of 'ISM Enterprise'. ISM Enterprise is introduced thus:

> The name of the Enterprise is overwhelming. ISM sounds like 'one god' in Mandarin, and can be seen as a concept in different forms in the world's human history, for examples, imperialISM, colonialISM, capitalISM, fascISM, nationalISM, sexISM, heterosexualISM, racISM, foundamentalISM, post-modernISM, etc. Jo Bati represents these ISMs. Who can ignore her power and refuse her arrival? (*Membrane* 125)

In the original passage, Chi writes these concepts of ISM in English with Mandarin translations in brackets following each one of them. There is no explanation of these Western terms and concepts; they are simply presented as the introductions to the character Jo Bati and her company. Jo Bati's Western-sounding name also suggests that the background of the story is a Westernised world. Based on the association between Jo Bati and these ISMs, it can be presumed that what Chi would like to convey in this passage is the continuing Western dominance in the world, which looks like neo-imperialism owing to the negative connotations of these ISMs. Nonetheless, although Chi may be critical of Western neo-imperialism, he is also aware of people's fascination with Western dominance, which he describes as a fetishism. In his collection of stories regarding fetishism in *Membrane*, fetishism is not only stimulated by marginal desires, such as teeth, nose, fish, hair, or a bellybutton, but also Western culture. In the story 'Bellybutton', Taipei is described as a globalised and busy metropolitan city with mushrooming clubs, bars and pubs surrounded by people. In a fictionalised strip club, a poster shows 'Today's Showboy: Hot Sigmund', which the hero goes to watch. At the beginning of the performance:

> Sigmund, topless, only wearing loosened rice-white trousers, looks like an actor from traditional Chinese kongfu films. Indeed, under the spotlight, Sigmund starts to demonstrate his trained kong-fu gestures, looking like a Bruce Lee figure, a hero

from the East. I almost thought it was a performance of martial arts at an instant (*Membrane* 302).

The passage reads like a dislocated cultural space. The showboy, Sigmund, a Taiwanese boy, takes the Western-sounding pseudonym to attract customers in this globalised metropolitan Taipei city. On the one hand, 'Hot Sigmund', being Westernised, is hot for the locals; on the other hand, his performing style is reminiscent of a stereotypical image of Westerners' imagination of the East owing to Bruce Lee's fame. Martial arts are performed to satisfy the Western audiences' fascination with their Eastern imagination. In other words, under globalisation, the fetishism of the West sometimes leads to the local's self-orientalised situation in order to be accepted by the West.

The adoration of the West or the Westernised can be more straightforwardly seen in another story in the book, 'Coffee and Tobacco', in which a film director is struggling with what lines he should write in a new play. His colleague suggests the following:

Nobody would really require you to write something significant, as long as you fill out every checker and don't leave anything blank. Mince what Haruki Murakami has said, redistribute his words to every checker and present it to other colleagues of the office. They will then tell you they read so Japanese, great!!!...Japanese kanji are charismatic. Translated texts from English can also charm the readers (*Membrane* 234).

This passage corresponds with Taiwan's Japan mania during the 1990s when Japanese cultures, including arts, literature, television dramas, films and songs became massively popular. Murakami Haruki, one of the most well-known Japanese writers in the world, is also widely read in Taiwan. Some Taiwanese cultural scholars called this "Murakami fever" (cunshang re), which fandom Hillenbrand describes as becoming an "exhortation to live like Murakami Haruki", and when readers consumed by Murakami fever succeed in doing so, "they are dubbed so Murakami" ("Murakami Haruki" 722), which pleases them. This has led to the name Murakami becoming representative of 'quality' and 'taste' in Taiwan. People who are reading Murakami are thus often nicknamed wenqing (literati) in public discourse. The above passage demonstrates this craze for Murakami, showing that sometimes people may follow a trend or fashion blindly. The fact is that many people

adore anything Murakami simply because of his name and style. I will return to this in the next chapter.

The stories of Chi Ta-wei's *Membrane* may seem to be critical of globalisation or the blind adoration of everything Western or Westernised. Nonetheless, Chi's mixture of Western and local writing styles and philosophical thinking caused the popularity of *Membrane* to be confined to an elite group and niche academic market. While they tried to dissociate themselves from the respectable and elite stereotype by rejecting normality and being critical, their works revealed their inherent elitism and superiority because they were Westernised. On the one hand, their writing, like *Membrane*, demonstrated their inferiority to the West's dominance, of which they seemed to be critical; on the other hand, the kuer writers looked to show off their superiority to the local because of their Westernised background or education by writing in English, quoting Western philosophies without explanation, and mixing both English and Mandarin words in the texts. However, it transpired that only Westernised readers could understand what they had written. As they tended to leave those Western philosophies, terms and names unexplained, their works were not for 'common readers'.

As previously mentioned, in post-Martial Law Taiwan, gradually, homosexual people were associated with an artistic circle, academia, well-educated and middle-class people owing to the prevalence of tongzhi. Against this dominant bourgeois form of homosexuality, the introduction of kuer was considered necessary because nobody spoke for the homosexuals without these elite attributes. Nonetheless, the editors and translators of *The Isle Margin* all possess similar bourgeois attributes as academics, novelists, cultural critics, and students of the Department of Foreign Languages at National Taiwan University. By introducing kuer to differentiate tongzhi, they still turned to the assistance of Euro-American theoretical discourse and wrote their works in a Westernised way. As Song Hwee Lim argues, after all, kuer discourse originates from queer theory in elite US academia, which still symbolises certain inherent elitism. In order to appreciate the appropriation of queer as kuer in Taiwan, one cannot do so without a reasonable proficiency in English, higher education background, and familiarity with the development of the latest Anglo-American cultural theories (244-245). Indeed, it is also widely observed that the use of the term kuer is still limited to academic circles nowadays. In other words, kuer still connotes an exclusive and elite group of people.

4.5 Redeveloping New Park

In his seminal article, 'Perverse Dynamics, Sexual Citizenship and the Transformation of Intimacy' (1995), David Bell suggests that the public cruising male-male sexual practices became a social anxiety in the UK because it challenged the heteronormative ideal of private intimacy. According to Bell, in the UK, public sex was still governed by "the Sexual Offences Act 1967 (The Wolfenden Act)", in which "the state and law could now tolerate sex occurring between two men, both aged over 21, 'in private'" (308-309).[47] In other words, the tolerated homosexuals would be punished when they commit same-sex sexual contact in public or under the age of 21. The reason why public sex is considered intolerable in the UK is mostly because it strongly violates the long-held heterosexualised ideas about romantic love, monogamy, familial life and sex in private.[48] Furthermore, the media image of public sex is often associated with "shame", "gossip" and "scandal" (308). For example, a Tory MP Alan Amos, who was found out in Hampstead Heath (a homosexual cruising space), apologised for "his childish behaviour and for embarrassing his party and family" (Amos qtd. in Bell 1992: 308). These scandalised homosexual images in the public discourse have all led to the idea of sex between men being associated with shame. Under these circumstances, tolerance towards homosexuals was only for those conforming to dominant heteronormative rules of relationship.

The same can be said of the discourse concerning homosexual equality advocated by the DPP municipal administration in 1995 in Taiwan, in which a 'conforming normativeness of homosexuality' is determined by a heteronormative rule. The DPP party, Taiwan's first opposition party to the KMT, took the rights of homosexuals as one of its crucial political campaigns. In her *Situating Sexualities*, Fran Martin details how the DPP campaigned for election by championing the rights of homosexuals. For example, during his 1994 municipal election campaign, DPP candidate Chen Shui-bian promised Taipei's homosexuals that, if elected, he would organise "a public street party" specifically for homosexuals (Chen qtd. in Martin *Situating Sexualities* 85). In 1996, the DPP even

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[47] By 1995, this Sexual Offence Act had already been terminated.

[48] Exemplified by the passage by Lieshout, "'Impersonal', 'casual', or 'anonymous' sexual contact had and still has a bad reputation among the majority of people. It is the kind of sex that violates notions of romantic love, steady relationships or long-term commitment, ideas which are spread in our culture" (Lieshout qtd. in Bell 306-307).

published a clear message of support for homosexual equality, claiming that it aimed to "build a respectful, pluralistic society which embraces differences, allowing people the freedom to choose and treating people as people". "We are", as the DPP said, "the tongzhi's tongzhi, the gay person's comrades" (ibid). The DPP's public support of minority equality including rights for homosexuals distanced the party from the old-style conservative KMT faction. As a result of this, the early 1990s began to see the DPP's rise in the political realm, not least through Chen's triumph in becoming Taipei city mayor in 1994.

Nonetheless, the DPP discourse of equality for homosexuals in Taiwan was later questioned owing to the then DPP Taipei city mayor Chen Shui-bian's policy to convert the name of New Park into 228 Park, and to redevelop the areas around New Park by cracking down on prostitution. It has been understood that the image of New Park had been continually reconstructed in accordance with changing political ideology. Lai Zhengzhe, Fran Martin and Wang Chih-hung have carried out some thorough ethnographic research and historical studies on the reconstruction of New Park. As summarised by their historical accounts, New Park was built as the first modern park in Taiwan in 1908, during the Japanese colonial period. However, its leisure use was exclusively for Japanese, not for Taiwanese. New Park thus symbolised the social hierarchy planted by Japanese colonialism. Following Japan's defeat at the end of World War II and the installation of the KMT government in 1949, New Park underwent a series of major alterations: the dominant KMT Nationalist ideology was promoted and the park's Japanese colonial heritage was overthrown. Major new developments in the park included the construction of "a Beijing style pavilion" and "four gazebos at the corners of the Lotus Pond" to memorise the heroes of the Sino-Japanese War and the 1911 Revolution against the Qing Dynasty in China. New Park thus became a symbolic site to demonstrate the KMT government's dominant re-Sinicising project in Taiwan during the Martial Law era. As New Park became a symbol of the KMT authoritarian regime, in 1995, in an attempt to demolish this KMT Chinese hegemonic legacy, then President Lee Teng-hui unveiled the official 228 Memorial in the park as the symbol of the KMT government's recognition of the history of the 228 Massacre (Lai 53; Martin *Situating Sexualities* 50-51; Wang 211-214). Nonetheless, the further redevelopments of and around Taipei's New Park administered by Chen and his team targeted at prostitution and public intimacy were seen as a way of trying to cordon off

the memory of homosexuality from the public space in his ideal Taipei city. Although the word prostitution used by Chen's City Government did not suggest any particular form, it was understood by numerous social activists that male prostitution had had a long history surrounding the area of New Park, as represented by *Niezi*.

In response to the voices of objection, Zhang Jingsen, director of the City Government's Department of Urban Development claimed a liberal attitude towards homosexuals, stating its willingness to provide a "publicly funded club for homosexuals" or "Café" which would be better located "elsewhere than in New Park", such as the eastern area of the city, in order to bring homosexuals out from the darkness of the public cruising space (Zhang qtd. in Martin *Situating Sexualities* 86-87). Nonetheless, there was something more complex about this response. Fran Martin characterises it as "class-bound consumption practices" imposed on homosexuals (*Situating Sexualities* 88). Indeed, gay clubs or cafes were involved in the consumption of drinks, food or entry. Further, Zhang also noted that the eastern area of Taipei, the most expensive area of the city, with numerous department stores, expensive cafes, luxurious boutiques, shopping malls, bars and pubs, was mostly frequented by social elites, whereas homosexuals who gathered in New Park were presumably blue-collar workers, students, the unemployed or prostitutes (Zhang qtd. in Martin *Situating Sexualities* 87) owing to the park's free public access. Hence, by suggesting 'a publicly funded club or cafe for homosexuals situated in the eastern area of Taipei city', the City Government actually intended to impose an elitist and selective image on homosexual groups. A gay club funded and founded in the eastern area of Taipei city certainly ignored different social backgrounds. In other words, in the human rights discourse of the DPP, the recognised equal homosexual subject was constructed by class-defined homonormativity.

4.6 The Tongzhi/Kuer Space Action Front

Following the governmental announcement about redeveloping areas close to New Park, several social groups of sexual minorities began to protest against the government's ignorance of the park's long-existing male homosexual history. While there was a distinction between tongzhi politics and kuer politics previously, and both were sometimes criticised as elitist, in order to protest against Chen's municipal decisions, a coalition of the

two groups was formed to demonstrate solidarity and determination, which Liou Liang-ya terms a "Coalition of Gay/Lesbian/Queer Space Action Front" ("At the Intersection" 192). Here I would prefer to call it a coalition of tongzhi/kuer in terms of the local context, in which tongzhi basically connoted gay and lesbian while queer was translated as kuer; therefore, Tongzhi/Kuer Space Action Front (T/KSAF). The coalition of tongzhi and kuer to protest against the Taipei City government offered them an opportunity to get involved in social movements outside academia, universities and academically-related organisations and voice support for the human rights of marginalised sexualities and prostitutes. Hence, Liou describes that the T/KSAF was partially connected with "lower-class gay circles" ("At the Intersection" 194).

Pai's *Niezi* and his other works were one of the focal points of the activist campaign against the decision of Chen's administration during the T/KSAF movement (Huang Tao-ming *Queer Politics* 2-3). For instance, Huang emphasises how important *Niezi* was for the campaign, citing the rewritten opening passage of the novel in a petition drafted by some T/KSAF activists to the government in demonstrating their determination:

> In tongzhi's kingdom, we no longer are afraid of daylight, are not forced to remain invisible, for it is no longer an unlawful nation: we have reasonable distribution of resources from the government, we are fully protected by the laws of the country, we are recognised and blessed by the multitude, we are being respected by history, which also inscribes us…(T/KSAF qtd. in Huang Tao-ming *Queer Politics* 3).

In this petition, the T/KSAF activists clearly voiced the existence of homosexuality in Taiwan's history, as witnessed by the writing of *Niezi* set in the 1970s, and that it should be respected. By utilising a 1970s text, the activists highlighted the continuing struggle of homosexuals in 1990s Taiwan. While 1990s Taiwan was no longer the same country as the one under the 1970s regime, it now needed to progress democracy, equal rights and social recognition to homosexuals and other minority groups even faster. Although some kuer activists had earlier rejected identification with *Niezi*, they now started to explore the elements of transgression in the novel, which they recognised in its account of prostitution. While the male prostitution culture was downplayed or ignored during the early period of homosexual activism, especially by tongzhi politics, in order to distance homosexuals from the stigmatised image constructed by the KMT, it was subsequently recognised in

demanding respect and equality. The T/KSAF activists voiced the need for human rights not only for homosexuals, but also for prostitutes and people of other marginalised sexualities, emphasising the long existence of (male) prostitution in New Park. The coalition of tongzhi and kuer contributed to the inception of the idea of a multiplicity of sexualities and intimacies in public. Different individual life experiences of tongzhi and kuer should all be respected.

In order to break with the limits of their influence within the elitist academic and artistic circles, the T/KSAF activists expanded their voice by appealing to 'celebrity culture', which saw homosexuality becoming commercialised within the consumer market. Having realised the power of the market and consumerism in the post-Martial Law years under neoliberalism, the T/KSAF activists, by means of the role of the celebrity in modern culture, drew the public's attention to issues of homosexuality. According to Chris Rojek, the emergence of celebrity as a public preoccupation is the result of three major interrelated historical processes: "the democratisation of society", "the decline in organised religion", and "the commodification of everyday life" (13). As a modern and democratised society develops, celebrities in a sense symbolise the possibility that self-made people could elevate themselves by various kinds of achievements and attention in public.

Yet at the same time, celebrity is also irrevocably bound up with commodity culture. As Rojek further points out, "celebrities humanise the process of commodity consumption" as they are part of a "market sentiment" (14). Celebrities are commodities in a sense that consumers desire to possess them or to be like them. For example, every year the major entertainment magazines in the US and UK hold competitions to choose the sexiest or most desired celebrities.[49] The accumulated power of celebrities also leads to them being recruited to endorse consumer products, bringing their power to bear on sales to the public. Celebrities are, in a few words, constantly watched for what they do, what they say, and what they represent to the mass population and media. The same can be said of the celebrity culture in Taiwan after the lifting of Martial Law, in which democratisation, capitalist economy, and commercialism have boomed.

By exploiting the power of celebrities, the T/KSAF associated homosexuality with celebrity by holding 'Votes for Top 10 Lovers' tongzhis and kuers desired most in

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[49] For example, *FHM*, *Entertainment Weekly*

February 1996, which caused a stir in the public media. For the first time in Taiwanese society, celebrity culture was connected with homoeroticism, as witnessed by the short list of candidates including popular singers, film actors, politicians, and sportspeople, whom T/K groups desired most. According to Chang Hsiao-hung's record of this event, the reactions of the selected candidates were extreme. Some felt flattered and conveyed gratitude for the support from T/K groups. Some showed horror. One male popular idol even directly verbalised that "I consider my image healthy. How come homosexuals would adore me? I must show more masculinity in my performance from now on" (Chang Hsiao-hung "Tongzhi Lovers" 182). This speech revealed discrimination against homosexuals, implying homosexuals to be unhealthy and effeminate. Despite the extreme reactions it caused, this event took the initiative in breaking down heterosexualised stereotypes and the othering of homosexuals. Many of the short-listed celebrities were also popular among heterosexual audiences, which may suggest that the tastes of homosexuals and heterosexuals are not that distinct. Further, the list covers various kinds of styles of celebrities. Among the male celebrities, some are muscular, some gentlemanlike, some effeminate, and some rebellious. Among the female celebrities, some are feminine while some are tomboyish. Some celebrities received votes because they were constantly cast in films related to homosexuality. This variety of tastes reveals that there is no particular type that homosexuals prefer. Instead, any celebrity could be a gay or lesbian icon. The same can be said of homosexuals who are different from each other and do not correspond to the stigmatised or stereotyped effeminate gay or tomboyish lesbian.

Yet this event led to the market's first realisation that homosexuality can be a 'cool seduction'. Being a gay and/or lesbian icon means that a person has market segmentation in the society. In the name of showing support for the human rights of homosexuals, some popular singers enhanced their appeal by depicting same-sex love stories in their music videos.[50] Whether they were truly supportive of homosexual equal rights or just exploiting their gay or lesbian iconic status for commercial reasons, the result was that Taiwan's popular market has seen a continuing broadening visibility of homosexuality since then, which evidenced commercial effectiveness. I shall examine this further in the next chapter on the marketing of the 2003 TV adaptation of *Niezi*. In spite of the socio-political

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[50] For example, Huang Ying-ying's *Chun Guang*, (Light of Spring) and Tang Na's *Bao Jin Yi Dian* (Hold me Tight)

campaign, homosexuality, under the circumstance of neoliberal discourse on economy and market, is becoming intensively commercialised and commodified.

Furthermore, by appealing to popular celebrities, T/KSAF in a sense consolidated the relation of homosexuality to elites owing to cool seduction. It was suspected that the T/KSAF activists possibly did not include popular celebrities in their so-called elite circle because they did not possess the cultural and academic capital these activist academics possessed. This may explain why the T/KSAF activists would like to stop their influence being limited to 'the elite circle' and expand their voice by appealing to celebrity culture. Although they may not be considered intellectuals, popular celebrities actually created another type of elite circle through commercialism and fame, which helped them to increase both their wealth and their public popularity. In fact, celebrities might make more money and gain more publicity than academic elites. In other words, the activity of 'Votes for Top 10 Lovers' can be seen as an expansion of the idea of homosexuality to a more popular type of elites. Celebrities still possess bourgeois attributes owing to their fandom and wealth. By describing that the T/KSAF connected with "lower-class gay circles" ("At the Intersection" 194), Liou Liang-ya actually fails to sense popular celebrities' bourgeois attributes and the consolidation of the elite image of homosexuality by this event. The T/KSAF may seem more inclusive by appealing to celebrity culture compared with the previous movements of tongzhi and kuer respectively. Nonetheless, it still connoted an elite sense of class.

4.7 Towards Cool Seduction

The brief timespan from the lifting of Martial Law to the mid-1990s saw the emerging ideological shift in the definition of Taiwan. Taiwan was redefined as an independent and democratic nation in the post-Martial Law years based on the ideas of cultural pluralism and a globalised economy. This shift in political reconstructions of Taiwan's cultural meanings also corresponds to the reconstructions of socio-cultural discourses on sexualities, particularly in the category of homosexuality. The newly emerged discourse on homosexuality demonstrates intellectuals' eagerness to link Taiwanese homosexuality more strongly with contemporary globalised sexualities than with the local social conditions for homosexuals. This led to the emergence of Western-influenced elitist

tongzhi and kuer activism, and later the coalition of Tongzhi/Kuer Space Action Front to protest against the Taipei City Government's reconstruction of the area surrounding New Park.

The coalition of tongzhi and kuer also generated an ambiguous boundary between the two politics. This has resulted in the interchangeable usage of the neologisms tongzhi and kuer, as scholar Chen Chongqi explains: the use of the terms actually depends on individual experiences—"you can identify yourself with either tongzhi or kuer or both, based on your individual preferences" (33). Such solidarity and embrace of any non-heteronormative sexualities and intimacies again emphasise a sense of pluralism, which in a way corresponds to demonstrating Taiwan's globalised post-Martial Law of cultural process, under the condition of democratisation.

Taiwan's globalised cultural and economic circumstance in 1990s also saw the inception of commodification and commercialisation of homosexuality. As homosexuality gradually became a form of cool seduction through market segmentation, it was popularised and exploited by means of various cultural productions to make commercial profit. While the public attitude towards homosexuality has become more liberal since the lifting of Martial Law, the idea of homosexuality is now encountering another constraint caused by its cool seduction under neoliberalism; that is, how to make homosexuality cool for the market and consumerism. In the next chapter, I will analyse this cultural phenomenon further by examining the 2003 TV adaptation of *Niezi*.

Chapter Five

Televising *Niezi*

Since the mid-1990s, Taiwan has seen a rapid increase in the visibility of a new consumer niche: the gay and lesbian market. A growing number of cultural productions, including films, popular songs, TV dramas, literature, and magazines have as their primary theme issues addressing gay and lesbian consumers, and have received either commercial success or critical acclaim or both. For example, singers tagged as gay icons in Taiwan enjoy a substantial fan base and high volumes of album sales, which have seen them touring the country's gay bars and holding concerts specifically for gay and lesbian audiences.[51] These phenomena suggest that gays and lesbians are now considered a sufficiently profitable enough group to warrant marketers' attention, and signal a mature phase of gay market development in Taiwan.

The boom in gay marketing in Taiwan has generated both excitement and concern amongst cultural critics and activists. On the one hand, gay marketing demonstrates the increasing visibility of homosexuality in public and daily consumerism, which in a way has liberated homosexuals from darkness or hidden spaces; on the other hand, gay marketing is in a way constrained by mainstream consumerism, which is focusing on a specific homosexuality, one governed by, in McGuigan's word, 'cool seduction'. In the previous chapter, I argued that Taiwan has entered a neoliberal phase of political economy under globalisation. While consumerism rises under this circumstance, sophisticated marketing is needed to sell products which contribute to the formation of cool seduction in consumerism. Customers consume a product because of its aura of coolness. The same can be said of the marketing of sexuality, in which how to make sexuality cool to consumers is now the main issue for strategic marketers. Nonetheless, coolness at the same time constrains how homosexuality can be represented in public media. In this chapter, I would like to argue that homosexuality is not only constructed by political and scholarly activism, but also commercially supported by the media and related organisations. Marketing and media have had a significant impact on the representation of homosexuality and the visibility of same-sex desire in public discourse. *Niezi* entered this world of consumerism

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[51] For example, A-Mei (Chang Hui-mei), one of the most famous and highly-regarded divas in Taiwan, always shows her supports for gay and lesbian human rights during her concerts. A-Mei is widely considered the biggest gay icon in Taiwan (Yuan 1).

by being made cool for the audiences, particular young people. I shall analyse this by examining the cultural significance of the 2003 TV adaptation of the novel.

5.1 Socio-political Contexts:

5.1.1 The High Point of Taiwanisation: Bentuhua

In Chapter Three, I demonstrated that political Taiwanisation was initiated under the reign of President Chiang Ching-kuo, who allowed more native Taiwanese to enter the political system. In Chapter Four, I pointed out how President Lee Teng-hui reconstructed the idea of Taiwan and how he redefined the relationship between China and Taiwan primarily based on a globalised economy, which took China as more a profit source instead of focusing on its historical connection. In this section of Chapter Five, I will demonstrate how Taiwanisation was further realised by the concept of 'bentuhua' and what socio-political effects were caused by it. The concept of 'bentu' in Mandarin literally means 'local' or one's 'native' land. 'Hua' indicates an on-going process. The idea of 'bentuhua' refers to the ideal of Taiwan as the motherland for its Taiwanese residents as opposed to China. It was first proposed by President Lee Teng-hui in the 1990s. Bruce J. Jacobs suggests that people can gain a clearer sense of the use of the term bentuhua in Taiwan from the official inauguration speech of Chen Shui-bian of the DPP on 20th May 2000 after he won the presidential election. This was the first time that an opposition party was in power in Taiwan:

> We must open our hearts with tolerance and respect, so that our diverse ethnic groups and different regional cultures may communicate with each other, and so that Taiwan's local cultures (Taiwan de 'bentu' wenhua) may connect with the cultures of Chinese-speaking communities and other world cultures, and create a new milieu of a cultural Taiwan in a modern century (Chen qtd. in Jacobs 19).

By suggesting Taiwan's local cultures may connect with the cultures of Chinese-speaking communities and other world cultures, President Chen's passage emphasises the sense of cultural Taiwan as different from Chinese cultures and other world cultures. It also corresponds to the previous president, Lee Teng-hui's, suggestion of cultural pluralism in Taiwan by connecting local Taiwan cultures with Chinese culture and other world cultures.

Furthermore, it reveals the growing Taiwanese nationalism in contrast to the fading ideology of the Republic of China (Taiwan as the legitimate Chinese government) since the lifting of Martial Law. According to the archive data of Taiwanese/Chinese Identification Trend Distribution in Taiwan from 1992 to 2015, conducted by the National Chengchih University, the national identification with Taiwanese has been increasing, reaching around "60 percent" in the most recent poll, whereas the national identification with Chinese is only "3.5 percent" (Election Study Centre National Chengchih University).

While the China-centred ideology is the major political target bentuhua has aimed to demolish, the differentiation of Taiwan from China has become the main socio-political project in the last two decades. This specific project of differentiation from China has in fact led to Taiwan's relatively liberal attitude towards other world cultures and the idea of Taiwan based on the cultural plurality on the island, as witnessed by President Lee's definition of Taiwanese ethnicity which I have delineated in previous chapters. This can also be seen in another example regarding the issuing of a new version of a school history textbook in 1997. According to Wang Fuchang's examination, the "Taiwan-centred paradigm" was used to delineate the history of the island in this textbook, stating that throughout this history "the Taiwanese people had been subjected to different forms of foreign rule". "Spanish rulers, Dutch rulers, Koxinga, Chinese Qing rulers, and Japanese rulers were all foreign rulers to the Taiwanese people. All foreign rulers left some legacies, for better or worse, and are an indelible feature of Taiwan's unique history and culture" (75). In contrast, in the previous China-centred history textbook, Taiwan has been part of China since "ancient times", but suffered those foreign colonisations from Spanish, Dutch and Japanese in different times (ibid). The previous history textbook focuses more on the history of China, whilst the history of Taiwan only occupies a small part of it, in which the legacy of Chinese Qing rule is emphasised and other foreign rulers are largely ignored, except for local uprisings against them. In the 1997-issued textbook, the section on the history of Taiwan has been increased, with more focus on different colonial rulers.

Among these colonial rulers, Japanese colonialism has been the focus in bentuhua because Japan's fifty-year rule is believed to be an experience that differentiates Taiwan from China (Taylor 166). The Japanese colonisation of Taiwan, perceived as a "national shame" by earlier generations of China-centred historians, is now redefined by many Taiwan-centred scholars as an era in which Taiwan achieved socio-economic

modernisation (ibid). For instance, the historian Ke Zhiming argues that the KMT historians ignore the economic prosperity generated by Japanese colonial capitalism owing to their focus on the bad side of Japanese rule (Ke qtd. in Taylor 166). Although comments like Ke's have triggered allegations of pro-colonialism from some China-centred scholars, like Qi Jialin who accused those Taiwan-centred historians of beautifying Japanese colonialism and ignoring the brutality the Japanese brought (Taylor 166), they demonstrate that the revaluation of the Japanese period is a way to demolish the China-centred historical paradigm. It is widely believed that the Japanese experience is a crucial field in differentiating Taiwan from China, especially given the fact that the older generation of native Taiwanese generally favour the Japanese rule over that of the KMT Chinese.[52] In his article 'Reading History through the Built Environment' (2005), Jeremy E. Taylor further points out that the sentiment of bentuhua and Taiwanese consciousness have also led to the preservation and re-construction of past Japanese historical sites and architecture in Taiwan (167-171). While many Japanese historical heritages were destroyed during the Martial Law period, since the 1990s, the rediscovery and preservation of the Japanese past have become an important governmental project, with numerous historians and sociologists involved in studies and ethnographic research. The preservation and reconstruction of the Japanese past also coincides with the phenomenon of Japan mania owing to Taiwanese young people's positive reception of Japanese popular culture and commodities since the 1990s, which I shall discuss later in the chapter. The rebuilt and preserved Japanese historical sites and architecture have thus attracted a great deal of tourism in Taiwan as well. Most of the Japanese sites are considered culturally cool and historically beautiful by the Taiwanese public instead of being simply seen as symbols of colonialism. Unlike its Chinese and Korean counterparts, the Japanese past has undergone a series of restorations rather than destruction in Taiwan in the last two to three decades.

The political effects of bentuhua have changed the cultural landscape of Taiwanese society. The major sentiments of Taiwanese nationalism are against both Communist China and KMT China, given the facts of the former's constant military threat and the latter's history of oppression of native Taiwanese during the Martial Law period. The rise of bentuhua even led some KMT political candidates to run elections by claiming that they were the "non-radical Taiwanese" in opposition to the DPP's radical Taiwanisation policy

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[52] See the Introduction

(Jacobs 45). The KMT's recognition of themselves as Taiwanese instead of Chinese shows how strong Taiwanese consciousness is in society. The KMT party has had to reconcile itself with 'bentuhua' and partially changes its political approach in order to win elections. In addition, although the older generations of KMT politicians and supporters still show anti-Japanese sentiment and resistance to Japanese culture owing to their experiences of war and China-centred ideology, numerous polls regarding Taiwanese people's views of foreign countries show that Taiwanese generally view Japan positively. For example, according to an Online *GVM Magazine* survey in 2006, Japan is Taiwanese people's top choice for "immigration", "tourism" and "study". It also shows that, of countries around the world, Taiwanese admire Japan most because of its "environmental cleanness", "delicate and refined cultures", and "people's politeness" (Yang and You). Owing to the fact that Japan is the majority's favourite, anti-Japan ideology is never a political agenda for the KMT's major election campaigns, which still focuses on how to cope with the issues regarding the increasingly aggressive Chinese mainland. Under this socio-political circumstance of bentuhua, democracy, and globalisation, Japanese culture and commodities are generally well accepted without much resistance in Taiwanese society. Moreover, not only the historical connection, but also Japan's economic connection and soft power led to the popularisation of Japanese culture and the phenomenon of Japan mania in Taiwan, which has deeply influenced Taiwan's popular culture, business culture and construction of sexualities as well.

5.1.2 Soft Power and Cool Japan

In the previous chapter, I outlined the influence of the scholars who had returned to Taiwan after receiving education in American academic discourse under conditions of neoliberalism and globalisation. Globalised ideas about sexualities have entered the post-Martial Law Taiwan, which has seen the emergence of kuer discourse, influenced by American queer theories, and ideas about queer nation had on imagined community of homosexuals. Although the boom in American influence can be attributed to Taiwan's political alliance with the US during the Cold War era and the continuing need for US support to prevent China's military aggression, culturally the US also won over the general public to its ideologies, which can be explained by the dominance of US 'soft power'.

"Soft Power", a concept developed by Joseph Nye, is the power to get others to "want the outcomes that you want, co-opt people rather than coerce them" (5), which can be regarded as a mode of hegemony. While Raymond Williams situates the idea of hegemony within a nation by investigating the superstructure of a country's civil society, I would like to extend the idea of hegemony to the global level in this section owing to the global dominance a country's soft power can generate. In his seminal book *Soft Power*, Nye defines the soft power of a country as resting primarily on three resources: "its culture (in places where it is attractive to others), its political values (when it lives up to them at home and abroad), and its foreign policies (when they are seen as legitimate and having moral authority)" (11). Soft power is the ability to shape preferences and attract others. When a country's culture includes universal values and its socio-political policies promote interests that others share, this country could obtain the economic or political outcomes it wants because other nations admire its values and aspire to reach a similar level of prosperity. Yet, Nye warns that this attraction often leads to "acquiescence" (6), which may see some countries blindly cooperating with, following, or even adoring a country because of its dominant soft power. In brief, soft power is one of the important factors generating a country's global hegemony, causing other countries to aspire to follow it.

According to Nye, the US possesses the strongest soft power in the world at this moment. For example, "the United States attracts nearly six times the flow of foreign immigrants as second-ranked Germany"; "The United States is far and away the world's number one exporter of films and television programmes"; "Of the 1.6 million students enrolled in universities outside their own countries, 28 percent are in the United States, compared to the 14 percent who study in the UK"; and "More than 86,000 foreign scholars were in residence at American educational institutions in 2002" (Nye 33). Regarding the last example, it is observed that most foreign students trained in the United States tend to become social elites when they return to their countries (ibid). This is discussed in the previous chapter in which I argued that Taiwan's academia is generally occupied by US-trained scholars who possess a great amount of cultural capital which legitimatises their cultural ideologies and tastes.

While the dominance of the soft power of the US can be seen in Taiwan, particularly in academic institutions, the popular discourse in Taiwanese society has witnessed the dominance of Japanese soft power. According to Nye, along with the US and

Western Europe, Japan is also a soft power superpower. In 2002, the concept of 'Cool Japan' was coined as an expression to describe Japan's status as a cultural superpower. The concept of Cool Japan is reminiscent of 'Cool Britannia', a concept created in 1997 by Tony Blair, the then leader of the Labour Party and Prime Minister. According to the journalist, Strike McGuire, in the 1990s, owing to the optimism and cultural energy Tony Blair and his Labour government generated, Britain was redefined and rebranded as a cool country for its arts, fashion, and popular music, such as the world-renowned music bands Oasis and The Spice Girls. McGuire even describes London then as "the coolest city in the planet" in contrast to 1980s London which he describes as "the maligned metropolis of tiresome cliché" (McGuire 1). The creation of Cool Britannia was also said to be a "marketing strategy" by the government to promote Britain as cool to attract global tourism and consumption of British cultural products and provide positive international appeal (Hunt 266). The same can be said of the concept of Cool Japan. Although Japan's reputation as an economic superpower has been tarnished by its long economic slowdown after the 1990s, it has not affected the nation's soft power status. According to McGray, "Instead of collapsing beneath its political and economic misfortunes, Japan's global cultural influence has only grown. In fact, from popular music to consumer electronics, architecture to fashion, and food to art, Japan has far greater cultural influence now than it did in the 1980s when it was an economic superpower" (47). Numerous scholars like Iwabuchi also view that Japan has shaped "the contours of popular culture consumption and articulations of identity" in East Asian urban spaces (Dasgupta 58). For example, "Japanese manufacturers 'rule the roost' in home video games"; "Japanese animation is a huge hit with [Asian] and American filmmakers and teenagers"; the Japanese culture of "cuteness" for example, Hello Kitty, Pokémon, Doraemon, and J-POP fashion has dominated children's dreams and teenage girls' fashion in Asia; and "Japanese traditional arts, design and cuisine have also found followers outside the country" (Nye 86). For instance, authors like Murakami Haruki have a wide international readership. Miyazaki Hayao is considered one of the greatest directors of all time. 'Cool Japan', including both popular and traditional cultures, has had a wide international and commercial appeal, which has been welcomed in Taiwan as well.

During the late 1980s and the 1990s owing to Taiwan's political democratisation and social liberalisation, a number of new laws were introduced for re-regulating the media,

which entitled people to broadcast and receive cable TV programmes legally and freely (Lee Ming-tsung 131). One of the main acts regarding the media at this transitional time was the lifting of the ban on importing Japanese audio-visual products in 1992 (Lee I-yun and Han 58). After the reform of media regulations, Japanese TV dramas were broadcast in Taiwan on different TV channels and became immediately popular, especially with the younger generation. The first broadcast Japanese TV drama, *Tokyo Love Story*, was shown dozens of times at the audience's request on different Taiwanese TV channels between 1992 and 2000. Such commercial success simultaneously led to the establishment of specialised Japanese channels to broadcast Japanese programmes 24 hours every day (Lee Ming-tsung 132).[53] As a result of this trend of Japanese TV consumption, other Japanese cultural productions and scenes also increasingly emerged in Taiwan, for example, Japanese fashion, J-POP (Japanese popular music), tourism to Japan, manga (comic books), Japanese magazines, television shows, Japanese films, and Japanese cuisines. Such a phenomenon has been termed by numerous Taiwanese cultural scholars as "ha-ri" (Japan mania or Japanese fever) and has formed a Taiwanese youth identity called "ha-ri-zu" (people who are crazy for anything Japanese in Taiwan) (Ko 107; Lee Ming-tsung 133; Lee I-yun and Han 49).

Of these mentioned scenarios of Japan mania, two cultural products in particular have made an impact on articulating desires and sexualities in Taiwan. One is the Japan idol dramas (Aidoru Dorama, 'Ouxiangju' in Taiwan). The main themes of these dramas mostly focus on real-life problems, relationships and romantic love stories. Stories often happen in a highly modernised metropolis, usually Tokyo, with elaborate settings, lighting, numerous outdoor scenes including skyscrapers, Tokyo tube stations, and busy streets (Ko 108). As much of Taiwan's urban planning is based on the Japanese experience, the setting of the Japanese idol dramas often gives the Taiwanese audiences a sense of familiarity. Yet this sense of cultural familiarity is not only shown by the settings, but also by the dynamics and relationships between the characters in the plots. When asked in an interview why Japanese idol dramas are so appealing, renowned Taiwanese TV producer Angie Chai replied that, "the younger generations feel with the depicted romance and friendship in Japan idol dramas" (Chai qtd. in Liu and Chen 68). Indeed, take the TV series *Tokyo Love*

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[53] These Japanese channels include Golden Sun TV, established in 1994, Video-land Japanese Channel, established in 1995 and JET TV, established in 1997, supported by Japan's Sumimoto Corp. and TBS.

Story as an example, the storyline of which focuses on the relationships between five young men and women working in Tokyo. The heroine, Akana Rika, is particularly the central figure for her caring, positive, and straightforward characteristics. Nonetheless, the story ends with her breakup with the hero, followed by an unexpected plot twist where they meet three years later on the street. At that moment, they cannot help revealing certain feelings they have continued to harbour for each other over the intervening years, but all they can do now is wish each other a happy life in the future because the hero is already married to another character. Rika, though clearly still in love with the hero, keeps looking ahead bravely lives by herself. According to Iwabuchi, a survey of Taiwanese university students' reception of *Tokyo Love Story* in 1995 showed that "about 83 percent had enjoyed watching the drama and roughly 65 percent had watched it more than twice" (144). The popularity of the drama was particularly said to be owing to the female audiences' identification with the heroine Akana Rika, who was considered modern but also traditional in a sense. The female interviewees generally regarded Rika as "brave", "faithful", "open-minded" and "forward-looking with no regrets about the past" (ibid), as demonstrated by a comment by a postgraduate student in Taiwan:

> About Rika, I think it is true that people in Taiwan identify themselves with her more than with American women…She kept the American style of femininity only in her pursuit of something directly. But she still has some traditional Asian femininity in her personality. For example, she loves a man faithfully. And that is why Asian women identify themselves with her. She is a mixture of American and Asian femininity-she represents the image of a new age woman to the audience (qtd. in Iwabuchi 150-151)

Dasgupta also seconds this observed combination of American and Asian femininity in many Japanese idol dramas in which the heroines, including Akana Rika, can be quite independent women, with relatively liberal attitudes towards sex and romance (60). The mixture of both femininities in a sense may suit the audiences in Taiwan, particularly female audiences, where on the one hand, Taiwan was a traditional society with Confucian cultural influence and, on the other hand, was a society in transition in the 1990s with a maturing elective democracy and globalised ideologies regarding sexualities and gender roles. Under this transitional condition, Japanese idol dramas certainly provided numerous young female viewers in Taiwan with a more liberal but not confrontational attitude

towards relationships and sex. Taiwanese audiences have thus considered the plots of Japan idol dramas emotionally realistic and familiar.

While the success of Japanese idol dramas in Taiwan can be attributed to the sense of cultural familiarity, it can also be said that a soft power is exercised through Japan's cultural capital. Coinciding with the emergence of neoliberalism in Taiwan in the post-Martial Law years, the soft power of Japan, the cool seduction of Japanese brands, certainly contributed to the emergence of Japan mania in 1990s. A country's cultural hegemony can be witnessed by the commodity fetishism other countries feel towards it. As in Lee I-yun's study on Taiwanese young consumers, she finds them saying of Japan: "Japan is a very fashionable place"; "Japan is a place where love is beautiful and there are many good-looking men and women…Everybody uses the most advanced mobile phones"; "I long to live the life a Japanese office lady. I feel that Japanese taste is very elegant and there is a feeling of quality of life"; Japanese products look "cute and also very user friendly"; and "There is a certain sense of delicacy and refinement in Japanese culture" (Lee I-yun qtd. in Lee I-yun and Han 59, 61). These responses demonstrate that many Taiwanese consumers of Japanese cultural products, including Japanese idol dramas, aspire to follow or imitate Japanese fashions and life styles. They are sometimes even inspired to learn Japanese. According to the website of the Language Training and Testing Centre, Taiwan, the number of Japanese learners in Taiwan is the fifth biggest in the world, the third biggest in terms of percentage (J'STUDY). In brief, Japan's soft power is dominant in Taiwan.

The popularity of Japan idol dramas has given rise to the emergence of Taiwan idol dramas made in a similar fashion in Taiwan. While the locality of Tokyo is moved to Taipei in Taiwan's idol dramas, similar storylines and visual representations of the metropolis and characters reappear. The actors and actresses are usually dressed in the latest Japanese fashion, with their hair done in Japanese styles, usually like Japanese manga characters with lightening-shaped hair made by hair wax. Occasionally, the Taiwanese production teams buy the copyright of several popular Japanese mangas and adapt them into TV series based in Taiwan, for example, *The Meteor Garden* (*Liuxing Huayuan* 2000).[54] Yet, although based in Taiwan, the adaptation of *The Meteor Garden*

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[54] The original Japanese manga title is *hana yori dango* (The Boy Who Is More Beatuiful than a Flower). See Japanese Glossary.

still preserves its original text's Japanese flavour. For example, the plot is not greatly changed; all the characters keep the Japanese names; and the haircuts and makeup of the lead actors and actresses are all presented in the original manga styles. In fact, the selected actors and actresses all present a manga-style beauty-an angelic, good-looking face, delicacy, purity, cleanness, and a sleek body shape. The four lead actors even released a popular music album as a boy band in the characters' names in the drama. The drama, album, lead actors and actresses all became famous among Taiwanese youngsters after *The Meteor Garden* was broadcast. The phenomenon of both Japan idol dramas and Taiwan idol dramas illustrates that the elements of idol drama and cultural Japaneseness have become the tastes most Taiwanese young people desire to pursue and possess.

Japanese cultural productions not only represent the tastes of young people, but also construct their sexualities, as best exemplified by Japanese manga, which particularly has had a huge impact on the articulation of homosexuality and homoeroticism. The contemporary Japanese idea about homosexuality is partially shaped by a genre of manga, bishonen (beautiful boys or boys' love, or BL), a subgenre of shojo manga (teenage girls' manga), which became popular in Taiwan under the circumstance of Japan mania in the 1990s. Like most comic books, the narratives of BL mangas are created based on the conversations and drawings. However, BL mangas are focused more on the delicate drawings of beautiful boys or young men. According to her article 'Girls Who Love Boys' Love: Japanese Homoerotic Manga as Trans-national Taiwan Culture' (2012), Martin loosely divides BL manga into the categories of "pure-love BL" and "H-ban BL" based on the story-lines and explicitness of the homoeroticism, including sexually explicit homosexuality. The former emphasises the Japanese homoerotic aesthetic of "tanbi", which is understood by Taiwanese readers as a refined appreciation of young men's "smooth physical beauty" without necessary sexualised representation ("Girls Who Love Boys' Love" 368). The type of pure-love BL is a fantasised romantic relationship between two young men or beautiful boys in an idealised world where no one discriminates against same-sex desire. Sometimes the protagonists may be heterosexuals, but happen to fall in love with a person of the same sex. In the plots of pure-love BL mangas, a belief in love always motivates the actions of the protagonists, as in heterosexual romance. The plot and drawings in the pure-love mangas may occasionally involve a certain degree of intimate physical contact, like kissing; however, this is often implicitly presented to readers. (368-

369). Indeed, several BL manga consumers also point out that some pure-love BL narratives are "simply the conventional feminine genre of boy-girl romance transposed onto two protagonists of the same-sex" (Martin "Girls Who Love Boys' Love" 369). This argument is further re-affirmed by the fact that polarised romantic sexual roles between masculine top and feminised bottom characters are widely recognised by manga critics in both Taiwan and Japan (ibid). Owing to this similarity and comparison between pure-love BL narratives and conventional heterosexual romance, this genre of BL manga also attracts a huge number of female consumers.

As the name of the genre suggests, the 'H' in H-ban is the first letter of the Japanese term hentai, which literarily means perverted or sexually explicit content. Ban means version in Japanese. Hence, H-ban BL mangas basically deploy sexual and pornographic explicitness. According to Martin, the elements of pornography in the H-ban often feature a "graphic focus on sexual organs", "detailed sex scenes", and a lack of bashfulness regarding "its function for sexual arousal" ("Girls Who Love Boys' Love" 370). Those pornographic sexual scenes often occupy a substantial part of a manga book, which leads to a less romantic narrative between the characters. As the amount of conversation and content drastically decreases, it is clear that the romantic storylines are not the main focus for H-ban BL mangas.

The popularity of Japanese cultural productions, including BL manga, after the lifting of Martial Law led to a significant stimulation of transnational imaginaries of Japan among Taiwan's young generation. While it is argued that the success of Japanese cultural productions in the United States is owing to the domestication of exotic Japanese cultures and literature in the American context or the removal of Japanese cultural flavour in the imported productions, it is a different story in Taiwan's reception of the idea of Japan. It is noted by Taiwan's cultural critics that Taiwanese consumers of Japanese commodities and fashions are very conscious of the Japaneseness in the Japan-made products, and the Japaneseness is well-accepted and localised in Taiwanese society (Ko 110). For example, Taiwan's hair salons tend to use hair styles in Japanese fashion magazines as models for customers to choose. The Japanese language is sometimes used with colloquial speech in Taiwan, particularly among young people; and Japanese loanwords have become

popular.[55] This phenomenon of Japan mania illustrates how strong the soft power of Japan is in Taiwan and how Taiwan's cultural commodities have been influenced by Japanese styles.

While some may attribute the cultural phenomenon of Japan mania to the political Taiwanisation and sharply growing anti-China sentiment, it cannot be denied that the hegemony of Japan's soft power has attracted Taiwanese consumers to embrace the coolness of Japan in public and popular discourses. Although resistance to Japanese culture exists partially owing to the history of Japanese colonialism, Japan the country and Japanese culture are generally welcomed by the public. According to a survey conducted by the Interchange Association Japan, "65 percent of Taiwanese feel either close or very close to Japan"; "43 percent" of the population said Japan was their favourite foreign country, particularly people aged between 20 and 29, "of whom 54 percent" list Japan as their favourite country, in contrast to "the numbers in single digits who said Singapore, the US, and China" (Thim and Matsuoka). In the century of neoliberalism and cool capitalism, many Taiwanese, particularly younger generations, embrace the soft power superpower Japan, and aspire to be as cool as their cultural model.

5.1.3 Japanese Business Culture

In the previous chapter, I outlined how Taiwan's economy was transformed from 'Made in Taiwan' to 'Branding Taiwan', with the emphasis on neoliberal characteristics during the post-Martial Law years. The transformation of Taiwan's capitalist economy saw the rise of high-tech and service-oriented industries within the nation and the relocation of the production bases and processes to other countries, such as China and some South East Asian countries, with cheaper workforces. Many Western economic and social scholars have observed similar post-industrial situations in other developed nations, calling it a process from 'Fordism to Post-Fordism'. According to Kato Tetsuro and Robert Steven, the essential elements of Post-Fordism can be summarised by the following characteristics: "products, parts and tasks are varied"; products are aimed at different market segmentations, defined by "age", "gender", and "income" group, and their life becomes

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[55] For example, kaisai (start), zannen (what a shame), and yakitori (grilled chicken). See Japanese Glossay.

"shorter". The new more flexible production can be achieved by "new technology" which is able to produce a variety of products. Workers hence need to be "multi-skilled". Multi-skilled workers win "more control over the labour process" and take on more tasks at the managerial level. "The end of job demarcation means payment is for the person rather than the job". This gives rise to a more flexible use of labour. New technology and flexible uses of labour are also seen to increase more productivity and efficiency (75-76). While "standardisation" and stability are the main focuses of the industrial process in Fordism, and "mass consumption" is the main target of marketing (75), in the Post-Fordist time, various marketing strategies are aimed at various niche markets (e.g. gay and lesbian markets). While the stability of the mass production transforms into diversified, flexible, and specialised production, the economic style becomes more individualist as each worker may possess different levels of training experience and self-improvement because he or she may intend to achieve a higher managerial position. Yet new problems emerge under Post-Fordism as well. For example, Robin Murray is critical of Post-Fordism in the UK because, as he puts it, "Post-Fordist capital is restructuring working time for its own convenience: with new shifts, rostering, weekend working, and the regulation of labour, through part-time and casual contracts" (Murray qtd. in Tetsuro and Steven 73). Indeed, the flexible use of labour leads to numerous temporary jobs and contracts for workers. There is less guarantee of stable and permanent income in some work placements. Some people may even be left unemployed for a long time. Numerous workers actually live in insecurity under Post-Fordist conditions.

Entering the post-industrial phase, Taiwan's economy since the 1990s has demonstrated some of the characteristics of Post-Fordism. Nonetheless, unlike its Western counterparts, Taiwan shows a limit to the extent to which it can be categorised as Post-Fordist and this can be attributed to the Japanese influence. The growth of Japanese soft power can be first attributed to Post-Fordism, which brought in new ways of perceiving consumption and production. The rise of wages resulted in the pursuit of higher living standards and tastes seen in the society. This has led to markets for fashion, luxury goods, diversified items and smart boutiques and branding have become an important marketing strategy under these conditions. Japan's soft power is facilitated by such Post-Fordist conditions. It is generally considered cool and smart to pursue Japanese brands and fashion and use Japanese technological products.

The post-industrial Japan and Taiwan demonstrate a different work ethic and business structure from Post-Fordist Western countries. I have previously mentioned that, during Taiwan's industrialising period, both the US and Japan invested a lot in Taiwan and moved some of their production bases to Taiwan because of the island's cheaper labour. While most of those production bases were later removed owing to the transformation of Taiwan's economy and higher salary, the US and Japan remain as Taiwan's main trading partners and have deep business and investment connections with each other. This is particularly true of Japan owing to its historical relationship with and geographical proximity to Taiwan. Based on Kenney and Florida's observation, Tetsuro and Steven summarise that "job rotation", "work teams", "learning by doing", "flexible production", and "integrated production complexes" are the basic main characteristics of Japan's business and management system (78). In Japanese production lines, rotation within teams allows workers to familiarise themselves with their colleagues at work. Individual workers can thus learn different skills and enhance mutual understanding between working colleagues and team units. While each individual has different skills and educational backgrounds, he or she can learn from each other's advantages and help each other in order to make profits for the team. In other words, in the Japanese system, the teamwork and team unit are basically placed before the individual. Furthermore, in the hierarchy of the work place, the junior workers are expected to be deferential to the senior ones because of the latter's experience and demonstrated loyalty to the same company. The longer you stay, the more you will be respected in the team. This characteristic of self-sacrifice to the company can be observed in the Japanese educational system as well (Tetsuro and Steven 79). In Japan, in order to continue their education, students are required to pass a university entrance exam. Whether the university a student attends is highly regarded in the society is potentially one of the job recruitment standards for that student in the future. Hence, many Japanese teenage students spend much time on studying and memorising what they have been taught before the exam. This contributes to the growing number of cram schools in Japan, which aim to help students review their studies outside the ordinary schools. That is, a Japanese student may spend 8 to 12 hours on average each day studying owing to the pressure of the entrance exam. Tetsuro and Steven describe this Japanese education system as follows, it "functions to sort people, not into skilled and unskilled categories, but into students with stoic self-discipline and endless self-sacrifice and students without those qualities" (79-80). Thus employees with degrees from famous universities may show their

willingness to sacrifice themselves for the company's future. The Japanese employers value this characteristic greatly. Therefore, a well-educated Japanese work force is commonly seen in many Japanese companies.

Such work ethics are also adopted by numerous Taiwanese companies and businesses owing to Japanese influence and business connections. As in Japan, students in Taiwan are required to pass a university entrance exam to continue with their education. After attending ordinary school, many students attend cram schools in an attempt to increase their chances of passing the exam. Neither the ordinary schools nor the cram schools develop students' creativity, but emphasise a capacity to memorise teaching materials and self-discipline. Deference to seniors is valued in almost every industry and business, particularly in the service industry, where workers are not only deferential to the company, but also to customers, whose demands are always considered right. Team work actually forms the basis of numerous companies' business structures. Thus, in Post-Fordist times, although individualism is increasing owing to the socio-economic transformation, most people still value the ideas of team unit, respectability, and deference in Taiwanese society because of the connection with and influence of Japan's business and economic culture. A worker's sense of patriotism is hence reproduced under these company and business structures.

The influence of both Japan's soft power and its business connection has led to Japanese culture becoming prevalent among Taiwanese, particularly youngsters. The idea of cool Japan on the one hand symbolises consumerism, fashion, freedom, taste, and progression, and on the other hand it transmits deference, moralism, order, and modified familialism in a democratised society. These combined perspectives of coolness are welcomed in Taiwanese society, as demonstrated by viewers of Japan idol dramas in Taiwan who suggest that Japan actually provides them with an ideal between the relatively open and confrontational West and relatively conservative Asia. In the 2003 TV adaptation of *Niezi*, these cool elements of Japanese culture are also utilised to attract audiences: a persistent moralism, and respectability, as well as cultural coolness, can be perceived in it.

5.2 Small Screen *Niezi*

5.2.1 Public Service TV

In her article 'The Social Logic of Subcultural Capital' (1995), Thornton particularly points out that the "media are a primary factor governing the circulation of subcultural capital" (203). Indeed, media consumption is a primary leisure activity nowadays, especially for young people. Print media, cinematic productions and televisions are effective in developing subcultures by means of languages, words and visual images to represent various social groups. In 1990s Taiwan, a homosexual subculture surrounding *Niezi* was also processed by the media. First, the novel was promoted as the key text for homosexual identity politics by niche media like *Tongxinglian Banglian* (The United States of Homosexuality) (1994), a journal published by the society Gay Chat at National Taiwan University. At another academic journal, *The Isle Margin*, an editorial search was launched to redefine ideas about homosexuality. During the protest against the Taipei City Government's decision to reconstruct the area surrounding New Park, *Niezi* and the image of New Park were spread by micro-media like flyers, listings, interviews and magazine features along with claims about the history of homosexual oppression in Taiwan. After years of activism, in 2003, the development of a homosexual subculture surrounding *Niezi* was further established and canonised through a TV adaptation of the novel, broadcast by the Public Television Service (PTS) TV channel.

The PTS TV channel was said to be the first public independent broadcasting institution in Taiwan. It was officially established on July 1, 1998. The aim of the establishment of the PTS was to create an educational, non-biased, and non-commercial[56] media environment (Taiwan Public Television Service On-line). As the programmes on the PTS official website show, the channel broadcasts political news, both local and international; various social, political and historical features regarding Taiwan and the world, for example, the 2015 Burmese election or documents about World War II; educational programmes aimed at children and teenagers, for example, English learning programmes; cultural and performing arts information; programmes focusing on social minorities, for example, Taiwanese aboriginal programming, programmes in local

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[56] Though the PTS accepts some sponsors and donations, no commercial activity is allowed. Therefore, there is no advertising during TV programmes.

languages, like hakka; and news broadcast in sign language. Though without substantial financial aid, the PTS still produces quality TV series based on recognised Taiwanese literary works and broadcasts some popular foreign TV productions,[57] for example, most recently, *A Touch of Green*, adapted from Pai Hsien-yung's short story collected in his *Taipei Ren*, and the US TV series *Gotham* (Taiwan Public Television Service On-line). The cultural balance and variety of the TV programming on PTS have won compliments from both critics and audiences. The TV shows and TV series made by PTS have been highly recognised and have won the channel numerous TV awards (Taiwan Public Television Service On-line). In other words, the tag PTS symbolises 'high-grade' cultural productions for the general public, and its neutrality is emphasised by its programming, which spans various age groups, preferences and different cultural tastes.

As *Niezi* is recognised as a Taiwanese literary classic, this along with the developing liberal attitude towards homosexuals, caused PTS to pay attention to the adaptation of the novel in 2003. Since the novel seeks the public's understanding and social acceptance of homosexuals, it actually suits PTS's mission, as speaking for minority groups is one of this TV channel's educational priorities. Furthermore, according to an interview with Yu Kanping, the director of the film *Niezi*, the production of the film version in 1986 was still constrained by the then government and conservative social attitude in its presentation of homosexuality, which made the film unfaithful to the original novel. With the democratisation of Taiwanese society, he believed the new TV version will be able to "reflect the novel's true spirit" (378-379). In other words, the TV adaptation of *Niezi* was expected to be a faithful screen representation.

Nonetheless, standing as a high-quality and educational TV channel, PTS is seen to be constrained by these labels, when presenting controversial elements on the small screen, including those related to homosexuality. That is, homosexuality in this TV series may be constructed to fit the ideals of high-quality and educational programming in order to be accepted by the general public. In the following sections, I argue that, in order to make the TV adaptation well accepted by both audiences and TV critics, the production team adopted the culturally cool elements developed under neoliberal conditions, as well as a

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[57] For example, BBC-made period dramas, including the 1995 version of *Pride and Prejudice*, *Sense and Sensibility* (2008), *Persuasion* (2009), and *Jane Eyre* (2009), have all been broadcast by the PTS channel, too.

respectable homoeroticism to romanticise the representation of *Niezi*. I shall describe the former in relation to the Japanisation of the adaptation and the latter in relation to the taste hierarchies of sexual aesthetics based on Katherine Sender's theory.

5.2.2 Japanisation

The Japaneseness in the TV series is first strongly shown in the representation of Little Jade, given the fact that the character longs to go to Japan in the original story. The first time A-Qing meets Little Jade in the TV series, Little Jade actually introduces himself in Japanese.[58] When A-Qing tells Little Jade that he cannot understand him, Little Jade responds to him in Mandarin, explaining that he was speaking in Japanese earlier. Impressed by this, A-Qing compliments Little Jade's language skills. Then Little Jade explains that "that is because I am Japanese" (Tsao *Niezi*). 'I am Japanese', a sentiment which was not allowed in the Martial Law period, explicitly paves the way for Little Jade's cherry blossom dream in the TV production. He believes that his father is a Japanese Taiwanese who worked for a Japanese cosmetic company, Shiseido, and possessed a Japanese name, Nakashima, according to his mother, but left them in Taiwan. Little Jade is determined to track him down in Japan in the future. There are also several scenes between Little Jade and his mother, who live in a small 'washitsu', a Japanese style of house, kneel down on the 'zabuton' for tea, and sleep on 'tatami'. These scenes demonstrate a traditional life style of native Taiwanese, some of whom in fact still live a Japanese or Japan-influenced life. In Little Jade's conversations with other characters, Japanese is also occasionally intertwined with Taiwanese and Mandarin languages, for instance, through reference to obasan (aunt), ookina Tokyo Tower (big Tokyo Tower), bakayarou (a Japanese swear word), arigatou (thank you), sou desu (yes), etc. [59] A scene of Little Jade singing a Japanese song as a farewell performance to his friends is even created before he goes to Japan. While the Japaneseness of Little Jade was generally removed in the 1986 film version, it is fully presented and even expanded through in the TV series. This shows that, after years of democratisation and liberalisation of Taiwanese society

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[58] In this scene, Little Jade says, "Hello, my name is Little Jade. It is nice to know you" (Tsao *Niezi*) in Japanese. See the last entry in the Japanese Glossary.

[59] See Japanese Glossary.

since the lifting of Martial Law, Japan and Japanese culture are no longer sensitive political issues to the public now.

Not only the use of Japanese language and Japanese-style settings, but also the type of actors portraying the main characters reflects an element of Japaneseness in the TV series. First, the style of the actor King Chin, who plays Little Jade, looks like a feminised type of the bottom/insertee in the pure-love BL manga. His effeminacy is demonstrated in both his physical figure, which is slim, tall, and fair, and his dramatic gestures and soft but high-pitched voice, which can be seen as camp and flamboyant at times. The actor aims to show a stereotypical femininity in the role of the gay insertee. As for the actor who portrays Little Jade's sugar daddy, Lin San, it is said he was even more carefully selected by the production team (Yin 396-397). The character Lin San has worked in a Japanese cosmetics company and lived in Japan for decades. Although the character is originally from Taiwan, his long Japanese life experience must have contributed to a certain degree of Japaneseness in his personality and conduct. Indeed, Lin San looks like a stereotypical middle-aged or older Japanese man; a small bushy kuchihige (Japanese moustache) stands out in his appearance. Like Little Jade, Lin San often uses Japanese terms in his conversations with other characters. Furthermore, as a grown adult who has experienced the KMT's settlement in Taiwan and his late start in learning Mandarin after World War II, he has a certain local Taiwanese accent when speaking the Mandarin language, just like most of the native Taiwanese of older generations in real life. The portrayal of this characteristic in Lin San demonstrates a cultural and historical accuracy, a subtle revelation of the history and influence of the KMT's Sinocentric cultural policy imposed on the then native Taiwanese, shown by Lin San's occasional awkward speech and pronunciation in Chinese.

Except for the selection of actors, a characteristic of Japanese idol dramas is deliberately added to the TV series, too. In the opening of the novel, A-Qing is forced to drop out of school owing to his 'indecent' same-sex contact with his lab supervisor. In the TV series, the character of the lab supervisor is changed into Zhao Ying, A-Qing's intimate friend and classmate. In the first two episodes, there are a number of scenes between A-Qing and Zhao Ying created to show the subtext of homoeroticism in their friendship. For example, in a scene when they wrestle and fool around on a bed, they look into each other's eyes at one point. They suddenly become silent because they sense that 'something'

might happen if they continue their physical contact on the bed. After A-Qing's younger brother dies, A-Qing seeks Zhao Ying's comfort in the lab one evening. Neither can repress his feelings under these circumstances and they start to kiss each other. They are found by a staff member in the school during their physical contact and are reported to the head of the school. A-Qing and Zhao Ying are forced to leave the school the next day and decide not to see each other again, because Zhao Ying blames everything on A-Qing's impetuous action and emotion. In the ninth episode, A-Qing and Zhao Ying are unexpectedly reunited in an old bookshop. In this scene, Zhao Ying bids farewell to A-Qing because his father has decided to send him to the US. Zhao Ying proves to be regretful for blaming every fault on A-Qing earlier and apologises by hugging him. Their feelings towards each other are still seen to be strong, but they can only look forward now to the future.

In Chapter Two, I showed how Pai intended to write *Niezi* as a novel for 'Chinese homosexuals' living in Taiwan, centring on the power relation in same-sex contact by referring to Sinfield's elucidation of power differential surrounding age difference in gay relationship. The creation of Zhao Ying, A-Qing's classmate, to replace the lab supervisor breaks this inegalitarian power relationship surrounding age difference, revealing an egalitarian same-sex relationship instead. While in the book there is no mention of what happened to the lab supervisor afterwards, both A-Qing and Zhao Ying are punished owing to their equal status in the TV series. A-Qing and Zhao Ying's equal relationship shows a characteristic of Japanese BL manga, in which two young, handsome boys fall in love, instead of the dynamics of sugar-daddy and boy, and love is an irresistible force behind their actions in the lab. Their reunion later also shows a characteristic of Japanese idol dramas, which stereotypically feature an aftermath plot after a breakup, in order for the characters to bid farewell and wish each other all the happiness in the future. As the Chinese spirit in the novel was mixed with the contemporary Japanese articulation of homosexuality in the TV series, the relationship between A-Qing and Zhao Ying became part of the TV adaptation that was most discussed by and popular with young audiences. A Taiwanese singer, Chou Hua-jian, even invited the actors playing A-Qing and Zhao Ying, Robert Fan and Tony Yang, to be the heroes in his latest music video, to continue their same-sex romance from the TV series in an attempt to attract consumers and viewers. The

director's move to Japanise the adaptation proved to be commercially successful, and has led to other commercial effects outside the TV production.

5.2.3 Homoeroticism and Respectability

In *Business, Not Politics* (2004), Katherine Sender points out that a trend in marketing sexuality in the US has seen "some forms of homosexuality moving in the direction of respectability" (202). In the gay market, marketers have tried to replace the stereotype of promiscuous gay men with a more respectable image of homosexuality. Those respectable images are generally "vanilla", "coupled" and "monogamous" and have become the dominant imagination of gay people in mainstream media (ibid). This reveals that the representation of same-sex sexual contact and desire is still conforming to the ideals of heterosexualised romance.

This dominant representation of homosexuality in the market can be explained by Bourdieu's discussion of taste and cultural capital discussed earlier. In *Business*, Sender extends Bourdieu's analysis to include a consideration of sexual tastefulness and sexual decorum and their role in producing a desirable, respectable and tasteful gay consumer. While Bourdieu discusses taste in an aesthetic sense, Sender adapts it to "sexual propriety", looking at the distinction between sexual "decorum" and "tastelessness" (203). In this distinction, what is the borderline between erotic arts and tasteless pornography is thoroughly examined by Sender by looking at various sex adverts in the US. Furthermore, Bourdieu takes "family" and "schools" as primary transmitters of cultural capital. Sender suggests that "media", "marketing" and "popular culture" also have a crucial role to play with respect to gay subcultural capital (ibid). In brief, an ideal image of gay consumer is produced in the gay market in accordance with the taste hierarchies of sexual aesthetics.

In the taste hierarchies of sexual aesthetics, what Sender calls "moral capital", is mediated through gay subcultural capital to protect elite classes from being associated with a non-respectable sexuality, which Sender describes as "explicit", "nonaesthetic" and "commercial sexuality" (222). In her analysis of sex ads in the US, Sender observes that the combination between moral and gay subcultural capital has given rise to the dominance of privileged respectable gay people in this sexual hierarchy. This privileged respectable

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gay image symbolises tastefulness, which is usually associated with artistic and professional classes of gay men, whereas the promiscuous image of gay people is positioned at the bottom of the taste hierarchies of sexuality. Further, while gay-identified marketers are also likely to consume gay and lesbian cultural products, they can at the same time enjoy the superior sense of being regarded as the respectable gay customers and elite members of the "professional-managerial class", "tasteful", and "sexually discreet" (Sender 223).

In Taiwan, a similar idea of the respectability of homosexuality in the taste hierarchies first developed during the tongzhi movement in the early 1990s. In the previous chapter, I suggested that the image of well-educated, respectable, middle-class, academics, university students or artists was created as the ideal homosexual image during the tongzhi movement in order to replace the long-stigmatised image of male prostitution. Later, this image was challenged by the kuer movement, which advocated transgression of boundaries of morality and immorality by refusing positive and homonormative ideas. Tongzhi politics and kuer politics were later mixed by the T/KSAF protest against the Taipei City Government in the mid-1990s. While some activist scholars suggest that the distinction between tongzhi and kuer is no longer that overt now, the booming gay market in Taiwan still demonstrates a privileged homosexuality, in which respectability is highly promoted in most of the mainstream cultural productions in relation to gays and lesbians, including the 2003 TV adaptation of *Niezi*.

In the TV adaptation of *Niezi*, 'moral capital' is highly embedded in the screen writing, especially in the portrayal of the main characters. While Pai's subtle plea for understanding and tolerance for homosexuals in the novel is recognised, the TV series further strengthens the voice to speak for the boys and the women characters by changing some parts of the original story. First of all, a new character Fumi is created in the TV series, a juvenile female prostitute bought by Mousy's older brother. Fumi's misfortune has aroused Mousy's sympathy. Both Mousy and A-Qing constantly accompany her and provide her with food in secret. Unable to stand her suffering, one day, Mousy secretly sets Fumi free, and is later severely tortured by his brother. Secondly, in the original story, the breakup between Old Zhou and Little Jade is only touched on lightly. In the TV series, Little Jade is scolded by A-Qing for his flippant attitude towards his relationship with Old Zhou. In order to regain A-Qing's friendship, Little Jade apologises to Old Zhou and

swears that he will not take advantage of him anymore. Thirdly, the novel only mentions the existence of Aunt Liyue's American husband. In the TV series, Liyue expects her American husband to take her and her son to the US one day. However, when her husband shows up, he is only coming to ask for more money from Liyue and it is discovered that he has already married another woman in the United States. This relationship thus ends with Liyue's disappointment. Finally, in the book, after A-Qing visits his mother, the next day she dies. In the TV adaptation, A-Qing visits his dying mother many times and takes care of her. She tells him that she does not have enough courage to face his father before she dies, but hopes she can repay her debt to his father in her next life after her sinful body has been polished by the Buddha. By making these changes, the main homosexual protagonists are all seen to possess strong moral responsibility for the people surrounding them. They are sympathetic to the fallen characters (Fumi and A-Qing's mother), who are like them. A-Qing even fulfils his responsibility of filial piety to take care of his ill mother and accompany her at the last stage of her life. Little Jade, the most manipulative boy, is willing to admit his misconduct and change his attitude towards Old Zhou. Later, Little Jade becomes monogamous with Lin San. The boys all possess humane integrity no matter how harsh their situation is.

In contrast, the heterosexual male characters, exemplified by Mousy's older brother, Liyue's American husband and A-Qing's father, look irresponsible, violent, and heartless. The scene featuring A-Qing's father banishing A-Qing from home using violence and admonishments is repeated in the opening of every episode (there are twenty episodes in total). When A-Qing's father banishes him, A-Qing does not fight back; he only begs his father's forgiveness and then runs away. After being repeated twenty times, this scene may be one of the most unforgettable of the TV adaptation, and the audiences may be compelled to question the morality of the father's treatment of his son in the story. This reinforcement of the contrast between the boys and the dominant father figures not only demonstrates a clear social criticism of the past society's patriarchal rule, but also creates an extremely positive image of the homosexual protagonists in comparison to the extremely negative image of heterosexual males. While conservative heterosexuals often accuse homosexuals of immorality owing to the stereotype of the hypersexual, promiscuous gay man, this reinforcement stresses the moral capital of these boys, who in fact possess more humanity than these self-identified, moralistic heterosexuals.

This moral capital is also portrayed in the presentation of the boys' same-sex contacts with their punters or sugar daddies. While male same-sex sexual culture was part of the development of the gay niche market, male same-sex sexual elements have caught marketers' attention and become a pivotal part in the cultural productions in relation to gay subculture. Especially given the fact that the protagonists are a group of young prostitutes cruising around New Park in the story, gay sex is considered a marketing point to make the adaptation successful, even though explicitness is not a feature of the original novel. Nonetheless, gay sex is not presented through the boys' prostitution activities. New Park is portrayed mostly in darkness. The audience can see numerous shadows of people cruising around New Park at night, talking to each other, or trying to hook up with each other, but all are portrayed in a semi-hidden, indirect and ambiguous atmosphere. The only straightforward clue to their involvement in prostitution activities is A-Qing's narrative, which explains that New Park is the place to which those banished homeless boys go to earn a living. The only explicit scene of prostitution activities shown in the adaptation is an added plot in which Mousy encounters a kinky old man. In this brief scene, the old man uses a lighted cigarette to burn Mousy's hand. This added scene regarding the tortured Mousy further reinforces our sympathy with the boys. That is, the boys may risk encountering numerous unexpected dangers through prostitution activities.

Since portraying explicit gay sex through prostitution may tarnish the protagonists' positive image, same-sex sexual contact is romanticised by the encounter between A-Qing and Dragon Prince. While A-Qing and Dragon Prince only have a brief encounter in the novel, they fall in love with each other in the TV series. They first meet in New Park. In this scene, A-Qing is crying in the rain because his mother has died. He is found by Dragon Prince, who has been following him. They look into each other's eyes and A-Qing gradually relaxes by leaning against Dragon Prince's shoulder. This then leads to the first scene of physical intimacy between them. The TV series looks to reach its moment of sexual climax when Dragon Prince explicitly kisses A-Qing's back from top to bottom. Yet it is suddenly stopped by A-Qing himself owing to the overwhelmingly complicated agony he feels, caused by the death of his mother. On the one hand, this agony leads him to desire someone who can give him comfort and sexual pleasure; on the other, it makes him feel guilty because he is having sex just after his mother's death, which he considers disrespectful to her. It is seen that filial piety still occupies the central place in A-Qing's

heart. The director continues to address the existing problem of familial pressure on A-Qing, but at the same time demonstrates A-Qing's respectability as a son. That is, A-Qing never forgets his duty.

Since A-Qing is constrained by his filial piety in their first physical contact, the possibility of gay sex only happens after a romantic relationship gradually develops between him and Dragon Prince, which is presented in a respectable way. When they are together, Dragon Prince narrates his past with Phoenix Boy, the legendary story spread among the boys in New Park, his life in the US, and his family. They are seen to have romantic sex during the course of their relationship. Nonetheless, the scenes of physical contact are not explicit. Instead, they are portrayed sweetly, with A-Qing and Dragon Prince, both semi-stripped, lying on the bed, and giving each other loving kisses. Moreover, Dragon Prince has brought A-Qing back to the house he used to live in with his family, where only his previous butler and servants are living now. The butler, who has always treated Dragon Prince as his son, has no objection to them, and his acceptance of their relationship shows that mutual understanding between different generations is possible. A-Qing is also shown enjoying spending time with Dragon Prince in the house. Their same-sex relationship thus demonstrates a homonormativity, which is coupled, monogamous, and respectable. It shows that their first encounter is not just a fling, which suggests that not every gay man is promiscuous and hypersexual. In brief, gay romance is just like ordinary heterosexual romance.

The relationship between A-Qing and Dragon Prince also ends in a heterosexualised romantic way. As the story develops, it is gradually revealed in Dragon Prince's narrative that A-Qing looks like Phoenix Boy, which is the main reason why Dragon Prince falls in love with him. Having sensed this fact, A-Qing realises Dragon Prince still loves Phoenix Boy after all these years. He does not wish to be the substitute for Phoenix Boy and so decides to leave Dragon Prince. Later they meet twice. A-Qing bids Dragon Prince farewell under the rain in front of Cozy Nest. Several months later, they bump into each other again. Dragon Prince conveys gratitude to A-Qing for the happiness he has brought to him. Their relationship ends up as a bitter-sweet romance. The ending of their romance is reminiscent of Japanese idol drama cliché, with its bitter-sweet ending. It is also particularly significant that there is no family presence in their breakup. While there is no family objection to their union, this romance is purely about whether the

characters truly love each other. The breakup of A-Qing and Dragon Prince not only demonstrates the possibility of gay relationships, but also their monogamous attitude towards romance. After a decade, Dragon Prince still cannot forget his love for Phoenix Boy, whereas A-Qing hopes to be the only true love in Dragon Prince's heart. Just like many idealised heterosexual romantic stories, both A-Qing and Dragon Prince only seek the beloved of their lives.

5.3 Conclusion

On 17 February 2003, the first episode of the TV adaptation of *Niezi* was broadcast by the Public Television Service TV channel in Taiwan. A week later, the production team for the TV adaptation, including the director, lead actors, and screen writers, began a series of university tours, showing previews of clips from the TV series' upcoming episodes, and holding seminars regarding the production and signing sessions with the lead actors at seven major Taiwanese universities from the north to the south. This tour grabbed much media attention; it was reported that the tour was a "huge success"; every seminar and signing session were full of students and lecturers who were eager to know more about the details of the production process and join face-to-face signing sessions with those young and handsome lead actors (Taiwan Public Television Service Foundation Online). This success even led to other universities wanting to invite the production team to hold similar activities on their campuses because their students kept demanding it. Owing to its unexpected success and popularity, the TV series was even re-broadcast the day after the last episode was aired. This was the first time in Taiwan's television history that a TV drama was re-broadcast immediately after the initial run (Taiwan Public Television Service Foundation Online). This shows that the TV series of *Niezi* was a phenomenal hit with the Taiwanese public at that time.

Marketing directed at the university campuses suggests that university students and academics were the production team's ideal audience. First, by holding the premiere in universities, scholarly seminars regarding homosexuality could be held at the same time by drawing the attendance of academics in the field of sexuality studies. After the premiere, different intellectual activities and deeper discussions were used in the promotion of the TV adaptation. Secondly, that generation of university students was generally considered

more liberal towards homosexuals than their parents' generation, who grew up during the Martial Law era. They are considered better-educated people in terms of understanding the issues regarding different sexualities. Thirdly, growing up under neoliberal conditions, university students are more likely to be seduced by the coolness of the TV adaptation's marketing. For example, they may be attracted to a handsome and young actor who is naked and enjoying same-sex physical contact. With the coolness of stardom, a canonised homosexual classic for the screenplay, highly-educated audiences, and respectable representation of male homoeroticism, the TV series of *Niezi* is positioned at the top of the hierarchies of taste for articulating sexualities.

While the TV series of *Niezi* was well-received during its university tours, it was striking to see that there were generally no negative responses to the adaptation from kuer scholars. In the previous chapter, I have shown that the university campus was the space where the kuer movement was started by those self-proclaimed kuer academics and writers who emphasised their coolness based on transgression. They rejected positive and normative images of homosexuals by advocating the ambiguities of boundaries between different sexualities and the moral and immoral. Thus, according to their theories, the respectable image and homonormativity the TV series presents should not be endorsed by their activism. We might speculate that the kuer academics' silence in relation to criticism of the TV adaptation can be explained, on the one hand, because it can be seen that the cool elements of Japanese popular culture have been added to the TV production, which in a sense shifts the TV representation of homosexuality to a more Westernised way, for example, from the inegalitarian relation between A-Qing and his lab supervisor to the egalitarian relation between A-Qing and Zhao Ying. While kuer academics have embraced their Westernised educational background and influence and rejected the locally stigmatised gay image, this shift of cultural direction may be approved by their theoretical agenda. On the other hand, their silence also reveals an inconsistency in perceiving the TV production. The idea of cool, as both Chapter Four and this chapter have shown, comes from commercialism and commodification. While the TV series contains both cultural coolness and moralism to attract viewers, the kuer academics may also have been seduced by the commodification of the TV production. Some may argue that the showing of some sex scenes in the series may suggest a certain transgression and a break from the past conservative society, but this seeming transgression is actually a correspondence to the

prevalent contemporary commercialism which uses sex or sexy elements to draw audiences.

The TV series' top position in the taste hierarchy for articulating sexualities was furthered by its critical acclaim. It won six Golden Bell awards;[60] best drama series, best director, best actress, best musical score, best cinematography, and best art direction in 2003. The actor Robert Fan was also nominated for the best actor award for portraying A-Qing. The TV series has been re-broadcast many times owing to consistent demand from its large audience. It has also generated passionate discussions on the internet and enjoyed huge domestic DVD sales. Pai's original novel grabbed the readers' attention again. In brief, a transformation of Taiwanese society can be seen through the representations and receptions of *Niezi* in the last three decades: the novel of *Niezi* first appeared in the 1980s as the dissident symbol of sinful sons, was used as the iconic text in the activism for human rights of homosexuals in the 1990s, and has now re-emerged as the most popular homosexual TV series in the public's view.

While some celebrate *Niezi*'s popular status, gained through the commercial and critical success of the TV adaptation, suggesting that the society is becoming more liberal towards homosexuality, there is actually much more at stake. The public image of homosexuals is still limited in a homonormative way, focusing on positive portrayals. Although some sexual elements have been added to the adaptation, they are presented in a heterosexual romantic style in order to be mainstream friendly. Despite the fact that tongzhi and kuer politics have been developed and debated for a decade to advocate pluralistic sexualities, the TV series of *Niezi* falls into the normativity of respectable homosexuality. The darkness and dissidence of the original novel is replaced by a monogamous gay romantic love story. While some argue that the canonised status of *Niezi* has maintained the popularity of the novel in the past three decades, it is actually assisted by the popularised representation of the TV series to attract audiences and younger readers to read or reread the book. In brief, the TV series of *Niezi* is a cool production with all the cool elements to draw viewing rates; however, the coolness of the production does not reveal progress in the representation of homosexuality. The visibility of homosexuality is

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[60] The Golden Bell Award is an annual Taiwanese television award, Taiwan's equivalent to the Emmy Awards.

increased, but the variety of ways in which to represent homosexuality is limited by mainstream consumerism.

Conclusion

Cosmopolitan Gays?

In the Asia Pacific section of *The New York Times*, an article entitled 'For Asia's Gays, Taiwan Stands out as Beacon', regarding Taiwan's gay pride parade, was published on the 29th October 2014. In this article, Grace Poore, the director of Asia and Pacific island programmes at the International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission, comments that "Taiwan is an inspiration for much of Asia" and "They are way ahead of their neighbours" (Poore qtd. in Jacobs 1). The gay pride parade in Taiwan is the biggest in Asia and participants from other Asian countries are growing every year. Several laws regarding gay and lesbian equal rights have been passed in the past few years, as summarised by this report: openly gay and lesbian soldiers can serve in the military now; the Ministry of Education requires textbooks to promote understanding of and respect towards gays, lesbians, and other sexual minorities; a law against workplace discrimination to protect homosexuals was passed by legislators; Same-sex marriage is considered to be legalised and is in discussion now (Jacobs 1). Such success of the annual gay pride parade since 2003, and a number of laws passed to protect homosexuals' equal rights, demonstrate how quickly Taiwan has caught up with its Western counterparts, especially given the fact that homosexual activism was not started until the early 1990s in Taiwanese society. The increasing emergence of human rights campaigns for homosexuals show that the global US-led Western cultural discourse on homosexuality and social activism is widely accepted by the Taiwanese public, including both straight people and LGBTQ groups.

Indeed, as this thesis demonstrates, since the lifting of Martial Law, the socio-political transformation of Taiwan has seen its society demonstrate an eagerness to join the contemporary world culture, including globalised representations of sexualities. Storm and Harrison point out, that while identity is considered pluralistic in the era of globalisation, Taiwan's contemporary pluralistic national identity caused by its unrecognised international status might be seen by some as corresponding to the world's politically correct mood (10). This pluralistic politics is certainly embraced at a social level in generating diversified activism in Taiwan as well, including homosexual activism. The cultural discourse on homosexuality has been transformed under these conditions, with numerous American-trained Taiwanese scholars and writers coming back to Taiwan and making contributions to the homosexual activism and gay subcultural development.

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Taiwanese scholar Chu Wei-cheng describes this cultural phenomenon as a dominant literary trend in 1990s Taiwan, witnessed by the booming emergence of "tongzhi and kuer literature" (20). Several literary works related to homosexuality published at this time have received a great deal of critical attention as well as literary awards, for example, *Notes of a Crocodile* (1994) and *Last Words from Montmartre* (1996) by Qiu Miaojin and[61] *Notes of a Desolate Man* (1994) by Chu Tien-wen in which the extensive citation of Euro-American gender and sexuality theories was particularly praised at the inception of the kuer movement in Taiwan's academia. This literary phenomenon showed Taiwan's changing social attitude towards homosexuals and the trend of US-led globalisation on the ideas about homosexuality in post-Martial Law Taiwanese society.

The socio-political and economic transformation has also led to the re-representations of Pai's *Niezi* in the past three decades. Standing as the first full-length novel concerned with male same-sex desire and male prostitution, *Niezi* did not receive much critical acclaim and commercial success in the 1980s owing to the then conservative cultural atmosphere during Martial Law. Nonetheless, the post-Martial Law years saw the novel becoming a crucial text for the social activism surrounding homosexual human rights in the 1990s, along with the boom in the tongzhi and kuer movements. In 2003, *Niezi* was adapted to the TV screen and received both critical and commercial success. In a few words, the dissident status of *Niezi* in the 1980s has now been replaced by its popularised status, which shows that socio-economic change has generated different receptions and interpretations of the novel.

Nonetheless, while *Niezi* has been re-presented in the past three decades and homosexuality is no longer a social taboo in public, does it really suggest that Taiwan is becoming more progressive in the development of gay subculture? In fact, although global culture has been welcomed since the 1990s in Taiwan, a confluence of local and imported foreign conceptions has given rise to a multicultural representation of homosexuality. And such constructions of the ideas about homosexuality are constantly re-negotiating with each other, in ways the conclusion of this thesis aims to emphasise.

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[61] *Notes of a Desolate Man* won the China Times Novel Prize in 1995. *Notes of a Crocodile* won the China Times Recommended Literature Award in 1995.

6.1 Cosmopolitan Gay

The term cosmopolitanism is now variously used, as summarised by Robert Spencer, as "the ideal of hospitality and perpetual peace" (Bohman and Lutz-Bachmann 1997); "a democratic community that transcends the nation state" (Archibugi and Held 1995; Falk 1995); "the universality of human rights" (Falk 2000); "the new ideological mask of advanced capitalism" (Brennan 2003); "a kind of cultural mixing dramatized by literary texts" (Shoene 2010) (2). For the *Oxford English Dictionary*, 'cosmopolitan' denotes "a sense of belonging to all parts of the world", an ideology that all human beings belong to a single community, based on a shared morality, while "cosmopolitanism means adherence to this principle" (qtd. in Spencer 2). Any person who abides by the principles of cosmopolitanism can be seen as a cosmopolitan.

Cosmopolitanism is considered necessary in a contemporary globalised world because many think it can counter-balance globalisation. According to Robert Spencer's summary of various opinions, "if globalisation seeks to homogenise the planet from above (economically and culturally), then cosmopolitanism is a reaction or counter to this process", and to make "planetary conviviality" (4). That is, cosmopolitanism is about respecting pluralism. In a cosmopolitan community, individuals are from different nationalities and social backgrounds and demonstrate mutual respect in relation to different ideas about politics, religions, sexualities, and professions. Cosmopolitanism does not allow the dominant to homogenise the dominated.

While cultural pluralism has been the political project of the New Taiwan proposal since the post-Martial Law years, cosmopolitanism has become one of the ideologies for activists to advocate respect for and equality of different socially marginalised groups, including homosexuals. In order to get rid of the previous Martial Law constraints quickly, activists and cultural intellectuals have sought inspiration from Western counterparts, promoting democratisation and pluralism, introducing US-led academic and theoretical discourses on cultural and literary studies, and planting neoliberal discourse in the capitalist economy. The result is that Taiwan has joined contemporary world culture in terms of political democracy, free trade and the market, the rule of law, human rights, and gender and sexual equality. In the last category, Taiwan is proud to be the Asian country

with the most female politicians in parliament (Chen Hsin-yi);[62] it is the first Asian country to consider legalising same-sex marriage, as well as to have its major politicians and popular celebrities participating in the biggest Asian gay parade. As Song Hwee Lim argues, homosexual human right is "a hot ticket for politicians eager to attract the pink or liberal vote". In elite circles in Taiwan, it is politically correct to speak positively about homosexuality. For all its "inherent hypocrisies", "political correctness seems to have served homosexuality well" in Taiwanese society (33-34). Owing to the prevailing political correctness to support homosexuals, Taiwan is undoubtedly the most liberal of all East Asian and Confucian-culture influenced nations and regions. Those 'mosts' and 'firsts' symbolise the success of Taiwan's efforts to catch up with the progressive ideologies of the Western or Westernised nations in contemporary world politics. Nowadays, Taiwanese can proudly say 'we have a mature democracy and an annual gay parade as well', or 'we are the role model for sexual equality in Asia'.

Nonetheless, on the other hand, those 'firsts' in the terrain of gender and sexualities demonstrate that Taiwan is becoming more and more globalised. While cosmopolitanism is not considered globalisation, it is difficult to separate them absolutely. In his article 'Comparative Cosmopolitanism' (1992), Bruce Robbins examines several explanations of the term cosmopolitanism, pointing out that one of the dangers of advocating cosmopolitanism is to suggest "totalising Western liberalism" (323). Drawing on James Clifford's criticism, Robbins states that, although the literary meaning of cosmopolitanism suggests inclusiveness by advocating respecting diversities, not everyone can be qualified as a cosmopolitan. Cosmopolitans, according to Robbins, tend to be seen as privileged groups or social elites who claim to be flexible in global cultures and "transnational occupations" (312). One of the examples of transnational culture Robbins gives is the "intellectuals", such as academics (312-315). Intellectuals are widely seen as the legitimate cultural transmitters owing to their cultural capital to legitimise the tastes in a society. Nonetheless, intellectuals may target the tastes of the global market by writing criticism or fiction that establishes their cosmopolitan credentials. In other words, cosmopolitanism often privileges the globalised cultural elites.

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[62] According to the UN survey on the world's demography of female politicians in 2012, the percentage of female politicians in Taiwan's parliament is 31 percent (no. 16 in the world), way ahead of other Asian countries like Singapore (24 percent), South Korea (14 percent) and Japan (12 percent) (Chen Hsin-yi).

While homosexual activism was mostly inaugurated and advocated by US-trained academics and institutionalised by universities, post-Martial Law and twenty-first century Taiwan have seen the booming of identity politics for homosexuals based on Western academic theories and Western-inspired criticism. This cultural trend has been extended to the critical readings of local creative writings and novels, which saw *Niezi* interpreted by various queer and sexuality theories in the past three decades. The TV adaptation of *Niezi* also saw the introduction of commercial elements of Japanese popular culture to make it cool for the market. That is, reading and representing *Niezi* has become a transnational practice in Taiwanese academia and cultural activities. On the one hand, it is as a result of *Niezi*'s pioneer status and dissident spirit to the then authoritarian social atmosphere and familialism that it has been selected as the crucial text for homosexuals; on the other hand, the text did not accelerate the transformation of society. Rather, it became popular in society owing to its changing interpretations along with the social transformations caused by globalisation, as this thesis has shown. In response to the influence of globalised articulations of homosexuality since the 1990s, in 2014, a resistance to the Westernised reading of the text took place, which saw a critical debate about how to read the new representation of *Niezi*, the theatrical version of the book.

6.2 Staging *Niezi*

Owing to *Niezi*'s established iconic status, the last three decades have seen film and television adaptations of it, and homosexual activism based on it. In 2014, a new representation of the novel appeared, this time through a different form of art—theatre. The play version's director is the same as the TV series', Tsao Jui-yuan. The actress who plays A-Qing's mother in the TV series was also invited to continue the same role in this new adaptation (she won the Golden Bell Award's Best Actress category for this role in 2003). It is evident that the play's production team aims to continue the success of the TV series and hopes to achieve equal levels of critical attention.

Nonetheless, the play has received mixed reviews from several cultural activists, critics and scholars, some of whom have been extremely negative. This is best demonstrated by Chang Hsiao-hung's review, 'With such *Niezi*, Why Need a Director' (2014). Chang Hsiao-hung, an US-trained professor teaching at the Department of Foreign

Languages and Literatures, National Taiwan University, is well known for her activist role in Taiwan's homosexual equal rights movements and her experiences as the director of Taiwan's Research Centre for Feminism and Cultural Studies. Owing to her active involvement in numerous cultural activities, her extremely harsh comments on the play version of *Niezi* have aroused much attention. In this article, Chang opens with disappointment towards the whole production. She attributes the play's failure to director Tsao's amateurishness. For her, Tsao is overly faithful to the original novel in this 210-minute stage production. Unlike the TV series, which contains 20 episodes, there is no space to explain the details of every character and all the sub-plots. The overly detailed storylines result in too much narrative, but not enough action in this production. Since this is a stage play, Chang thinks Tsao should make the best use of visual representation to present the novel. Furthermore, Chang also criticises the actors for being more suited to work in films or TV series because of their focus on the subtlety of performance. In brief, Chang concludes that this play version of *Niezi* fails to reach the critics' expectations (Chang Hsiao-hung).

After addressing her discontent with the technical problems and the actors' acting styles, Chang turns to criticise the adaptation's representation of the novel by applying Western theories of gender and sexuality, regarding the play as a "misreading" of the book (Chang Hsiao-hung). In the play, the director changes the character of Chief Yang into a tomboy lesbian who has developed a strong sense of justice and maternal love for the boys. Chang is extremely critical of this change, stating that this is a destruction of the original novel's contrast between "phallic fathers" (e.g. Papa Fu) and "anal fathers" (e.g. Chief Yang). The latter are considered to be banished from the patriarchal world dominated by the former. If this contrast were changed, the spirit of criticising patriarchy in the novel would be demolished (Chang Hsiao-hung). Furthermore, Chang thinks the scenes of the police raids of New Park and interrogation of the boys look like banter. They do not reflect the significance of homosexuality under the Martial Law regime, which Chang thinks should be represented by "camp aesthetics" (ibid) instead.

Chang's criticism of the play based on Western theories of sexuality reveals some contradictory attributes and looks problematic. First, in the beginning, Chang criticises the play as 'overly-faithful' by presenting too much detail from the novel. Later, however, she accuses the play of 'misreading' the book. Secondly, Chang does not explain the terms

'phallic fathers', 'anal fathers' and 'camp aesthetics' at all. What Chang is doing here reflects the spirit of the kuer movement in the 1990s. That is, she asserts a subcultural capital that those US-trained scholars and writers are considered to possess. Because they are US-trained and Westernised, they consider themselves cooler than and superior to the general public. Since Chang purposely leaves those terms unexplained, it shows that her target readers are not the general public, who may not be familiar with them. Rather, the criticism addresses Westernised critics and activists or readers who are familiar with Western theories. Phallic fathers, in the Taiwanese context, may mean patriarchal fathers, heterosexual fathers or Confucian fathers, in contrast to anal fathers, which refers to homosexual fathers. As for the term camp, it is said to have been made well-known in the field of gender and sexuality studies by American scholar Susan Sontag's essay 'Notes on Camp' (1964), which is widely considered her defining work. In this essay, Sontag argues that camp symbolises certain exaggerated "personality mannerisms", which could be "androgynous", "flamboyantly feminine" or "theatrical" (Sontag qtd. in Castle 22). It became an aesthetic style based on deliberately dramatised or even exaggerated manners, and has been often associated with a gay male subculture, a stereotypical view of flamboyantly feminine gay men. The term camp was introduced to Taiwan's academia in the 1990s and was widely used by these US-trained academics to denote effeminacy in some types of feminine gay men as well. In other words, Chang's wording is not historically sensitive in terms of the context of the book. Last but not least, while Chang is dwelling on the contrast between phallic fathers and anal fathers, she has missed another possible interpretation of the adaptation, which changes Chief Yang into a lesbian, a female sexuality much oppressed in the Martial Law era. In Chapter One, I demonstrated that female sexuality in the Martial Law period was only represented from a patriarchal and heterosexual perspective that objectified women as men's sexualised objects-either virtuous housewives or debased female prostitutes. Female homosexuality was excluded from the public discourse on sexualities. The changing of Chief Yang into a lesbian character can be seen as the director's intentional move to draw attention to the ignored history of female homosexuality in the Martial Law era. While homosexuals were excluded from polite society in the Martial Law era, which the original novel criticises, the ignorance of female same-sex desire should also be recognised in today's democratic and pluralistic society, something the play may aim to demonstrate. In brief, Chang's criticism shows the fascination with Western theories of sexualities in today's Taiwanese academia,

in which local cultural productions tend to be interpreted based on the use of Western critiques.

In response to Chang's comments, Pai, *Niezi*'s author, defended Tsao's production by criticising Chang's review. First, Pai showed that, according to the questionnaires collected from the audiences, 64 percent like the play very much and 29 percent like it (Pai qtd. in Wang 1). With 93 percent of the audiences expressing a positive response to the production, Pai believes that most of the audiences are moved by the play. Secondly, Pai is extremely critical of Chang's application of Western theory to judge the adaptation, stating the following: "Theory usually comes after a work or production. There is usually a variety of theories to interpret a work. Nonetheless, I am not bound by theories. Theories are for some academics to write essays. They need theories to teach and work in academia" (Pai qtd. in Wang 1). Pai's criticism suggests that, although Pai himself has studied in the United States before, he is not totally bound to write and interpret his works by Western theories. Instead, he is critical of Chang's academic language to review a play locally made in Taiwan. Pai further comments that "Chang's academic thought cannot catch up with the creator's thought" (ibid). Agreeing with Pai, director Tsao responded with another statement: "Taiwanese theatre does not need a critic like Chang" (Tsao qtd. in Wang 1). For Tsao, Chang is obsessed with Western theories to interpret a Taiwanese theatrical production and so she ignores the humanity the play intends to convey. Tsao emphasises that:

> He is dealing with the production from the perspective of humanist compassion and Pai's work is just about this. There is no need to complicate this simple message. The main point in *Niezi* is the boys' craving for home and family, desire for love. Reconciliation and understanding between familial members are the only means to free the boys from their suffering" (Tsao qtd. in Wang 1).

In a few words, the play intends to show that home is the ultimate salvation for Taiwanese homosexuals.

Pai and Tsao's responses demonstrate a resistance to the Westernised interpretation of a local cultural production by suggesting a return to local concerns. Indeed, in some respects, Taiwan is still regarded as a traditional society bound by filial piety that emphasises family and the production of heirs. Although the society has been largely

changed since the lifting of Martial Law, filial piety and Confucian familialism remain the central beliefs in most people's lives. As an interviewee, Edgar Chang, said during Taiwan's gay parade in 2014, "I don't think they (parents) would disown me, but at the same time, I think it might kill them because they really want a grandchild" (Edgar Chang qtd. in Jacobs 1). Edgar Chang said he is 'out' to his friends already, but did not yet possess enough courage to tell his parents that he had a boyfriend for the past three years (ibid). This confession shows that parents are always the most difficult part of coming out for most Taiwanese homosexuals. The struggle to reconcile with parents in *Niezi* still reflects homosexuals' lived experiences in Taiwan.

Yet, while Chang's use of theory may be problematic, Tsao's resort to a naïve humanism is also unsatisfactory. The terms 'home' and 'father' in the work signify a specific cultural context, which no longer exactly exists in the democratised and pluralistic Taiwanese society. Instead, the understanding and representation of homosexual subculture should not be envisaged as homogeneous in a democratic world. As Alan Sinfield describes homosexual subculture:

> Our terms, 'gay', 'lesbian', 'lesbian and gay', 'lesbian, gay and bisexual', 'dyke', 'queer', are markers of political allegiance, far more than ways of having or thinking about sex. We are encouraged to envisage these terms as identifying specific forms of desire and practice, but immensely diverse behaviours and fantasies find some place within them (*Cultural Politics* 67).

There are no clearly-defined boundaries within homosexual subcultures. The development of homosexual subcultures should be about how marginal or dissident views become known and spread, and how they sustain some of their principles instead of being homogenised by the dominant configurations of homosexuality. Under the circumstance of globalised sexualities, the debate between Chang and Pai and Tsao is important. It helps to reset the boundaries, to rethink sexualities in different ways. It also proposes to maintain possible variants to decode homosexuality, emphasising the continuing renegotiation and possible multicultural model accelerated by it.

6.3 Final Words

As exemplified by the representation of *Niezi* in Taiwan in the past three decades, a literary text is actually open for different interpretations in different times, although it was first produced under certain socio-cultural conditions. The classic status of *Niezi* in Taiwan is not only about its inherent characteristics, but also the appropriation processed by various cultural critics and activists. It is the transformation of the society that has generated the canonisation of the book. Yet, while the booming of the gay market has seen a respectable image of homosexuals prevalent in public discourse and globalised sexualities advocated by academia, cosmopolitanism continues to require us to question the liberalism that the public embraces. The debate between Chang and Pai and Tsao regarding the play version of *Niezi* reminds us of the importance of sustaining a self-critical attitude towards Taiwanese society, in which homosexuals should be envisaged as heterogeneous in a democratised free country. On the one hand, Taiwan is proud to be an Asian nation with progressive thinking and activism in terms of advocating homosexual human rights; on the other hand, it is important to avoid the imposition of dominant ways of understanding and representing homosexuality. People should be encouraged to perceive new ideas challenging the preconceptions of homosexuality and related cultural productions in order to understand various individuals and groups. That is what cosmopolitanism means.

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Chinese Glossary

A –Fung 阿鳳

A-Ga 阿嘎

Ah Hsiung 阿雄

A-Mei (Chang Hui-mei) 阿妹 (張惠妹)

Ai Fu Hao Zizai Bai (*Ai Bao*) 愛福好自在報 (愛報)

A-Qing 阿青

Bai Lu 白鷺

Bao Jin Yidian 抱緊一點

Beijing 北京

Benshengren 本省人

Bentuhua 本土化

Bunan bunu 不男不女

Bu xiao you san wu hou wei da 不孝有三無後為大

Cai Yuanhuang 蔡源煌

Chang Hsiao-hung 張小虹

Chen Chong-qi 陳崇騏

Chen Fang-ming 陳芳明

Chen Jo-hsi 陳若曦

Chen Shui-bian 陳水扁

Chen Zhong 晨鐘

Chengji 政治

Chen Xue 陳雪

Chiang Ching 蔣青

Chiang Ching-kuo 蔣經國

Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石

Chi Ta-wei 紀大偉

Chun Guang 春光

Chunshang re 村上熱

Chusheng 畜生

Chu Tien-wen 朱天文

Chou Hua-jian 周華健

Chou Wah-shan 周華山

Chu Wei-cheng 朱偉誠

Da Cuo Che 搭錯車

Dan 旦

Daoyu Bianyuan 島嶼邊緣

Daxue 大學

Dazhong Ribao 大眾日報

Erzi De Dawanou 兒子的大玩偶

Fanghai fenghua 妨害風化

Fanghai shanliang fengsu 妨害善良風俗

Fujian 福建

Fu Chong-shan 傅重山

Fu Wei 傅衛

Gong Shi 公視

Guangdong 廣東

Guangxi 廣西

'Gulianhua' 孤戀花

Haijiao Qi Hao 海角七號

Han 漢

Hansheng 漢聲

Ha-ri-zu 哈日族

Hoklo 河洛

Hong Ling 洪凌

Hou Hsiao-hsien 侯孝賢

Hsia Chih-tsing 夏至清

Hsiao Yeh 小野

Huang Chun-ming 黃春明

Huang Tao-ming 黃道明

Huang Ying-ying 黃鶯鶯

Huang Yuan 荒原

Hui 回

Jimo De Shiqisui 寂寞的十七歲

Jin Daban 金大班

'Jin Daban De Zuihou Yiye' 金大班的最後一夜

Ji Xian 紀弦

Ji Zheng 季正

Kaohsiung 高雄

Ke Zhi-ming 柯志明

King Chin 金勤

Ko Lao-hsiung 柯老雄

Ko Yi-cheng 柯一正

Kuer 酷兒

Kuer wenxue 酷兒文學

Kuomintang 國民黨

Lai Zhengzhe 賴正哲

Le Mu 樂牧

Lee Teng-hui 李登輝

Li Ang 李昂

Lianhe Bao 聯合報

Liao Ping-hui 廖炳惠

Lin Huiming 林懷明

Linjian 臨檢

Lin Maoxiung 林茂雄

Lin Shi 林氏

Lin Yaode 林耀德

Lin Yihua 林奕華

Ling 靈

Liou Liang-ya 劉亮雅

Liuxing Huayuan 流星花園

Liyue 麗月

Long Yingtai 龍應臺

Loyang 洛陽

Lu Hsiu-lien 呂秀蓮

Lu Kang 鹿港

Luo Fo 洛夫

Mama Yang 媽媽楊

Manglie 盲獵

Ma Pei-chang 馬佩璋

Mei Lang-fang 梅蘭芳

Meili Dao 美麗島

Mencius 孟子

'Miantian Li Liangjingjing De Xinxing' 滿天裡亮晶晶的星星

Minnan 閩南

Mo 膜

Nanfeng 南風

Nanse 男色

Nie 孽

Niezi 孽子

Niuni zuotai 扭捏作態

Nuhua 奴化

Ouxiangju 偶像劇

Ouyang Tzu 歐陽子

Pai Chung-hsi 白崇禧

Pai Hsien-yung 白先勇

Peiying 背影

Ping Lu 平路

Qi Jia-lin 戚嘉林

Qing 清

Qiu Miaojin 邱妙津

Qizhuang yifu 奇裝異服

Renyao 人妖

Sanshui 三水

Shafu 殺夫

Shanghai 上海

Sima Zhongyuan 司馬中原

Song Chu-yu 宋楚瑜

Song Hwee Lim 松輝林

Sun Yat-sen 孫逸仙

Sun Yue 孫越

Taipei Ren 台北人

Taiwan de 'bentu' wenhua 台灣的本土文化

Taiwan jie 台灣結

Taiwan yishi 台灣意識

Tang Tangmo 唐糖膜

Tang Na 唐娜

Tang Po-hu 唐伯虎

Tang-wai 黨外

Tao Te-cheng 陶德正

Tianfengbao 天風報

Tiejiang 鐵漿

Ting Ya-ming 丁亞明

Tongxinglian 同性戀

Tongxinglian Banglian 同性戀邦聯

Tongzhi 同志

'Tongzhi Gongheguo' 同志共和國

Tsao Jui-yuan 曹瑞源

Tseng Chuang-hsiang 曾壯祥

Wang Chih-hung 王志宏

Wang Wen-xing 王文興

Wanhua 萬華

Wenqing 文青

Wu Biyong 吳畢雍

Wu Min 吳敏

Wu Zhuoliu 吳濁流

Wu Nien-chen 吳念真

Xiandai Wenxue 現代文學

Xin Gongyuan Renyao Zhongzhong 新公園人妖重重

Xinhai 辛亥

Yangge 秧歌

Yang Te-chang 楊德昌

Yang Wei 楊衛

Ye Huo Ji 野火集

Yin Hseuh-yen 尹雪艷

Ying Fenghuang 應鳳凰

'Yongyuan De Yin Hsueh-yen' 永遠的尹雪艷

Yue Meng 月夢

Yun Fang 雲芳

Yu Kanping 虞戡平

Yu 慾

'Zai Heiye Li Choucha De Jidushan Gangmen' 在黑夜裡抽插的基督山鋼門

Zaijian 再見

Zeng Qiuhuang 曾秋煌

Zhang Ailing 張愛玲

Zheng Chenggong 鄭成功

Zhengxin Xinwen Bao 徵信新聞報

Zhongguo jie 中國結

Zhou Mengdie 周夢蝶

Zhao Ying 趙英

Zhu Ziqing 朱自清

Japanese Glossary

Aidoru dorama アイドルドラマ

Akana Rika　赤名りか

Arigatou ありがとう

Atari Kousuke 中孝介

Ban 版

Bakayarou 馬鹿野郎

Bishonen　美少年

Den Kenjiro　田健次郎

Doraemon　ドラえもん

Doka　同化

Hana yori dango　花より男子

Hentai 変態

Kaisai 開催

Kamen no Kokuhaku 仮面の告白

Kanji 漢字

Komin　皇民

Kominka　皇民化

Kuchihige 口髭

Mishima Yukio　三島由紀夫

Miyazaki Hayao　宮崎駿

Murakami Haruki　村上春樹

Nakashima　中島

Nankoku 南国

Obasan　おばさん

San　さん

Sakura　桜

Sayonara さよなら

Shimonoseki　下関

Shinto 神道

Shojo manga　少女漫画

Sou desu　そうです

Kokkyou no Minami, Taiyou no Nishi　国境の南, 太陽の西

Tanbi　たん美

Tatami　たたみ

Tomoko　友子

Toseiai 同性愛

Washitsu 和室

Yakitori　焼き鳥

Yokomitsu Riichi　横光利一

Zabuton 座布団

Zannen　残念

こんにちは、私は小玉です。はじめまして、どうぞよろしく。(Hello, my name is Little Jade. It is nice to see you)