AS NORMAL AS POSSIBLE

Negotiating Sexuality and Gender in Mainland China and Hong Kong

Edited by
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Dreaming of Normal While Sleeping with Impossible: Introduction

Yau Ching

Issues related to sexuality have emerged in China and Hong Kong[1] in unprecedented ways in the past several years. The growth of religious fundamentalisms and global gay discourses, heightened media attention linking the rising AIDS figures primarily to the gay community, *tongzhi*[2] activist movements, struggles and public demands of sex workers, have all contributed to this new visibility. In Hong Kong, tensions are rapidly rising within the growing impact of the religious neo-liberal front fueled with reclaimed (reimagined) post-1997 Chinese moralism *vis-à-vis* glocalized movements of sexual rights. Normative institutions for the regulation of sexuality including faith-based organizations and megachurches in Hong Kong and to a less successful degree in China, and government bureaucracies across the region, have adopted activist strategies to act in unprecedented unison, and with great speed, triggering waves of moral panic[3] in their campaigns against sexual minorities and representations including but not limited to LBGTIQ and sex workers' movements, pornography and queer mainstreaming, in order to restabilize their stronghold and perpetuate their privileges. As a result, non-normative sexual subjects and communities have been brought centre stage and often stigmatized *together* due to their "abnormal/shameful" gender identities, object choices and/or sexual practices, while *tongzhi* activists—often in alliance with other pro-sexual rights groups—are striving to fight back. There is a very urgent need for intellectual work to more acutely articulate, understand and analyze the complexity of the issues raised, the subject formations concerned, and the ways in which different norms line up and become synonymous with one another. This work will contribute to building situated knowledges that will strengthen the discursive power of non-normative sexual-subjects-in-alliance, enabling them to fight against the stigmatization and facilitate more visibility of variance and differences.[4]

This book showcases the work of emerging and established scholars — working mostly outside Euro-America—on contemporary *tongzhi* studies. As one of the first sustained collections of writings on non-normative sexual subjectivities and sexual politics in Hong Kong and China post-1997 published in English, many of the writers included here are uniquely first-generation. Unlike the Euro-American academia where gender (umbrella word including sexuality) and queer studies have been rapidly proliferating at the risk of becoming normalized, these fields are still marked in Mainland China and Hong Kong as territories for the impossible and unthinkable, inhabited by stigma, silence, risk and frustration. In most universities in China and almost all universities in Hong Kong, postgraduate students are guided away from working on topics concerning queer studies *and/or* sexuality; scholars are discouraged from pursuing or publishing research in these fields. As a result, queer studies scholars have produced relatively little scholarship outside the contexts of Europe, North America and Australia. Scholars based in Asia have had remarkably little opportunity and freedom to access the resources needed to conduct and publish studies regarding LBGTIQ communities and non-normative sexual practices, in our own languages even, not to mention in English. Both of these histories have contributed to a systemic suppression of sexuality and a perpetuation of varieties of hybrid heteronormativities (that also need study) in the formulation and institutionalization of knowledge. In this light, most of the research presented here is *primary* research, literally—most of the topics and/or communities studied here have not been studied before. All the authors here conducted their research primarily in a language other than English. Subjects previously unthinkable in the societies they live in *and* in English are be(com)ing named, spoken, articulated, and communicated through this project. This book could therefore be seen, by its writers as well as its readers, as an act of disclosure. Like most acts of disclosure, a certain strategic essentialism would be considered historically necessary by writers in this book while the collection as a whole resists the normalizing logic of the modernized privileged queer agent.[5] As a project of "continuous deconstruction of the tenets of positivism at the heart of identity politics", the Euro-American critique of queer studies "disallows any positing of a proper subject of or object for the field by insisting that queer has no fixed political referent" (Eng, Halberstam and Muñoz 3). However, in many parts of the rest of the world today, identity politics have not made their way into a core part ("heart") of our culture as most subjects could not afford to politicize one's identity. The Chinese translation of "queer" has also been largely unable to go beyond academic circles in China and Hong Kong.[6] With *Queer Eye for the Straight Guy* widely consumed on Hong Kong mainstream television (entitled in Chinese as *Fenhong jiu bing*, literally meaning *The Pink Rescue Team*, thus

avoiding the untranslatability of "queer" and the potential confrontation in the suggested opposition/separation between queer and straight) and on YouTube, queer consumerism has popularized itself as one of the coolest parts of Western globalization. By rechanneling expressions of seemingly non-normative desires *only* into commodity culture this form of queerness helps to serve rather than challenge the hegemonic hierarchies of sexualities.

Resistance to the (queer) normativity seemingly offered by the American-centric (subjectless) agent, as summarized by Eng, Halberstam and Muñoz, also needs to be problematized. In this age of globalized "queer liberalism", not only does that normativity need to be foregrounded and interrogated as "variegated, striated, contradictory" (Villarejo), it is also important to remember that normativity as a relative ideal might not be accessible for many people in most parts of the world. As a performative façade fraught with fission, consumed and upheld with ongoing-but-never-to-be-exposed sacrifices and sweat, it is practically impossible and thus always desirable. I began to learn this from the following experience. Undergraduates in Cultural Studies at the school where I teach are required to work on an article-length thesis under supervision in their final year. Last year one of my students, K., wanted his thesis to be on "Straight-boy Complexes of Hong Kong Gays". Mainly based on his self-inquiry, his personal observations of friends around him, interviews and focus group discussions with friends and acquaintances, his project tried to understand how and why Hong Kong gay boys—especially "sissies" like himself—seemed to have an unyielding fixation on straight-looking guys in spite of repeated hurt, rejection and shaming. In the second tutorial, in my most gentle and understanding voice, I asked him if he had considered these "complexes" as constituted at least partly by self-loathing homophobia. Much to my surprise, with a big nodding smile he responded he had certainly asked himself *this*. He didn't tell me what his answer was. Later in his paper, he concluded by suggesting that these fantasies to date or *have* straight boys might be closely akin to a naturalized/socialized desire to access normativity—to be as close to being normal as possible because it is through sleeping with straight boys that one can imagine *being close to* getting married, having children and building families. Thus the moment of being closest to normativity is also the moment of confirming the impossibility of one's desire is also the moment of knowing one's queerness. It is only upon acknowledgement of one's not being straight that one needs to put one's finger on straightness in other ways, including in ways apparently impossible. In other words, my simplistic and presumptuous question had failed to register the complex processes of construction of and negotiation with normativity *within* subjects who are deprived of the right or the option or resist to be normal to start with. With "As Normal As Possible"—

the title of this collection—the emphasis is on the two "as"es; how its meanings change *aaaasssss* it moves along the conditions that define it. In what ways does normativity produce (im)possibilities for our sexualities; how do we stretch and resist the hegemony of normativity *and* survive to redefine, make productive and/or transform its violence and tensions in our be(come)ings? When it is given that certain forms of sexuality could not be "normal" period, the challenges for the continual and thriving existence of non-normative sexual subjects reside between the operations of at least these two levels (among others) *simultaneously*: accessing "normal" as a possibility *and* transforming "normal" into "possible".

Different Normativities

As what is considered "queer" might vary from context to context, what is constructed, desired and/or resisted as normative also varies across different bodies and communities. This collection seeks to highlight the context-specificity of normativity and the ways in which different individuals'/communities' love-and-hate relationships with normativity are also manifested and negotiated differently at different historical moments, fine-tuned according to the different power structures of each context and making different meanings. For male sex workers who serve primarily men (in local parlance "money boys") in contemporary Mainland China, the neo-liberal ideology of achieving upward class mobility and adopting a cosmopolitan lifestyle signifies more normativity than concerns regarding sexual identity or health. For Indonesian domestic helpers in Hong Kong, the prescribed feminine role of getting married, serving one's husband and having kids at home exerts tremendous pressure on the migrant workers' lives, thus informing and configuring their choices of migrancy, transgenderism and exploration of same-sex desires and practices. Compared to female migrant workers in Hong Kong and lesbians in Shanghai, Hong Kong lesbians are less confronted with the pressure to get married, but they suffer nonetheless from the expectations of their being straight-behaving, income-aspiring or income-earning hard-working girls at school, at work and at home. Their need for lesbian-only spaces expresses a desire for a buffer and comfort zone to work out and manage the stress that comes with their non-normative identities and to gain more bargaining power within a highly condensed capitalist normativity. In desiring to access this normativity, the women in Tang's study identify—not without contradictions—with a visible queer consumerism, and an affirmative discourse on lesbian sexuality as (close-to-)normal possibilities. In Shanghai *lalas*' (a Chinese term for women with same-sex desires) experimentation with "fake marriage" in order to act

"normal", they have created new forms of intimacy and familial relations in the interstices between heterosexual and same-sex relationships. A reading of some pornographic period dramas made in 1970s–1990s Hong Kong suggests that the assumed normative ideal of monogamous marriage based on romantic equalitarian love between opposite genders is a very recent invention and might not be quite universalized or even desirable in contemporary Chinese imaginaries that retain memories of our literary past. Yet, for an openly queer icon Leslie Cheung Kwok-wing (who starred in films including *Rouge, Farewell My Concubine* and *Happy Together*, among others) operating in an increasingly or more overtly homophobic post-1997 Hong Kong, he found himself exhausting all his energies and creativity in negotiating with the limits of masculine- and hetero-normativity. In films representing transgender subjects in China today, realism, essentialized genders and assumed mutual exclusivity of homosexuality and heterosexuality are explored and critiqued as sites of normativity, whereas for transsexuals who are inevitably subject to the violence of Hong Kong's medical system, a stable and changed gender offers simultaneously the promise for normativity as well as the means for self-invention.

Different Chinese

In providing grounded and original fieldwork, as well as critical applications from the wider fields of sociological studies, public health, cultural and film studies, this interdisciplinary collection taps on the one hand, the denaturalizing of disciplinary boundaries and assumptions in Euro-American queer studies, and on the other, demonstrates the study of Chinese sexuality as an emergent field currently emanating from multiple disciplines. This book will hopefully help to just begin queering and re-sexualizing established academic disciplines, anthropology, sociology and cinema studies, to name a few, in putting together a long overdue initial knowledge base on sexuality and queer politics in China, including Hong Kong. Using a variety of methodologies ranging from ethnographic studies, documentation of activist happenings, to institution and textual analysis, it builds on existing scholarship to further diversify the study of sexuality as well as produce differences within the study of "Chinese" sexualities. As it is impossible to study sexuality in Hong Kong as a subject in isolation without studying its embeddedness in other domains such as class, educational backgrounds, religion, gender, ethnicity, and various relationships to westernization-cum-modernization, nationalism and colonialism, I envision this collection as potentially posing new and exciting challenges to queer studies pioneered but also now still somewhat shadowed by the Euro-North

American axis.

Recent studies of male and female same-sex desires in early modern, modern and contemporary Chinese studies tend to privilege the site of China, at times with a comparative reference to Taiwan, but have understudied other Chinese-speaking cultures, most notably that of Hong Kong. While studies on Japan and Thailand have contended that local gender and sexual identities are shaped as much by traditional cultural trajectories as by the reworkings of globalization through the negotiative frameworks of the nation-states, this anthology seeks to examine the processes of (re)genderization and sexualization of Chinese cultures today via cities including Hong Kong, Shanghai and Beijing. The changing configurations of sexualities are studied in light of the destabilizing, internally differentiated and contested notions of the Chinese nation-state through its conflicted relations with regional and local territories such as Hong Kong, whose cultural and geographical boundaries also need to be problematized by the presence of its large population of immigrants and migrant workers, with Indonesians as a prominent case in hand.

Structure and Chapters

This collection chooses as its starting point considerations of late-twentieth-century global and local movement of labour that have reconfigured class, urban-rural, ethnic and gender hierarchies and their mutual embeddedness with sexual identifications and practices. For many in China, sex work is an attractive occupation which can provide more economic reward than that of an average (manual or even white collar) worker. As Warner notes, sex workers are the most visible examples whose gender identity and object choice could pass as normal yet they nonetheless "find themselves despised as queer because of their sexual practice" (37). Constructed by the rapidly compressed economic development of China today, sex work is a possible means to make one more "normal", while simultaneously making the subject an "abject disgrace" as well as an agent who enables new possibilities for oneself and for others. China's joining the World Trade Organization not only intensifies the already severe urban-rural inequality but further accelerates the growth of a migrant labor underclass, many of whom become sex workers in cities. The majority of clients for sex workers in Southern China are tourists from Hong Kong; the majority of sex workers in Hong Kong today are from the Mainland. While sex work is a popular profession in China and Hong Kong, the Chinese sex trade remains under-studied and most scholarly work done on the subject is available only in Chinese. Part one of this book re-frames sexualities closely related to Chinese cultural trajectories as well as drastic socio-economic changes around work and

around spatial and bodily shifts. It begins with focusing on an area which is often overlooked in existing scholarship: male sex workers.[7] Based on forty-five in-depth interviews of money boys mainly coming from rural or semi-rural areas to big cities in China, Kong's study facilitates understanding of these triply-stigmatized (rural-urban migrants, sex workers *and* engaged in homosexual behaviours) subjects' own perception of risk, intimacy and mobility in relation to their structural constraints and work experiences, analyzing the relationship between poverty, homelessness and sex work in light of the political economy of sexuality, and the "circuit of desire" that links up sexuality with tourism, work and love under the thesis of transnationalization of bodies. Contrary to the overtly one-sided and dominant representation of male sex workers as depressed, depraved, dissolute and violent sociopaths in popular Chinese culture and media representations, Kong has found that the option of sex work has offered new possibilities for survival, livelihood and self-development for young migrants in a class-stratified society confronted with massive tensions between rural and urban developments.

LBGTIQ scholarship filtered through an upper middle class lens and elite sensibilities tends to overlook communities of migrant workers whose sexuality is commonly assumed to be non-existent. The second chapter studies the ways in which Indonesian migrant workers in Hong Kong, not unlike rural-to-urban sex workers in China, re-configure their sexual identities and behaviours contingent upon the economic-driven contexts of labour and mobility. In studying the *trans* of "transitional sexuality" among female migrant workers, Sim looks at the nature of same-sex relationships that occur during labour migration and focuses on the mutability of sexuality, object choices and sexual behaviours to explain the complex ways in which cultural norms "at home" inform the experiences of migrant workers in the "host country". Sim also explains how geographic mobility enables greater sexual and gender mobility, rendering a mutually constitutive and simultaneous existence of the needs of queer agencies with the demands of straight family norms possible. This chapter explores the conditions within which lesbian relationships emerge and recreate expressions of alternative sexual identities, which Sim coins "neo-heterosexuality". I would suggest it could also be read as "trans-lesbianism", a form of experiencing same-sex desires on the part of transnationalized bodies which not only complicates lesbianism in its variable combination with heterosexual marriage and family norms but also produces multiple possibilities for transitionally gendered embodiments. Echoing other chapters in the book addressing survival problems encountered and creative coping strategies invented by various sexual minoritized subjects (in ways more than one), this chapter investigates the ways in which the social body of migrant workers is heavily disciplined by mechanisms of socio-

political control. These Indonesian trans-lesbians are rendered as multiple abjects, yet they simultaneously reconfigure bodies, values, and challenges to lead meaningful lives that go beyond binary oppositions of resistance and co-optation. This chapter also touches upon the ways in which these meanings are informed and transformed by the various spaces sexual subjects enter, produce and manoeuvre in.

Due to the density in population and the lack of physical land space, people in Hong Kong—sexual abjects more than others—negotiate privacy and self-expression in specifically spatially-defined ways. In a contrastable study, but on a more micro scale, Tang maps how lesbian commercial spaces in Hong Kong—including karaoke bars, upstairs cafés, lesbian specialty stores in a high-density shopping hub known as Causeway Bay or Tung Lo Wan—function as sites of community formation for lesbians to escape from heteronormative society, validate their self-images, build and maintain social networks, and/or to perform political subjectivity. Through this study, based on interviews with more than thirty lesbians and space owners/managers, Tang contends that these physical spaces are in a continuously mobile process to transform themselves through customers who take part in the reproduction of social and sexual relations within them; a finding shared by other writers in this section. All three chapters problematize the heteronormative class-biased dichotomy of private versus public that marks the beginning of modern selfhood—the domestication of emotions and privacy within the "home" and rationalized civic engagement and regulation in the public realm.

The chapters in part two articulate narratives which explore strategies in challenging *and* living/thriving with the systematic modern abjection of "deviant" gender and sexual subjectivities, under the shadows of upholding, subverting and/or redefining the respectability and usability of institutions, hence offering *tongzhi* studies channels in understanding the productivity of power relations in specific contexts today. Cheung argues for a depathologization of transsexuality through detailed and contextualized data gathered from studying the operation and limitations of the medical system in Hong Kong and from interactive fieldwork with gender-variant subjects[8] in order to further understand the complex processes of gender identity (trans)formation at work today. Cheung relates how transgender and intersexed peoples negotiate with medical institutions demarcated by handbooks, definitions, standards, (mis) information, presumptions, and habits of surgical and psychiatric treatments. This original study investigates and critiques the various ways in which the institutionalization of a gender identity spectrum have been recently taking shape in Hong Kong and recommends a critical paradigm shift in revising current treatment directions and methods. As one of the first academic studies

of this silenced topic in Hong Kong, it is significant not only as an account studying the history of contemporary transsexuality but also as a powerful political critique of Hong Kong's specifically modern regulatory apparatus of (inter and trans)sexuality.

Kam's study, based on in-depth interviews with twenty-four *lalas* in Shanghai, politicizes the discourses of standing up (*zhan qi lai*) /coming out (*zhan chu lai*), and examines the negotiational conflicts between the desires for familial recognition of one's personal life and the aspiration for social recognition and political collectivity. As *lalas* in China face not only social prejudice towards sexual non-normativities but also prejudice towards women as a culturally and economically subordinate gender, they are found in this study to feel obliged to outperform their male and heterosexual counterparts in ways that receive greater social recognition ("upward social mobility"): to be filial daughters, productive workers, contributing citizens, and last but not least, married wives, so as to "compensate" for their "abnormal" sexuality, which has been thought to have deprived their parents of "normal" family lives with grandchildren. It is their apparent social hypernormativity that makes their rejection of sexual normativity possible. This "politics of normalization", as argued by Kam, could be seen as a political strategy for maintaining sexual dissidence, earning visibility, recognition and potentially more freedom for a self-identified community in the long run. Would these hard earned new spaces necessarily imply selling out to more regulation through discourses of capitalist individualism? The emphasis on "community" in Kam's chapter seems to suggest otherwise.

Deviant subjects and normative institutions compete in bending each other while they also work hard (and occasionally have fun) in bending themselves accordingly. He's narrative of her performance retraces her unique tactics of setting an admirable example in turning the institution of heterosexual, monogamous *and* monosexual marriage inside out. Her queering of the marriage ritual raises poignant challenges to the limits of the institution as she confronts its discriminatory effects via creative and tongue-in-cheek ways in experimenting towards a programme for change, responsive to the cultural-specific needs of her community and society, "the lived arrangements of queer life, and articulated in queer publics" (Warner 146). Her appropriation and critique of the ritual demonstrates the vitality and pleasure of a possible queer politics and counterpublic which prioritizes non-normative intimacies, coalition building, sex education and advocacy over love, privacy and the life-long couple form of marriage. While the two chapters of He and Kam speak dialogically to the politics of compulsory family, marriage and heterosexual normativity and various diverse strategies for possible subversion and reconfiguration, the playful language that He's essay strategically adopts in documenting her own

performance also paves the ways for Chao's readings of performing transvestism in Chinese documentaries. The research of Kong, Sim, Kam and Cheung place more emphasis on the ongoing struggle for a (like-)normal possibility under the overarching shadow of impossibility (closer to normal but never quite there), whereas in He, Yau, Chan and Chao's essays one might be able to see how "normativity" takes on many angelic and contradictory shapes (and/or has been bent) in its giving way to multiple (as-if-)possible lives. These subjects and representations move away from being normal in order to becoming possibly something else, something perhaps closer to accessing normal on their own terms. In this process of moving from one "as" to another, this "normal" might have been bent to create new desires and visions. Possibly as normal as …

The last part of the book interrogates the symptomatic relations of sexual discourses to modernity and postmodernity, linking contemporary identity positions and performativity through continuities in representation with largely unlexicalized gender- and sexual-variant subjectivities from a past not too long ago. These chapters inaugurate readings of Chinese cinematic texts and cultural icons—from late Ming to post-Mao China, from colonial (1970s–1990s) to post- or neo-colonial (post-1997) Hong Kong—that reconfigure as they reinvent "Chinese" and "sexuality" *vis-à-vis* each other. While "homosexuality" has been positioned rhetorically by official Chinese authorities today as "a decadent ideology imported from the West", the rendering of Ming erotic texts by pan-Chinese film director Li Han-hsiang's (Li Hanxiang) (1926–96) helps to set the historical scene for charting a vibrant yet suppressed trajectory of Chinese sexualities. Li's cinematic explorations yield historical knowledge in multiple ways: it sheds light on the contemporary—in fact, very recent—regulation of sexuality through polarizing categories such as homosexuality and heterosexuality, symptomatic of Western modernity, as well as the rich but much repressed representations and discourses of diverse and malleable genders and sexualities in Chinese culture. If, according to Kong's study, the proliferation of money boys in China today has been significantly re-shaping and problematizing the landscape of normative masculinity, Li helps us gain further insights on the ways in which so-called normative sexualities in Chinese sexual imaginaries have always already been diverse, malleable and undefinable—if you like—queer, thus helping to expose the fragility of contemporary heteronormativity. Extensively drawn from a Chinese literary tradition deemed obscene, Li's "softcore" pornographic films were most popular during the 1970s but continually made until the 1990s, constituting a genre of its own known as *fengyue pian* ("wind and moon" films). These films are often referred to by critics as Li's "cynical" films as they portray a world "morally corrupted by vulgarity" and sexual "perversions". Yau's essay re-traces the radical potential

of the *fengyue* porn genre populated by nonmonogamous subjects and ***yinfus*** (licentious women or women "who have seen a lot of life", as defined by Li) in dialoguing with Li's own historical epics—primarily narratives of shrews and abject men—as well as "talking back to" (and laughing at) the increasingly normalizing times that through regulatory privatizing apparatuses privilege the modern monogamous marriage. This body of work, according to Yau, should be reread as political as these films communicate a precious sociability and sexual equality—an abjection intimately shared by the pornographic gaze and the heterogeneous, commonly denigrated as "pre-modern" sexual subjects on screen.[9] Yau explores the various ways in which Li's *fengyue* complicates the genre of pornography through subverting the sexual hierarchies assumed by film critics, inventing Chinese pornography as a *different* modernity than the colonial-Western, and seducing the audience—including men, women and in-betweens—through strategies such as recentering women's and polygamists' sexual and cross-gendered agency, use of multiple perspectives and self-reflexive devices.

Although the focus of this collection is on the contemporary, I hope to also emphasize that what is "contemporary Chinese" sexuality needs to be reunderstood in terms of the region's territorially differentiated relationships to the representations and disavowal of a "Chinese past". This collection cannot even begin to include the varieties of relations to the "past" that distinct Chinese locales have (whether or not a part of the PRC at a given historical moment) because each of these relations is embedded within each place's formation of sexuality. Yau's chapter might allow us to register one way in which renewed readings of "past" texts could enrich our understanding of present formations—including their desexualizing and normalizing processes in their complexity and quandaries. Research of the past in light of non-normative sexualities is even more difficult in the scholarly communities in Chinese Asia itself. The difficulty could be explained in terms of the specific formation of communities of knowledge of sexual politics in Asia, which has been unequally developed and heavily skewed toward disciplines of the contemporary, most notably literature, sociology and anthropology.

For *tongzhi* studies scholars, rewriting history and its interconnectedness to the present is an urgent political necessity. Leslie Cheung, hailed as one of the most important queer icons in pan-Asian popular culture in the past two decades, jumped off the balcony of the twentieth-fourth floor of the Mandarin Oriental Hotel in Hong Kong in 2003. While Li's cinematic representations demonstrate the abundance of nonnormativity in the historical trajectory of Chinese popular imaginary, Cheung used his life (and death) to illustrate the extreme lack of room outside normal in a contemporary Chinese society. Would

these two conditions be mutually constitutive of each other? Rewritten from a small part of her appraised Chinese book on Leslie Cheung, Chan's chapter re-contextualizes Cheung's (sudden) suicide in light of Cheung's cross-dressing gender performativity, his "bisexuality"/"androgyny" and "intersexuality", and the polarizing reception and consumption of his work both locally and internationally. As opposed to the dominant ideology of Cheung as a ghost-haunted freak who miscalculated the reception of transgressive sexuality in the society he lived in, Chan's work provides the first sustained study of Cheung's gender and sexual representations as consumed locally, while she maps his suicide as a result of various forms of stigmatization he had suffered from Hong Kong's own inadequacies in negotiating its contradictions embedded in glocalized consumer culture. The fact that Cheung ultimately used his own death to perform a critique of life impossible, hetero- or homo-sexual, speaks to the immensely oppressive gap between the global discourse of (promising) compulsory happiness[10] circulating in the post-identity neoliberalist world, and the local dominance of queerphobic normativity. Through detailed textual analysis and focusing on debates within existing local discourses, this chapter carefully interrogates the ways in which a cultural icon with his various non-normative behaviours and expressions, struggled to negotiate with mainstream media. While such struggles might have increased his marketability for queer reception, they more overtly and with relatively little resistance aggravated the destructiveness of normalizing forces.

What are the strategies of queer representation currently circulating in non-mainstream culture in China? The last chapter, "Performing Gender, Performing Documentary in Postsocialist China", addresses representations of transgender and male queerness found in the prolific underground documentary genre, also known as the "New Documentary Movement". By focusing on two recent documentary films, *Tang Tang* (Zhang Hanzi, 2004) and *Mei Mei* (Gao Tian, 2005), Chao examines how the film's reflection on queerness could be seen as parallel to its reflection on realism and how the two embody and foreground each other. Reading transgender performance as a means of survival and a negotiation strategy with capitalist mechanisms *and* the normative tradition of *jingju* (Beijing Plays a.k.a. Peking Opera) in (post)modern Chinese contexts, this chapter resituates forms of boundary-crossing (from gender-crossing, genre-crossing to translocal/glocalized imaginaries and consumption; between "failures to repeat" and "refusals to repeat"; between heterosexual and homosexual; between the urban and the rural; between reality and fiction, etc.) *vis-à-vis* the emerging queer and popular subcultures, in enabling nonessentialized dissident subjectivities-in-the-making. Further expanding the inquiry begun in the first two chapters of this book, the analysis of Meimei and Tangtang's

transgenderism as labour and the construction of new intimacies by this form of labour facilitates deeper understanding of the multiple ways in which gender and sexual identities are being reconfigured and negotiated within hierarchies of political and capitalist class struggles in contemporary (post-socialist) China. The controversial representation of Tangtang's realistic suicide *as* fabricated foregrounds and critiques the power dynamics between queer subjects, media control and audience expectation, helping to reflect on forces that inform suicides of subjects beyond the screen like Leslie Cheung's. These forces contribute to aspects of Cheung's suicide that have gone beyond representation, the limits of which Chan's chapter passionately engages with. Chan analyzes how Cheung pushed limits in his representational life that are intrinsically in Hong Kong unpushable for an out queer public figure. The multiple possibilities of queer desire as publicized and evoked through Cheung's representations are also actually not realizable in public in Hong Kong people's experiential life. Since the source of impossibility and the hold/regulation of the private lies in the limits placed on the public, the only way to unravel this is to commit an act of suicide bombing—on one's public self. Cheung's suicide amounts to a form of social protest against an unspeakable contradiction that, as Chan argues, needed then to be recontained in the normalizing media discourse of privatizing sexuality and gay pathologization.

Challenges

I was invited to contribute a short essay to an issue of *GLQ* in 2005 focusing on perspectives from film critics and scholars working with queer film festivals and media. I concluded my essay by outlining some challenges "facing us in Asia today", which I would like to rewrite as follows: to strengthen LGBTIQ writers access to knowledge production and distribution resources in Asia; to foster an interest by writers and readers to reconnect current issues with repressed histories, however obscene and/or colonialist; to develop the willingness and courage of LBGTIQ constituencies and communities in building coalition with other sexual dissidents and minoritized peoples in order to fight ghettoization and stigma, discuss the interconnectedness of all sexual marginalization and advocate *real* structural change; and to relocalize LGBTIQ issues and strategies within and against the global gay economy. It is not fortuitous that Li Han-hsiang, with audiences in Chinese communities worldwide, chose a modernized Hong Kong after all as the base for most of his work of rewriting historical texts, and that one of the sites where a project like this one in its attempt to carve out and formulate a publicly queer critical space is also Hong Kong. Organizing and editing this anthology in this late-colonial city where global Christian and

paternalistic Chinese forces are miraculously working hard to join hands (despite tensions and contradictions) in systemically defining normal and possible for us in certain parts of Chinese Asia, I hope this volume can contribute to the long march of registering and learning from the subjects analyzed, experiences and feelings lived and documented which speak of survival, authenticity, courage and hope. This can only be an introduction.

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I would like to thank the Department of Cultural Studies at Hong Kong Lingnan University for providing me a safe and supportive space to work on this project, Hong Kong University Press for its continual commitment to academic freedom and intellectual pursuit in spite of the "controversial" nature of the project, the two anonymous reviewers for insightful comments, Liang Xiaodao for not giving up on me in offering editorial assistance most needed, and all the writers in this collection for their trust and hard work. I am deeply indebted to Denise Tang, Kathy High and Laurie Wen who took care of me when my health was in crisis. Last but not least, my apologies and deepest gratitude go to dnf who serve as my reader, therapist and companion through hard times as well as to my two cats, Dimdim and Suensuen, for their tolerance and unconditional support.

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Notes

Introduction

1. Although the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region has been part of China since 1997, Hong Kong has been culturally and politically developed under the British rule for some 150 years before the handover. This book therefore primarily addresses China and Hong Kong as two different but closely related entities.
2. Literally translated as "comrade" or "people with the same ambitions/aspirations", *tongzhi* used to be a common term to denote a Chinese Communist Party member. It has been appropriated as a self-identification by LBGTIQ peoples in Hong Kong and Taiwan since the early 1990s. It is now commonly used to refer to non-heterosexuals in Chinese-speaking communities.
3. In response to the leftist discourse of "moral panic", the Christian Right in Hong Kong has coined the alleged liberal critique/"fear" of morality as "freedom panic" in order to preempt and rationalize its own fears and moralistic stances. "At this moment, we really need not produce 'freedom panic' and should not seek to demoralize Hong Kong society. Rather, we should reaffirm the significant role of morality in our free society, and continue to work hard to find a balance between the two poles" (Hong Kong Sex Culture Society 1).
4. Currently in Hong Kong, most intellectual work done on sexuality is from the Christian front, who have the resources to coordinate activist and theorist work in such a way that the production of cultural discourse and social movement work seamlessly together, which they disguise as moral education and "charity" services. To name just one example, Kwan Kai Man, an associate professor at the Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies of the Hong Kong Baptist University, has authored and co-authored, edited and co-edited more than fifteen books including *Reflection on Human Rights and Homosexuality* (Hong Kong: China Alliance Press, 2000), *In Search of Authentic Sexuality* ("Intellectual" Series 1) (Hong Kong: Fellowship of Evangelical Students, 2003), *Equal Rights? Hegemony? Examining the Homosexual Issue* (Hong Kong: Cosmos, 2005), *Stem the Tide—The Affection of Sexual Liberation Movement* (Hong Kong: China Alliance Press, 2007), and numerous articles philosophizing his anti-sexual rights and anti-gay stances. He is also a key figure in some of the most activist faith-based organizations, including being the founding member and coordinator of the Alliance of Christian Groups for Decency, the founding member of Hong Kong Alliance for Family, the founding member of Pro-life Family Network, the founding member and Board member of the Society for Truth and Light, and Chairman of the Hong Kong Sex Culture Society.

5. "… the open mesh of possibilities, gaps, overlaps, dissonances and resonances, lapses and excesses of meaning when the constituent elements of anyone's gender, of anyone's sexuality aren't made (or can't be made) to signify monolithically" (Sedgwick 1993: 8).
6. "Queer" has been translated into Chinese by literary, cultural circles in Taiwan as "酷兒", "酷異" (*qu'er/qu'i*). Partly due to these translations' close associations with the English word, these translations have not been able to travel very far beyond the gender studies classroom in Hong Kong and China. While *tongzhi* carries politicized connotations, the term "孿" (*lun*), literally meaning "bent", is often used in Cantonese popular culture to denote queerness.
7. Fang Gang, *A Qualitative Research of the Construction of Masculinity of Male Sex Workers*, an unpublished PhD dissertation in Chinese on male sex workers who serve women, is a rare example. Its description and some of its chapters are available online and has been openly seeking a publisher since August 2007.
8. In Hong Kong gender-variant subjects would include but are not limited to cross-dressers, transsexuals and *TBs*—a local expression which would "dub" the Euro-American *tomboys*, analogous to *Ts* in Taiwan and China, *Toms* in Thailand, *Tombois* in Indonesian, etc.
9. This reading strategy could also be seen as a response to Love's critique of the "continuing denigration and dismissal of queer existence": "One may enter the mainstream on the condition that one breaks ties with all those who cannot make it—the nonwhite and the non-monogamous, the poor and the underdeviant, the fat, the disabled, the unemployed, the infected, and a host of unmentionable others. Social negativity clings not only to these figures but also to those who lived before the common era of gay liberation—the abject multitude against whose experience we define our own liberation" (2007b: 10). Chapter 7 has been written in the spirit partly to resist this "temptation to forget".
10. "In the era of gay normalization, gays and lesbians not only have to be like everybody else (get married, raise kids, mow the grass, etc.), they have to look and feel good doing it. Such demands are the effect, in part, of the general American premium on cheerfulness: being a 'gay American,' like being any kind of American, means being a cheerful American. Because homosexuality is traditionally so closely associated with disappointment and depression, being happy signifies participation in the coming era of gay possibility" (Love 2007a: 54). Perhaps mowing the grass is not that normative in China and in Hong Kong, for different reasons.

Chapter 1

1. I would like to thank my previous institute, the Department of Applied Social Sciences, the Hong Kong Polytechnic University, for funding this project. I would also like to thank UNAIDS, which funded the NGO involved to conduct an HIV prevention programme on male sex workers in China for which I was invited to be the research consultant and thus gained access to this population. Special thanks go to the involved NGO, Mr. Chung To, Mr. Rager Shen and Mr. Steven Gu, and the two anonymous reviewers for their positive and constructive comments on the earlier draft.
2. Li (2006) argues that administrative penalties and Party discriminatory sanctions, though they have no solid legal foundation, posit a real threat to homosexuals in China. These practices are used arbitrarily to control activities of those "who are deemed to have committed offences against the social order, but whose criminal liability is not viewed as sufficient to bring them before the courts or to warrant a criminal record" (p. 82). Subject to individual attitude towards homosexuality, the Chinese police can apprehend or interrogate certain homosexuals who are brought to their attention and they can report

to these homosexuals' work units (*danwei*) or families, which will bring substantial consequences for their futures, such as their chances of job promotion, housing allocation and so on. The situation apparently has improved recently (Kong 2010; Rofel 2007).

3. In China, male sex workers who serve men are most commonly called "money boys" by the workers themselves, as well as in the sex industry and the gay community. Other frequent terms are "duck" (*yazi*), "child" (*haizi* or *xiaohai*), or being simply referred to as "for sale" (*maide*). Male sex workers who serve women are usually called "ducks" (*yazi*) or "young masters" (*shaoye*). Although some of my samples serve both genders, their dominant clients are men. In this chapter, I use "money boys" and "male sex workers" interchangeably.
4. The bracket indicates the interviewee's pseudonym, his age, self-identified sexual orientation ("gay", "straight" or "ambivalent about his sexuality"), work type ("full-time brothel worker", "full-time independent", "part time worker/freelancer" or "kept by a man") and the length of his engagement in sex work.
5. See also my discussion of how Chinese male sex workers in the Hong Kong sex industry deal with the stigma of prostitution in relation to their masculinity (Kong 2009b).
6. In China, every individual is assigned a specific identification based on his/her locality and family background under a unique household registration system (*hukou*). Originated in 1958, *hukou* was used for resource allocation and is believed to be an effective means to control mobility in China, as an individual's *hukou* cannot be easily changed. Although the opening-up policy since 1978 has encouraged rural-to-urban migration, a lot of migrant workers in cities cannot enjoy various social and medical benefits because they have rural, rather than urban, *hukou* (Li et al. 2007; Zhu 2007; Amnesty International 2007).

Chapter 2

1. The writing of this chapter was partially supported by the Research Programme Consortium on Women's Empowerment in Muslim Contexts, led by City University of Hong Kong, with funding from the UK Department for International Development (DFID) for the benefit of developing countries. The views expressed are not necessarily those of DFID. Some of the themes from this chapter were first discussed in the article, "The Sexual Economy of Desire: Girlfriends, Boyfriends and Babies Among Indonesian Women Migrants in Hong Kong", in *Sexualities* (forthcoming).
2. Source: Hong Kong Immigration Department, personal correspondence, 17 August 2009.
3. It is not clear why these particular Indonesian terms are used. Literally, *sentul* means a "tall tree, bearing yellow fruit similar to the mangosteen but sour" (Echols and Shadily 503), while *kantil* is a Javanese word meaning "magnolia" (Echols and Shadily 259).
4. Cook quoted in Rupp (1990: 398).
5. According to Wieringa ("Jakarta Butches"), masculinized women, or butches, in Jakarta believe that they are "transgendered" at birth and they do not see themselves as women or men. While they conform to men's gender behaviour, they do not see themselves as men, embodying an ambiguous relationship to their bodies. While none of the respondents in my study wanted to be men or saw themselves as men, there were several who thought that they were "born this way" and like Wieringa's respondents, they did not see themselves as women.
6. By Western discourses, I refer to the development of lesbian feminist theory in Western Europe and North America during the 1970s, where feminism was identified as the theoretical basis on which lesbianism existed as both the practice and solution (Johnston 1973; A. Echols 1989: 238). Political lesbianism was strongly advocated as revolutionary action, e.g. Radicalesbians (240) proclaimed that "a lesbian is the rage of all women

condensed to the point of explosion", advocating lesbianism as a significant form of resistance to patriarchy and identifying lesbians as, first and foremost, feminist.

7. Women migrants in Indonesia: see, for example, Elmhirst 2000; Williams 2003. For Nepal, Thailand and Vietnam: Puri et al. 2004; Hettiarachchy et al. 2001; Belanger et al. 1998.
8. Exceptions are Constable (2000), Hawwa and Sim (2004b).
9. Constable (1997a, 1997b, 2000); Groves and Chang 1999; Lan 2006.
10. "Indonesia aiming to send one million workers overseas each year."
11. "70 percent of job-seekers underpaid, overqualified."
12. "Indonesian migrant workers send home US$2.9 BLN in 2005."
13. A term used to describe the government in Indonesia from 1965 to 1998 under President Suharto.
14. The Guidelines for State Policy (Garis Besar Haluan Negara, or GBHN) are set out by the government once every five years.
15. Transmitting national ideology through the educational system in Indonesia is one very successful means documented by Leigh.
16. "Government urged to improve protection of migrant workers."
17. Hong Kong Immigration Department's statistics, May 2006.
18. The ages of Indonesian women migrant workers are commonly adjusted to match market demands. According to AMC et al. "Baseline Research", most Indonesian women workers in Hong Kong are 21 years old, which agrees with the profile of respondents interviewed in this study. The youngest was fifteen when she first arrived in Hong Kong. See also, Loveband, 2003; Hugo "International Labour"; Robinson.
19. 99.6 % are women, Asian Meta Centre et al. 2001; Wee et al. 2003; Sim 2003.
20. "Satu Lagi, Pernikahan Sejenis di Tai Po."
21. United Nations Commission on Human Rights.
22. Eko Indriyani. Personal interview. 20 May 2003.

Chapter 3

1. It is important to note the various degrees in density among urban and rural areas in Hong Kong. If both urban and rural areas are included in the calculation of density, then Hong Kong's 2005 figure remains at 6,291 persons per square kilometre.
2. I am fully aware of the fact that my sample of interview subjects cannot fully represent the diverse lesbian communities in Hong Kong.
3. An oral history project organized by the Women's Coalition of Hong Kong SAR, Rainbow Action and F'Union has published a booklet collecting women's stories on their same-sex relations and desires. The booklet provides a map of existing and closed down bars and cafes. The booklet is available online at www.wchk.org.
4. Tung Lo Wan is located on the northern shore of Hong Kong Island including parts of Wanchai and Eastern districts. Tung Lo Wan used to be a fishing village with most of its land sitting on silt. Land reclamation has pushed the area's boundaries further into Victoria Harbour and has seen shopping areas and hotels sprang up in the area. For this chapter, I am mostly referring to streets popular with lesbian spaces such as Gloucester Road, Jaffe Road, Lockhart Road, Tung Lung Street, Yiu Wa Street and Yee Wo Street.
5. The industry report from Cushman & Wakefield is widely regarded as a definitive ranking of shopping locations and their leasing rates by the real estate industries worldwide. The October 25, 2006 press release was accessed on 29 August 2008 for this paper at http: // www.cushwake.com/cwglobal/jsp/newsDetail.jsp?repId=c7800055p&LanId=EN&LocId =GLOBAL

6. The emergence and social significance of lesbian bars has been documented in ethnographic studies and oral history scholarship on lesbian lives in U.S. cities including Detroit, Colorado, Boston, Buffalo, Massachusetts, Montreal, New York, San Francisco and Indiana.
7. The term "les" is commonly used by informants to describe their sexual identities as well as a term commonly seen in news media to denote lesbians.
8. TB vests are sports bra vests that function to flatten one's chest or bosom. Commonly used among tomboys or butch women in Hong Kong and Taiwan, these vests cost from HK$300 to 500.
9. The popularity of upstairs cafés have also seen chain operated cafés moving upstairs; most noticeably, the chain known as Paris cafés.

Chapter 4

1. The suicide of two transgendered women, Louise Chan and Sasha Moon, hit the headline news at the end of 2004. Cf. "Suicide of transsexual triggers activists' plea for better support"and "Suicide leap", *South China Morning Post*, 22 September 2004 and 24 September 2004 respectively.
2. In North America and many Western countries, the word "transgender" is used as "an umbrella term used to refer to all individuals who live outside of normative sex/gender relations—that is, individuals whose gendered self-presentation (evidenced through dress, mannerisms, and even physiology) does not correspond to the behaviours habitually associated with the members of their biological sex" (Namaste 2). I shall use this definition of transgender throughout this chapter, and use the term "transsexual", a term often used by the medical professions, to refer to those "who believe that their physiological bodies do not represent their true sex. Although most transsexuals desire sex reassignment surgery, transsexual people may be preoperative, postoperative, or nonoperative (i.e., choosing to not have surgical modification)" (Lev 400).
3. Cf. "Gender bender stole brother's ID card to get job at Wing On", *The Standard,* 4 August 2007.
4. Zung Kai-leon was charged for loitering and trespassing while wearing various kinds of female uniforms.
5. Cf. "Sexual Orientation Disorder man re-offended by barging into a female toilet and frightened a dentist during his suspension of sentence", *Apple Daily*, 19 August 2007; "Transvestite barged into the female toilet during his suspension of sentence", *Oriental Daily*, 19 August 2007.
6. Cf. "Feathers fly as residents' woes dog transvestite cabaret", *South China Morning Post*, 6 January 2006.
7. Cf. a brief chronicle in the website, 5 October 2005: http://www.sexuality.org/l/incoming/trbasic.html.
8. Not to mention the ethical issue of such attempts akin to administering reparative therapy to homosexuals which is a practice that is being condemned by the American Psychiatric Association.
9. Chapter IX without page numbers. Accessed online.
10. "Queen Mary suddenly removed its exclusive sex-change counseling clinic", *Ming Pao Daily News*, 8 March 2005.
11. Homosexuality as a mental disorder was deleted from DSM-II in 19731. The suicide of two transgendered women, Louise Chan and Sasha Moon, hit the headline news at the end of 2004. Cf. "Suicide of transsexual triggers activists' plea for better support"and "Suicide leap", *South China Morning Post*, 22 September 2004 and 24 September 2004 respectively.

Chapter 5

1. *Lala* is adapted from the Taiwanese localization of "lesbian". It first appeared as *lazi* in Taiwan, as the transliteration of "les" from "lesbian". When it was borrowed and further localized in China, *lala* has become the most widely used term. It is a community identity for women who have same-sex desires in China. It is used concurrently with *tongzhi*, an older and Hong Kong-derived identity, in its full or gender specific versions such as *nütong* (female *tongzhi*) and *nantong* (male *tongzhi*); and *les*, an abbreviation and a more informal term for "lesbian". There is contextual difference between the various identity terms. *Lala* and *les* are always used in informal or everyday and lesbian-specific contexts, while *tongzhi* is used in more formal and political occasions where community solidarity is emphasized. All identities are generally recognized and adopted in local communities across the country.
2. In comparison with other Chinese societies, the percentage of the unmarried population aged 15 or over in Hong Kong was 31.5% in 1996 and 31.9% in 2001 (Census and Statistics Department, Hong Kong Special Administrative Region 2005) while it was 34.1% in Taiwan in 2004 (National Statistics 2005a).
3. There is a park in downtown Shanghai where there is a Saturday matchmaking event once a month. It attracts many parents to look for suitable mates for their adult children. Regular participants of the event will hold a piece of cardboard on which is written the information of the person who is looking for a partner. Parents usually carry the cardboard which lists their child's personal information and also the kind of partner they expect for their children. Parents will exchange contact numbers if they are interested, and both sides will proceed to arrange meetings for their children if they are interested in seeing each other.
4. For example, the divorced population of people aged 15 or over in China in 2004 was only 1.07% (China Statistics Press 2005), while it was 5.2% in Taiwan in 2004 (National Statistics 2005b) and 2.7% in Hong Kong in 2001 (Census and Statistics Department).

Chapter 6

1. Monosexual means being attracted to only one sex. For example, heterosexuals and homosexuals are monosexual. Bisexuals are not.

Chapter 7

1. This research has benefited from financial support from the Research and Postgraduates Studies Programme in Arts of Lingnan University, Hong Kong. I would also like to express my gratitude to Wong Ain-ling for providing research support, Hong Kong Film Archive for publishing an earlier draft (Yau 2007), and to Agnes Lam for translating the first draft.
2. "'Me making *fengyue* films? Mr. Shaw, how could you make me? ...' A sudden flare of rage swelled up within Li. He took the script of *Illicit Desire* from Shaw, tossed it on the table without taking a look and ran for the door." This melodramatic scene from Dou Yingtai's (fictional) biography *Da Daoyan Li Hanxiang* (*Master Director Li Han-hsiang*) (1997: 391) tries so hard to maintain the portrayal of Li Han-hsiang as a "Master Director" to comic lights.
3. In the article "Li Hanxiang De Fushi Rensheng Yu Dianying" ("Li Han-hsiang's Floating Life and Film"), Yu (1997: 126–139) chronicles in detail the filmmaking career of Li but includes only a short paragraph on his *fengyue* films, ten of which had been made during the two years of 1973 and 74. The author registers the titles and the cast of these ten films without putting in a single line of description or commentary.

4. The dichotomy between pornography and erotica has been upheld and debated by numerous Euro-American critics and scholars. Soble (1986: 175–182) provides a concise summary. A similar divide is also implied in most of the Chinese criticism discussing Li's *fengyue* films, as noted above.
5. Xu Beihong (1895–1953) was primarily known for his lively depiction of horses in *shuimohua* (ink paintings). Having studied fine arts in Japan, oil painting and drawing in Paris at the École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, he was considered to be one of the first Chinese artists who "modernized" Chinese art in his mastery of Western methods of composition and perspective as well as traditional Chinese media and techniques. Many of his paintings in the 1930s and 1940s were considered to have nationalistic and anti-oppression overtones. With his commitment to realism, he has openly denounced "modern art" and its tendencies of abstraction. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Xu_Beihong; http://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/徐悲鴻; http://www.lingnanart.com/chineseMaster/Master_XuBaihong_ch.htm. Accessed 10 January 2009.
6. Born in Liaoning in Northeast China in 1926, Li was a student leader of the National Central Academy of Fine Arts in Beijing who staged a rally in 1946 following the rape of a female student of Peking University Preparatory School by US servicemen. In 1948 he participated in the "Two Downs Three Strikes" student movement, advocating "Down with Civil War and Hunger; Labor Strike, Student Strike, Market Strike". In July 1948, Peking Garrison Headquarters openly suppressed the movement, killing eight and wounding thrity-six. Li was subsequently expelled by the academy. With a recommendation letter in hand, he fled south and enrolled in the newly inaugurated Shanghai Drama School. Legend has it that it was at the Cathay Cinema in Shanghai that he first saw Hong Kong films and made up his mind to leave Shanghai for Hong Kong for good (Yu 1997; Dou 1997).
7. Supremo (Zhizun Bao) was also the protagonist and title of a film directed by Zhu Mu and written by Li Han-hsiang under the pseudonym Sima Ke in 1974.
8. A similar argument about the licentious women (*yinfu*) and the bad/evil women (*è nü*) as potentially comrades and mutually constitutive has been made in Yau Ching, *Filming Margins: Tang Shu Shuen, a Forgotten Hong Kong Woman Director,* Hong Kong University Press, 2004. See also Ding Naifei (2002: 143–164): "Seduction: Tiger and Yinfu."
9. "*Jin Ping Mei* is a work that women should never be permitted to see ... How many women are there who are capable of responding appropriately to what they read? What would be the consequences if they were to imitate, however slightly, the things they read about? Its literary style is not such as could or should be studied by women." David Roy quoting Zhang Zhupo in "Chang Chu-po's Commentary on the *Chin P'ing Mei*" (1977: 236).
10. In the novel, Pan tries to seduce Wu Song her brother-in-law through drinking when Wu Dalang, Wu Song's elder brother and Pan's husband, a street-seller, is out working. However, she is rejected and scolded by Wu Song instead. While Pan is normally read as wanting Wu Song, and Wu Song sometimes read as also having repressed desire for Pan, their relationship is never consummated. What is consummated instead is the affair between Pan and Ximen Qing, a rich landowner in the region already with multiple wives. Pan later in the novel, with the help of Ximen Qing, forces Wu Dalang into drinking poison and kills him.
11. "Since sex is intended to be seen from a first-person perspective, viewing the act from the third-person causes it to lose its power and inherent connection. Sex was designed to be performed rather than observed which is why the most capable artist is unable to overcome the natural limits of perspective. By combining these two concepts (visual iconography and perspective) we can begin to understand why sexual imagery is inherently ineffective in film." http://www.evangelicaloutpost.com/archives/003465.html, accessed on 4 March 2007.

12. "... meticulously crafted images and painstakingly researched details make this *fengyue* film non-gamy, non-fishy and savour[y]", excerpted from Edwin W. Chen, "Profile: Li Han-hsiang".
13. As an amateur jinologist, Li has painstakingly collected ten complete versions of *Jin Ping Mei*, starting when he was twelve or thirteen years old. In his introduction to a collection of three of his *Jin Ping Mei* scripts *Jin Ping Mei Sanbuqu (The Golden Lotus Trilogy)*, he recollected how he and his wife were detained and questioned by Taiwan Police Headquarters for forty-eight hours due to his pursuits (1985: 7–42).
14. Keith McMahon (1995) has contended that (female) shrews, who attempt to punish the (male) superego and remake it in her own image, are in fact structurally constituted by (male) polygamists and misers, while all three creature types populated widely in vernacular literature of Ming and Qing China.

Chapter 8

1. I would like to dedicate this chapter to Leslie Cheung for his kindness and generosity in providing me with his colour photos when I published my Chinese book *City on the Edge of Time: Gender, Technology, and the 1997 Politics of Hong Kong Cinema* in 2002. Although his death is a great loss and grieves me, it motivated me to collect and reorganize all his materials, and finish this chapter.
2. It should be noted that Leslie Cheung is not the first singer or actor to cross-dress onstage in Hong Kong. Roman Tam and Anthony Wong are two other talented artists who created gay femininity in their performances of the 1970s and the 1990s respectively. Hong Kong cinema has also had a long tradition and history of cross-dressing since the 1950s. For further analysis, see my two Chinese books, *Decadent City: Hong Kong Popular Culture*, and *City on the Edge of Time: Gender, Technology, and the 1997 Politics in Hong Kong Cinema*.
3. For Cheung's interview on his art of acting in *Farewell My Concubine,* see the video recorded by the filmmaker and collected in the DVD of the film reprinted after Cheung's death in 2003.
4. Cixous writes, "In a certain way, 'woman is bisexual'; man—it's a secret to no one—being poised to keep glorious phallic monosexuality in view" (341).
5. It has been widely reported that Teresa Mo was Leslie's first girlfriend. They met each other in the late 1970s when they worked at local TV stations. Leslie often mentioned their good old days in front of the reporters. He even claimed that his life would have changed vastly had Mo not refused his proposal in their youth. Although there has been much gossip about his love affairs and many rumours persist, Leslie openly admitted that Teresa Mo and Daffy Tong were the only two lovers in his life.
6. Rey Chow's "Nostalgia of the New Wave: Structure in Wong Kar-wai's *Happy Together*" gives a critical analysis of the issues of cultural identity and queer sexuality of the film. Chow particularly focuses on the political significance and the diaspora of the film's two protagonists in relation to the 1997 hand-over of Hong Kong. Here, I focus merely on the artistic aspect of Cheung's acting.
7. For example, Audrey Yue's "What's So Queer about *Happy Together*?" holds the view that the character of Bo-wing in *Happy Together* shares a certain kind of similarity with Cheung's real personality.
8. Clare Stewart gives a detailed and thorough investigation of Cheung's acting skills in her article "About Face: Wong Kar-wai's Leslie Trilogy". The article is well written with passion and critical point of view in which Stewart examines Cheung's screen persona in *Days of Being Wild*, *Ashes of Time*, and *Happy Together*.

9. Wong Kar-wai published the soundtrack of *Happy Together* in 1998, which collects the tango music of Astor Piazzolla that he adapted in the film. The audio CD, *The Rough Dancer and the Cyclical Night (Tango Apasionado)*, contains the complete versions of Piazzolla's compositions, written and played by the musician himself. I would like to thank Mark Chan for introducing me to his professional knowledge of Piazzolla's musical world.
10. In her "Imitation and Gender Insubordination", Butler writes, "Drag constitutes the mundane way in which genders are appropriated, theatricalized, worn, and done; it implies that all gendering is a kind of impersonation and approximation. If this is true, it seems, there is no original or primary gender that drag imitates, but *gender is a kind of imitation for which there is no original*; in fact, it is a kind of imitation that produces the very notion of the original as an effect and consequence of the imitation itself" (313).
11. For colour photos of Gaultier's collections for men, see Farid Chenoune's *Jean Paul Gaultier*, 16–79.
12. Here the local newspapers and magazines include such tabloids as *Apple Daily*, *Oriental Daily*, *The Sun*, *Suddenly Weekly* and *Next Biweekly*, which characterize in vulgarity, sensationalism and degeneracy. Besides, the sources also include some traditional and customary publishing media like *Ming Pao*, *Singtao Daily*, and *The International Chinese Newsweekly*.
13. For the negative comments on Gaultier's costume design and Cheung's cross-dressing, see reports by the local Chinese newspapers in *Apple Daily*, *Sing Tao Daily*, *Oriental Daily* and *The Sun* on 2 August 2000.
14. The Canadian Chinese scholar Helen Leung in her book chapter "In Queer Memory: Leslie Cheung (1956–2003)" disagrees with my criticism of Hong Kong media. She argues that Cheung was also praised for his sexual courage by local media, and that my account has given too much power to the media while eliding the ways in which Cheung negotiated with the media through the arena of gossip and the form of queer agency (88–89). However, Leung's argument and refutation are invalid and incomplete, for she only makes reference to the newspaper reports and the comments about Cheung's sexuality and suicide from internet sources. The original copies of local newspapers and magazines had projected a fuller picture of the gossip arising from Cheung's gay identity in the past twenty years. In addition, the web sources that Leung cited are either the more "traditional" newspapers such as *Ming Pao*, *Hong Kong Economic Journal* and *Economic Times*, or the ones that are supported, approved and censored by the Mainland publishers in terms of moral standard and political correctness, like *Wen Hui Bao* and *Da Gong Bao*. Her argument did not refer to the two or three popular tabloids in Hong Kong, namely *Apple Daily*, *Oriental Daily* and *The Sun*. They are not only the bestsellers in Hong Kong but also have great impact on the everyday lives of the people as well as influencing social judgement and public opinion towards sexual minorities. They are the primary sources of materials for understanding the media culture of the city. For example, the columnist Lap-yan Leung uses the metaphor of "dog's buttocks" in *The Sun* to stigmatize and attack the sexual relationship between Cheung and his lover Daffy Tong even two years after Cheung's death. A more detailed critical analysis of the media discourse on Cheung can be found in my recently released Chinese book, *Butterfly of Forbidden Colours: The Artistic Image of Leslie Cheung*, which studies the queer representation, body politics, eroticism, narcissistic image as well as death instinct of Cheung in films, television and popular music. It also includes a discussion of the media discourse, fan culture and social reception of Cheung from 1978 to 2008.
15. For the comments on Cheung's *Passion Tour* concert by the Japanese media, refer to the Chinese translation of the articles collected in Cheung's *The One and Only: Leslie Cheung*, 53–55.

16. The social discrimination of homosexuality, indeed, is an imperative issue for discussion. Most of the television productions, media reports and commercial films on gay people made in Hong Kong give a conservative bias against and/or a stigmatized image of sexual minorities. For further discussion, one possible source is a local Chinese report, *Tongzhi and the Mass Media,* published in 2000 by Chi Heng Foundation.

Chapter 9

1. Special thanks to the two anonymous readers, as well as Yau Ching, Zhang Zhen, Angela Zito, Chris Berry, Charles Leary, Chen Xiangyang, Cui Zi'en, Shi Tou, Zhang Hanzi, Gao Tian and Bennett Marcus.
2. Please see my article, "Coming out of *The Box*, Marching as Dykes", in *The New Chinese Documentary Film Movement: For the Public Record*. Eds. Chris Berry, Lisa Rofel and Lu Xinyu. Forthcoming.
3. Zhang Hanzi is a graduate of the Central Academy of Fine Arts in Beijing. Before filming *Tang Tang*, Zhang directed and edited for television, commercials and music videos. Gao Tian, a young graduate from the directing programme at Beijing Film Academy, made his film debut with *Mei Mei*, which won the Jury Prize at Korea's Gwangju International Film Festival in 2005.
4. Borrowed from philosophy and psychology, the idea and technique of reflexivity in the arts refers to "the process by which texts foreground their own production, their authorship, their intertextual influences, their textual processes, or their reception" (Stam et al. 1992: 200).
5. I thank the reader who reminded me of this.
6. See the catalogue of the 2006 New Festival (The 18th New York Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Film Festival), 74.
7. An interview with Gao Tian by Liu Bin. "Di san jie jilupian jiaoliuzhou yingpian: Mei Mei" (A film in the third 'week for documentary film communication': *Mei Mei*), September 2006, http: //www.fanhall.com/show.aspx?id=11688&cid=40.
8. Symptomatic of this dynamic is a shot where in the background Meimei's friend is performing onstage, and in the foreground Meimei, like most of the other customers on the scene, is eating, drinking, and not paying much attention to the show. All of a sudden, we notice that a middle-aged man joins Lee, dancing in the empty space between the stage and the audience. In front of all the other customers, that man in part imitates Lee's effeminate movements onstage and in part improvises his own acts to accompany Lee's singing. I think this intriguing episode more or less reflects how this mode of female impersonation is received by the audience. To the audience, the song-and-dance onstage is by no means serious performance and this kind of unserious mimicry of "woman" can be *further* mimicked, or casually duplicated with fun by any member of the audience. In so doing the sense of parody and amusement shared by the cross-dressing performer and audience is simultaneously amplified.
9. Chris Berry, "Watching Time Go By: Narrative Distention, Realism, and Post-socialism in Jia Zhangke's *Xiao Wu*", *South Atlantic Quarterly*. Forthcoming.
10. This sort of reasoning is similarly alluded to in *Beautiful Men* (Du Haibin 2006) another documentary film from China that features three cross-dressing performers in Chengdu, the most populated city in Southwestern China. When talking about his experience of becoming a cross-dressing performer, Tao Lisha, now in his late forties, confesses to the filmmaker that he used to be a burglar back in the early 1980s. Caught stealing, he ended in

a "labour camp" (*laogai ying*) for three years. By comparing his current performing career with his criminal record and having turned his life around through enforced labour (in a socialist system), he stresses that what he does now is by no means illegal, but simply a mode of supporting himself through his own labour. Like Meimei, Tao Lisha thus integrates a socialist rationale into a capitalist one, showing the specific means by which he negotiates his queer identity in relation to a post-socialist imaginary mediated by both a capitalist logic and a socialist rationale.

11. Arjun Appadurai outlines five "landscapes" as a framework for understanding the heterogenization and disjuncture in the processes of the culture on a global scale. See Appadurai, "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy", *Public Culture* 2.2 (Spring 1990): 1–24.
12. "How Many Dear Sisters on Earth Do You Have?" was sung by Taiwanese female vocalist Meng Ting-wei from the early 1990s. "Woman as Flower" is originally performed by the late Hong Kong pop star, Anita Mui (a.k.a. Mei Yan-fung), also a lesbian/gay icon in Chinese societies.

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