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衣櫃裡的服裝：白先勇〈Tea for Two〉與
梁志英〈鳳眼〉中男同志服裝實踐與文學再現

Clothes in the Closet: Gay Men's Sartorial Practices and
Literary Representation in Pai Hsien-Yung's
"Tea for Two" and Russell Leong's "Phoenix Eyes"

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Table of Contents

Table of Contents	i
摘要	ii
Abstract.....	iii
Acknowledgement.....	iv
Prologue.....	vii
Introduction.....	1
I. Conceptual Framework.....	2
1. The Relationships between Masculinity of “Straight-acting Gay Men” and Their Sartorial Practices	2
2. Masculinities of Chinese American Gay Men	6
3. Chinese Gay Masculinities	8
II. Outline of Thesis Chapters	13
Chapter One: Sartorial Practices of Gay Men	15
I. Sartorial Practices and Gender.....	15
II. Sartorial Practices of Asian American Gay Men	17
III. Sartorial Practices of Chinese Gay Men	21
IV. Conclusion	26
Chapter Two: Sartorial Practices in Pai Hsien-Yung’s “Tea for Two”	28
I. Flamboyant Sartorial Practices in the Capitalist Society.....	28
II. “Invisible Men” or the Mainstream Sartorial Practices	32
III. Hyper-Masculinity and its Representation.....	34
IV. Criticisms on New Generations of Gay Subculture	38
V. Conclusion	40
Chapter Three: Sartorial Practices in Russell Leong’s “Phoenix Eyes”	42
I. Giving Up Family and Becoming Man	42
II. Sartorial Practices of Chinese American Gay Men and Masculinities	44
III. Selling American-styled Bodies	48
IV. Taking Off Clothes	51
V. Conclusion	52
Conclusion	55
I. Issues for Further Studies on Asian/American Gay Men	57
II. The Problematic “Stereotypical Images” of Gay Men in Asian/American Gay Fiction and Communities.....	58
Works Cited	60

摘要

本篇論文從華裔美籍男同志小說與旅美臺籍作家小說裡觀察華裔男同志的服裝策略與文學再現，探討華裔男同志如何透過服裝展現特有的男性氣質。文學常以服裝紀錄了彼時時尚的社會意義。本文認為服裝是男同志標新立異的符碼，透過穿在身上的服裝強調他們身體與主流異性戀男性的不同。本文將分析炫耀式消費，藉由追求顏色鮮艷與高價西方（尤其歐美）服裝品牌來突顯高社經地位的男同志身體，對其他相較邊緣的性少數主體的壓迫。此外，論文亦會探討華裔美籍男同志在返回亞洲後，因國內對美國的崇尚，利用美式穿著來展現美式風格視覺符碼，並以此作為能動性的例證，成為另類男性氣概與異國情調的主體。

關鍵字：時尚、服裝穿著、男同志陽剛氣質建構、臺灣文學、華美文學、白先勇、梁志英、“Tea for Two”、〈鳳眼〉



Abstract

This thesis investigates Chinese/American gay men's sartorial practices and literary representation of sartorial items in Pai Hsien-Yung's "Tea for Two" and Russell Leong's "Phoenix Eyes". This thesis considers that representations of sartorial items work as metaphors in literature designate identifications of gender, race, and class, showing gay men's socioeconomic status and demonstrate various kinds of masculinities. Similar to white gay communities, there are many kinds of Chinese/American gay men, such as effeminate gay men, straight-acing gay men, and hyper-masculine gay men. Chinese/American gay men deploy sartorial items to strategically demonstrate various kinds of masculinities. Chinese/American gay men also use *wen* masculinity to pass as straight and conceal their homosexuality. As metaphors in literature, representations of sartorial items are deployed by authors to construct a character's traits of gender, race, and class. I would argue that representations of gay men in Pai Hsien-Yung's "Tea for Two" and Russell Leong's "Phoenix Eyes" all portray gay men as overachievers of socioeconomic restraints. Their flamboyant clothes and hipster lifestyle celebrate certain homonormative and successful images and such celebrations of successful images would repress other marginal gay subjects.

Keywords: fashion, sartorial practices, gay masculinity, Taiwan literature, Chinese American literature, Pai Hsien-Yung, Russell Leong, "Tea for Two", "Phoenix Eyes".

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Prof. Chang also offered me a chance to present in the Conference on the Studies of Oversea Chinese: “Immigration and the City”, held in Chu Hai College of Higher Education in Hong Kong, 2019. This experience broadens my mindsight on Overseas Chinese studies and Hong Kong Politics. I presented a short version of this thesis in Chinese for the conference and was awarded the 2nd place for graduate student prize with scholarship. I spent this scholarship on books on Hong Kong culture and literature. This also gives me a chance to learn a totally different field of study. It is an important episode in my life as an apprentice in academic career.

I want to express my gratitude to the members of my thesis committee for their intellectual generosity during my oral defense. Prof. Pin-chia Feng and Prof. Hisu-chuang Lee both pointed out the inconsistency and misleading points in this thesis.

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Figure 1 A man's clone look.

Prologue

Figure 1 from *A Queer History of Fashion: From the Closet to the Catwalk* reminds me of this guy, ALY, whom I had known for about three months. Now I still remember well the very first time I saw ALY. He wore a military green bomber jacket with his tight navy-blue Abercrombie & Fitch¹ T-shirts underneath. He wore black jeans, with a pair of shiny white sneakers. That color of shiny white matched the color of his full-face helmet. He also wore a pair of sunglasses. ALY always shows up with this outfit: I guess this is his favorite outfit. I always think that his attire is that of pilots', but I never had the chance to tell him. I knew that I was right about his outfit when later I learned that his dream was to become a pilot—so he could fly to many destinations around the globe.

ALY held two bachelor's degrees: one is in Chinese language pedagogy, and the other in English. During the time I knew him, he worked three jobs at the same time to save enough money for the tuition of aviation schools. When I knew him, he was a substitute teacher in a public school. He also had two tutor jobs after class. He always bragged that he could earn NT sixty thousand dollars or more a month, in contrast to the very low pay that I had while working in the shops at Taoyuan Airport. He always asked me to think about plans for the future: being financially afloat is the absolute key to success. Whenever he had the chance, he would brag about his two-month-long experiences in Los Angeles as an intern Mandarin teacher during college years. He talked about his gay cruising in Los Angeles gay bars. I guess he probably had some flings with several white gay men then because he sometimes would tell me how bodily features of white men attract him. However, it seemed that these experiences

¹ As indicated by C Winter Han in his *Geisha of a Different Kind: Race and Sexuality in Gaysian America*, Abercrombie & Fitch is notorious for “promoting an image of attractiveness based only on whites” (Han 123).

were not satisfactory because he was forced to play bottom-role whenever it came to that. He sometimes would show me pictures of some Asian American gay men in Los Angeles through the mobile dating APP. These trained and tanned torsos are exactly like the Greek and Roman statues I read from the museum catalogs. When I see the photos he showed, I feel myself playing a role similar to the narrator of Mishima Yukio's *Confessions of a Mask*, who also narrates how he fetishizes those torsos from the imported museum catalogs. At that time, I got this impression that ALY would probably grasp all the chances to go to the United States again in the future.

Later, ALY and I had several fights over some trivialities, and then, we broke up.

I knew another guy, AW. AW went to Canada when he was about to become a junior high school student. He stayed in Canada for about six years and returned to Taiwan for a college education. As soon as he graduated in Taipei, he went on working holidays in Australia for another five years. He always texted me in not-so-refined English, and he used a lot of slangs: "Dude!" and "Waz up?" are usually the opening sentence. There was nothing special when it comes to AW's clothes. He only wore T-shirts and jeans in dark hues or plain colors with beach slippers. He sometimes would wear tank tops, which revealed his upper arms. He did not follow gay fashion. He complained about fashion. For example, he never had clean crew cuts like those gay men in Taipei. He said gay men in Taipei gay pubs all looked the same. They wore that same dress and were boring. However, AW is never without his baseball caps. He always wore that cap backward and acted cool.

I later lose contacts with AW because both of us were very busy. I guess this is the fate.

I really like ALY's and AW's clothes. I always find their tastes and opinions on clothes interesting. But, no matter how sensitive they are to their sartorial items, they always find discussions on these clothes effeminate. This reminds me of a famous

scene from *Legally Blondes* (2001). Elle Woods, a young Harvard Law intern, identifies the concealed homosexuality of a crucial witness because this “fake heterosexual man” can identify fashion items of certain expensive brands. This also brings up questions on “gay best friends” of heroines in some Hollywood romantic movies. These “gay best friends” always provide fashion advice for heroines in these movies. I would not say that I am a trendsetter, but, compared to ALY’s and AW’s clothes, I always find my clothes a bit flamboyant. I always visit H&M and Zara; these fast fashion stores offer fancy clothes that I can manage to afford. I like to wear linen or cotton shirts with paisley prints or floral liberty prints. The reason why I like these clothes is probably because I always wore plain grey or beige when I was young. I realize how submissive I was when I wore those clothes in plain colors. So, I really do not like those clothes sold in Uniqlo. I now have a preference for these exaggerating patterns. This preference brings me to think about issues on gay apparels.

I wonder why I can tell sexuality of random strangers on the street only through a glance? I wonder how gay apparels may carry certain masculine traits that attract other gay men’s attention? It’s said that gay men are all equipped with “gaydars,” and with these “gaydars,” gay men can detect the presence of other gay men. Gay men search for certain signs. Clothes are the signs for us to identify because, in contemporary gay communities, several dress-codes have already been developed. I wonder how such dress codes are formed? These are the private motifs for this thesis.

Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate how sartorial practices demonstrate a variety of gay masculinities in the communities of Chinese people. Lou Taylor, in her “Approaches Using Literary Sources” from *The Study of Dress History* (2002), states that depictions of clothing in literary resources demonstrate a period record of emotional attachment to clothing (103). Period clothing depicted in literature reveals “‘unspoken assumption’ of class, ethnicity, and gender” (104). It is a “coded description” (108) that indicates the social class, ethnicity and even sexual inclination of the characters. Peter McNeil, Vicki Karaminas, and Catherine Cole, in their introduction to *Fashion in Fiction: Text and Clothing in Literature, Film, and Television* (2009) all agree that readers can understand writers’ intent when they read the descriptions of the clothing items in literature (6). Fashion not only works as “an expressive cultural form” in literature (7), suggested by Elizabeth Wilson in her *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity* (1985) but also as metaphors in fictions. To follow this thread, this research inquires if gay characters in literature about the Chinese adopt the mainstream white gay masculine clothing styles. If they do, how does the clothing bespeak their identity? If they don’t, how does their non-mainstream dress style indicate their selfhood?

To investigate Chinese/American gay men’s masculinities, it is necessary to understand how a set of a non-heteronormative masculinities is conceived. However, there are also many kinds of gay masculinities. Some mannerisms are privileged, while others are discriminated. In gay communities, those who are “out” may win admiration while those who are “closeted” are often viewed as less courageous. In western gay communities, “coming out narratives” are usually celebrated. Whether it is important for non-westerners to follow the “coming out narratives” or not, for Asian

gay men it still remains a question. While gay activists' demonstrations for equal rights have been widely publicized, it is still common to see straight-passing gay men reluctant to reveal themselves. Since sartorial practices are often useful in indicating one's identity—whether it is about cultural, racial economical, or gender identity—this research will focus on the analysis of sartorial practices so as to examine the formation of gay masculinities.

I. Conceptual Framework

This thesis borrows existing studies and theories in order to explore the linkage between ethnicity and various gay men's masculinities in literary representation. The existing studies and theories are divided into the following three sections: (1) relationships between masculinity of white “straight gay men” and their sartorial practices, (2) masculinities of Chinese American gay men, and (3) masculinities of Chinese gay men.

1. The Relationships between Masculinity of “Straight-acting Gay Men” and Their Sartorial Practices

Representation of gay men in popular culture usually deploys effeminate images as portrayals of gay men. This conflation of effeminacy and homosexuality is stereotypical.² However, after the appearance of modern gay movements in the 1970s, different gay organizations start to criticize the stereotypical image of

² Peter M. Nardi points out several kinds of masculinities of gay men, basically differentiated by the degree of being feminine or masculine. This opens up questions regarding the formation of such differentiations: by whose standards are these sartorial items considered as feminine, masculine, or hyper-masculine. Nardi, in his “Anything for a Sis, Mary: an Introduction to Gay Masculinities”, points out that gay masculinities vary widely. Nardi considers that diverse masculinities of gay men reflect the differences build on various social and psychological contexts. Class and racial differences also contribute to the diverse masculinities of gay men. Before the Second World War, fairies, queers, and trades are epithets referring to gay men with eccentric inclinations. Gradually “gay” replaces the term “trade” in the 1930s and 1940s. Gay refers to men attracted to other men rather than the effeminate character. The effeminate men then usually wear female attire, which is a significant contrast to other manly-attire-wearing “real” men. Not until the 1960s did the contemporary term “straight” appear, referring to a limited sense of heterosexuality.

effeminate gay men in the mass media. For instance, conservative gay leaders who appeal for equal rights would oppose to the prevalent conflation of effeminacy and homosexuality and promote a “real men” image, i.e. the image accepted by the politically correct social culture. Peter M. Nardi criticizes these conservative gay movement leaders marginalize a variety of effeminate men. Drawing from notions of “a very straight gay” proposed by Robert Connell,³ Nardi points out that there are still people who choose to conform neither effeminate nor hyper-masculine masculinities. Instead, they choose to enact “both hegemonic masculinity and gay masculinity in their daily lives” (6).

Heather Love in her “Compulsory Happiness and Queer Existence” (2008) criticizes “gay liberalism” and its seemingly promising prospect of “normalizing” gay masculinities (53). Love, in agreement with Lisa Duggan, considers that such a normalizing agenda is a homonormative model and would never be able to contest against the dominant heteronormative agenda. “Being normal” is the intention of gay liberalism, and gay marriage is the approach to achieve gay liberalism. Gay marriage would promise a happy future and “melt away” all the melancholic past (Love 53). Love considers that it is difficult to criticize this gay normalization because it brings up "satisfactions promised by social inclusion" (Love 53). I agree with Love's criticism since this normalization would build up a homonorm and exploit other forms of life.

This normalizing agenda *per se* constructs a hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity is developed alongside the formation of patriarchal society. In Connell's

³ Connell's study is also cited by Jachinson Chan in her *Chinese American Masculinities: From Fu Manchu to Bruce Lee* (2001) to set the foundation for her analysis on Chinese American masculinities. Connell points out four types of masculinity that tends to be conflated with patriarchy: (1) a “white, middle class, early-middle-aged, heterosexual” hegemonic masculinity, (2) a subordinated effeminate gay masculinity, (3) a complicit masculinity that rejects femininity or supports dominant masculinity, and, lastly, (4) the masculinity of color.

view from “Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concepts” (2005), the development of hegemonic masculinity is a historical product of gender and racial dynamics in society. Hegemonic masculinity is normative rather than static, thus hegemonic masculinity may change from time to time. Men who benefit from the patriarchal system would enjoy such hegemonic status. Hegemonic masculinity is also a norm for subordinated males to solidify their superior socioeconomic status and their dominance over females. However, hegemony itself struggles. As a result, newer forms of masculinity may replace previous ones. Refuting an over-simplified commentary on heterosexual society as a homophobic society, Connell in his “A Very Straight Gay: Masculinity, Homosexual Experience, and the Dynamics of Gender” (1992) argues that hegemonic masculinities are exclusively heterosexual; for instance, erotic contacts among gay men are long-term viewed illegitimate. Gay men need to deal with conflicts among gay men’s sexuality, such as their social presence as gay men, and their relationship with females and other heterosexual men. Even though gay men are marginalized, they are not absolutely denied of masculinity because, after all, they are superior to women in society with male-centric ideology. Connell even points out that hegemonically some closeted gay men would benefit from certain socioeconomic status by adopting and appropriating straight men’s mannerisms. This is exactly the homonormative appropriation criticized by Love. Appearing straight is like appearing normal. It is safe and free from suspicion. Just by concealing their sexual orientation and conforming to conventional expectations of heterosexual masculinities, “straight gay men” can thus secure their socioeconomic status.⁴

⁴ In “Expressing Yourself: the Politics of Dressing Up” (1997), Tim Edwards disputes myths and stereotypes that recognize gay men as fashion trendsetters and leading consumers of conspicuous consumptions due to their discretionary income (113). Edwards points out that a majority of gay people may not be willing to reveal their identity when consuming fashion items, so such a stereotype that considers gay men as trendsetters and leading consumers of conspicuous consumptions is not accurate. Because of the unwillingness to come out of the closet for most gay men, a research on different sartorial practices for white gay men from different classes and ethnicity sectors are meaningful. In my

As effeminacy is refuted by hegemonic masculinity, many homosexual gay men yield to the stereotypical equalization of effeminacy and homosexuality in the 1930s. Pointed out by Shaun Cole in his book chapter “Fairies and Queens: the Role of Effeminate Stereotypes” from *Don't We Now Our Gay Apparel: Gay Men's Dress in Twentieth Century* (2000), many gay men initially adopt womanly mannerisms as a way to express their gay identities in order to attract other gay men. However, these gay men then realize that such stereotypical mannerisms are a merely false impression of the dominant culture. Many conservative gay men even decry such womanly mannerisms for the reason that such a stereotypical image discourages wider homosexual varieties.

Rather than choosing hyper-masculine clone clothing,⁵ which carries fetish connotations, Shaun Cole asserts that these gay men later adopt other mannerisms after they are aware of other possible gender associations (31).⁶ Shaun Cole, in his following chapter “Invisible Men?” (2000) of the same book, Cole analyzes several gay mannerisms that would help these gay men to express their sexual inclination through daily sartorial items with a specific connotation (61). Cole also elaborates some on historical backgrounds of “straight gay men” sartorial practices. From the 1930s to 1950s, many gay men are afraid of the legal consequence if their identity is

observation, the reason why class is also a major factor when discussing white gay men's consumer lifestyle is because that there are many “unsuccessful”, in other words, “those who earn less”, gay men. These “unsuccessful” gay men don't survive a strict socioeconomic restraints and may choose to purchase less expensive and less prominent items. Tim Edwards' discussion is based on two types of masculinities demonstrated by those who come out of the closet and those who don't. This again echoes Robert Connell's view that many gay men tend to embrace “a very straight gay” mannerism that enacts both hegemonic masculinity and gay masculinity, rather than choosing a style of hyper-masculinity and effeminacy.

⁵ “Clone” is a typical hyper-masculine style. As a trend started in the 1950s, Gay men use leather suits to show their masculinity. Originally, it is a costume for members of motorcycle clubs. Even though gay leather wearers may not be interested in S/M practice, it is also viewed as an S/M associated costume. Some sartorial items or body modification are even derived from those criminals of hate crime against homosexuals, such as cropped hairstyle.

⁶ Shaun Cole, “Fairies and Queens: the Role of Effeminate Stereotypes” *Don We Now Our Gay Apparel: Gay Men's Dress in the Twentieth Century*. Oxford: Berg, 2000. 31.

being exposed. These gay men choose to conceal their identity in public and might only partially reveal their identity in some gay gatherings. If these gay men are willing to reveal their sexual inclination, they would wear particular sartorial items and accessories in certain colors as sartorial signifiers. These items include pinky rings, red ties, and suede shoes, which are items in normative dress codes to dominant cultures. As wearing these normative items can reveal a visible gay identity, a study of the sartorial practices of these “straight gay men” is necessary for this thesis.

In the following section, I will deal with this question by tackling the concept of hegemonic masculinity. By studying white gay men’s negotiation with hegemonic masculinities in terms of their sartorial practices, I especially want to read how white “straight gay men’s” sartorial practices and mannerism are measured and influence the identity construction of Chinese American and Chinese gay men.

2. Masculinities of Chinese American Gay Men

Elaine Kim, in her *Asian American Literature: An Introduction to the Writings and Their Social Context* (1982), points out that Asian Americans are often viewed as “model minority”: “people who respect the law, love education, work hard, and have close-knit, well-disciplined families” (177). Kim states that “model minority” is a myth that tends to render Asian Americans “more industrious, docile, and compliant” (177). This docility and compliance have situated Asian American men in an enforced effeminate position. In addition to the enforced femininity, “model minority” myth emphasizes a strong heterosexual family value.⁷ Russell Leong, in his “Introduction: Home Bodies and Body Politic” (1996), states that a heterosexual and homogeneous

⁷ In order to dispute against Asian American men’s enforced femininity, Frank Chin and his fellow participants of the nationalist *Aiiiiiiii!* project advocates for a manhood model to break the “model minority” myth. This correspondence of Chin’s proposal, disputed by feminist and queer scholars, solidifies the patriarchal social order and worsens the status of Asian American gay communities.

“model minority” myth stops an investigation on “varied nature of [Asian Americans] sexual drives and gendered diversity” (3). In my observation, Confucian family values, such as prohibition on violation of morality and fulfillment of filial duties, make members of Chinese⁸ family docile and compliant. Thus, I would like to consider Confucian family values make immigrants originated from East Asian countries more docile and compliant. This thesis focuses on Chinese family from various Chinese communities.⁹ In my opinion, this “heterosexual and homogeneous” connotation of “model minority” not only encourages heterosexual Chinese American immigrants to lead a white American consumer lifestyle by dressing up like white Americans but also encourages Chinese American gay men to stay in the closet. Chinese Asian American gay men who enjoy a better socioeconomic status will solidify this heterosexual image. Even though there is a wide variety of white gay masculinities, when it comes to the issue of Chinese American gay men, they could hardly be considered as masculine because of the stereotypical racialized effeminate image of the Asians.

Thus, I would like to point out that the diversity of white gay masculinities is challenged by the "model minority" myth. Following this controversy, I want to read how the culture of Chinese American gay consumer lifestyle is shaped. In this context, a discussion on the literary representations of bodies and sartorial practices of

⁸ “Chinese” refers to ethnic Chinese who comes from various Chinese communities in Asian countries. Even though his focus is on the representation of male homosexuality in various Chinese (national) cinemas, Lim Song Hwee (林松輝) indicates that Chinese communities from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and China may respectively render as capitalist, colonial, and communist (Lim19-40). I am aware that capitalist, colonial, and communist backgrounds encourage different attitudes toward male homosexuality. Lim Song Hwee. “Screening Homosexuality.” *Celluloid Comrades: Representations of Male Homosexuality in Contemporary Chinese Cinemas*. Honolulu: U of Hawai‘i P, 19-40.

⁹ However, I am aware that Confucian-doctrines-influenced model minority myth may not be comprehensive when talking about South East Asian American gay communities. As indicated by Andy C., an interviewee in Eric C. Wat’s *The Making of a Gay Asian Community: An Oral History of Pre-AIDS Los Angeles*, South East Asian gay men hold an open-minded attitude toward homosexual relationships (Wat 23). These gay men realize attitude toward male homosexuality in the United States is even more rigid than that in the South East Asian countries (Wat 46). How South East Asian gay men view homosexuality is different from how homosexuality is viewed by East Asian gay men.

Chinese American gay men is needed. Questions to explore include: is a dominant white gay consumer lifestyle an escape for Chinese American gay men from the prohibition of Chinese/American family and Chinese/American values? Is Chinese American consumer lifestyle a copy of the mainstream gay consumer lifestyle? Eric C. Wat asserts in his discussion on generational antagonism of Asian American family that “for most Asian parents, being Asian and being gay are mutually exclusive” (76). Doubts about their sexual identities and contention with family restrictions are common themes about Asian American gay men in literature. I want to inquire how first-generation Chinese American’s views on gay and queer culture are relegated to the margin by second-generation Chinese Americans when they try to pursue a Chinese American gay consumer lifestyle while facing generational antagonism. Based on his ethnographical research on gay community in Seattle, Winter Han, in his *Geisha of a Different Kind: Race and Sexuality in Gaysian America* (2015), proclaims that, rather than being a passive recipient of false racialized and gendered representation of feminine Asian American gay men constructed by dominant white gay men culture, Asian American gay men start to claim difference from not only a gay white identity but also an Asian American identity (197). Claiming such a difference leads to an image free of biased stereotype and enables Asian American gay men to claim Asian and gay identity.

3. Chinese Gay Masculinities¹⁰

This thesis investigates how the traits of individual gay man’s masculinities

¹⁰ This refers to ethnic Chinese, including those in Taiwan, China and many other overseas Chinese Communities. Again, I follow Lim’s train of thought. I consider Chinese communities in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and China may respectively render as capitalist, colonial, and communist. I am aware that capitalist, colonial, and communist backgrounds encourage different attitudes toward male homosexuality. In this thesis, I put emphasis on Chinese gay communities in Taiwan because Taipei is the nodal point for Pai Hsien-Yung’s “Tea for Two” and Russell Leong’s “Phoenix Eyes”. See Lim Song Hwee. “Screening Homosexuality.” *Celluloid Comrades: Representations of Male Homosexuality in Contemporary Chinese Cinemas*. Honolulu: U of Hawai‘i P, 19-40.

are recorded in Modern Chinese gay literature and Chinese American gay literature, especially in the aspect of management and adoptions of male sartorial items.

About the construction of Chinese masculinity. Kam Louie (雷金慶) in his *Chinese Masculinities in a Globalizing Age* (2015) rejects existing studies on the masculinities of Chinese men by western scholars (as already mentioned in the previous section), asserting that the effeminate image of Chinese men is the product of US scenario that Chinese American are the disadvantaged and discriminated ethnic minorities in the United States (1). Louie sets up the groundbreaking theorization of *wen-wu* in his *Theorizing Chinese Masculinity: Society and Gender in China* (2002), considering that *Wen* (文, cultural attainment) and *Wu* (武, martial valor) underpin Chinese masculinity. Louie doesn't use *yin-yang* dyad to discuss Chinese masculinity for the reason that *yin-yang* dyad is possession of essence for male and female (9), mainly a Daoist concept. In comparison, *Wen-wu* dyad is a Confucian concept involving with both "authority of a scholar and that of a soldier", and emphasizing the need to embody and balance both (11). In his another book *Asian Masculinities: The Meaning and Practice of Manhood in China and Japan* (2003), Louie also points out that *Wen-wu* dyad is only applied to Chinese men, but not Chinese women or non-Chinese (4-5). I think this *wen* character is easily misunderstood by non-Chinese society because *wen* also refers to reading and literacy, a trait that could hardly be related with violence and aggressiveness.

The reason why *wen-wu* dyad is helpful for discussing Chinese gay masculinities is that Chinese gay men would deploy chances of studying abroad, many in the US, to escape from their filial duties. Many Chinese gay intellectuals and students can adopt a normalizing scholarly lifestyle to showcase *wen* masculinity and thus conceal their gay sexuality and orientation. Family members would not have a chance to differentiate this disguised gay masculinity from *wen* masculinity. Chi Ta-

wei (紀大偉), in his “Giving up Family and Becoming men: 1980’s Male Homosexual Novels” (2017), points out that many Taiwanese gay men from 1970s and 1980s choose the United States as the ultimate destination for higher education if they want to fulfill and practice their gay orientations. In order to achieve such a “gay American dream,”¹¹ many Asian gay men would endure all socioeconomic restrictions in the US (298-305). While most Taiwanese people render studying in the US a symbol of success and an honor to the family, these Taiwanese gay men would try to achieve success by going abroad. In this context, Chi points out that many gay men would deploy the chance of studying abroad in America in order to pursue their “gay American dream”, fulfilling family expectation without their family members’ knowledge of these Taiwanese gay men’s sexual inclination.

In the United States, homosexuality is reduced to sodomy in popular culture representation. The top position is “active, dominant, masculine”, and the bottom position is “passive, submissive, feminine” (6-7).¹² However, Tsai Meng-Che (蔡孟哲), in his master thesis “*Ge-Di” Trouble ? Note on the Sexual Style of Gay Men in Taiwan* (2007) delineates the construction of Taiwanese categorization of *Ge* (哥 or 葛格 elder brother) *Di* (弟 or 底迪 younger brother) culture. *Ge-di* dyad is a pseudo-familial term emerges in Taiwanese Gay communities in the 90s.¹³ This *Ge-di* dyad is not based on sexual positions and preferences of the top-bottom dyad in the

¹¹ Chi considers this agency from Taiwan to the United States is a “pilgrimage” (298) from Taiwan the colony to the United States. I think it is pretty much like a gay American dream.

¹² Hoang Tan Nguyen. “Introduction.” *A View from the Bottom: Asian American Masculinity and Sexual Representation*. Durham: Duke UP, 2014. 1-28.

¹³ Even though, in Meng-Che Tsai’s theorization, *ge* and *di* emerged in the 1990s, Tsai raises several examples from Pai Hsien-Yung’s literary works to indicate the appearance of *Ge-di* interactions in the 1970s. These examples are Pai Hsien-Yung’s 〈月夢〉 “Yue Meng” [Luna Dream] and 《孽子》 “Nie Zi” [Crystal Boys]. 蔡孟哲 (Tsai, Meng-Che) 。2007年。〈兄弟類型的出現〉 “Ge di lei xing de chu xian” [The Emergence of *Ge-di* Categorization] 。《兄弟麻煩？台灣男同志情慾類型學初探》 *Ge di ma fang: Taiwan nan tong zhi qing yu lei xing xue chu tang* [“*Ge-Di*” Trouble?: Note on the Sexual Style of Gay Men in Taiwan] 。新竹：國立清華大學碩士論文 [Xinzhuh: National Tsing-Hua University Master Thesis] 42-52 。

United States. *Ge-di* dyad dislocates the American popular culture representation of top-hood and bottom-hood. While *Ge* carries traditional masculine traits and appears as an active and dominant character in male homosexual relationships, *Di* carries a soft-masculinity with a more delicate and thoughtful attitude. *Ge* has to take part in all the male duties, like in the traditional heterosexual relationship, while *Di* only needs to enjoy the benefits of *Ge*'s dedication. However, when it comes to preferences on clothing styles and bodybuilding, *Di* sometimes is even butcher than *Ge* in appearance. Tsai criticizes such a *Ge-di* dyad is the embodiment of misogynist attitude in Taiwanese gay communities as femininity is abjected and wiped out in the gay communities (34).¹⁴

Again, since the United States cast strong influences on Taiwanese society, the presence of American culture in Taiwan is strong and dominant. No matter whether one may become a *wen* scholar/intellectual or not, one can consume trendy items from the United States. Chi Ta-Wei, in his “American Orientation: Historicizing Male Homosexuality in 1970s Taiwan Literature” (2017), discusses the commodification¹⁵ of American material (goods and movies) and epistemological (psychological pathology and knowledge) presence in Taiwan literature. Chi points out that Taiwanese gay men would consume products from the US in order to experience the American consumer lifestyle and live in an “alternative American temporality” (216-218). While many Taiwanese men are inhibited by certain filial duties and agendas in order to fulfill expectations from their family, many closeted Taiwanese gay men are not willing to conform to such restrictions. Taiwanese gay men who live in Taiwan

¹⁴ 蔡孟哲 (Tsai, Meng-Che) 。2009 年 。〈躺在哥哥的衣櫃〉 “Tang zai ge ge de yi gui” [Lying Down in Ge-ge’s Closet] 。《酷兒新聲》 *Ku er xin shen* [Queer Sounding] 。桃園：中央大學性／別研究室 [Taoyuan: National Central University Center for the Studies of Sexualities] 34 。

¹⁵ Even though the term “commodification” never appears in Chi’s article, all the characters from Taiwanese literary texts cited in Chi’s article are buying products from the US. Foreign goods and products are trendy, and many Taiwanese gay men would buy these products in order to become different from other ordinary Taiwanese people. Thus, I choose the term commodification.

would consume such American commodities and imagine as if they are leading an American consumer lifestyle. From these American commodities, many Taiwanese gay men started to know their identities.

Reviewing studies based on criticism and argumentation of integrationist and assimilated model of “good sexual citizenship,” Travis Kong (江邵琪), in his *Chinese Male Homosexualities: Memba, Tongzhi and Golden Boy* (2011), points out that, in the modern capitalist society,¹⁶ many gay men have succeeded in obtaining respectful citizenship with their financial security, which however would, therefore, marginalize those who fail to achieve such a financial status. Among several modes of ideal normalization of gay images, Kong points out that a commercially driven pink economy is to transform gay men from a “citizen-pervert” to a “good consumer citizen”. In this image-transformation, a certain consumerism model of gay men is entitled to a better image perceived by dominant late capitalist society because they help build a stable economic community (36). Lastly, Kong suspects that such a cosmopolitan-oriented global gay identity may also marginalize other less successful queer identities in terms of capitalist consumerism. Here I would like to follow Kong’s train of thoughts and ask several questions. (1) What kind of dominant sartorial practices are rendered as ideal representation in Pai Hsien-Yung’s “Tea for Two” and Russell Leong’s “Phoenix Eyes”? (2) How sartorial practices of transnational Chinese gay men with high socioeconomic status are represented in “Tea for Two” and “Phoenix Eyes”? (3) How will such sartorial practices with flamboyant clothes bespeak a different literary representation of the gay men

¹⁶ John D’Emilio, in his “Capitalism and Gay Identity” (1993, originally 1983), states that capitalist production makes it possible for sexuality to be excused from the purpose of procreation, and individualized wage labors are thus free from the interdependent agricultural family production (470). Thus, capitalist society not only encourages the appearance of gay activities but also changes the meaning of family from a household economy, or a workplace for production, to “the setting for a ‘personal life’” (469) focusing on the cultivation of individualism.

experiences?

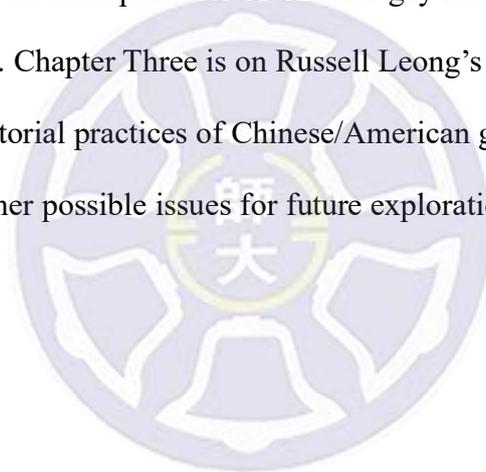
Since many gay men from a better socioeconomic class enjoy the discretionary income, it is necessary to take their professions and socioeconomic status into account. Globalization reshapes the definition of masculinities. The establishment of transnational corporations based on global labor division in the modern capitalist society is a common corporate model. Robert Connell and Julian Wood, in their “Globalization and Business Masculinities” (2005), point out a new trend of hegemonic masculinity derived from the transnational business. In these transnational corporations, global traffic of managers among global cities in transnational corporations is common. Transnationally mobile managers are financially afloat. Their frequent travels around the globe also give them more opportunities for casual sexual practices. Even hostility toward homosexuality in managerial positions is declining, making gay men willing to come out of the closet at work if well managed under “peer scrutiny” (353). Dress code for this class is required: they all need to appear professional and assertive. Thus, a conservative suit is preferred. Robert Connell’s example is a kind of straight gay men who only consent to reveal because of their high socioeconomic status.

II. Outline of Thesis Chapters

Lastly, from literary texts I gather, I especially want to inquire if there’s a diversity of globalized Chinese gay masculinities, as traffic of gay subjects from one globalized city to another is a common practice in the modern capitalized world. I would like to point out the reasons why Pai Hsien-Yung’s “Tea for Two” and Russell Leong’s “Phoenix Eyes” are chosen for this study. First of all, the protagonists in these short stories are characters capable of agency moving from one globalized metropolis to another in 1970s. Characters in Pai’s “Tea for Two” are immigrants in New York.

Terrence, the narrator in Leong's "Phoenix Eyes" is a male sex worker who can move in Asian cities.¹⁷ New York is one of the largest cities in the world, while Taipei is the capital of Taiwan. People, goods, and money all accumulate in these urban spaces. Both short stories are set in the 1970s, thus the fashion and trend in both cities are similar. The sartorial preferences in these cities may share similar fashion.

There are five chapters in this thesis. The Introduction chapter explains existing studies and literature review on gay masculinities. Chapter One delves with analysis and comparisons of Chinese American gay men and Chinese gay men's sartorial practices. Chapter Two is a textual analysis of Pai Hsien-Yung's short story "Tea for Two", where I examine sartorial practices of Chinese gay men of different generations in Pre-AIDS New York. Chapter Three is on Russell Leong's short story "Phoenix Eye," where I study sartorial practices of Chinese/American gay men. Conclusion chapter will propose other possible issues for future explorations on this topic.



¹⁷ Terrence's call station is based in Taipei, but from time to time they would visit to different cities in Asia for other business opportunities.

Chapter One: Sartorial Practices of Gay Men

The previous chapter has teased out many kinds of masculinities in the United States, especially those related to Chinese American men. This chapter focuses on how a variety of masculinities are revealed through their sartorial practices, diving into four sections. The first section discusses certain sartorial practices and its conflation with gay men, reviewing how some colors and sartorial decorations are rendered effeminate, straight-passing, or hyper-masculine for gay men. The second section focuses on sartorial practices of Asian American gay men and Asian gay men, reviewing sartorial practices recounted in their oral accounts and represented in Chinese and Chinese American gay literature. I especially want to read how immigrant Chinese gay writers and Chinese American gay writers view sartorial practices in American cultures in terms of ethnicity, gender, and class. The third section discusses sartorial practices in gay spaces in Taipei, Taiwan. The references gathered here in this chapter are helpful for the discussion on the similarities and differences of representations of spaces and sartorial practices in both Asian/American metropolis represented in literature. I especially want to review these sartorial choices of Chinese immigrants in America and Chinese American gay men in terms of American consumer culture.

I. Sartorial Practices and Gender

Joanne Entwistle, in her book chapter “Fashion and Gender” from *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress and Modern Social Theory* (2000), asserts that clothes add meaning to the body. For example, suits would add the cultural meaning of masculinities to the body. Tailoring details, such as the length of the trousers would also mark the age. Longer pants are for adults, while shorter length pants are for children. Besides, clothes can even address the significance of sexual difference

without the presence of the body (141). In agreement with Woodhouse's point on how transvestite's sartorial practice would "*naturalize* culture order" (144; italic in original), Entwistle considers that fashion as a cultural embodiment would radically dislocate sex from gender. For example, a transvestite can deploy female attire to pass as a female.

Male heteronormative sartorial practices are different from stereotypical gay sartorial practices. While male heteronormative apparels emphasize the uniformity and simplicity in design and color, male homosexual clothes stereotypically come in great elaborations in design and bright colors. John Carl Flugel's theory in his *Psychology of Clothes* (1930) contends that reduction in the elaboration of excessiveness and the celebration of democratic uniformity encourage the simplification of male's clothes (111-113). Before the French Revolution, elaboration in excessiveness of male fashion emphasized differences in social status and wealth. However, the wide-spreading appeal of "liberty, equality, and fraternity" of the French Revolution affects the design of male apparels. This is called by Flugel "the great masculine renunciation" (111-113). After the Victorian period, fashion conflates with effeminacy (Entwistle 113). Due to the emphasis on the differentiation of the private and public spheres in terms of gender, gender differentiation also reveals through the sartorial styles of males and females (Entwistle 156). The result of the great masculine renunciation is to reduce mainstream heterosexual male fashion to the application of simple design and dark colors. However, studies on gay apparel point out that gay men in the 1940s adopted some particular colors. In Shaun Cole's study, a survey conducted by Mass Observation in 1949 shows that pale color blue is favored by gay men. Cole's study indicates that the article "Classification of Homosexuality" written by James Kiernan in 1916 demonstrates color green holds homosexual associations (63). Cited by Shaun Cole, color red as a homosexual color is recorded in the book,

Sexual Inversion, written by Havelock Ellis in 1915 (32). Color pink also indicates gay men's sexuality (63). Cole concludes that wearing clothes in these colors with some mannerisms could reveal one's sexuality to people who are familiar with gay subculture (63).

II. Sartorial Practices of Asian American Gay Men

Various accounts of the Asian American gay men reveal that Asian American gay men are aware of the existence of other homosexuals in their neighborhood. The awareness is built on the stereotypical images of transvestism. However, they don't know to what kind of homosexual categorizations they belong. Instead, they only know that their sexual desire can be aroused by intimacy with other gay men during the time before the gay right movements.¹⁸ When they are still closeted, in schools, they usually find it hard to communicate with white gay teenagers who are already out of the closet.¹⁹ Through the inspection on transvestite sartorial practices of these white gay teenagers, Asian American gay teenagers realize that they might not be alone in terms of sexuality. However, these accounts show that they are not able to

¹⁸ Several accounts in *The Making of a Gay Asian Community* show Asian American gay men's "closeted" status. It is this "closeted" status that makes them have doubts on their sexuality.

Ernest Wada recounts that, since he was born in a family with four elder sisters, he had no male role models in his family when he was young. He is effeminate and thought it is natural. After returning from the relocation camp, Wada was living in a Mexican American community. Wada recounts that, Mexican Americans hold a healthy attitude towards sexuality regardless the gender of their sexual partners. Wada's first sexual intercourse was with this group of Mexican American children in the neighbor (13).

Growing up in a middle-class neighborhood, Doug Chin recounts his first homosexual experience as merely "a play" among children. He didn't indicate the ethnic origin of his first sexual partner. When he was young, he wasn't fully aware of homosexuality and would also join his friends to tease other transvestites in his racially mixed neighborhood when he was in high school (14).

Like other teenagers, Tak Yamamoto thinks he should date some girls when he is in high school but realizes the fact that he is not interested in either sex. He recounts his first encounter with homosexuality: he met a Hispanic transvestite in the shop he worked for and was not able to relate their outfits. However, Yamamoto thinks those homosexual teenagers in his high school are very brave (11-12).

¹⁹ Justin Chin, an openly gay Asian American writer, has a similar experience. In Chin's "Monster" collected in *Q&A: Queer in Asian America*, Chin recounts that there are several effeminate teenagers would deploy the chance of acting in the music and drama night to wear feminine attires. Chin also thinks these transvestite teenagers are brave, but Chin chooses to join the sports club and tries to become masculine in order to pass as straight in the public (369).

relate themselves to these white gay teenagers. They are aware of their homosexuality but they choose to ignore it. They concentrate on their studies and do their jobs diligently. Wat, in his *The Making of a Gay Asian Community: An Oral History of Pre-Aids Los Angeles* (2002), points out that, many Asian American gay men start to develop their homosexual experiences due to the homosocial settings of the military (18).

Existing studies show that Asian American gay men would internalize the white gay men's images of masculinities as the normalizing images. In *The Making of a Gay Asian Community*, Wat concludes that, like white gay communities, in Asian American gay communities, "money can buy you the right look" (61). With money in hand, Asian American gay men can afford certain clothes and accessories. They would also work out in the gym and buy trendy clothes and fashionable accessories (61). In this way, Asian American gay men would demonstrate a body with gay accessories and thus be visible for other gay men to identify. Wat contextualizes these costly sartorial practices in the capitalist society, recognizing these sartorial practices a promotion that would normalize the desire of consumers. This unifies diverse desires from various backgrounds and makes gay men of different origins want to look alike with each other. Wat points out that Asian gay men would internalize the promotion of white gay masculinities and enact such white masculinity on their bodybuilding.

Wat criticizes that in some dominant gay magazines catering for the white gay market, the white gay body is always rendered as the desirable body for people to fantasize. Due to the emasculation of Asian bodies in the United States, Asian bodies are rendered effeminate. Even in some ghettoized Asian gay magazines in the United States, muscular Asian gay models are "invariably boyish, innocent, and pliant" (62)

in their postures.²⁰ Wat concludes that these representations of Asian gay masculinities “fulfill the superficial criteria of American masculinity and yet retain within the same bodies centuries of colonial fantasies about the Orient” (62).

Since many Asian American gay men are emasculated in white gay communities, many white gay men would pay visits to these Asian American gay bars for gay cruising. Many gay bars in the 1970s in Los Angeles are exclusively for white gay communities with River Cub as an exception. According to sociological and historical studies in *The Making of a Gay Asian Community*, many Asian gay men started to aggregate in Los Angeles since the mid-1970s. White gay men who are interested in dating Asian American gay men would visit River Club. This kind of gay bars with the majority of Asian American clients is called “rice bars”, and the River Club is one of its kind. Wat considers white gay men’s visits to these rice bars are acts of “ethnic tourism”, as white gay men render these places into “a stimulant to sexuality” (86), and commodify these places into the slum area for privileged white gay men (86-87). According to Andre Ting’s interview, rice bars offer chances for casual sex for Asian gay men (90).

Asian American gay men usually don’t date among each other before the 1970s because they render each other as competitors in pursuing interracial romance with white gay men. In the River Club in downtown Los Angeles in the mid-1970s, some Asian American gay men would divide themselves into different ethnic groups and compete with each other (67). According to one interview with Dean Goishi in *The*

²⁰ According to Paul EeNam Park Hagland’s “‘Undressing the Oriental Boy’: The Gay Asian in the Social Imaginary of the Gay White Male”, there are three magazines of this kind. *Oriental Guys* and *Male Club* are two magazines published in Sydney and are internationally distributed in Australia, Asia, and the United States. *Passport: Crossing Cultures and Borders* is published in San Francisco and is also internationally distributed in the United States, Canada, England and in Asia. (Park Hagland 278). Paul EeNam Park Hagland. “‘Undressing the Oriental Boy’: The Gay Asian in the Social Imaginary of the Gay White Male” *Looking Queer: Body Image and Identity in Lesbian, Bisexual, Gay and Transgender Communities*. Dawn Atkins Ed. New York: Harrington Press, 1998. 277-293.

Making of a Gay Asian Community, ethnically speaking “the American-born [Asian gay men] tended to mix much better” (71), while “many first generation [immigrants] tend to stay in their ethnic groups” (71). Goishi does not date with Asian gay men because Asian gay men are “family” (71). However, in retrospect, Goishi thinks that it is racism because he does not find Asian gay men attractive (71).

In the account of Paul Chen from *The Making of a Gay Asian Community*, there are some Asian gay clones²¹ that want to join the white clone communities. These Asian gay clones dress themselves with sartorial accessories to look similar to white gay men. One of the Asian gay clones would wear dark glasses and get a perm. In this Asian gay clone’s view, according to Paul Chen’s account, Asian gay men are “quiet, passive,” and having “less power” (70).

The “Americanized” Asian American gay men are more attractive to those Asian immigrants who just arrived in the United States. One account in *The Making of a Gay Asian Community* by Virgil Vang indicates how American-born Asian American gay men are more attractive for Asian immigrants. Vang considers that his Asian American identity might be helpful for him to date Asian immigrants, even though Asian-Asian relationship is not common in the 1970s.²² Virgil Vang recounts that he would wear a common Levi’s jeans and an ordinary shirt when visiting the River Club (78). I think Levi’s jeans and the shirt Vang was wearing are all American brands and are popular commodities in American culture. They all carry codified meaning and add meaning to the body: wearing these American brands represents one’s American-born-ness. In Virgil Vang’s accounts, masculinity derives from his American-born-

²¹ “Clone” refers to a subculture that celebrates hyper-masculine costumes in gay communities. These gay men adopt bikers’ leather jackets as their outfit when cruising in gay spaces. Clones like to have short crew cuts and wear leather clothes. These sartorial practices are borrowed from bikers and working-class men. It is a practice popular among white gay men.

²² According to Leo Joslin’s accounts, white gay men would render the unusual Asian gay couple a lesbian act in the 1970s (58).

ness makes his relationships with Asian gay men easier (78), so he never finds it trouble to date Asian guys. Vang considers that he “wasn’t quite as Oriental” and was not an “Asian Asian” (78, emphasis in the original). He claims that the majority of Asian gay men he dates are all tourists or students from Asia (78).

III. Sartorial Practices of Chinese Gay Men

This section focuses on Chinese gay men in various Chinese communities in Asia. Similar to that of Asian American gay men, effeminacy is conflated to homosexuality in Taiwan during the martial law period. Thus, many Taiwanese gay men would identify gay men through effeminate clothes. These sartorial practices are also indicators for gay cruising. *Senior Rainbows: A Collection of Memories of Senior Gay Men* (《彩虹熟年巴士：12位老年同志的青春記憶》2010) collects many accounts on gay life during the martial law period. In addition to references to stories in *Senior Rainbows*, I would also provide two literary texts in this section to explicate on sartorial practices of Taiwanese and Chinese gay men and its cultural meanings.

Similar to accounts on the childhood of Asian American gay men, many Taiwanese gay men’s homosexuality is initiated in homosocial settings. These settings include boys’ schools, working-class factories, or military base. Some recount that their homosexual encounters are initiated by elder male co-workers while working as apprentices in the local factories. Xu Dage²³ (許大哥) recounts that he always masturbates with his fellow co-workers in the shower room of the factories after he moves to Taipei in the 1950s (Yoyo 86). While Xu Dage actively embraces his

²³ Yoyo. 2010年。〈阿伯戀少年—自在花叢間的把弟高手許大哥〉“A bo lian shao nian: zi zai hua cong jian de ba di gao shou xu da ge” [Seeking the Youth: Brother Xu’s Account on His Lifestyle], 《彩虹熟年巴士—12位老年同志的青春記憶》 *Cai hong shu nan ba shi: 12 wei lao nian tong zhi de qing chun ji yi* [Senior Rainbows: A Collection of Memories of Senior Gay Men]. 台灣同志諮詢熱線編 [Ed. Taiwan Tongzhi Hotline Association]. 台北：基本書坊 [Taipei: GBooks P] 83-94。

preferences for young men, Hei Meiren²⁴ (黑美人) recounts his traumatic rape experience with his senior co-worker in the factories in the 1960s (Xiaodu 小杜 98). Others recount that their first homosexual experience is initiated by their batchmates in the army (Heimao Yi 黑貓姨²⁵ 58-60; Qiaokeli 巧克力²⁶ 149-150). They later end up in Taipei because they want to fulfill their homosexual desires. They work hard and struggle on their limited income. Before the appearances of gay bars in the 1970s, many work in restaurants or bars as waiters. Some of them work as masseurs in gay or ordinary saunas (Yongge 勇哥²⁷ 26-28; Jiaxin 家新 61-62). However, without much freedom, most of these gay men have to stay in the closet and fulfill the heteronormal expectations enforced on them by their families or the society. Some got married, with a wife and kids (Yongge 勇哥 26; Yoyo 87-89; Tim²⁸ 136-137;

²⁴ 小杜 (Xiaodu)。2010 年。〈回首坎坷淚漣漣—黑美人的曲折人生〉“Hui shou kan ke lei lian lian: hei mei ren de qu zhe ren shen” [Tearful Life Account: Hei Mei Ren’s Twisted Journey], 《彩虹熟年巴士—12 位老年同志的青春記憶》 *Cai hong shu nan ba shi: 12 wei lao nian tong zhi de qing chun ji yi* [Senior Rainbows: A Collection of Memories of Senior Gay Men]。台灣同志諮詢熱線編 [Ed. Taiwan Tongzhi Hotline Association]。台北：基本書坊 [Taipei: GBooks P] 95-108。

²⁵ 家新 (Jiaxin)。2010 年。〈猶存風韻的優雅姿態—黑貓姨走過抗婚的自在從容〉“Yun cun feng yun de yu ya zi tai: hei mao yi zou guo kan hun de zi zai cong rong” [Graceful Behaviors: Heimao Yi’s Accounts on Anti-marriage], 《彩虹熟年巴士—12 位老年同志的青春記憶》 *Cai hong shu nan ba shi: 12 wei lao nian tong zhi de qing chun ji yi* [Senior Rainbows: A Collection of Memories of Senior Gay Men]。台灣同志諮詢熱線編 [Ed. Taiwan Tongzhi Hotline Association]。台北：基本書坊 [Taipei: GBooks P] 55-68。

²⁶ 小蜜蜂 (Xiaomifeng)。2010 年。〈濃情巧克力—七年級小蜜蜂訴說四年級熟男的故事〉“Nong qing qiao ke li: qi nian ji xiao mi feng su shuo si nian ji shu nan de gu shi” [An Account on Senior Gay man in the 1970s], 《彩虹熟年巴士—12 位老年同志的青春記憶》 *Cai hong shu nan ba shi: 12 wei lao nian tong zhi de qing chun ji yi* [Senior Rainbows: A Collection of Memories of Senior Gay Men]。台灣同志諮詢熱線編 [Ed. Taiwan Tongzhi Hotline Association]。台北：基本書坊 [Taipei: GBooks P] 145-158。

²⁷ 勇哥 (Yongge)。2010 年。〈抓住歲月尾巴 勇敢做自己—加倍把握人生的阿嬤〉“YZhua zhu sui yue yi ba yong gan zuo zi ji: jia bei ba wo ren shen de a ma” [Be Courageous: Ama’s Account], 《彩虹熟年巴士—12 位老年同志的青春記憶》 *Cai hong shu nan ba shi: 12 wei lao nian tong zhi de qing chun ji yi* [Senior Rainbows: A Collection of Memories of Senior Gay Men]。台灣同志諮詢熱線編 [Ed. Taiwan Tongzhi Hotline Association]。台北：基本書坊 [Taipei: GBooks P] 19-30。

²⁸ Tim。2010 年。〈舞動生機破繭而出—賣麵郎變身舞蹈老師的蝴蝶大哥〉“Wu dong shen ji p jian er chu: mai mian lang bian shen wu dao lao shi de hu die da ge” [Dancing through the Life: Big Brother Hu Die’s Dancing Career], 《彩虹熟年巴士—12 位老年同志的青春記憶》 *Cai hong shu nan ba shi: 12 wei lao nian tong zhi de qing chun ji yi* [Senior Rainbows: A Collection of Memories of Senior Gay Men]。台灣同志諮詢熱線編 [Ed. Taiwan Tongzhi Hotline Association]。台北：基本書坊 [Taipei: GBooks P] 133-144。

Xiaomifeng 小蜜蜂²⁹ 151-153).

For those Taiwanese gay men growing up in rural areas, many of them move to Taipei because of gay spaces in Taipei. Many existing studies point out that before the 1970s in Taipei, Sanshui Street (三水街) in Wanhua (萬華), saunas in Taipei, Taipei New Park, Taipei Main Station, National Taiwan University Hospital, and some public toilets in random parks and Zhonghua Shopping Mall (中華商場) near Taipei Main Station area are all spaces for gay men to hang out for random casual sex and gay cruising (Wu 46-47; Chi 232-261). In some of these places, especially Sanshui Street, male sex workers gather here to find some potential clients (Wu 46). New Nanyang Cinema (新南陽戲院) and Mingxin Café (明星咖啡廳) are also places frequented by gay men before the 1970s (Wu 47-49; Chi 252). However, these places are not exclusively designed to cater to gay consumers. According to Wu Jui-Yuan (吳瑞元)'s MA thesis, it is said that some tea houses on *Sanshui* Street (三水街) are ran by cross-dressing owners. These tea-houses are places frequented by gay men before the establishment of the first gay bar, which was ran by Ta-K (他 K), in the 1970s (46). The clients include Bensheng Ren (Taiwanese Islanders), Waisheng Ren (Mainlanders) and non-Chinese tourists. Among the clients, non-Chinese tourists are the wealthiest, but Mainlanders and some veteran soldiers are the majority of this body of clients. Wu considers that this is because of the proximity of the army base in this area (46-47). The very first gay bar in Taipei is established around the 1970s. This is the place for gay men to have an affordable drink with other gay men without any unnecessary questionings (47).

²⁹ 小蜜蜂 (Xiaomifeng)。2010 年。〈濃情巧克力—七年級小蜜蜂訴說四年級熟男的故事〉“Nong qing qiao ke li: qi nian ji xiao mi feng su shuo si nian ji shu nan de gu shi” [An Account on Senior Gay man in the 1970s], 《彩虹熟年巴士—12 位老年同志的青春記憶》 *Cai hong shu nan ba shi: 12 wei lao nian tong zhi de qing chun ji yi* [Senior Rainbows: A Collection of Memories of Senior Gay Men]。台灣同志諮詢熱線編 [Ed. Taiwan Tongzhi Hotline Association]。台北：基本書坊 [Taipei: GBooks P] 145-158。

From the accounts of senior Taiwanese gay men collected in *Senior Rainbows*, it is possible to see the conflation of effeminacy with homosexuality. Some of the gay men would deploy the chance of acting in theatres to fulfill their transvestite wishes. According to the account of Heimao Yi³⁰ (黑貓姨) from the *Senior Rainbows*, Heimao Yi recounts his first homosexual romance starts from his chances to play the part as Zhu Yingtai (祝英台, a transvestite character in traditional Chinese story) when he serves the military in the 1960s. The homosexual desire is aroused after a sergeant starts to express his affection to him (JiaXin 58). Heimao Yi later develops a homosexual romance with this sergeant in the army base. From the account of Fairy Yulan³¹ (玉蘭仙子) in the same book, Fairy Yulan had his first homosexual experience while he was working in a Taiwanese theatre (Kefei 喀飛 74). Even though Fairy Yulan never had a performance on stage, Fairy Yulan would still deploy some chances for wearing feminine clothes.

Interestingly, the account of Taiwanese gay teenagers in 1980s is quite similar to those of Chinese American gay men and Japanese American gay men. In Taiwanese gay literature, it is possible to see that some Taiwanese gay men have understood their homosexuality before they move to the United States. These Taiwanese gay teenagers are depicted as normalized models in literary representation. They are overachievers in the competitive studying environment. These teenagers find it hard to fit into the

³⁰ 家新 (Jiaxin)。2010 年〈猶存風韻的優雅姿態—黑貓姨走過抗婚的自在從容〉“Yun cun feng yun de yu ya zi tai: hei mao yi zou guo kan hun de zi zai cong rong” [Graceful Behaviors: Heimao Yi's Accounts on Anti-marriage], 《彩虹熟年巴士—12 位老年同志的青春記憶》 *Cai hong shu nan ba shi: 12 wei lao nian tong zhi de qing chun ji yi* [Senior Rainbows: A Collection of Memories of Senior Gay Men]。台灣同志諮詢熱線編 [Ed. Taiwan Tongzhi Hotline Association]。台北：基本書坊 [Taipei: GBooks P] 55-68。

³¹ 喀飛 (Kefei)。2010 年〈流浪江湖無歌不歡—玉蘭仙子說不出口的人生〉“Liu lan jiang hu wu ge bu huan: yu lan xian zi shuo bu chu kou de ren shen” [Singing in the Clique: Fairy Yulan's Untold Stories], 《彩虹熟年巴士—12 位老年同志的青春記憶》 *Cai hong shu nan ba shi: 12 wei lao nian tong zhi de qing chun ji yi* [Senior Rainbows: A Collection of Memories of Senior Gay Men]。台灣同志諮詢熱線編 [Ed. Taiwan Tongzhi Hotline Association]。台北：基本書坊 [Taipei: GBooks P] 69-82。

heteronormative society in terms of their closeted sexuality. Gu Zhao-sen (顧肇森)'s "Zhang Wei" (〈張偉〉), originally published in 1984 from *Life of a Cat's Face* (《貓臉的歲月》), collected and published in 1986) is a good example. "Zhang Wei" is a biographical account of a fictional character Zhang Wei. It starts with Zhang Wei's successful childhood as a hardworking student. Before Zhang Wei moves to the United States, he is a model student who never gets into trouble: "He has been a neat and timid boy and his mother never needs to worry about him" (83). Zhang's room is always dustless. He even "irons his own clothes" (83) signifying a well-disciplined lifestyle. However, ironing one's clothes is also traditionally considered as an effeminate behavior; heteronormative male teenagers should go for outdoor activities. Zhang's problem is that he is never interested in approaching female classmates. Unlike his heteronormative male classmates, who are always keen in talking about girls, Zhang Wei only concentrates on his studies in the elite high school. The collection, *Senior Rainbow*, also demonstrates a similar case. In the end, some of these case studies even show that, if with enough amount of money accumulated from the jobs they have in Taipei, they can deploy this agency to move abroad. Born in Macau, Lairui³² (萊瑞) realizes his homosexuality while studying in a boy's high school in Macau. His homosexuality is developed in this homosocial setting. After he moves to Taiwan with his family after the Chinese Civil War, he again joined an elite boy's high school in Tainan and later got enrolled in a prestigious university. Lairui later ends up migrating to Canada because his lover wants to study abroad.

For Chinese gay men, they are also depicted as people who lead a neat lifestyle.

³² 奧利佛 (Oliver)。2010 年〈天涯遠颺追逐青春—動盪遷徙一甲子的萊瑞〉“Tian ya yuan yang zhui zhu qing chun: dong dang qian xi yi jia zi de lai rui” [Chasing Youth: Lairui's Sixty Years Romance], 《彩虹熟年巴士—12 位老年同志的青春記憶》 *Cai hong shu nan ba shi: 12 wei lao nian tong zhi de qing chun ji yi* [Senior Rainbows: A Collection of Memories of Senior Gay Men]。台灣同志諮詢熱線編 [Ed. Taiwan Tongzhi Hotline Association]。台北：基本書坊 [Taipei: GBooks P] 159-171。

Ha Jin's "The Bridegroom" from the collection of *The Bridegroom* (2001) depicts a gay man's conversion therapy during the Cultural Revolution. The narrator's daughter, Beina, marries to a well-mannered young man, Baowen. Baowen's homosexuality is revealed after he is caught in the police raid of a secret gay gathering. Baowen is forced to take the conversion therapy. After the event, the narrator visits his daughter's newlywed apartment. Baowen's room with Beina is extraordinary neat and tidy. It's decorated with a wide variety of blooming flowers. The furniture comes in bright colors, such as orange and yellow. The texture and material of decorations in the room are of wooden materials. The narrator of the story, Baowen's father in law, soon recognizes these arrangements and decorations are of Baowen's. These arrangements and decorations are even better than that of the narrator's wife, and these beautiful arrangements are sabotaged by the narrator's own daughter with "an empty flour sack and a pile of spoiled laundry" (100). This pile of spoiled laundry not only indicates the lack of discipline of the narrator's daughter but also emphasizes Baowen's tidiness. As assumed by the narrator, the laundry is done by Baowen. This also shows Baowen's effeminate behaviors.

IV. Conclusion

This chapter compares Asian American gay men and Chinese gay men's sartorial practices. Asian American gay men all grew up with the awareness of their homosexuality. They might recognize other gay men by identification of their clothes. Mostly, they conflate effeminacy with homosexuality, so what they identify are transvestites in their neighborhood. They may relate themselves to transvestites, or, in some other cases, they might try to repress or ignore their homosexuality when they were still young. Some of them choose to embrace it and would be initiated by their peers through chances of intimacy. After they grow up, they would go to gay bars.

With the establishment of Asian gay bars, or the “rice bars”, Asian gay men would have chances for gay cruising. They seldom date other Asian gay men, and they would fantasize an interracial romance with white gay men. Several cases show that they would date Asian gay men who just came to the United States, even though such Asian-Asian couple is rare. Some cases indicate that Asian gay men from Asia would also find American born Asian gay men attractive.

Chinese gay men in various Chinese communities have similar childhood experiences. However, they might not have chances for interracial romance. Many of Chinese gay men grew up in a homosocial setting. Thus, their homosexual intimacy is initiated by their peers or seniors in these homosocial settings. Similar to Asian American gay men, Chinese gay men conflate effeminate acts with homosexuality. Some of the Chinese gay men would deploy the chances of transvestite acting to fulfill their transvestite and homosexual desire. Thus, other gay men could identify these transvestite sartorial practices and build a romance with them. In Taipei before the 1970s, many gay men would work in saunas and thus gain more chances to know other gay men. Other famous gay cruising spots include parks and public toilets in the proximity of Taipei Main Station. Some Chinese gay men would work hard and diligently when they were still students: they would also deploy the chance to go abroad and thus escape from the prohibitions of Chinese familial doctrines. These hardworking gay men would not try to deploy any effeminate sartorial items. Instead of wearing effeminate sartorial items, they would lead a well-organized and disciplined lifestyle in order not to reveal their homosexuality.

Chapter Two: Sartorial Practices in Pai Hsien-Yung's "Tea for Two"

This chapter demonstrates how Pai Hsien-Yung uses sartorial items to problematize images of mainstream gay men. One could be what one wears. Clothes of a wearer show one's various social status and socio-economical capabilities. Pai uses costumes of gay men to speak for the gay community in "Tea for Two". Above all, he juxtaposes hyper-masculine clothing with contemporary gay culture so as to criticize gay culture.

Gay characters in "Tea for Two" are roughly of two types. The first has more to do with economical considerations. They are from wealthy and high-social backgrounds. These characters include Chinese gay men who go to the United States after the Civil War in China and students who stay in the United States after completing their studies. The former wear flamboyant sartorial items, and the later heteronormative male sartorial items. These sartorial items show characters in "Tea for Two" as economic overachievers in the society. In my observation, clothes of these overachievers embody materialist tastes in the gay community.

The second type of gay men has more to do with sexual considerations. They are those who wear hyper-masculine sartorial items. Pai criticizes these gay men through the protagonist's viewpoint in the narrative. These gay men represent several contemporary gay subcultures, including gay nudity, gay pornography, and gay cruising. Pai portrays these gay men as embodiments of derogatory desire of gay communities. What follows are analysis of these two types of gay men in this story.

I. Flamboyant Sartorial Practices in the Capitalist Society

Sartorial practices of these gay men in "Tea for Two" indicate that they are consumers in the capitalist society, expressing their materialistic tastes in the gay communities. Two characters, Tony and David, before moving to the United States,

were already wealthy in Republican China. They succeed in fleeing to the United States soon after the Chinese Civil War broke out. Both Tony and David grew up in various homosocial settings. They went to elite boy's boarding schools after they immigrated to the United States. They also built up an intimate relationship in a homosocial summer camp and become a gay couple. Homosocial bonding enables their homosexual desire. They are business partners and run "Tea for Two", a gay bar frequented mostly by Asians, and "Fairyland", a small restaurant, in pre-AIDS New York.

Pai uses flamboyant sartorial items to feature wealthy gay men. Both Tony and David grew up in boy's elite boarding school, and Pai introduces Tony and David as two gay men with neat and chic appearances. Their occupation also contributes to their well-organized appearance. The following passage introduces Tony, a first generation Chinese American, as a person who has good taste for fabrics.

Tony runs Fairyland. As the manager of the Fairyland, Tony is always well-dressed. He dressed neatly in a black suit coat with satin collars over a starched white shirt and a burgundy bowtie. A silk pocket square of the same color folded in a mountain peak shape nestled in the breast pocket of his coat. His black pointed shoes were always polished to a mirror-like finish. (Pai 3-4)

David, a Jewish expatriate in Republican Shanghai and later moves to the United States, runs the gay bar, Tea for Two, which is attached to Fairyland. Similar to Tony's fashionable appearance, David also has a good taste for clothing fabrics: "He sported a mustache and had wavy gray hair, worn long. A slender man in his early fifties, he sat tall at the piano in his green velvet sport coat and silver-gray scarf" (6). Both Tony and David wear clothes made in expensive fabric. Textiles such as satin, silk, velvet all show their flamboyant taste. As indicated by Joanne Entwistle in her "Fashion and Identity", quality of fabrics indicates a person's class identity (134). Traits of clothes

of a certain class are also signs for other people to judge their social status. Their sartorial items show that Tony and David are well-to-do gay men in the heteronormative society due to their socioeconomic capabilities to afford expensive items.

Tony and David are successful businessmen leading a homonormative and monogamous lifestyle. I think that their interracial relationship implies a celebration of homonormative and monogamous lifestyle. However, it is problematic to build a homonormative and monogamous lifestyle based on the duplication of orientalist myth. I would argue that, no matter how much Tony and David's relationship is celebrated in Pai's narrative, it is problematic to duplicate interracial relationship based on orientalist model in Pai's narrative. According to the song sang by Tony and David, Tony never forget "to kiss [David's] cock even once these forty years" (16) and David "always come back and put [his] arms around [Tony's] fat ass" (16). Obviously, Tony, a first-generation Chinese American gay man, plays penetrated bottom-role, while David, a Jewish expatriate, plays penetrating top-role in the relationship. As indicated by Nguyen in his *A View from the Bottom: Asian American Masculinity and Sexual Representation* (2014), in the United States, homosexuality is reduced to sodomy in popular culture representation. The top position is "active, dominant, masculine", and the bottom position is "passive, submissive, feminine" (6-7). In most cases, Asian gay men are forced to play effeminate roles and thus are penetrated by white gay men in the interracial relations represented in popular media. This rigid misrepresentation is internalized by Asian American gay men and has situated Asian American gay men an enforced feminized position.

Their clothes also demonstrate a materialist fashion for other gay men to follow. Many gay men would visit their bar/restaurant to enjoy their performance. Tony and David would wear "black-and-white striped coats and skin-tight crimson pants" (8)

with “top hats and shoes with taps” (8) to perform a song and dance show. I would argue that these clothes of Tony’s and David’s are not merely clothes but concrete embodiments of higher social class. Their performance also celebrates a homonormative and monogamous lifestyle. The coordination of their dances shows their collaboration. The lyrics of their songs also celebrate a legitimate gay relationship. Their clothes set up flamboyant and materialist images for other gay men to pursue. Thus, clients go to their restaurant for “romance, not one-night stands” (8). These passages show that Tony and David run a lucrative business that helps to enhance the social order because people are watching a performance that celebrates legitimate gay relationships.

Entwistle indicates that “the body is the bearer of social status not just in how it is dressed, but in how it is held, how it moves, how it walks and talks” (Entwistle 134). Except Tony and David who wear impressive outfits, all the other workers in Fairyland and Tea for Two are wearing uniforms: “Like [Tony] they were in black and white, also with red bowties; leader and retinue were always in perfect step (4).” Tea for Two and Fairyland are shelters for gay men and lesbian women. This uniformity of their body and appearance demonstrates a well-organized and balanced restaurant, which is what the society celebrates.

If gay men are economically secure in the society, it would be easier for them to get rid of the social stigmatization on gay people. In order to avoid being a burden for society, gay men are expected to live up to a disciplined lifestyle. To become a “successful gay subject” that meets the social expectations, gay men must had better become overachievers of social requirements. However, I think Pai’s representation of successful gay men as people with an expensive taste in clothes only reinforces the materialist tastes in the gay communities.

II. “Invisible Men” or the Mainstream Sartorial Practices

As indicated in “Introduction” of this thesis, Tim Edwards disputes against myths and stereotypes that recognize gay men as fashion trendsetters and leading consumers of conspicuous consumptions due to their discretionary income (113). “Tea for Two” follows this stereotypical representation and demonstrates the materialist tastes in gay communities. While Tony and David embody a flamboyant gay lifestyle, Pai introduces another group of gay men that leads a mainstream “straight-gay men” lifestyle. As indicated by Robert Connell in the introductory chapter, most gay men would choose a less flamboyant sartorial style to pass as heterosexual men. Through these mainstream sartorial items, these gay men’s sexuality won’t be identified by the heteronormative society. Thus, these gay men could still receive benefits in the male-privileged society. Shaun Cole, in his “Invisible Men?”, also points out that the majority of gay men would dress up “normally” and would follow “the conventions” of male fashion: wearing normalized apparel is even an appeal for early inclusive gay right movements. The appeal of inclusive gay right movements is to help their communities to be blended well in the heteronormative society (60).

In “Tea for Two,” Big Brother Luo and Andy are also a gay couple. Readers would find that Big Brother Luo’s sartorial practices are not depicted in Pai’s narrative. Big Brother Luo tends to conceal his gay identity in the society by his achievements of success in climbing upward on the social ladder. He plays the role as the narrator of the story and it gives him the convenience not to provide description of his sartorial practices. Thus, it could be assumed that Big Brother Luo’s sartorial items might be “normalized” because Big Brother Luo’s lifestyle is even more heteronormative than that of Tony and David’s. Big Brother Luo and Andy represent younger generation of Chinese immigrants. They are less wealthy than the first group of gay men, and they are trying their best to climb up the social ladder. For that

purpose, they have to be careful not to be identified by the society. Thus Big Brother Luo has to adopt a “normalized” sartorial practice in order not to reveal his homosexuality.

According to Kam Louie in his *Theorising Chinese Masculinity: Society and Gender in China*, since Confucius doctrines celebrate literacy and civility, cultivated and well-educated traits are major factors for the construction of *wen* masculinity (11). During the 1970s in Taiwan, only the most diligent people could have the chance to study abroad. Big Brother Luo succeeds in moving to the United States and later becomes a banker with an MBA degree from a prestigious university. With an academic degree in hand, Big Brother Luo meets the requirements of being a *wen* masculine man. Compared to the cases indicated in the introduction, Pai Hsien-Yung’s protagonist embodies the *wen* masculinity indicated by Kam Louie. As case studies in Chapter One show that many Chinese gay men and Chinese American gay men would focus more on their studies and works to neglect their homosexual tendency when they are young. I consider that Pai’s protagonist is the representation of this kind of gay men.

The protagonist, Big Brother Luo, is an overachiever when it comes to glorifying his family. However, his family would not know his homosexuality because Big Brother Luo’s homosexuality is disguised as *wen* masculinity. Again, as indicated by case studies in Chapter One, many Taiwanese gay men would conflate effeminacy to homosexuality. As a gay man whose sartorial preferences are too “normalized” to be depicted in the narrative, it is possible to assume that there are no differences between Big Brother Luo’s sartorial preferences and that of heterosexual men. Furthermore, as a new immigrant in the United States with a good job in a bank, he is a model minority in the society of the United States. Model minority myth would encourage Asian American gay men not to wear any distinctive items. As indicated by

Big Brother Luo's monologue: "I didn't have the heart to tell them that I'd come to the U.S. to get away from my home there, away from their plans for my future" (17), these disguises are meticulously planned and help Big Brother Luo delaying his obligation in fulfilling his filial agenda.

Andy, on the other hand, is an American born Asian American. As indicated in Chapter one, many Asian gay immigrants would be attracted by American born Asian American men because the latter are more Americanized in their sartorial practices and mannerisms. What attracts Big Brother Luo is Andy's tastes in American consumerist consumption. Andy has a strong artistic taste. Andy loves photography and he is also capable of interior design. Andy helps the rearrangement of the interior furnishings of Big Brother Luo's new apartment. He leads a hipster consumer lifestyle and deploys trendy clothing styles in the United States. His artistic taste also demonstrates in his sartorial preferences: "Andy had left that day in his silver-gray, mid-length eiderdown coat, the end of a long, red muffler hanging down his back, and a white knit cap with a black velvet pom-pom, all highlighting his lovely features" (20). Andy's clothing style follows the Christmas fashion and is delightful in color. This colorfulness is different from the heteronormative hues.

III. Hyper-Masculinity and its Representation

In the previous sections, I had demonstrated how Pai portrays gay men as both stereotypical trendsetter and mainstream gay men. These fashion and trendy representations of gay men establish gay men as the leading consumers in the capitalist society. In addition to these trendy portrayals, hyper-masculinity is also represented in "Tea for Two". There are two kinds of hyper-masculinity in "Tea for Two". These are portrayals of (1) bodybuilders, and (2) hyper-masculine clone and skinhead culture. The following sections delve into criticisms of hyper-masculine

subculture in Pai's "Tea for Two".

Bodybuilding is celebrated in gay communities. Bodybuilding is a hypermasculine bodily performance. Bodybuilding is a nudity for people to inspect John Burger, in his *Ways of Seeing* (2008), claims that "to be naked is to be oneself. To be nude is to be seen naked by others" (54). Burger claims that "nudity is a form of dress" (54). Nudity is a demonstration for people to see: any forms of muscle are waited for people to interpret. In addition to bodybuilding, wearing tight clothing and thus reveal the muscular body is an act that reveals desire. As indicated in Chapter One in this thesis, some of the Asian American gay men would also work out in gyms to train their muscles. These Asian American gay men would conform to the bodybuilding trend in the white gay communities and are willing to identify with it (Wat 61). Wat concludes that bodybuilding is not merely a health-incentive activity. Bodybuilding also embodies the spirits of capitalism. Existing studies agree with Wat's theorization. As indicated in his "The White Man's Muscles" (1997), Richard Dyer points out that "the built body is a wealth body" because "an enormous amount of leisure time has been devoted to it" (155). I consider this is true because gay men would have higher chance to receive discretionary income in a male-privileged society. In order to showcase their discretionary income, gay men would work out in the gym to train their body: their muscles are transformed and thus become another piece of "clothes" for other gay men to identify. Dyer points out that a built body requires "forethought and long-term organization (153)" because bodybuilder has to follow a disciplinary schedule and strict diet. Disciplinary schedule again resonates with Tony and David's well-organized lifestyle.

There are two bodybuilders in Pai Hsien-Yung's "Tea for Two". They are a mix-race couple and work as the bartenders in Tea for Two.

One of them, Gino, who had grown up in Little Italy, was a champion

bodybuilder who had graced the cover of *Body Magazine*. Even in the frigid month of December, he worked the bar in a form-fitting, muscle-displaying fuchsia T-Shirt, his chest and back muscles popping up everywhere and straining his T-shirt until the seams looked about to part. (7)

Gino's partner, Fernando, is a Filipino American who "always wear a tight shirt in the Winter" (7). Again, Fernando met Gino in a homosocial context: Fernando was a cook in Clark Air Force Base in Philippines, where Gino served as a member of the same Air Force Base during the Vietnam War. "After the war, Gino pulled every string he could to bring Fernando to the U.S. They never missed a day at the gym" (7). It's possible to assume that Fernando is strongly influenced by all the American commodities imported from the United States when the Vietnam War occurs.

As pointed out by Dyer, Hollywood film narrative always situated white muscular hero "up against foreignness, [colonial] treacherous terrain and inhabitants, animal and human" (154), Dyer concludes that a muscular body is also against "femininity and non-whiteness" (153). This white muscular male body as an ideal body celebrated in Hollywood narratives might cast an influence on Asian gay men. Films would spread the idea of white muscular male body as an ideal body. This spreading of ideal images is similar to Wat's examination on gay pornography magazines.³³ Clients in Tea for Two gather here to awe the male figure of the bodybuilder, Gino: "He was all man, Tea for Twos masculine masterpiece, and quite the showman when he mixed drinks" (7). These clients fetishize and project their libido desire on Gino's muscular body. According to Shaun Cole's analysis in "Body Talk" (2000), in the 1980s going to gyms becomes a new trend for gay men as a result of AIDS. People would prefer going to the gym to become bodybuilders. However,

³³ Wat indicates that white gay magazines also portray the body of white gay men as ideal bodies. This would cast influence on how Asian gay men view their own bodies. The desire is unified through the distribution of the magazine.

this gym-trend also leads to the celebration of muscularity. Many muscular gay men are only interested in muscular gay men. A muscular body is not only a physical feature for other gay men to identify, it is also an indicator of sexual attractions.

However, white gay men's masculine images may be self-contradictory. In white gay men communities, the sartorial items for working class sartorial items are also rendered masculine because of homosociality of the working class. Adopting the sartorial items of clone subculture is a trend of gay communities. Many gay men adopt working class sartorial items to acquire hyper-masculinities. These gay men wear leather jackets and bikers' suits. This clone culture is viewed as outmoded masculinity in the 1980s. During the 1980s, many gay men in the United States would instead go to gym to build a hairless muscular body. According to Murray Healy's studies on gay skinhead subculture³⁴ in England in 1980s, gay skinhead might dislocate the male attributes of skinhead subculture – as “working class, socially fixed, violent, with extreme right politics” (4) for the reason that gay men are usually “unnatural/effeminate, middle class, socially mobile, weak, with left politics” (4). Since white gay members are supposedly effeminate and delicate in the view of popular culture, white gay men would deploy a set of hyper-masculine traits to empower themselves. Thus, the existence of a gay skinhead would, therefore, destroy the real masculinity, since gay men are stereotypically viewed as effeminate. An effeminate member of such a masculine subculture would contradict to the solidarity of masculinity and can bring up doubts on the masculinity this subculture celebrates (4-5).

In “Introduction” of this thesis, I argue that *wen* masculinity of Chinese gay men would be misunderstood by white gay men as effeminate and delicate. However, *wen*

³⁴ Gay skinhead culture in 1980s also celebrates leather jackets and bodybuilding culture. It's pretty similar to clone subculture in the 1960s with the only different emphasis on hairs. Skinhead culture dislike hairiness.

masculinity also demonstrates how a subject meticulously arranges his lifestyle and have a long-term plan for his future. Big Brother Luo's long-term plan shows his resolution to pursue his freedom before he went to study in the United States. This resolution demonstrates meticulous planning. I would argue that *wen* masculinity in Pai's narrative is to resist against the hyper-masculinity celebrated in the white gay men communities, as all the hyper-masculine characters in Pai's "Tea for Two" all die in AIDS.

IV. Criticisms on New Generations of Gay Subculture

After spending five years in Iowa, Big Brother Luo finishes his escapist life from his grieve in New York and comes back to New York. "Disco was never played in Tea for Two, no hard rock either" (7). However, Big Brother Luo only finds out a new gay bar and pub, "End Up", now replaces the previous Fairyland and Tea for Two. I would argue that Pai uses the image of remodeling to criticize promiscuous contemporary gay subculture. "Contemporary" refers to newer generations of emerging gay subculture after the AIDS raids. "Promiscuous" refers to gay cruising and clubbing subculture. In Pai's narrative, contemporary gay cruising and clubbing subculture is viewed as lack of disciplines.

The following passage shows Pai's nostalgic attitude toward pre-AIDS gay culture. Pre-AIDS gay culture is embodied by Hollywood movie stars and Broadway music.

All the framed photographs of old movie stars had been taken away, including, I was pleased to note, Garbo. Our gay queen could not have tolerated the racket. Now decorating the wall were large paintings of half-naked, muscular men with ridiculously large genitals and asses. (25)

Gay queen Greta Garbo cannot tolerate the newer generation of gay culture,

implying that “quaint décor with heavy mahogany walls” (6-7) in *Tea for Two* are better than the remodeled place. The nostalgic Broadway Musical in *Tea for Two* is also better than disco music. The ill-taste decoration embodies the contemporary gay subculture. Criticism on contemporary gay subculture is revealed because the well-organized and disciplined decoration in David and Tony’s time are replaced by seeming lively but tasteless interior furnishing.

Tea for Two had been remodeled, with a big dance floor; the heart-shaped bar was gone, its replacement confined to a corner of the room, separated from the dance floor by a railing that locked in a rail-thin bartender with shoulder-length hair (25).

As indicated in previous section, bodybuilding is a practice that requires disciplinary lifestyle. However, the previous bartender, Gino the bodybuilder, is now replaced by this “rail-thin” bartender. The rail-thin character implies the lack of such disciplinary traits. Similar bodybuilding that requires discipline and stamina, these disciplinary traits also appear in Tony’s hair. As Pai depicts: “He kept it short, no more than an inch in length, but it was so soft it lay across his scalp and because of the straight cut over his forehead, had the appearance of a skullcap, which lent his a slightly mischievous air” (4). Tony’s hair is short and tidy with style. However, the hair of this new bartender is much longer than that of Tony’s. The rail-thin body of the new bartender also makes a strong contrast to the bulky bodybuilding shape of Gino’s. This ill-formed body is also a metaphor for disease as the following passage indicates that Gino is dead because of AIDS. Readers would thus assume the connection between the illness and the contemporary gay culture.

Compared to clients in *Tea for Two*, these new clients in *End Up*, again, show no taste for elegance. They are “sloppily dressed” (25), indicating their life is lack of disciplines. Pai describes Tony and David’s *Tea for Two* and *Fairyland* as a place for

gay men to find long-term romance. However, End Up is a place for gay men to find chances for one night stands, a strong contrast to the long-lasting relationship between Tony and David, and to the romance between Big Brother Luo and Andy.

Gay pornography is broadcasted in End Up, and these clips of gay pornography are rendered derogatory in Pai's narrative.

I went out back to find Fairyland. It had been turned into a TV room; a gay porn video was playing on a gigantic screen, with the tangled bodies of naked men all repeating the same movements. In the semi-darkness of the room, a mere three or four men were sprawled in chairs, beers in hand, as they watched, passively, what was going on in the video, the same thing over and over — no more

Fairyland. Tea for Two had been eradicated, without a trace. (25)

Even though gay nudity in gay pornography is a crucial subculture, it is rendered derogatory in Pai's narrative. This derogatory demonstration is again contested against by the reencountering of David with Big Brother Luo five years later: "As always, he was neatly dressed – an expensive black velvet coat and a blue silk ascot with flecks of gold – and though his hair was neatly combed, it had turned almost completely white" (27). Even after the raid of AIDS, David remains chic in his appearance. The appearance of David's well-organized grooming at the end of the story may indicate the very last utopia for gay men to stay.

V. Conclusion

This chapter explores Pai's representations of a variety of gay sartorial practices. These representations carry moral lessons and these sartorial practices work as metaphors for moral symbols. The first group of gay men, Tony and David duo, embodies the flamboyant sartorial practices. They are from wealthy backgrounds and they continue to be successful business partners. Their sartorial practices show their

good discipline. Even though considering gay communities as the trendsetter is a stereotypical myth, the sartorial practices show that this group of gay men obtain a high social status and they are rid of stigmatization of being gay. The second group of gay men don't wear flamboyant sartorial items; instead, they wear mainstream sartorial items. Big Brother Luo and Andy embody the straight-acting and mainstream images. Their sartorial practices may help them pass as straight to keep their sexual inclination invisible status in a male-privileged society.

Pai holds strong criticisms on contemporary gay communities, as masculine sartorial practices in the contemporary gay culture is rendered messy and without any disciplines. Gay nudity and gay pornography are rendered derogatory in end of the narrative.



Chapter Three: Sartorial Practices in Russell Leong's "Phoenix Eyes"

This chapter analyzes the exotic sartorial practices of Chinese American gay men and their sartorial influences on Taiwanese gay men. Russell Leong's "Phoenix Eyes" describes gay communities in Taipei in the 1970s from the viewpoint of a Chinese American gay expatriate. On a flight to Taipei, Terrence, a Chinese American and the narrator of the story, falls in love with a Taiwanese male flight attendant. Terrence decides to go to Taiwan to pursue his love even though his family expects him to get a job and work in the States with his double major in business and performing arts. However, when Terrence arrives in Taiwan, he soon realizes that he is not the only lover that the flight attendant has. Penniless, Terrence starts to make a living through male prostitution. He is recruited by the "Hung Kung Hsien", an international call station. He becomes a male sex worker and makes a lucrative business. Terrence is popular because he is considered exotic. After making enough money, Terrence leaves the call station and returns to the United States.

I. Giving Up Family and Becoming Man

Russell Leong's "Phoenix Eyes" demonstrates that there are two types of family Chinese American gay men have to give up. The first type deals with the consanguinity of the Asian family. As discussed in the introduction of this thesis, Eric C. Wat asserts in his discussion on generational antagonism of Asian American family that "for most Asian parents, being Asian and being gay are mutually exclusive" (Wat 76). Under this circumstance, Terrence has to be independent and escapes from his family in order to join a gay-friendlier environment. Terrence shows his indifferent attitude toward heterosexual marriage and heteronormative life agenda. Because of his unwillingness to fulfill filial piety, Terrence is "pruned from his family tree" (130).

Corresponding to the model minority images, Chinese Americans have to work hard to live up to certain socio-economical level. In Terrence's case, this is disguised as his pursuit of a successful career in the business of theatre designing in Asia. His family does not know that Terrence has a romance with a Taiwanese steward in Taipei (131). This situation is similar to that of Taiwanese gay men: Taiwanese gay men would go to the United States and pursue successful life goals, but this successful goal is a conceal of his homosexuality.

The second type of family deals with the pseudo-familial relationships of Asian American gay men. Chen I-Fei, in his "Memory as Narrative Politic in Russell Leong's Queer Chinese American Autobiographical Fiction" (2000), indicates that Terrence is queering the definition of heterosexual marriage and thus is having a queer family composed of members of call station by forming a new morality (Chen 73-74; Yang 25-26).³⁵ However, I want to offer a different trajectory of interpretation on textual details. Terrence points out that an Asian-Asian gay relationship is considered as incestuous. "At the time in the States, Asian men going together was considered 'incestuous'" (131). Chen's and Yang's considerations of rendering Terrence's relationship with these sex workers as of a queer family is based on this incestuous comment (Chen 61; Yang 18). Both Chen and Yang agree on this explanation: in white gay men's racist view, the various nationalities of Asian gay men are hard to be differentiated and they are all of the same blood. Thus, an Asian-Asian romance is a "shocking perverse scene" (Chen 61; Yang 18). In my observation, this cannot be rendered as a factor for the construction of queer family. Terrence's comment on the incestuous relationship is based on the internalization of the forced

³⁵ While Ta-wei Chi in his master thesis, "Queering Chinese America: Intersection of Ethnicity and Sexuality in Three Literary Texts" (1998), slightly touches upon the issue but does not dig into the discussion, Benjamin Jui-pin Yang in his master thesis, "Reconfiguring Kinship in the Queer Diaspora: The Case of Russell Leong's 'Phoenix Eyes'" (2017), agrees with Chi and Chen.

effeminate position of Asian American gay men. Terrence has indicated that his gay relationship with the Taiwanese flight attendant is very rare. This echoes what had demonstrated in *The Making of a Gay Asian Community: An Oral History of Pre-AIDS Los Angeles*. Asian gay men rarely date with each other due to the lack of such Asian-Asian romantic models. While white gay men are recognized as ideal gay men, Asian gay men were stereotypically rendered as effeminate and relationships among Asian gay men were rendered lesbian acts. Asian American gay men would internationalize their enforced femininity and view each other as “sisters”; thus, Asian-Asian relationships are rendered incestuous (81).

However, a variety of Asian gay masculinities and desires among Asian gay men undeniably exist. In my observation, it is assumed that Terrence in “Phoenix Eyes” might want to give up this pseudo-familial relationship created in the United States to pursue an Asian-Asian gay relationship. Through the appropriation of American sartorial items, Terrence is now transforming his Asian body to a masculine body that Taiwanese gay men desire, thus duplicating a “heterosexual familial bonding”, rather than a queer one, in a homosexual relationship.

II. Sartorial Practices of Chinese American Gay Men and Masculinities

As demonstrated in Chapter Two of this thesis, the fabric of clothes may indicate the social status and economic capabilities of the person who wears them. “Phoenix Eyes” also deploys these fabrics to demonstrate differences among gay men. As a fresh college graduate from the United States, Terrence has no money. His sartorial practices speak for him as an American. For Terrence, it “took one minute to throw on a T-shirt and Levi’s” to finish dressing,³⁶ while the flight attendant, an ascot

³⁶ Shaun Cole indicates that form fitting Levi’s and T-shirts reveals the shapes of body parts, that include “genitals, buttocks, and musculature.” This is a masculine trait and attracts gay men’s attention.

fan, would take “half an hour to tie a silk ascot around his neck” (131), even with the help of Terrence. Silk ascot and clothing, jeans, and T-shirts are clothes with different social meanings. Silk ascot is a sartorial item made of a refined fabric and a preference for refined fabric shows a preference for fashion. Such preference is rendered effeminate. Shaun Cole indicates that form-fitting Levi’s and T-shirts are so attached to the body that they would reveal shapes of the body parts such as “genitals, buttocks, and musculature” (130). This is a masculine trait and attracts gay men’s attention. T-shirts are made of inexpensive fabric and are popular among the youngster. It is widely worn by baby-boomers in the United States and is rendered as rebellious against the conservative values represented by three-pieces suits of the previous generation (Peng 153).³⁷ T-shirts are also widely applied as uniform in various social movements in the United States, such as LGBT movements, and thus are rendered as a clothing item with a rebellious character. Jeans are originally for the working class. So, what Terrence wears is hyper-masculine and rebellious. His clothing style is a variation of clone type. His American style makes him attractive to the Taiwanese gay flight attendant.

Another scene in the story shows how sartorial items can add meaning to bodies. In the National Palace Museum, Leong juxtaposes Terrence’s body with *Sancai* statues. Leong depicts how Tang terra cotta sculptures from the Silk Route—already an embodiment of mixed local colors, are a fetishized body arousing sexual desires. These sculptures are carved with “wide sleeves and low bodices—fashions influenced by the foreign traders who plied the Silk Route—accentuated the body”

Shaun Cole. “‘Macho Man’: Clones and the Development of a Masculine Stereotype.” *Fashion Theory* 4.2 (2000): 130.

³⁷ 彭勃 (Peng Bo), 〈論現代T恤與中國元素融合的美學內涵〉 “Lun xian dai T-xu yu zhong guo yuan su rong he de mei xue nei han” [On the Aesthetics of Modern T-Shirt and Chinese Decorative Elements]. 《湖南工業大學學報》 *Journal of Hunan University of Technology* 14.6 (2009): 153–156。

(132). These carved clothes are so attached to the body that they “seemed to reveal rather than hide the body’s robustness” (132). These erotic depictions of the sculpture remind Terrence’s body because Terrence’s body is also revealed and exposed by his American styled clothes.³⁸ As Terrence enters the National Palace Museum, P., the hacker of an international call station, notices Terrence’s American-styled body: with “cutoffs, tank top, and plastic sandals” (132). Shaun Cole indicates that, to reveal a musculature, gay men usually do not wear underwear underneath these garments (130). This echoes Leong’s depictions on how clothes are closely attached to the body of Sancai ceramics making the depiction of bodies of both Terrence’s and Sancai sculpture erotic. P. soon points out the similarity between Terrence and the terra cotta statue. Terrence realizes: “no local boys would have dared enter the museum dressed as barely as I was” (132). This passage indicates a substantial difference between Terrence and the local Taiwanese. Thus, Asian countries might become a destination for Asian American gay men to fulfill their homosexual desire.

In addition to showing their masculine American identity, these sartorial items also protect Chinese American gay men from harassment and hostility. Indicated by

³⁸ As pointed out by Prof. Feng Pin-Chia during the oral defense of this thesis, these “Sancai” three colored ceramic sculptures are female sculptures. It is true that these sculptures that reveals its body parts are female sculptures. Indicated by You Hsuan-An (游琬安) in her PHD dissertation “Study on Women’s Costume in Tang Dynasty” (〈唐代婦女服飾研究〉 2014), an open-minded attitude toward interactions and relationships between male and female members of the society is held during the first several decades of Tang Dynasty (55-56). Hufu (胡服) is the embodiment of this open-minded attitude in this period. Females are allowed to wear male attires, and vice-versa: “transvestism” is not rendered as an issue (295-296). Many literary texts show that women can learn how to ride horses in the beginning era of Tang Dynasty (56). Female members in the royal courts can carry arrows and join emperors’ hunting trips. Female riders wear pants when riding horses (57). One Sancai male-attire-wearing female rider is included in You’s dissertation (90). However, during the middle era of Tang Dynasty, Hanfu (漢服) that featured loose fabric is much popular than before in the courts. This clothe is featured with U-shape collar that reveals the female breast (298). Hanfu fabric is much looser than Hufu; however, Hanfu’s restrictions on “transvestism” is also stricter than that of Hufu (297). Textual evidences provided in Leong’s text are not sufficient for us to differentiate what kind of clothes Leong is indicating. It may be possible to assume that Leong misunderstand these loose fabric clothes as the results of foreign influence. However, it is true that these clothes change the bodies. 游琬安 (You Hsuan-An) 。2014 年。〈唐代婦女服飾研究〉 “Tang dai fu nu fu shi yan jiu” [Study on Women’s Costume in Tang Dynasty] 。新竹：玄奘大學博士論文 [Hsinchu: Hsuan Chuang University Dissertation] 。

Yeh Li-Cheng (葉立誠) in his *History of Taiwanese Costume and Fashion* (《台灣服裝史》2014), during the 1970s, Taiwanese manufacturers start to make textiles and export clothes to the western markets. However, inflicted by the Oil Crisis, these manufacturers cannot successfully export these clothes to the western market, so they are forced to divert these clothes to Taiwanese markets. Yeh considers that these adaptations of clothes start to cast influences in the Taiwanese market and thus change Taiwanese people's taste of clothes (180).³⁹ As Taiwanese manufacturers accept designs of clothes from western companies, mainly American brands, Taiwanese manufactures would remodel size of these western clothes to adapt Taiwanese people's figure and then sell these "remodeled" western clothes to Taiwanese markets, which therefore enhances the acceptance of popular American fashion in Taiwan (180-181).

As indicated in Chapter One of this thesis, many first-generation Asian gay immigrants or overseas Asian students would find American born Asian American gay men attractive, and date with them. The attractiveness of Asian American gay men is probably derived from their Americanized attires.⁴⁰ I want to compare this American scenario to that in Taiwan. Since Taiwanese gay men conflate effeminacy to homosexuality, some of the Taiwanese gay men adopt transvestism to attract other gay men. Taiwanese gay men would put on cosmetics and makeups to attract their potential lovers and clients. In "Phoenix Eyes", Terrence "had strong features and never hid the irregularity of [his] rough skin with makeup" (138). Readers would notice that Terrence, the Chinese American expatriate, does not need to change his

³⁹ Yeh indicates that, during the 1960s, rather than merely accepting western attires, Taiwanese people start to follow western fashion and trends (140). However, in the 1960s, there is a time-lag between what is popular in Taiwan and what is popular in the United States.

⁴⁰ This is indicated in Virgil Vang's account. Vang says he would "put on [his] Levy's and a shirt and go to the River Club" (78). He doesn't consider himself as a "flaming queen" and would be "kind of macho and [he'll] get what [he] want usually" (78).

attires in order to attract Taiwanese gay men. Instead, I argue that these American attires make Chinese American gay men successful in leading an American fashion and endowing them a better chance of having a romance with local Taiwanese gay men.

These sartorial items are recognizable American commodity and would help to remodel the Chinese body. These items add meanings to the Chinese body and thus make these bodies exotic. Besides national identification that these clothes indicate, there are other two identifications these items signify as shown in the opening part of “Phoenix Eyes”. The narrator Terrence is swept away by the flight attendant and is forced to “stranded on a hot, dusty street in Taipei, with a hundred US dollars in my pocket, a duffel of clothes and an art-and business degree to my name” (131). In this passage, the US dollars and an academic degree respectively represent monetary and cultural capital. The entire story of “Phoenix Eyes” is thus a story on how a gay man like Terrence could deploy his American-styled masculinity as an attraction in order to survive in the society that is hostile toward homosexuality.

III. Selling American-styled Bodies

There are two groups of clients in “Phoenix Eyes”. In the previous section, I had indicated the first group of clients: Taiwanese men and other Asian gay men who consume Terrence’s body. The second group of gay men is about the non-Chinese, mainly western, clients who visit Taiwanese gay men and male sex workers, seeking pleasures of exoticism. However, these local Taiwanese gay men and male sex workers are not “local.” Like those terra cotta statues in the National Palace Museum, they are Taiwanese adopting American-styled fashion.

As indicated in Chapter One of this thesis, many gay spaces in Taipei are frequented by non-Chinese customers. These areas are for male sex workers to do a

lucrative business. One of the gay spaces, Shanshui Street, is in the proximity of Lung Shang Temple, an area frequented by Terrence in “Phoenix Eyes” (139). International clients would visit this area to find local prostitutes. Among these male sex workers, Terrence is extremely different from his colleagues: as he says “I was the only Chinese American male on *hung kung hsien*” (138). Featuring this exoticness, Terrence can deploy his body covered with American-styled clothes in exchange for money. He can use English, Japanese, and knowledge of Chinese culture to gain more chances for business: “I use my English and art background to advantage with my clients: mainly men, but an occasional female” (138). These clients in different Asian cities are similar to the flight attendant in the first part of the story, viewing Terrence’s exotic male body as “beads on a string” (135) and developing relationship with exotic male sex workers as if collecting the experiences of exoticism they could enjoy. Taiwanese gay men and male sex workers would also use clothes to attract non-Chinese clients. They deploy the chance of shopping in luxurious boutiques to gain more chances for commissions. “My well-built buddy, Wan would wear nothing under his trousers” (133). Like terra cotta statues in the National Palace Museum, these Taiwanese gay men strategically use their sartorial items to make their body more attractive.

In fact, I would view these scenes more than erotic depictions of gay cruising. These sartorial items of Taiwanese gay men not only add meaning to their Asian bodies, these bodies donned in special clothes also serve as metaphors of (Taiwanese national) allegories. As indicated by Yeh Li-cheng in the previous sections, an international labor division between Taiwanese textile manufacturers and international clothing brands became real in the 1970s. Taiwanese factories are in charge of production, while international corporations are in charge of designing. Many “imports” are locally produced in Taiwan. However, these “imports” are expensive

and often become the “rewards” for Taiwanese gay men and sex workers to compete for.

I would argue that Leong’s designation of sartorial items of Asian young people in the international call station reflects this the international division of labor between manufacturing and designing in the 1970s. As a developing country, Taiwanese manufacturers are dominated by international corporations. Similarly, Taiwanese gay men and sex workers, are dominated by the non-Chinese clients. These non-Chinese clients run lucrative businesses in Asian countries, but the sex workers receive relatively low pay. Non-Chinese clients deploy the chance of gay tourism in Taiwan and many other Asian countries to fulfill their sexual desires with very low expenses.

Non-Chinese clients would take these Taiwanese male sex workers to boutiques in Taipei for seemingly conspicuous consumptions. In my observation, this is a “seemingly” conspicuous consumption because the price of these clothes is not high. These items seem alike to those sold in the western countries, but they are not the brandname items people see in the boutiques of western societies, but they are actually clothes that “might have been labeled ‘Bluette Mode-Paris,’ but they were knit in a local factory that made ‘imports’” (133). Without a doubt, the style of the clothes is western, but the material and manufacturing are of local labors. These clothes may appear exotic, but, in fact, they are local. These seemingly imported goods are locally made, suggesting the ambiguity of origin and legitimacy. Wearing these locally made “imports” confuses the identity of Taiwanese gay men and male sex workers. Wearing these clothes is also wearing the paradox of modernity development in the capitalist society.

Among these non-Chinese clients, there is a professor who teaches at one of the Ivy League Schools. Leong introduces this non-Chinese client as a professor famous for his translations and investigations of Ci, a type of Classical Chinese poetry. This

professor likes to take these Taiwanese gay men and male sex workers to these boutiques and is willing to buy clothes for these gay men. Leong describes scenes of intimacy between this professor with these Taiwanese gay men and sex workers in the tryout rooms. These Asian bodies wearing a seemingly western “imports” costume creates an ambivalent feeling. If the purpose of these non-Chinese clients in Taiwan is to find traditional Chinese culture, such as Ci, this purpose would not be fulfilled. These non-Chinese clients would notice that what they find in Taiwan is a group of people they find both familiar and distant. These non-Chinese clients cannot find any traces of traditional China from the male sex workers because the bodies of these male sex workers are Americanized/westernized/modernized by putting on these “fake” imports.

IV. Taking Off Clothes

Russell Leong’s short story describes how a Chinese American gay man can survive with his American-styled sartorial items in Taiwan in the 1970s. In previous sections, I had demonstrated how Terrence’s sartorial items carry exotic characteristics that attract Taiwanese gay men. Other Taiwanese gay men deploy these tactics and may also get benefit. This characteristic helps Terrence gain more chances for lucrative transactions. In the following section, I would like to demonstrate what would happen to Chinese American gay men if these sartorial items are ripped off.

In transnational sex industry, American characteristics succeed to turn Terrence exotic to attract people from all over the world. English, along with his knowledge of art history makes Terrence more appealing than his other colleagues. Therefore, Terrence does not need to apply powders and cosmetics like other Taiwanese male sex workers for his job.

The sartorial items of Terrence in the latter part of the story show Terrence

better economic capabilities. Russell Leong latter describes a dialogue between the shoeshine boy and the narrator, portraying the establishment of conspicuous consumption:

Shoeshine boys prodded me until I gave in. One examines the leather of my shoes and said the hide must be expensive. “We do not have this here.” I turned to him and nodded my head, mumbling that a friend had sent them from Hong Kong. I tipped him a dollar for polishing them. (139)

Compared with what had happened at the beginning of the story, Terrence is now a man with money. He now holds a better economic capability and can tip like his non-Chinese clients.

However, even so, Terrence is still a male sex worker. After all, Terrence’s body is a Chinese body. When it comes to confronting against other Japanese businesspeople, Terrence is capable of conducting a conversation with Japanese businessmen in Japanese, Chinese, and English in the restaurant. This management of three languages demonstrates his global dexterity: that is, being able to manage the complexity of Asian knowledge. However, when he is ripped off the clothes, in other words, ripped off the cultural capitals, privately in the hotel room. Terrence is still captivated as sex slaves in his subordinated position. At the end of the short story, the clothes that symbolize Terrence’s cultural capital are removed from the body. Terrence cannot help but only follows the control of his Japanese client.

V. Conclusion

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section discusses why Terrence, the Chinese American expatriate, wants to leave their home in the United States. I have demonstrated two kinds of home Chinese American gay expatriate want to escape from. Similar to Taiwanese gay man, Terrence deploys chances of seeking

success to escape from inhibitions of their family. In addition to family of blood, Terrence also wants to escape from the pseudo-familial relationships within Asian American communities. This pseudo-familial relationship is built on the internalization of effeminate images endowed by white gay communities.

The second section demonstrates how American-styled clothes add meaning to Terrence's Asian bodies. Unlike other Taipei gay men and male sex workers who need to apply cosmetics to their body to appear attractive. Terrence's American-styled clothes make Terrence exotic and masculine and thus he does not need to apply cosmetics to his body. Many clients want to consume Terrence's exotic body and Terrence can thus make a lucrative business.

In the 1970s, American commodity, such as fashionable attires, is very popular in the Taiwanese society. In Chi Ta-Wei's "American Orientation: Historicizing Male Homosexuality in 1970s Taiwan Literature" (2017), Chi points out that Taiwanese gay men would consume products from the U.S. in order to experience the American consumer lifestyle and live in an "alternative American temporality" (216-218). Non-Chinese clients of Taipei call station bring gay men and male sex workers to boutiques that sell locally manufactured "imports". These gay men and male sex workers consume "American-styled clothes" and their bodies are modified by these clothes. These seemingly exotic clothes add new colors to the Taiwanese body. If the purpose of these non-Chinese clients in Taipei is to find traditional Chinese cultures, these non-Chinese clients will realize their purpose cannot be fulfilled. These non-Chinese consumers can only find a Taiwanese body mixed with "fake" western color: in other words, the legitimate color no longer exist in Taipei.

Lastly, in transnational sex industry, American characteristics succeed to turn Terrence exotic to attract people from all over the world. However, the bodies of Taiwanese male sex workers can be read as a national allegory. Taiwanese

manufacturers are dominated by international corporations. Similarly, Taiwanese gay men and sex workers are dominated by the non-Chinese clients. Taiwanese gay men and male sex workers receive relatively low pay in the transnational gay sex tourism. Similarly, manufacturers in Taiwan can merely make limited profit in the industry because they are dominated by international corporations.



Conclusion

This thesis discusses sartorial practices of Chinese American gay men through textual analysis of Pai Hsien-Yung's "Tea for Two" and Russell Leong's "Phoenix Eyes". The literary representation of sartorial practices works as metaphors, embodying a variety of masculinities. Characters in these stories represent different images of gay men, from effeminate, straight-acting, to hyper-masculinist. Effeminate Chinese gay men wear effeminate sartorial items and often become transvestites. According to some account of life-stories, these gay men would deploy some chances of theatre performance to fulfill their transvestite wishes. As for hyper-masculine Chinese/American gay men, they would try to follow the dress codes celebrated by hyper-masculine white gay men, who deploy sartorial items that are appropriated from that of working-class men. However, these two types are not preferred by most Chinese/American. They tend to conform to certain dress codes of straight men, on the one hand, adopting hetero-normalized sartorial dress codes to pass as straight gay men, and on the other hand, strategically wearing some items for other gay men to identity in certain accepted gay spaces.

Existing studies show that many Chinese gay men who are aware of their homosexuality may choose to neglect their sexuality. These gay men would diligently concentrate on their studies or works. They enroll prestigious schools and get high education degrees. I deploy Chi Ta-Wei's conception of "giving up home and becoming men" to articulate these straight gay men's long-term agenda for life: they successfully move abroad, mainly to the United States, to pursue their gay American dreams. I also deploy Kam Louie's theorizations on *wen* masculinity and raises an argument considering that gay men's homosexuality be disguised by *wen* masculinity. Since *wen* masculinity celebrates literacy and civility, many Chinese gay men would

deploy *wen* masculinity to conceal their homosexuality. Many straight-acting Chinese/American gay men deploy chances for studying abroad to fulfill their gay life agenda. With high educational degrees in hand, these straight-acting gay men are climbing upward on social ladders, and later succeed in fulfilling socioeconomic requirements. These socioeconomically successful gay men can lead a hipster lifestyle and employ expensive taste of clothes. They are successful dedicators of economic developments and thus rid themselves off the stigmatization of gay men. However, I would argue that this represses those gay men who fail to meet the socioeconomic standards.

Existing studies also show that rendering gay men as fashion trendsetters is a myth. This thesis argues that Pai Hsien-Yung's "Tea for Two" deploys expensive sartorial items to represent gay men with high economic capabilities. These gay men's sartorial practices all come in expensive tastes and fabric. Homonormative and monogamous gay men are wearing expensive clothes and thus becomes embodiments of good men from "respectful" backgrounds. On the other hand, Pai links hyper-masculine sartorial items to contemporary gay subculture, and portrays those with hyper-masculine sartorial items as ill-taste wearers. Their behaviors such as gay cruising, and their preferences for certain commodity such as gay nudity and gay pornography are designated as part of derogatory gay culture. Contemporary hyper-masculine culture is thus rendered as derogatory behaviors in Pai Hsien-Yung's narrative.

Fashion items would add meanings to the identity of the wearers, as we see in Russell Leong's "Phoenix Eyes." During the 1970s, American fashion market casts strong influences on Taiwan's fashion market. Many Taiwanese gay men would follow American fashion and consider wearers of American sartorial items attractive. In "Phoenix Eyes", bodies donned in American sartorial items are rendered masculine

and attractive. Thus, bodies of Chinese American do not need other cosmetics for modification. American fashion items manufactured by Taiwanese local factories blur the meaning of originality and legitimacy. Locally produced “imports” seem Americanized and would make the body of the Taiwanese wearers looked like American.

This thesis studies how sartorial items in literature may carry meanings and add meanings to the wearers’ identity in terms of class, gender, and ethnicity. Through analysis of the Pai Hsien-Yung’s “Tea for Two” and Russell Leong’s “Phoenix Eyes”, I had demonstrated how sartorial items are used as metaphors. The following passages demonstrate possible topics for future analysis.

I. Issues for Further Studies on Asian/American Gay Men

Even though Eric Wat’s *The Making of A Gay Asian Community: An Oral History of Pre-AIDS Los Angeles* provides accounts on lives of Asian American gay men in Pre-AIDS period, cases in this book are issues based in Los Angeles only. Further studies on Asian/American gay communities in different cities (such as San Francisco, New York and other cities) have to be done. Observations on how American consumerism and practices of conspicuous consumption cast influences on the preferences for sartorial items in Asian/American Gay communities in various cities in Asia and the United States can be a topic for research. Furthermore, *The Making of A Gay Asian Community* points out that Asian gay men originating from South East Asian countries hold an open-minded attitude toward homosexual relationships. These gay men realize attitude toward white gay men in the United States is even more rigid than that in the South Asian countries. Even though there are scholarships on the Orientalist discourses in interracial relationships between Asian gay men and white gay men, studies on how masculinities of American born Asian

gay men cast influences on Asian immigrants and Asians are needed. These Asian-Asian relationships should be explored.

II. The Problematic “Stereotypical Images” of Gay Men in Asian/American Gay Fiction and Communities

This thesis ends here with a question on the lack of representation of transvestites in Pai Hsien Yung’s “Tea for Two” and Russell Leong’s “Phoenix Eyes”. Accounts in *Senior Rainbows* demonstrate how practices of transvestism may empower gay men. Wat’s *The Making of A Gay Asian Community* also points out several accounts on the effeminate gay men and their practices of transvestism in the Asian American gay communities. However, there is no discussion on representations of transvestites in Pai Hsien Yung’s “Tea for Two” and Russell Leong’s “Phoenix Eyes”. Wu Jui-yuan (吳瑞元)’s MA thesis, “As a ‘Bad’ Son: The Emergence of Modern Homosexuals in Taiwan (1970-1990),” demonstrates that transvestites exist in gay tea-houses in Taipei in the 1970s. These gay spaces are frequented by male sex workers. I would borrow Hans Tao-Ming Huang’s theorization from *Queer Politics and Sexual Modernity in Taiwan* (2011) to criticize this lack of representation. According to Huang, the emergence of gay bar as a new gay space leads to a demarcation between male prostitution and respectable gay men who want to seek romances (Huang 130). In interviews with Ta-K, the owner of the very first gay bar in Taipei, Huang points out a stigma on the conflation of transvestism with male prostitution is revealed in interviews of Ta-K. I would suspect disapproval attitudes toward transvestism lead to the lack of reansvestism in “Tea for Two” and “Phoenix Eyes”. Big Brother Luo in Pai Hsien-Yung’s “Tea for Two” represents one from the upper class in the society, so the places he frequented should be “correct” and with no transvestites. Terrence in Russell Leong’s “Phoenix Eyes” is a gay man with

ambitions to climb upward on the social ladder. He takes advantage of his cultural literacy to do lucrative business, unlike most transvestites who would appeal to cosmetics to beautify themselves. Both Big Brother Luo and Terrence are all embodiments of respectable gay men, far from “promiscuous” gay transvestite subjects. In my opinion, the lack of transvestites makes a gay fiction a partial demonstration of the gay communities and this lack of representation enhances the stereotypical images of promiscuous gay communities.



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