Gender Transformations in Sinophone Taiwan

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In the summer of 1953, the *United Daily News* (*Lianhebao* 聯合報) in Taiwan announced the sex change surgery of the "first" Chinese transsexual, Xie Jianshun (謝尖順). A native of Chaozhou, Canton, Xie joined the army when he was sixteen and lost both of his parents by the age of eighteen. He came to Taiwan with the nationalist army in 1949, the year Mao Zedong declared the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in the mainland. On August 6, 1953, the thirty-six-year-old Xie visited the Tainan 518 Hospital for a physical examination due to regular abdominal cramps. The chair of the external medicine division, Dr. Lin Chengyi (林承一), immediately discovered Xie's intersexed condition and initiated a series of sex change operations (*Lianhebao* 1953e). Xie's story soon triggered an avalanche of media sensationalism in postwar Taiwan (Chiang forthcoming). Enthusiasts and journalists labeled her "the Chinese Christine," an allusion to the

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American transsexual celebrity of the time, Christine Jorgensen, who had traveled to Denmark for her sex reassignment surgery and as a consequence attracted worldwide attention (Meyerowitz 2002). In the early 1950s, the popular and pervasive comparisons of the two Christines in the Taiwanese media reflected the growing influence of American culture on the Republic of China at the peak of the Cold War.

In this article, I add greater historical depth to this episode of *trans*-culturation by examining other accounts of unusual bodily condition that the press brought to light in response to Xie's story. In reconstructing the broader cultural context in which *bianxingren* 變性人 (transsexual) became a household term, I focus on examples of "trans" formation that made explicit reference to Xie, especially during moments when Xie and her doctors intentionally withheld information from the public.[1] By "trans" formations, I refer to concrete examples of "transing"—a phenomenon proposed by Susan Stryker, Paisley Currah, and Lisa Moore (2008) that "takes place within, as well as across or between, gendered spaces" and "assembles gender into contingent structures of association with other attributes of bodily being" (13). The examples enumerated in this article tell stories of gender transgression, defects of the reproductive system, uncommon problems related to pregnancy, the marriages of individuals with cross-gender identification, transsexual childbirth, human intersexuality, and sex metamorphosis itself, emanating from both domestic contexts and abroad. Although these stories came to light within an overall narrative of Xie's transition, they provide crucial evidence for the growing frequency of sex-change-related discussions in Chinese-speaking communities in the immediate post–World War II era.

The excavation of a series of trans formations in postwar Taiwan builds on my earlier work on "archiving peripheral Taiwan," which maps gender and sexual marginality onto the region's global (in)significance in the 1950s and beyond (Chiang 2014; Chiang and Wang 2017). But this essay has one further aim: to offer a historiographical framework in which these examples of transing could be adequately appreciated. In the second half of this article, I will contextualize them within the field of Sinophone postcolonial studies, demonstrating their broader historical import in terms of new analytic angles, new chronologies, and new theoretical vocabularies. The "Sinophone world" refers to Sinitic-language communities and cultures

situated outside China or on the margins of China and Chineseness (Shih 2007; Shih, Tsai, and Bernards 2013). By contesting the epistemic status of the West as the ultimate arbiter in queer historiography, the history of trans formations in Sinophone Taiwan offers an axial approach to provincializing China, Asia, and "the rest." The queerness of the trans archive delineated in the following pages is underpinned not only by the very examples of trans subjectivities retrieved and documented but also by the enabling effect of their Sinophonicity to deuniversalize existing historiographical hegemonies, whether defined in the conventions of writing the twentieth-century "Chinese" or "Taiwanese" past.[2]

Trans Formations

Two weeks after Xie's initial visit, Dr. Lin performed the first "sex change" operation. In fact, as the public would soon realize, this was simply an exploratory laparotomy. Confirming the presence of ovarian tissues in Xie's reproductive anatomy, Dr. Lin asserted that "Xie Jianshun should be converted into a woman in light of his current physiological condition" (*Lianhebao* 1953l). A detailed coverage of this preliminary surgery appeared in the *United Daily News* on the following day, August 21, with the headline claiming "Soldier Destined to Become a Lady" (*Lianhebao* 1953a; 1953h). This echoed the headline of the New York *Daily News* front-page article that announced Jorgenson's sex reassignment in December 1952, "Ex-GI Becomes Blonde Beauty." It did not take long before Xie earned the name "Chinese Christine," implying the significance of her sex change as a rare event that embodied the latest surgical breakthrough in Western biomedicine and would thereby contribute to the global staging of Taiwan on a par with the United States (Guan 1953).

The government soon intervened. State authorities ordered Xie to be transported to the No. 1 General Hospital in Taipei and undergo her second operation there. Xie initially refused, but she paid a price for challenging the request. She was left unoperated on for a prolonged period, after which she agreed to the relocation arrangement with great reluctance (*Lianhebao* 1953i). Beginning in late 1953, the press coverage of her story took a significant dip. Curious readers could not put their finger on the timing of her

arrival in Taipei or the details of her subsequent medical treatment. Earlier in the summer, both the doctors and Xie herself readily collaborated with journalists to escalate the initial scoop of media reporting into a nationwide frenzy. By the time of her relocation and second operation, however, reporters no longer played the role of a friendly mediator between the public, the doctors, and Xie herself. To both Xie and her medical team, the publicity showered on them after the initial operation seemed to impede rather than help their plans.

As the interlocutors of Xie's case became more self-conscious about what they said in public, the press met increasing obstacles in sensationalizing new narratives about the alleged "first" Chinese transsexual. After the exploratory laparotomy, reporters lacked direct access to information about Xie's medical care, so they began to look for other tantalizing stories of gender transgressive behavior or bodily ailment. Between late 1953 and late 1954, the popularity of Xie's transsexual narrative instigated the appearance of other similar—however less genuine—accounts of unusual body morphology in the Taiwanese press. During the pivotal moments when the media attention on Xie took a back seat, these stories of physical trans anomaly came to light in the shadow of Christine's glamour and thereby played an important role in sustaining popular interest in sex change in Cold War Taiwan.

The media coverage of Xie's story enabled some readers to consider the possibility of experimenting with their own gender appearance. For instance, toward the end of September 1953, the *United Daily News* published an article, "A Teenage Boy Dressed Up as a Modern Woman," which included a photograph of the transgender individual in question (figs. 1 and 2). The nineteen-year-old cross-dresser, Lü Jinde (呂金德), was said to "appear beautifully," had "a puffy hairstyle," wore "a Western-style white blouse that showed parts of her breast, a blue skirt, a white slingback, and a padded bra on her chest," and carried "a large black purse" on a Thursday evening in Taipei.[3] This "human prodigy" (*renyao* 人妖) was found with "foundation powder, powder blush, lipstick, hand mirror, and a number of photos of other men and women" in her purse, and her face was described as "covered with a thick layer of powder" and with "a heavy lipstick application." She also "penciled her eyebrows so that they look much longer." "All

Figures 1 and 2 Photographs of Lü Jinde in male appearance on the top and female attire on the bottom. Source: *United Daily News*, September 25, 1953

of these," the writer claimed, "were aimed to turn herself into a modern woman" (*Lianhebao* 1953b). Indeed, this may have been the first instance in which the term *renyao* is explicitly associated with the intentionality of transvestism in postwar Taiwan. The only other exception may be the infamous trial of Zeng Qiuhuang (曾秋皇) in the early 1950s. However, the association of Zeng with the label *renyao* centered not only on his "neither-man-nor-woman" (*bunan bunü* 不男不女) identity and his ambiguous social role of having been married to both men and women but also on the crimes he had committed, which rendered him defiant of the proper legal expressions of human behavior.[4]

Lü, who used to work as a hairdresser, was identified by one of her former clients living in the Wanhua (萬華) district. This client followed Lü around briefly before turning to the police, explaining that Lü "walked in a funny way that was neither masculine nor feminine." After being arrested, Lü told the police that "because I enjoy posing as a lady [做個小姐], starting roughly two months ago, I have been wandering around the street in female attire [男扮女裝] after sunset on a daily basis." "Although Lü emulated a modern lady quite successfully," the writer of this article insisted, "his feminine attire still fails to conceal his masculine characteristics, which are easily recognizable in the eye of any beholder" (ibid.). One exceptional observer considered Lü's cross-dressing behavior unproblematic, pointing out the counterexample of the increasing number of women who had begun imitating the roles of men in society (*Lianhebao* 1953j). Most commentators reacted conservatively, though, claiming to have witnessed "an immoral, confusing, and gender ambiguous persona that provokes disgust" (不倫不類非男非女的樣子, 叫人看了要嘔吐; *Lianhebao* 1953g).

Another story of gender transgression falls more appropriately in the category of what historians of gender and sexuality in America and Europe have called "passing."[5] The twenty-three-year-old Ding Bengde (丁甭德) dressed up as a man and was arrested for having abducted another young woman named Xu Yueduan (許月端). Xu's mother turned Ding in to the police after the two girls reappeared in Xu's hometown, Huwei District (虎尾鎮), and accused Ding of seducing and abducting Xu. Ding explained that she came to Huwei with the sole purpose of meeting a friend. She had to be able to earn a living to support herself and her family, so she decided

to cross-dress as a man in public. This "passing" would lower her chances of being mistreated by her coworkers and other men. Labeled by the press as a "male impersonating freak" (女扮男裝怪客), Ding denied the accusation that had been brought on to her by Xu's mother. Similar to the coverage of Lü Jinde, the press coverage fascinated its readers with engrossing details about Ding's masculine appearance: "The female cross-dressing freak wore a long-sleeve white shirt, a pair of white pants, no shoes, a sleek hairstyle, and natural body gestures, making it difficult for people to discern his/her true sex" (使人見之難別雌雄). The reporters, moreover, hinted at a "deeper meaning" to this case, which the police were still in the process of figuring out. Perhaps by "deeper meaning" they had in mind the possibility, however remote, of a lesbian relationship between Ding and Xu. But neither the concept of homosexuality nor the word *lesbianism* appeared in the textual description of this incident (*Lianhebao* 1953d).

Apart from explicit gender transgressive behaviors, other astonishing accounts of bodily irregularity made their way into the press. In writing about these stories, the reporters always began by referring to Xie Jianshun's experience as a departing point for framing these rare disorders of the reproductive system. For example, a gynecologist came across a young woman with two uteruses in Tainan, where news of Xie's sex transformation originated. This coincidence led the reporter to declare, "While the date for the second gender reassignment surgery of Xie Jianshun, the Christine of Free China, remains unsettled, another case in which a surgery was pursued to treat biological anomalies was uncovered in Tainan" (*Lianhebao* 1953c). The woman was pregnant and near the end of her third trimester when she was sent to the Provincial Tainan Hospital (省立台南醫院) for treatment, and it was clear from the start that this case bore very little resemblance to Xie's transsexuality.

Upon discovering two uteruses inside her womb, Dr. Huang Jiede (黃皆得) decided that for this woman's delivery, he would first perform a cesarean section, followed by a tubectomy (tubal ligation). The purpose of the tubectomy, according to Huang, was to prevent "gestation in both uteruses, which may lead to undesirable side effects in the future." Reporters pressed Huang for further clarification on the safeness and necessity of the C-section procedure. Huang explained that normal vaginal birth would be difficult in this

case "because [the patient] has two uteruses." He stood by his decision "to deliver the baby with a C-section, which is the safest option" (ibid.). Interestingly, in contrast to the tremendous degree of publicity accorded to Xie Jianshun, journalists complied with the medical team's instruction to withhold the personal information, including the full name, of this particular patient. What is certain, though, is that the media exposure of this bi-uteral condition hinged on its potential for forthright comparison to the Xie story, given that both shared a certain feature of "rareness [to be investigated by] the medical community [in Taiwan]" (ibid.).

In November 1953, the press discovered another individual with uncommon pregnancy problems. Only this time, the patient was a man. Born in 1934, the farmer Liao (廖) had experienced persistent cramps and abdominal discomfort over the past two decades. The pain had become more pronounced over time, especially in recent years, reaching an intolerable state that forced Liao to seek medical assistance with the company of his family. Although this was not the first time that Liao consulted doctors about his condition, it was the first instance that he received surgical (and possibly terminal) treatment for it. Dr. Yang Kunyan (楊坤焰), the president of the Jichangtang Hospital (吉昌堂醫院), situated on Zhongzheng Road in the Luodong District of Yilan County (宜蘭縣羅東鎮中正路), operated on Liao on November 7. News of this male pregnancy was circulated at least on two levels: the local district level and the county level. On the local district level, the report explained that "because [Liao's male body] does not allow for natural delivery, Dr. Yang could remove [the head of the fetus] only surgically" (*Lianhebao* 1953f: Luodong district report). The county-level coverage of Liao's condition was more detailed: "Dr. Yang found a growth in Liao's abdomen and excised the pink fleshy bulge that weighed four pounds [四公兩]. The doctors were unable to determine the causes of this tumor even after careful research and investigation. After removing it from Liao's body, they found a head [with some hair], a pair of eyes, a nose, and a mouth on the fleshy growth. The only missing parts [which would otherwise make this growth resemble a fetus] are the arms and legs" (*Lianhebao* 1953f: Yilan county report).

In the shadow of Xie Jianshun's transition, the question of Liao's sexual identity was high on the reporters' radar. The district-level reporter wrote,

"Everyone is curious about where Liao's baby comes from and whether he will be transformed into a man or a woman. In Dr. Yang's perspective, Liao is indisputably male [道地的男人]. Therefore, after recovering from the delivery and the laparotomy incision surgery, Liao will be able to leave the hospital and enjoy the rest of his life like a normal man." Similarly, the county-level coverage disclosed Dr. Yang's confirmation that Liao "was neither a woman nor a hermaphrodite" (ibid.: Luodong). The venturing into Liao's sexual identity led to greater clarification of his physical ailment. "The growth," Dr. Yang speculated, "may have been the result of twin conception during his mother's pregnancy and that one of the fetuses formed prematurely and remained in his body" (ibid.: Yilan). The district-level coverage introduced Liao's male pregnancy with the opening sentence: "The ex-soldier Xie Jianshun, now a lady, has become a household name in Taiwan, being the focus of the most popular current event of the year" (ibid.: Luodong). The county-level coverage stressed the value of the Liao case by noting the strong interest that numerous medical experts had expressed toward it: "This rare event has taken the county by storm. The medical profession places great emphasis on this case, believing that it bears a tremendous value for medical research" (ibid.: Yilan). Although neither the lady with two uteruses nor the pregnant man expressed medical symptoms related to sex change per se, the Xie Jianshun story provided an immediate optic for coming to terms with these problems. The papers claimed that, like Xie's transsexuality, these were extraordinary biological phenomena with the potential of contributing to the advancement of biomedical research. On their end, in both cases, the doctors justified surgical intervention for these "unnatural" bodily defects.

In the midst of Xie Jianshun's relocation to Taipei, in December 1953, the press recounted the story of another transsexual: Gonggu Bao (宮古保), a foreign criminal who at times disguised herself as a man but more often appeared as a woman, and who had lived in various parts of Asia at different points of her life. Born in Siberia in 1902, Gonggu entered the world as Gonggu Baozi (宮古保子). Her father was Chinese, and her mother was half Koryak and half Japanese. After her mother died due to malnutrition during the Russo-Japanese War (1904–5), her father married another Japanese woman and moved to Tokyo. At the age of seven, Gonggu Baozi discovered

that her facial and other physical appearances began to exhibit "masculine traits." Doctors performed plastic surgeries on her (how intrusive these surgeries were in terms of direct genital alteration is unclear from the newspaper account), but she still appeared "neither womanly nor manlike" (不像女的, 也不像男的). Given the situation, her father and stepmother decided to change her name to Gonggu Bao, believing that by adopting this new, more masculine name, she was destined to pass as a normal man.

Unfortunately, at the age of thirteen, Bao began to menstruate. This horrified her, as someone who had been assigned a male identity for half of her life up to that point. She began to alienate herself. She never played with other kids at school. Her parents, hugely disappointed at the situation, decided to send her away to live with her grandmother. Since the age of fifteen, so the newspapers claimed, Gonggu had committed at least thirty-eight crimes all over the world, including in Shanghai, Hong Kong, Singapore, Japan, and even Alaska and Canada. But more importantly, what Gonggu Bao's story confirmed was that Xie Jianshun's sex change was neither exceptional nor the first in Asia. Although their life trajectories proceeded in vastly different social, cultural, political, and historical contexts, Gonggu and Xie followed the same legacy of bodily transformation through medical intervention (*Lianhebao* 1953k). Moreover, the renewed interest in Gonggu Bao implied that it would be too simplistic to consider her, like Christine Jorgensen, merely as a historical precedent to Xie's popularity; rather, it was precisely the ways in which the popular press served as a central vehicle for disseminating the possible idea of sex change that enabled the stories of Gonggu, Jorgensen, and Xie to command public interest as interwoven and interrelated in Cold War Sinophone culture.

In addition to Gonggu, journalists in the same month uncovered two more domestic stories of human intersexuality. In both cases, the newspaper accounts referred to Xie's experience as a window into these anomalous medical discoveries. The first concerned a thirty-five-year-old man, Mr. Zheng (鄭), whose ambiguous genital anatomy came to the attention of doctors responsible for screening new military recruits at Yuanli District (苑裏鎮). After a long and careful consideration, the military physician ultimately agreed on the label of "the middle sex" (中性) for designating Zheng's gender

status (*Lianhebao* 1953n). The second story concerned the nineteen-year-old Lin Luanying (林鸞英), who was a frequent client of a tofu shop in Yeliu Village (野柳村) of Taipei County owned by the widow Li Axiang (李阿向). Building on two years of customer relation, Lin became very intimate with Li's eldest son, Hu Canlin (胡燦林), and with parental consent, Lin and Hu decided to get married on December 8 of the lunar calendar. As the wedding day drew near, however, Lin began to panic. She believed that something was terribly wrong with her body, so she consulted a doctor at the Yilan Hospital (宜蘭醫院) and "tried to fix her problem." The media framed her visit in voluntary terms, describing her as "a yin-yang person like Xie Jianshun," who also went to the doctors for a checkup after experiencing physical discomfort. "The major difference [between them]," though, "was that Lin was soon turning into a bride." After performing an investigative operation on Lin (presumably similar to Xie's first exploratory laparotomy), the doctors were surprised by the incomplete development of her genitals, with the external absence of labia majora and labia minora and the internal absence of a uterus. The doctors were "astounded by what they saw, but claimed to lack the technical expertise to help her" (醫師見而興嘆, 乏術開闢桃源). Lin's condition, they suggested, proved to be more complicated than the simple determination of gonadal tissues that made sex reassignment in Xie's case possible (*Lianhebao* 1953m).

As the cast of characters mounted, newspapers published more sensational stories. The most heartbreaking and tragic of these was probably the story of Wang Lao (汪老), a fifty-seven-year-old intersex who committed suicide in March 1954 because of accumulated loneliness and depression. The media interpreted her biological condition as "identical to Xie Jianshun" with the exception that her intersexuality had never been properly attended to by doctors (*Lianhebao* 1954e). The most optimistic and encouraging story was probably that of five-year-old Du Yizheng (杜異征). While the result of Xie's transition was still up in the air, surgeons in Taichung (台中) claimed to have successfully converted this boy into a girl, giving this child a normal life and the public an additional boost of confidence in Taiwan's medical practice. As the press framed it, this case represented a landmark achievement in the Taiwanese medical profession and enabled parents to have a

stronger faith in the way doctors approached clinical cases of intersexed children (*Lianhebao* 1954f).

But the story of the transsexual Liu Min (劉敏) stood out as the most puzzling and intriguing of all (fig. 3). On December 10, 1954, the *United Daily News* billed the story as one about the transformation of "a fair lady into a heroic warrior" (*Lianhebao* 1954a). Three days later, another article opened with the enigma itself: "For a woman who had given birth and then transforms into a man within a decade is an event that reasonably arouses suspicion on all fronts" (*Lianhebao* 1954b). Born in Beiping as Liu Fangting (劉芳亭), Liu Min came to Taiwan with the nationalist army like Xie Jianshun in the late 1940s. She had recently acquired visible male physical traits owing to medical complications, but what amazed everyone was the fact that she also had a daughter, Xiaozhen (小真), with her husband. Is it possible for a transsexual to give birth? With the unknown fate of Xie Jianshun (including the effect of her sex change surgeries on her eventual ability to conceive) still lurking in the media background, the combination of Liu's past pregnancy with her recent sex metamorphosis seemed all the more bizarre, pertinent, and worth pursuing. For over a week, Liu's life history prompted the speculations and opinions of people from all walks of life, and the initial coverage soon escalated into a nationwide obsession (*Lianhebao* 1954c; 1954d).

Figure 3 Photograph of Liu Min. Source: *United Daily News*, December 13, 1954

It turned out that Liu never delivered a baby. Xiaozhen was only her stepsister and, accordingly, adopted child. In 1938, after marrying her cousin, Liu felt regular distress in her abdominal region, not unlike Xie's early conditions. (By that point, Liu's biological father had already left her and her mother for over a decade.) Her relatives considered these cramps to be signs of actual pregnancy. Upon learning this, her mother immediately disclosed her own recent pregnancy to Liu (without stating who the father was). But her mother's economic and health situation at that point made it unfeasible

to raise a second child. Her mother therefore begged her to raise her stepsister as her own child in the pretense of casting this whole situation as the outcome of her ostensible pregnancy. With her husband's agreement, Liu accepted her mother's request and promised to never reveal this secret to anyone. Meanwhile, over the years, Liu had her uterus surgically removed in Beijing, which led to startling changes in her genital area, including "the closing up of her vagina" (陰道逐漸閉塞) and "the formation of a phallus organ on top of her labia" (大小陰唇之上便開始長出男性生殖器). According to Liu, the reporter to whom she told this secret was only the fourth person to know about it (*Lianhebao* 1954b).

By the end of 1954, reporters had lost almost all contact with Xie Jianshun and her medical team. Xie's case gradually moved from current events to yesterday's news, but as other stories of unusual bodily problems surfaced, the media reminded the public that manhood, womanhood, and their boundaries were neither as obvious nor as impermeable as they once had seemed. From Lü Jinde's transvestism to the lady with two uteruses, and from Liao's male pregnancy to Lin Luanying's intersexed condition, the earlier publicity on Xie provided pivotal leverage for both the journalists and health-care professionals to relate other nominal stories of bodily irregularity to the idea of "transsexuality." Although not all of them were directly or necessarily about sex change per se, these stories enabled some readers to take seriously the possibility of sex/gender transgression. With an elevated awareness of the malleability of gender, they began to learn what the label *bianxingren* meant and appreciated the immediate role of medical intervention in the reversing of one's sex. Through the press coverage, stories of intersexuality and sex transition recast earlier questions about human identity in a new light. The alleged authority of doctors to unlock the secret of sexual identity, in particular, became more firmly planted in the popular imagination.

The story of Liu Min finally pushed medical experts to come clean about Xie Jianshun's situation. After the news of Liu's fake pregnancy broke, readers channeled their curiosity back to Xie. In the week after the revelation of Liu's acquired maternal status, rumor had it that the long silence in the medical profession and popular media meant that Xie's transition into a woman was ultimately unsuccessful. In an attempt to dispel any doubts,

doctors from the No. 1 General Hospital were quoted for confirming that "the rumor is definitely false." They clarified that "Xie Jianshun's transformation has in fact proceeded rather successfully [since her relocation to Taipei] and is reaching the final stages" (*Lianhebao* 1955j). In autumn 1955, Xie's physician in charge finally cleared the air: "Contrary to a number of fabricated claims, Xie Jianshun's final operation took place very smoothly on the morning of August 30" (*Lianhebao* 1955i). An article declared "the success of Xie Jianshun's sex change surgery," pitching it as "a fact that can no longer be shaken" (*Lianhebao* 1955h).

As doctors sought to clarify what happened during and after Xie's third operation, newspapers continued to report on other astonishing stories of sex change. In early May 1955, for instance, the case of a soldier with a medical condition similar to Xie's was reported in Chiayi County (嘉義縣). This twenty-eight-year-old "gender ambiguous soldier" (性別可疑的軍人), Xu Zhenjie (徐振傑), was born in Henan. The individuals who first raised an eyebrow on his gender identity were those from within his troop. According to them, Xu was always reserved and quiet, and what especially made others suspicious was that he never showered with other men and always left his clothes on whenever he joined them. Initially, the doctors who examined his body had only a vague sense of the structural differences between his genitals and that of other male soldiers, but they could not reach a consensus on his "true" sex. After this incident came to light, the gynecologists and nurses at the Chiayi Hospital recalled that during his previous visit for a checkup, Xu complained about his own gender confusion and unfortunate fate (*Lianhebao* 1955m).

The story of Xu echoed elements of the earlier anxiety and fascination with Liu Min, whose fake pregnancy stimulated renewed public interest in Xie. What grabbed everyone's attention, again, was the intriguing relationship between transsexuals and childbirth. At one point, Xu tried to convince his family that his sexual organ was "more feminine than masculine"; in fact, he suspected, he "may be one hundred percent female." If that were the case, had he ever menstruated or become pregnant? "Faced with these questions," Xu only "kept silent and turned away shyly." It fact, when Xu first joined the army near the Dianmian (滇緬) borders, he self-identified as female. Having eventually enlisted in a men's troop, however, Xu became

close friends with other men in the army. His relationship with one of them became especially intimate, and after revealing his congenital condition to the person, Xu had his child. After delivering the baby, however, he considered his gender identification even more perplexing and distressful. By the time of his military discharge, "one could hardly tell the difference between Xu's mannerism and physical appearance from other men's" (ibid.). Even as Xu tried to dissociate himself from a masculine past, the press homed in on his masculine image. Although the question of whether Xu had actually experienced menstruation and childbirth (and what happened to the child if he did) remained up in the air, the press seemed to be more interested in using them as a foil against which to juxtapose his current embodiment of a heteronormative masculinity (*Lianhebao* 1955d; 1955k).

In the United States, after the initial stories on Christine Jorgensen dwindled, reporters produced a flood of sensational copy on sex change operations in newspapers, periodicals, and magazines. Much like the way the coverage in Taiwan centered on Xie Jianshun, each new story confirmed that Jorgensen was not alone and that a number of others similarly desired to alter their bodily sex. The stories came from all over the world, but those from Britain and the United States attracted the most attention from the American press (see Meyerowitz 1998; 2002: 81–97). In the mid-1950s, these stories began to make their way across the Pacific and reached the Chinese-speaking audience. One of these stories in particular, that of Tamara Reese, appeared in Taiwan's *United Daily News* in July 1955 (*Lianhebao* 1955a).[6] By reading the brief coverage in the *United Daily News*, Chinese readers learned not only of the names, ages, and occupations of the couple—the thirty-one-year-old male-to-female (MTF) paratrooper Reese (李絲) and the thirty-year-old businessman James Courtland (卡德倫)—but also the details of Reese's transsexual experience, in a piecemeal fashion. The article clearly indicated the time and location of Reese's sex change operation—in Holland in January 1954—thereby hinting at a much broader and global dimension to sex reassignment surgeries beyond Taiwan and the United States. Of course, what the Chinese coverage did not include were the minor details of Reese's transition. For instance, born in 1924, Reese had already begun taking hormones and passing as a woman in Los Angeles before she traveled to Amsterdam for her genital surgery. After she married Courtland

in July 1955, one magazine even called the wedding "history's first transvestite marriage" (quoted in Meyerowitz 2002: 85). And when the psychoanalyst Ralph Greenson later published an article on Reese in the *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* in 1964, he interpreted her gender confusion as a case of "homosexuality similar to that of neurotic adults" (1964: 218).

In contrast to the American stories, the majority of news of sex change in Taiwan emerged from the medical screening of new recruits at military units. In September 1955, a twenty-five-year-old young man by the name of Wu Kunqi (吳坤祈) was identified with a "dual-sexed genital organ" (兩性器官) by the doctors at Zhongshantang (中山堂) in the Gangshan District of Kaohsiung County (高雄縣岡山鎮). Wu's medical screening revealed "a tiny hole below his penis" with "a size penetrable by a finger," his penis "lacked a urethral opening," and his "urine came out of the tiny hole" rather than the penis. When asked by the doctors, Wu admitted that he often ejaculated from the tiny hole as well (*Lianhebao* 1955l). In the same month, the father of twenty-one-year-old Zeng Qingji (曾清吉) arrived at Madou (麻豆), also in southern Taiwan, and requested the doctor responsible for screening new recruits to exempt Zeng from conscription because of his congenital sexual disorder. After a careful examination of Zeng's body, Dr. Wang Baikun (王百焜) found both a penis and a vaginal opening in his genital area. Like Wu's, Zeng's penis did not have a urethral opening, but there was a tiny hole surrounded by a pair of labia underneath the penis. Unlike Wu, whose body could produce semen, Zeng discharged regular small-quantity menses. According to Dr. Wang's diagnosis, then, Zeng was a "pseudohermaphrodite" (假性陰陽人), and given his predominant female biological constitution, he could be easily transformed into a woman through the surgical removal of his male genital organ (*Lianhebao* 1955f). Similar to the experiences of Xie Jianshun and Xu Zhenjie, all of these later accounts of sex change embraced a principal narrative of hiding one's ambiguous sexual identity. Both Wu and Zeng expressed great disappointment when their intersexuality was uncovered by the medical professionals. Most importantly, in these stories, doctors always construed surgical sex transformation as the most desirable solution after bursting these extremely personal secrets wide open in public.

On October 28, 1955, the No. 1 Army Hospital finally released a full-

length official report on Xie's clinical experience entitled "The Completion and Success of Xie Jianshun's Sex Change Operation" (*Lianhebao* 1955e). The official report revealed numerous aspects of the Xie story that overthrew earlier speculations. Of these revelations, the most surprising was probably the fact that Xie's latest operation was actually her fourth and not her third. Recall that Xie's second operation received little publicity in the previous year. By June 1954, from reading the scattered newspaper accounts, interested readers gained a vague impression that doctors in Taipei had performed a second sex change surgery on her, but the date of the operation and its nature and objective were never made explicit. According to this official report, however, Xie's second operation, which was also an exploratory laparotomy but with the additional step of removing parts of her male gonadal tissues, took place on April 10, 1954. Based on the samples extracted from her body during this operation, the doctors confirmed Xie's status as a true hermaphrodite, meaning that she had both gonadal ovarian and testicular tissues. The doctors also clarified that at that point, her "testicular tissues were already deteriorating and unable to produce sperm" (睪丸的組織,已呈萎縮的狀態,並且已經沒有精子形成的現象), but her "ovarian tissues were still functional and able to produce eggs" (卵巢的組織,卻仍然有排卵的活動). In light of a stronger presence of female sexual characteristics, the medical team performed a third operation on her on August 26, 1954. After the surgery, Xie's penis was replaced by an artificial vaginal opening. All this happened over a year prior. Taking place on August 30, 1955, Xie's most recent and fourth genital surgery was simply a vaginoplasty. Now with "a normal woman's vaginal interior" (陰道內腔與正常女性一樣), Xie Jianshun's "transformation from a soldier into a lady is now irrefutable" (*Lianhebao* 1955g). Brought to light by the mainstream press, Xie's personal triumph encapsulated the postwar fears and hopes about the possibilities of medical science.[7]

Sinophone Taiwan

It is interesting to note that in the context of the 1950s, the Chinese term *bianxingren* carried almost none of the psychopathological connotations that distinguished its English counterpart, *transsexual*. This probably reflected

the relatively late involvement of psychiatric experts in dealing with patients diagnosed with *bianxing yuzheng* 變性慾症 (transsexualism) in Taiwan (Hsu 1998). In this regard, the national spotlight on the MTF transsexual Jiang Peizhen (江佩珍) in 1981 opened a new chapter in the history of transsexuality in Taiwan that lies beyond the scope of this article (which is concerned specifically with its initial emergence in the early 1950s). According to Jiang's psychiatrist and past superintendent of the Tsyr-Huey Mental Hospital in Kaohsiung County, Dr. Jung-Kwang Wen (文榮光), the story of Jiang Peizhen made a huge impact on enhancing the public awareness of transsexualism in Taiwan in the early 1980s. Her case pushed doctors, especially the psychiatrists, to come to grips with patients requesting sex reassignment or showing symptoms of gender identity disorder, and to consult the Harry Benjamin Standards of Care that had been adopted by American medical and psychological experts since 1979 (Wen 2008). Personal testimonies of transsexuals attested to the breadth, significance, and cultural reach of the Jiang story. Miss Lai (賴), a former MTF patient of Wen, noted how the possibility of sex reassignment surgeries was brought to her attention only by the time of the media coverage of Jiang (Lai 2008).[8] In the 1980s, Xie Jianshun and her surgeons had disappeared altogether from the public sphere, and this seemed to confirm that one era had ended. For the new generation of transsexuals and doctors like Miss Lai and Wen, the hero(ine) from the 1980s onward was Jiang (Liu 1993; Ho 2003).[9]

Nevertheless, the saga of Xie Jianshun and other media reports of "transing" exemplify the emergence of transsexuality as a form of modern sexual embodiment in Chinese-speaking society. Xie's story, in particular, became a lightning rod for many post–World War II anxieties about gender and sexuality, and it called dramatic attention to issues that would later drive the feminist and gay and lesbian movements in the decades ahead (Yu 2009). In a different way, these stories of trans formation bring to light a genealogy that exceeds, even subverts, familiar historicizations of Taiwan's postcoloniality. They illustrate the ways in which the Chinese community in Taiwan inherited a Western biomedical epistemology of sex from not only the Japanese colonial regime (a conventional reading of Taiwan's colonial past) but also, more importantly, the intellectual complexity of the earlier scientific globalism that characterized the republican period in the main-

land.[10] This genealogy from republican-era scientific modernity to postwar Taiwanese transsexuality, connected via the Sinitic language but also made possible culturally by the migration of over 1 million people from the mainland in the late 1940s, underscores the ways in which the nationalist government regained sovereignty in Taiwan beyond a monolithic framing of Japanese postcolonialism.[11] Parallel to British colonial Hong Kong, Taiwan experienced the highly institutionalized establishment of Western biomedical infrastructure under Japanese occupation (Liu 2004, 2009; Fan 2006; Ts'ai 2009).[12] In the 1950s, when Mao "nationalized" Chinese medicine in continental China, both Taiwan and Hong Kong represented the most advanced regions in modern Western medicine situated on the geomargins of the Sinosphere.[13] Adding to its catalytic role in the transmission of Western biomedical knowledge and practice, British colonialism was instrumental for establishing Hong Kong as a more permissive cultural space when other parts of mainland China were strictly governed by a socialist state (Carroll 2007: 140–66).[14] These historical factors thus allowed for the immense media publicity showered on Xie Jianshun, and sex change more broadly. Together, the rapid technology transfer of Western biomedicine and the availability of a fairly open social and cultural milieu enabled the Sinophone articulation of transsexuality to emerge first and foremost across the postcolonial East Asian Pacific Rim.

The examples of gender transformation unearthed here must be identified with the broader horizon of Sinophone production, by which I mean a broadening of queer Sinophonicity to refer to a mode of cultural engendering coalescing around the multiple peripheries of dominant geopolitical and social formations.[15] The queer historicity of the transvestites, the bi-uteral woman, the pregnant man, intersexed persons, and other transing characters who came to light in the shadow of Xie in Taiwanese media rested on epistemological-historical pillars that came from outside the geopolitical China proper, including the legacies of Japanese postcolonialism, American neo-imperialism, the recontextualization of the republican state's scientific globalism, and Taiwan's cultural (which was in turn driven by economic) affiliations with other subregions of Cold War East Asia, such as Hong Kong and Japan. Between the end of the Korean War in the mid-1950s and the reopening of the Chinese mainland in the late 1970s, Japan,

Okinawa, South Korea, and Taiwan became US protectorates. "One of the lasting legacies of this period," according to the cultural critic Kuan-Hsing Chen (2010), "is the installation of the anticommunism-pro-Americanism structure in the capitalist zone of East Asia, whose overwhelming consequences are still with us today" (7). Inherent in the concept of the Sinophone lies a more calculated awareness of the implicit role played by communist China in the stabilization of this (post–)Cold War structure in transnational East Asia. Marshall Johnson and Fred Yen Liang Chiu's theory of subimperialism is useful here, because the various examples of trans formations explored in this article "are not the unfolding of master imperial or orientalist logics. Rather, they exist through agencies whose contingent patterns always admit the possibility of otherwise" (Johnson and Chiu 2000: 1–2). None of the queer subjects and embodiments that emerged in 1950s Taiwan can be sufficiently appreciated according to the historical logic of republican China, communist China, imperial Japan, or modern America alone, but whose significance must be squarely situated at their discrepant and diffused intersections.

Considering Xie's celebrity and influence as a Sinophone (re)production of transsexuality is also instructive in four other regards. First, the Sinophone approach pushes postcolonial studies beyond their overwhelming preoccupation with "the West." Postcolonial critics have problematized the West either by deconstructing any variant of its essentialist invocation or by provincializing the centripetal force of its greatest imperial regimes, such as Europe and America. Naoki Sakai's essay "Modernity and Its Critique: The Problem of Universalism and Particularism" (1988) and Dipesh Chakrabarty's "Provincializing Europe: Postcoloniality and the Critique of History" (1992) are perhaps the most representative studies of each approach, respectively. At other times, critics have attempted to recuperate nativist examples from the histories of third-world nations. Certain modern concepts often understood as imposed from the outside and sustained by the colonial system, they argue, were actually already internal to the indigenous civilization. The work of Ashis Nandy (1984) is exemplary in this regard. But the West appears to be analytically deployed as a universalized imaginary Other in all three strategies. By perpetually being treated as the theoretical heart in historical narration and cultural criticism, the West continues to function

as "an opposing entity, a system of reference, an object from which to learn, a point of measurement, a goal to catch up with, an intimate enemy, and sometimes an alibi for serious discussion and action" (Chen 2010: 216).

On the contrary, viewing trans formations in postwar Taiwan as historical events of Sinophone production repositions our compass—and redraws our map—by recentering the non-West, Asia, and China more specifically. In his provocative book, *Asia as Method* (2010), Kuan-Hsing Chen invites postcolonial scholars to "deimperialize" their own mode of investigation by moving beyond the fixation of "the West" as a sole historical-theoretical caliber of civilizational, national, imperial, colonial, and Cold War predicaments (211–55). In his words,

> In Asia, the deimperialization question cannot be limited to a reexamination of the impacts of Western imperialism invasion, Japanese colonial violence, and U.S. neoimperialist expansion, but must also include the oppressive practices of the Chinese empire. Since the status of China has shifted from an empire to a big country, how should China position itself now? In what new ways can it interact with neighboring countries? Questions like these can be productively answered only through deimperialized self-questioning, and that type of reflexive work has yet to be undertaken. (197)

My foregoing narration of the history of Chinese transsexuality, centering on the cases of Xie Jianshun and others, can be viewed as an execution of this reflexive work. While the dispersed circuits of knowledge that saturated the Chinese Christine's glamour question any straightforward conclusion about the Chineseness or Americanness of Xie's transsexuality, the other contemporaneous stories of trans corporeality represent a highly contingent and conditional response to the nascent genealogy of sex change emerging out of regional currents and global tensions. This chapter in 1950s Taiwanese history refocuses our attention from the "influence" of Western concepts and ideas to the inter- and intra-Asian regional dynamics of subjectivity condition—from denaturalizing the West to provincializing China, Asia, and the rest.

Secondly, by provincializing China, the Sinophone framework enables us to see and think beyond the conventions of China studies (Shih 2010). In

terms of the substantive objects of study, a growing number of Sinophone scholars have already ventured into multiple place-based analyses of literary and cinematic examples across the Pacific, from Southeast Asia to Hong Kong and Taiwan to America (see, for example, Shih 2007; Tsu and Wang 2010; Tsu 2011; L. Wong 2012; Chiang and Heinrich 2013; Groppe 2013; Shih, Tsai, and Bernards 2013; Tan 2013; Shih 2014; and Bernards 2015). These localized examples in literature and film—in light of their authorial background or artistic form and content even—are rarely invoked in Chinese studies, Asian American studies, or other traditional (area studies) disciplines.[16] Sinophone studies, as "the 'study of China' that transcends China," to borrow the phrase from Mizoguchi Yuzo ([1989] 1996: 93), therefore acknowledges unforeseen possibilities in Sinological practice in the aftermath of its Cold War structuration.

In the spirit of marking out "a space in which unspoken stories and histories may be told, and to recognize and map the historically constituted cultural and political effects of the cold war" (Chen 2010: 120), this article has implicitly raised a series of interrelated questions that challenge the various categorical assumptions that continue to haunt a "China-centered perspective."[17] Was Xie Jianshun's transsexuality "Chinese" or "American" in nature? Transsexuality in whose sense of the term? Was it a foreign import, an expression (and thus internalization) of Western imperialism, or a long-standing indigenous practice in a new light? How can we take the republican state's administrative relocation in the late 1940s seriously? Is it possible to speak of a "republican Chinese modernity" that problematizes the familiar socialist narrative of twentieth-century Chinese history? Which China was alluded to by the Chineseness of the label "Chinese Christine"? In the yet-to-appear discourse of Taiwanese nativism, did the republican regime exemplify settler colonialism, migration, immigration, or diaspora? To better comprehend the historical context, we might also ask, "Is the KMT [Kuomintang] regime a government in exile (which would mean that it resides abroad), a regime from another province, a defeated regime, or simply a cold-war regime?" (Chen 2010: 154). Evidently, the complexity of the history far exceeds the common terms used to describe the historical characteristics of postwar Taiwan. To call the KMT a regime from the outside or a colonial government only partially accounts for its proto-

Chineseness or extra-Chineseness, and precisely because of the lack of a precedent and analogous situations, it is all the more difficult to historicize, with neat categorical imperatives or ways of periodization, the social backdrop against which—and the epistemic conditions under which—the first Chinese transsexual became a comprehensible concept. So the queerness of Sinophone Taiwan, as evinced through trans-archiving, calls into question not only the conventions of China studies; it invariably casts light on a symmetrically nested agenda to decenter the normative orientation of Taiwan studies as well. Like China, Taiwan has never been a *straight*-forward geobody, a political container of sorts, carrying evolving historical cultures that merely reflect a series of colonial governmentality displacements.[18]

Thirdly, understood as "a way of looking at the world," the epistemological rendition of the Sinophone as "an interruptive worldview" not only breaks down the China-versus-the-West binary, but it also specifies the most powerful type, nature, and feature of transnationalism whose interest-articulation must lie beyond the hegemonic constructions of the nation-state. According to Françoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih (2005), the transnational "can be less scripted and more scattered" and "is not bound by the binary of the local and the global and can occur in national, local, or global spaces across different and multiple spatialities and temporalities" (5, 6). If China and Chineseness had indeed evolved over the course of the history of sex change from castration's demise to the growing influence of Western biopolitics, then the changes over time we witness in this history have less to do with the "coming out" of transsexuals than with the shifting transnationalism of queer Chinese cultures: from the growing global hegemony of Western conceptions of lifehood and sexuality in *major* transnational China to the rhizomic interactions of geopolitical forces, historical conditions, and cross-cultural contours in *minor* transnational China.[19] In other words, a social history of transsexuality, while worthy of pursuit in its own right, offers a limiting perspective on change over time and space. The peripheral ontologies of Sinophone queerness demand carefully executed place-based analyses, while never losing sight of the ever-shifting parameters of the norms and centers of any given regional space. The transnationalism and interregionalism of the trajectory from republican China to postwar Taiwan make it evident that any hegemonic understanding of "China" and

"Taiwan" as sovereign nation-states will always fall short in capturing the genealogical grounding of those queer livelihoods, maneuvers, and experiences encapsulated in the two categories' politically contested relationality.

Although I have used mid-twentieth-century Taiwan as the exemplary context of queer Sinophone (re)production, its implications obviously extend beyond Taiwan and the early Cold War period. By bringing the theoretical category of the Sinophone to bear on the nonidentitarian history of trans formations narrated here, my aim is to bring together, historically, the reciprocal rigor of queer and Sinophone theoretical critiques, thematizing the coproduction of gender heteronormativity and the hegemonic (Chinese) nation-state as they are articulated through one another. Together, the queerness of Sinophone perspectives and the anti-Sinocentric logic of queering settle on unsettling the overlapping recognitions of Xie Jianshun's transsexuality as a Chinese copy of a Western original, a Sinophone production of a Chinese original, a straight mimesis of a male-to-female transgendered body, a queer reproduction of an American blond beauty, and so forth. A history of trans formations in Sinophone Taiwan that exceeds a conventional Japanese postcolonial paradigm comprises the broad spectrum of these potential straightforward convergences and postnormative divergences. The resulting historiographical task challenges a homogenous postcolonial interpretation of twentieth-century Taiwan that figures in either Chinese imperial hegemony or Japanese colonialism (or American neoimperialism for that matter) as its exclusive preoccupation. The intraregional emphasis on these intertwined historical legacies, therefore, accounts for a more sophisticatedly layered "postcolonial Taiwan," one that compliments but complicates the model developed by the literary critic Fang-Ming Chen (2002), yet always insisting on the multiplicity of its possible limits and meaningful points of entry. The history of contemporary Taiwan therefore invites multiple interpretative strategies and approaches to account for its "colonial" (read: global) past—a historicism that decenters rather than recenters the hegemony of formal imperial giants such as China, Japan, the United States, and so forth.

This brings us to the last, yet perhaps the most important, contribution of the Sinophone methodology: to appreciate the formation of Sinophone modernity that began to distinguish itself from and gradually replaced an

older apparatus of colonial modernity in the course of twentieth-century Chinese history. The year 1989 is a pivotal turning point for reflecting on the historical development of late twentieth-century Chinese and Sinophone cultures (Wang 2009). The PRC government's military action to suppress the Tiananmen Square protests of 1989 has been widely condemned by the international community. Taking place two years after the lifting of martial law in Taiwan, the incident has been taken to be a direct reflection of the sharp divergence in democratic characteristics of various Chinese-speaking communities (e.g., across the Taiwan strait). The latest rendition of this perceived divergence is none other than the 2014 Umbrella Movement to challenge the PRC's suppression of electoral democracy in Hong Kong. If the Cold War structure of East Asian capitalist zones had in fact remained intact by as late as the 1990s, it would still be heuristically useful to periodize contemporary Chinese history along this temporal axis (Cumings 1999). In this legacy of the Cold War, and despite its termination, American culture, in both its elite and popular forms, continued to operate as one of the defining forces shaping Taiwanese culture even after Richard Nixon's normalization of American diplomatic relations with communist China (completed in 1979) at the expense of ties with Taiwan (Chen 1998).

In the post-1987 era, the Taiwanese social and cultural space soon became home to a vibrant group of queer authors, scholars, activists, and other public figures who passionately emulate North American gay and lesbian identity politics and queer theoretical discourse.[20] Apart from social movement and academic theorization, gay men and lesbians in Taipei in particular have constructed an urban geography of their own with unique subcultural tempos and patterns. As Jens Damm (2011) has observed, "Taipei is the only city—probably not only in Taiwan but the whole of East Asia—where a huge open space, the Red House district, has been successfully developed into an area where gays and lesbians have openly created their own urban infrastructure, with bars, restaurants, shops and information exchange opportunities" (172). Since the 1990s, cultural flows between the PRC, Taiwan, and Hong Kong have steadily accelerated. Critics now tend to trace the roots of queer political activism in mainland China in the early twenty-first century to the initial influx of Western queer theory (*ku'er lilun* 酷兒理論) and the rise of the gay and lesbian movement (*tongzhi yundong* 同志運動)

in Taiwan and Hong Kong in the 1980s and 1990s.[21] In terms of lexical circulation, the Chinese vernacular translations of *gay* (*tongzhi* 同志) and *lesbian* (*lala* 拉拉) acquired political valence and enjoyed wide currency first in Hong Kong and Taiwan respectively, and were *then* imported back into mainland Chinese culture. Similarly, the first gay pride parade in Chinese-speaking communities took place in Taiwan in 2003, followed by Hong Kong in 2008 and Shanghai in 2009. Many gay and lesbian activists in Taiwan and Hong Kong today believe that they have nothing to learn from the mainlanders and that the trajectory of activism-strategy learning would flow in one direction only (rather than being reciprocal in nature), that is, from Sinophone communities to the PRC.[22]

The queer Sinophone framework underscores the ways in which the particular polities mediating the transmission of foreign/Western knowledge to China (such as Japan in the early republican period as often viewed through the lens of colonial modernity), at least in the areas of gender and sexuality, have been gradually replaced by Sinophone communities by the end of the twentieth century.[23] Taken together, what the cases of gender transgression recollected in this article reveal is a *much earlier* moment of historical displacement, in the immediate postwar era, when the sociocultural articulation of nonnormative genders and sexualities was rerouted through—and thus rerooted in—Sinitic-language communities and cultures on the periphery of Chineseness.[24] The transition from colonial to Sinophone modernity around the mid-century, therefore, is something that we are only beginning to appreciate.

Notes

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1. The word *transexual* was first coined by the American sexologist David Cauldwell in 1949. Cauldwell (1949) wrote, "When an individual who is unfavorably affected psychologically determines to live and appear as a member of the sex to which he or she does not belong, such an individual is what may be called a *psychopathic transexual*. This means, simply, that one is mentally unhealthy and because of this the person desires to live as a member of the opposite sex" (275). In 1966, endocrinologist Harry Benjamin used the word *transsexual* in his magnum opus, *The Transsexual Phenomenon*. This book was the first large-scale work describing and explaining the kind of affirmative treatment for transsexuality that he had pioneered throughout his career. On the intellectual and social history of transsexuality in the United States, see Hausman 1995; Meyerowitz 2002; and Stryker 2008.
2. On queer Sinophonicity, see Chiang 2013; and Martin 2014.
3. Lü was originally from Miaoli County.
4. On the historical meanings of *renyao* in republican China, see Kang 2009, pp. 33–39; and A. Wong 2012. For the term's historical meaning in postwar Taiwan, see Huang 2011, pp. 53–59. On the case of Zeng Qiuhuang, see also Chao 1997; Damm 2005, pp. 69–70; and my more recent reappraisal in Chiang 2014, pp. 208–13.
5. On "passing" in the history of gender and sexuality, see Katz 1976, pp. 317–422; San Francisco Lesbian and Gay History Project 1989; Sullivan 1990; and Garber 1992.
6. On Reese, see Greenson 1964; Meyerowitz 2002, pp. 84–85.
7. For voices that challenged the propriety and authority of the official report, pointing out that its explicit content was too invasive of Xie's privacy and that its "scientific" tone did not pay sufficient attention to Xie's post-op psychology, see, respectively, *Lianhebao* 1955b; 1955c.
8. I thank Dr. Wen for introducing me to Miss Lai.
9. For a thick ethnographic study of contemporary transgender embodiment in Taiwan, see Ho 2006.
10. On the legacy of Japanese colonialism in the health-care system of postwar Taiwan, see, for example, Fu 2005; and Liu 2010. On scientific globalism in republican China, see, for example, Dikötter 1995, 2008; Hu 2005; Chiang 2008, 2010; Schmalzer 2008; Lam 2011; Shen 2013; Andrews 2014; Lei 2014; Tsu and Elman 2014; and Wu 2015.
11. For a detailed study of the nationalist migration from mainland China to Taiwan, see Yang 2012.
12. Although the activities of the Canadian missionary George E. Mackay represent an effort to introduce modern Western biomedicine to Taiwan before Japanese colonialism, many critics have pointed out its limited role in the formation of Taiwan's modernity. On Mackay's activities, see Fu 2005, chapter 2. On the issue of Mackay's representativeness, see Fu 2007, p. 7.

13. On the nationalization of Chinese medicine in early communist China, see Taylor 2005. For a recent study of "the Sinosphere" vis-à-vis Japan, see Fogel 2009.
14. For examples of queer cultural production in Hong Kong in the 1960s, see Weixing Shiguan Zhaizhu 1964–65. Scholars have begun to reconceptualize the history of love, intimacy, and sexuality in socialist China, but most revisionist readings are limited to discussions of heteronormative desires. See, for example, Meng 1993; Evans 1996; Larson 1999; Honig 2003; Yan 2003; and Zhang 2015.
15. The following discussion of queer Sinophonicity draws on Chiang 2013, especially pp. 37–43.
16. On the limitations of "diaspora" for the study of Chinese-language cinemas, see, for example, Yue and Khoo 2014.
17. For a historiographical rendition of the "China-centered perspective," see Cohen (1984) 2010.
18. Chien-hsin Tsai (2013), in analyzing Zhuoliu Wu's novel, characterizes Taiwan as an "orphan of Asia."
19. On the demise of Chinese castration, see Chiang 2012.
20. In October 1994, the *Isle Margin* (*Daoyu bianyuan* 島嶼边緣) magazine hosted a local workshop on queer and women's sexuality in Taipei, Taiwan. It was arguably the first sustained forum where scholars, authors, and activists debated on the proper translation and meaning of *queer* in Chinese-speaking communities. See Ho 1998. For a more recent collection of essays, see Queer Sounding Editorial Board 2009. For insightful contextualizations of queer (literary) culture in late twentieth-century Taiwan, see Chi 1997, 2017; Chu 2003; Martin 2003a, 2003b, and 2010; Sang 2003. For a historical overview of the discourses and cultures of same-sex desire in Taiwan in the two decades preceding the lifting of martial law, see Damm 2005. See also Damm 2017.
21. On the meaning, history, and politics of the term *tongzhi*, see Chou 2000. On queer culture and politics in late twentieth-century Hong Kong, see Leung 2008; Kong 2011; and Tang 2011.
22. Personal e-mail communication with Jens Damm on August 23, 2011.
23. For an erudite study of the history of twentieth-century Taiwanese (literary) thought through the lens of colonial modernity, see Chen 2004. For general historical and theoretical perspectives on colonial modernity in East Asia, see the essays in Barlow 1997.
24. This observation therefore challenges some of the conventional interpretations of Taiwanese intellectual history from the viewpoint of literature. These conventional readings tend to acknowledge the historical significance of gender and sexuality only in the context of the rise of women's/feminist literature (女性文學) and gay and lesbian literature (同志文學)—alongside the literatures of the aborigines (原住民文學), military dependents' villages (眷村文學), and environmental groups (環保文學)—in the post-1987 era. Critics have called the 1980s in Taiwan's literary history the decade of "identity literature" (認同文學). See, for example, Chen 1994 (235), 2002, and 2011.

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