



Wandering Dolls 娃娃遊蹤：

COSPLAY Journey across East Asia 東亞COSPLAY之旅

Katrien JACOBS (余幼薇) 著 Jing YANG (楊靜) 譯

出版社總序

理論上書展是一個為市民提供閱讀導賞的節目。有趣的是，香港書展每年入場人數節節上升的數字，卻總是給人錯誤的驚喜。在鋪天蓋地的宣傳裡，我們見到的只是一個和玩具展、珠寶展一樣的特賣場。或者我們應該更現實地悲觀一點，書本已不再是商品化這麼簡單，我們已分不清楚知識（knowledge）、資訊（information）和數據（data）的分別。書展並不是一個知識商品化的大型交易場所，而是一個數據交易場所。當然，我們不否定移開明星寫真和愛情小說堆砌的書山，可能偶爾讓你可以找到一些有特色的書籍，但我們也懷疑當你找到這些書時，已經沒有時間讀了。

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沈旭暉 鮑偉聰
黃培烽 許煜



Katrien Jacobs (born 1966) is a scholar, artist and activist, working as Associate Professor at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. She is the author of several books and articles about Internet culture, art and sexuality. Her work can be found on www.libidot.org/blog

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沈旭暉 鮑偉聰
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Content

Preface
Wandering Dolls
- 6 -

Preface
Eric K.W. MA
- 10 -

Preface
Travis S.K. KONG
- 12 -

Introduction
Travel Guide
- 16 -

Chapter 1
Kyoto: Animating Ball-Jointed Dolls and the Deity of Transformation
- 26 -

Chapter 2
Hong Kong: Subterranean Journey into Cross-Dressing and Transsexualism
- 60 -

Chapter 3
Beijing: Communist Events Organization and Artistic Cooperation
- 112 -

Chapter 4
Bandung: Breath of Fire in the Lucky Square's Parking Garage
- 154 -

目錄

自序
娃娃遊蹤
- 6 -

序言
馬傑偉
- 10 -

序言
江紹祺
- 12 -

簡介
導遊貼士
- 16 -

第一章
京都：人形娃娃與變身之神
- 26 -

第二章
香港：異裝扮演與變性主義的地下旅程
- 60 -

第三章
北京：共產主義活動與藝術合作
- 112 -

第四章
萬隆：幸運廣場停車場裡的噴火表演
- 154 -

I have pleasant memories of a particular evening in Amsterdam when artists and club personalities were hanging out in a backstage room of a major concert hall. They were arranging their outfits and make up for a series of performances and music concerts that would occur later that night. One of those backstage personalities was a remarkable cross-dressing blonde who walked by with a bouquet of painted tree branches and flowers weaved into a hair bun. Another was taking pictures of himself while sucking female nipples. Many others were sprawled over the chairs and couches of a tiny dressing room. The stage events were too far ahead in the evening for people to really bother about them, for there to be any degree of stage-fright. Then Doctor Zhivago (Adam Zaretsky) popped in to say hello. He was wearing rubber overalls underneath a long fur coat. Speaking for myself, I was making a moustache with hair stubs from my friend the Warbear's (Francesco Palmieri) overly fetishized beard. I tried to glue them onto my upper lip but they kept falling off. This was meant to be a loving exchange of bodily particles but one that was having "technical problems". My friend Emily Schwarzwald was there as well, and advised me that I needed to wear a different pair of shoes. She gave me her male leather pointed shoes and helped me to coordinate the rest of my outfit. I walked in her shoes all night long and, indeed, they pushed me in the right direction.

I want to share this memory with all the costume players and doll players who are featured in this book. They are the wandering, amorphous personalities who are heading towards their appointments with eccentric self-display, love, and devotion. It is a high luxury, a sensual interlude, an intensely symbolic moment to be slowly preparing to become a fictionalized entity, to become "another you". My journey focuses on the "foreplay" of this type of social ritual, looking at people gathered backstage or at the margins of sanctified entertainment and cultural venues, getting ready for a show while making the world their stage.

It is impossible or very difficult to make the journey alone, into these regions of affectation and identity information, so I am highly grateful to my companion informants and wonderfully strange allies. My travels in the East Asian region took place between 2009 and 2011, while I was living and working in Hong Kong. They encompassed ethnographic investigations into the sub-cultural ambiance of four different cultures. They show a new type of erotic bonding and cognitive intelligence among those who love Japanese and Korean ACG (animation, comics, and games) culture.

At one point during these travels, I fell into admiration for a Korean ball-jointed doll. I bought the doll for USD75 and named him Zaphy, after the Turkish Deleuzian philoso-

我至今還記得曾經有一晚的阿姆斯特丹，與幾位藝術家和夜店名流聚集在一座大型音樂廳的後台房間裡消磨的愉快時光。那晚遲些時候會有一系列的音樂演奏和舞台表演，而這些人則在後台房間裡打理著他（她）們的戲服和妝容。其中一位是頗引人注目的變裝金髮「女郎」，他濃密的髮鬚上點綴著佈滿手繪花瓣和枝葉圖案的花束；旁邊一位則忙著給自己拍照，記錄他吮吸女性乳頭的一瞬；其他不少人則懶散的坐在這小小化妝間裡僅有的幾張椅子上。天色還早，大家尚未為演出而煩，亦未曾有任何程度的怯場。當中Adam Zaretsky扮演的齊瓦哥醫生（Doctor Zhivago）跳上舞台和大家打招呼，他長長的皮草大衣下是一套橡膠罩衫。而我自己也不遜色，我從扮演戰士熊的友人Francesco Palmieri那長的出奇的絡腮鬍中剪下幾根貼在上唇當鬍子用。可惜不管我怎樣努力用膠水把這些毛髮黏好，但它們還是爭先恐後地掙脫下來掉在地上。如果不是該「技術問題」，這個行為無疑會是一次深情的身體零件大交換。我的朋友Emily Schwarzwald也來了，她不停勸我換雙鞋穿，最後還把自己的男士尖頭皮鞋借給我，協助我全身的風格協調一致。我於是整夜穿著她的鞋子走來走去。事實證明，它們還真的將我帶向正確的方向。

我想和所有於這本書提及的cosplay愛好者和模擬真人娃娃愛好者分享這段回憶。在此類活動中，大家的人格和身份總是四處游移、不斷變化，而各種轉化過程中又充滿了自我展示、相互的愛戀付出和投射。這是一種奢侈的享受、一段充滿慾望的生命插曲、一種強烈的符號交換形式，都在無聲無息、緩慢漸進的轉化成一個虛幻的整體，轉化成世界上的「另一個你」。我的旅程所關注的正是這種社交儀式的「前戲」，一路走來，我總可以觀察到人們匯集在後台或是其他邊緣化的娛樂文化場所，為爭取世界變成他（她）們的舞台作準備。

探索人們情感和身份的旅程往往難以獨自成行，所以我非常感謝每一個既陌生又熱情的旅伴和接受我們訪問的人。2009年到2011年的兩年裡，我在香港生活工作，抽出幾乎所有的假期和閒暇時間完成了本書所載的東亞旅行。我一共探訪了四個不同文化背景的城市，在那裡進行民族誌田野調查，理解和探索當地次文化的生存狀態。這次旅行讓我有機會看到各地熱愛日韓動漫文化（動畫、漫畫和遊戲）的年輕人們如何發展出新鮮的情色聯繫和智能技術。

在旅途的某一站，我愛上了一個韓國製造的球形關節娃娃，就用75美元買下他，並給他取名Zaphy，藉此紀念土耳其德勒茲派哲學家Zafer Aracagök。在

pher Zafer Aracagök. Zaphy is presented here as the main interviewer of ethnographic subjects, though in actuality these interviews were prepared in collaboration with other researchers, and often carried out by assistants and translators. Zaphy stands for the many individuals who garnered data, who asked many of the questions in many different languages, and who helped me document the encounters. I constructed Zaphy as a charming interviewer to preserve consistency and flow among a massive amount of chaotic data and to, yet again, bring forth another possibility into the playful game of identity transformation.

Thank you Gary Wong, Miu Chan and Peter Kong at Roundtable Synergy Books for making a dream come true and for thinking through the details of this odd book.

I would like to thank all those involved: Jing Yang for being an impressive genius in pulling all these research efforts together as coordinator, in addition to translating the text into Chinese; Anne Peirson Smith and Andrew Guthrie for conceptualizing and co-organizing the conference – “Extra/Ordinary Dresscode: Costuming and the Second Skin in Asia” at City University of Hong Kong.

I thank all the designers, artists, videographers, and photographers: Henry Chu, Ignacio Garcia, Andrew Guthrie, and Kal Ng. Thanks also to the team of transcribers: Carole Liu, Bing Czeng, Yang Jing, Elaine Kustedja, Nicola Tsang, Diane To, Dominica Yung, John Yeung, and Carmen Tsui.

My deep respect to all the costume players, doll players and cross-dressers who are featured in this study: Maggie Leung, Joanne Leung, Omena, Natalie and Max, Franseca, Atomzi, Phoenix, and Woody, all members of the Renmin University Cosplay Team, Miss Ma and all members of the Lunar Cosplay Family, more specifically Anggia Angling Kusuman, Maulana Yudha and Kazu Huyn.

Special thanks to Bonni Rambatan for guidance and expert feedback when we touched down in Bandung, Indonesia.

Also thanks to Antonia Hernandez and Gabriel, Shu Lea Cheang, Sarah Van Ingelgom of Blue Lotus Gallery and the Hong Kong fashion designer Ma for helping me prepare special outfits for our interviewer, the ball-jointed doll, Zaphy.

Very special thanks to my husband Andrew Guthrie for his love and support, and editing the English texts.

This project was partially funded by the Hong Kong University Grants Council, through the GRF Grant – “Gothic Lolita Unchained: The Appropriation of Japanese Animation Narratives and Gender Discourses in China Digital Media Contexts”.

本書中，Zaphy更成為聰明靈巧的民族學訪問員，儘管這些訪問通常是我在研究助理和翻譯人員的幫助下進行。所以Zaphy代表了參與研究的每個人，代表了每個幫助我蒐集資料、以不同語言進行訪問及記錄研究進程的講各種不同語言的人。書中的Zaphy被我塑造為一個魅力四溢的採訪人，以便保持文章的連貫性，也使得讀者能夠避免迷失在大量紛雜的人物和資料中，當然引入Zaphy這個虛擬角色也為本書增添了另一重樂趣——向讀者呈現身份轉化遊戲的無限可能。

感謝圓桌精英出版社的黃培烽、陳嫻嫻與江田雀為這本奇異的書作仔細的打點，讓它成真。

在這裡我想向所有參與此項研究的人們表示感謝：感謝楊靜（Jing Yang），她不但將全部文字翻譯成中文，更做為協調人四處聯絡協助研究進程和出版事宜；感謝Anne Peirson Smith和Andrew Guthrie，他（她）們幫助我策劃和組織了在香港城市大學舉辦的國際學術會議「非／一般服飾規範：戲服和第二皮膚」（Extra/ Ordinary Dresscode: Costuming and the Second Skin）。

我也感謝所有參與研究的設計人員、藝術家、攝影師和攝像師：Henry Chu、Ignacio Garcia、Andrew Guthrie和Kal Ng；以及將所有訪問音視頻資料的轉錄人員：Carole Liu、Bing Czeng、Yang Jing、Elaine Kustedja、Nicola Tsang、Diane To、Dominica Yung、John Yeung和Carmen Tsui。

我更願在此向本書記載的所有cosplay愛好者、球形關節娃娃愛好者和變裝愛好者表示最深的敬意：Maggie Leung、Joanne Leung、Omena、Natalie與Max、雷公（Franseca）、Atomzi、Phoenix和Woody、人民大學Cosplay社團的所有成員、馬阿姨、Lunar cosplay家族的所有成員，特別是Anggia Angling Kusuman、Maulana Yudha 和 Kazu Huyn。

我還要特別感謝Bonni Rambatan在印尼萬隆市為我們提供嚮導服務和專業反饋。

同時，我也要感謝Antonia Hernandez與Gabriel、Shu Lea Cheang、香港Blue Lotus畫廊的Sarah Van Ingelgom，以及為我們的訪問員——Zaphy提供特別服飾的香港時尚馬設計師。

非常感謝我的丈夫Andrew Guthrie對我一貫的愛護和支持，感謝他幫助我編輯本書的英文文稿。

本書的部份內容源於由香港大學教育資助委員會資助的優配研究項目——「不受束縛的哥德式洛麗塔：中國電子媒介語境內對日本動漫敘事與性別話語的挪用」。

This book offers a very compelling and readable visual ethnographic account of cosplay, with a strong sense of “being there”. The writing strategy Katrien adopts is the very kind of expressive style of ethnographic writing that I admire. Rather than hiding inside the shell of academic jargon, she chooses to stand at the edge of life worlds. Following her narrative, I can actually see the writer little by little—her sentiment of being “out of place”, her virtual endeavor in the imaginative world of dolls, her generous friendship and empathy for her interviewees—all of which tells us readers about the changes and progressions she has experienced both intellectually and emotionally during this journey.

At the same time, her exquisite and sensitive depictions draw readers into a deeper involvement with the characters and stories in this book: the eccentric youthfulness of that doll with his blinking eyes, the agonized boy applying cosmetics in the confined Tsuen Wan room, the erotic foreplay and games lingering in the grey zone, constrained by the political and religious regulations of Beijing and Bandung... The author’s detailed articulation leads readers to step back from their quest for exotic novelties, helps them to enter the daily life of transgendered people and cosplayers, and hence invites them to start their own interpretive re-reading and rediscovery and reflection. The abundant dialogue and complex networks also make it possible to shift one’s perspective from a fixed angle to that of an embodied investigator. I have a number of friends who are dedicated to the study of the cosplay communities, but very few can transcend a judgmental viewpoint in their work and make the subjects’ voices heard; Katrien’s Wandering Doll has successfully achieved these goals. Maybe it is the kind of emotion and the desires that Katrien directly projects onto her virtual doll identity which enables her to experience the subjectivity that her interviewees embody.

What is particularly encouraging in this book is the extensive adventure the author undertakes. With rich data collected in mainland China, Hong Kong, Japan, and Indonesia, she conjectures several trans-bordered, non-Western tendencies in the process of comparison. Such trans-bordered flow radiates from the “visual center” in Japan and has its potential to develop a regional and comparative perspective, modifying popular globalization theories centering the “West”.

Today, everyone is more or less used to imagine and construct him/herself with “visual fantasy images”. Doll lovers, cosplayers, and even cross-dressers are just sub-cultural groups inside the big family of consumers. Other popular cultures like slimming, fitness, cosmetic surgery and various forms of “life styling” are also different ways for people to superimpose their visual fantasies onto themselves. With a focus on visibility, body and identity, this book also helps readers understand body politics of consumer culture in general. I believe the author will offer a more theoretical account in her other publications related to this research project.

Thank Katrien for her efforts in publishing her work in Chinese and her willingness to communicate with Chinese readers. I believe this book will not only help the general public know more about the nature of subcultures, but also encourage more scholars in the writing of visual ethnography.

Eric K.W. MA
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The Chinese University of Hong Kong
May 2011

這是一部很有感染力和現場感的視覺民族誌。Katrien所採用的書寫策略，是我心目中所嚮往的民族誌表述風格。作者不是躲在學術的硬殼內，她選擇站立在生活世界的前沿，從書寫的脈絡我一步一步看見作者本身，她那異鄉人「鄉關何處」的思緒、她參與娃娃想像的擬真探索、她給予訪談對象的友誼及關懷，字裡行間告訴了讀者她在進行民族誌研究的思考歷程與感情變化。

此外，作者細緻與敏感的描述讓人如臨現場：日本京都那冰冷如殯儀館的娃娃展館、那眨眼娃娃的詭異青春、香港荃灣小房間內那個正在化妝的苦澀男生、中國北京與印尼萬隆那些在政治與道德規條下遊走的情色遊戲……細節的描述讓讀者逐步修正獵奇印象而進入跨性別人士與cosplayer的生活日程，並打開了再認識、再反思的門徑。大量的對話與關係網絡令視線由定點現場走到社群勘察。我有不少朋友試圖研究cosplayer社群，但鮮有如這部娃娃遊蹤那樣翻過層層判斷的高牆，從容不迫地述說人物的所思所感。也許是Katrien直接投向娃娃虛擬人物自身的感情與慾望，令作者某程度上參與「被研究」對象的主體之中。

更難的是，作者的遊蹤遍及中國、香港、日本、印尼，對比異同的分析，推敲出跨地域的一些非西方趨勢。這方面的概括性結論也許還要進一步探求，但比較研究的力量在於跨越特例，看出亞洲的共相。由日本的「視覺核心」擴散而出的跨界流動，更有潛力發展出「區域傳播」的觀點，修正以西方帝國為核心的全球化理論。

今天人們或多或少以「視覺幻想形象」想像並塑造自身。娃娃族、cosplayer、變裝者只是現代消費家族內的次社群，其他普及文化如瘦身、健身、形象改造等消費方式，事實上也是多種多樣的視覺幻想加於己身。這本書聚焦於視覺／身體／身份的議題，對理解今天各種廣泛的身體政治尤其重要。我相信作者會在這研究項目的其他論文中做出更為理論化的陳述。

最後，我希望藉此引言感謝Katrien就中文書寫的努力；她願意花費額外的精力和時間以中文發表研究成果，想必出於人文關懷以及與華語讀者溝通的意願，多於回應今天學術機構狹隘的制度性要求。希望這本書不單加深了一般讀者對次文化的瞭解，而且能鼓勵更多學者加入視覺民族誌的書寫行列。

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2011年5月

Katrien is queer!

In a very “straight” sense, this does not seem to be the case as she is married to a man, predominantly heterosexual, European, middle-class, etc. She thus embodies all the “identity components” in terms of gender, sexuality, class and race that potentially negate, deny and erase any queerness of her. However, to me, she is definitely queer. This can be seen from her “incestuous” relationship with her own created gender-bending son Zaphy, her passionate engagements with her “perverse” research personalities and cosplay characters, her provocative “pornographic” pedagogy, as well as her artistic works on (auto-) eroticism and digital cultures. It is through these practices that she challenges the boundary between good/bad, normal/abnormal, healthy/sick, science/fiction, reality/fantasy, etc. that demonstrates what queer actually is. Queer, for her, is more about attitude than it is about identity and less about reasoning than about having an affective creativity that is always unsettled with the norm, constantly dissatisfied with normativity and persistently resistant to normalization.

Katrien’s *Wandering Dolls* is such a pleasant queer read. I love Zaphy (and would love to meet him in real life!) and I am totally drawn by his enigmatic charm. This little creature is like a queer Little Prince who is born in the Queer Planet and arrives to Earth full of curiosity. Always in his best designed outfits (!), he brings us to see different sorts of beings – humans, post-humans, cyborgs, avatars, androids, dolls, Lolitas – and travels with us to many different places such as Hong Kong, Beijing, Kyoto and Bandung. This journey nicely unfolds through the four chapters of this visual ethnographic travelogue.

In an interview, sociologist Ulrich Beck uses “the family” as an example of a “zombie category” – one that once had life and meaning but for many now means little or something very different. Katrien revives the very meaning of the family in her own life. Her family includes not just her blood family in Belgium or her immediate family of Zaphy, her husband and her Facebook “daughter” but also a new circle of friends whose desires, identities and behaviours have been rejected and excluded by their own families and whose performances, communities and alliances have been marginalized and stigmatized by societies. This new circle of friends constitutes a new definition of family – or what we may call “family of choice”. Katrien seems to be the mother of this “brave family” and constantly gives love, care and support to these queer kids, thereby expanding our limited understanding of family and kinship.

Katrien絕對是個酷兒！

儘管「直」看上去這個說法並不成立，因為她是一位歐裔、中產階級、已婚的異性戀女子，即是說她所有的「身份構成」——性別、性向、階級及種族等等——無一不在否認、拒絕並抹掉她身上絲絲縷縷的酷兒氣質。然而於我來說，她卻是個不折不扣的酷兒。無論是從她和自己創造的跨性別兒子Zaphy發展出的「亂倫」關係，還是從她對研究「變態的」人格及cosplay角色的狂熱投入，還是從她極富刺激性的「色情化」教育方式，抑或是從她早前關於自淫主義與數碼文化的論著，她的酷兒特質都一覽無遺。正是在這些活動中，Katrien挑戰了各種二元對立的疆界——好／壞、正常／不正常、健康／病態、科學／虛構、現實／幻想，展現給大家酷兒到底是什麼。對她而言，酷兒並不僅僅是關於身份的挑戰，更是關於態度的選擇；不僅僅是理性的推斷，更是不斷質疑規範的、情感充沛的創造能力，它總是不滿於社會的規範性，並堅持反抗對其進行正常化和規範化的手段。

Katrien的《娃娃遊蹤》真是一本讀來清新愉悅的酷兒作品。我很喜愛Zaphy（也希望能在現實生活中見他一面！），並完全被他的謎樣風采吸引到。這個小小的造物如同是酷兒小王子，他出生於酷兒星球，在地球上初來乍到、充滿好奇。他總是穿著最好的時裝現身（！），引領我們一睹各式各樣的生靈存在——人類、後人類、賽柏格、虛擬化身、人形機械人、人形娃娃、洛麗塔——更和我們一同踏上旅途各地，如香港、北京、京都和萬隆。這本視覺民族誌旅遊手記則會細分四個章節，將這段旅程娓娓道來。

社會學家伍爾利希·貝克（Ulrich Beck）在一次訪問中將「家庭」視為「殭屍概念」之一——「殭屍概念」是指曾一度擁有自己生命和意義的概念，但如今對大多數人而言，它們的內涵不是太過空泛就是早已和原意大相逕庭。Katrien則在自己的生命中使得家庭這個概念重生。除了她遠在比利時的血緣親屬，以及她與Zaphy、她的丈夫及她在Facebook上的「女兒」所組成的家庭外，她的「自選家庭」還包括許多新朋友——這些人的慾望、身份和行為都被他（她）們自己的家人排斥和拒絕，他（她）們的表演、社群和盟友

Hong Kong needs Katrien. Not just due to the fact that she is famous in using provocative and controversial materials as a tool of pedagogy in helping students understand digital networks, media technologies, arts and censorship but also because of the fact that her work brings a new direction to academic endeavour. She always embeds herself with her researched personalities, challenges conventional research methodology with creative and audiovisual documentation, blurs academic disciplines with artistic creation, and expands our imaginations of the impossible. Katrien's works are passionately charged and ethnographically rich, and more than that, her obsession with the "otherness" and "performativity" reveals the queerness and creativity of our everyday life ordinaries.

Wandering Dolls is ideal for people who are into animation cultures, digital arts and cultural studies. A must read.

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May 2011

也都被社會邊緣化和污名化。Katrien則成為這個「勇敢之家」的母親，為這些酷兒孩子不斷獻上愛、關懷和支持，從而使我們對於家庭和親緣的有限理解得到擴展和延伸。

香港需要Katrien。這不僅僅因為她善於利用頗具刺激性和爭議性的材料作為教育工具幫助學生們認識和理解數碼網絡、媒體技術、藝術與審查，更是由於她的作品為學術探索指出新的方向。她總是將自己嵌入她所研究的人格之中，以極富創意的影音記錄挑戰傳統的研究方法，更擴充了我們對於不可能疆域的想像。她的作品不但富有激情，而且提供了豐富的民族誌資料，更為難得的是她對「他者」（otherness）和「表演性」（performativity）的癡迷揭示出我們平凡的日常生活的酷兒性和創造性。

對於喜歡或有志於動漫文化、數碼文化和文化研究的人來說，《娃娃遊蹤》不啻是一本理想之選，一本不可錯過的必備讀物。

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2011年5月

Introduction

This book of journeys started many years ago when I expanded my cultural boundaries and made my first trips to the East Asian region. I started observing types of masquerade and social rituals within the popular arts and animation cultures. More specifically, I became fascinated with people who artfully recreate themselves as individuals or collectives through visual fantasy figures such as Cosplayers, avatars, androids, dolls, and Lolitas.

This travel diary offers samples of the photographs and video footage of different people and places. They can be seen as my ethnographic fieldtrips into the uncanny imagination—a quest for a new social order as it is developed by different artists and subcultures. But these fieldtrips also reflect my own journey into a “fantasy family,” or my ongoing need to spin stories as a way of dealing with alienation from my home country and traditional family life.

簡介

這本旅行見聞錄源於幾年前我為擴展自己的文化視野第一次走訪東亞地區的經歷。從那時起，我開始在流行藝術與動漫文化中細心觀察種種假面舞會似的邂逅和社交禮儀。更確切的說，讓我著迷的是人們如何絕妙的借助於視覺幻想形象，例如cosplay愛好者、虛擬人物、人型機械人、娃娃和洛麗塔，來重建個體或是共同體。

這本旅行手記收納了許多關於不同人物和地點的圖片和影像。它們可視作是我對民族誌田野考察的神秘幻想進程——對由藝術家和次文化建立的新社會秩序的追求。與此同時，這些田野考察也折射出我本人邁向「幻想家族」的親身旅程，或不如說這些屢經加工甚至扭曲的旅途故事多少透露了我這個異鄉人遠離故土和家人的獨特情懷。

Travel Guide

導遊貼士



Chapter 1

Kyoto: Animating Ball-Jointed Dolls and the Deity of Transformation

- Visit to the Home of Angels -
- Memory of Doll Yoko -
- Inari Fox Shrine and the Supernatural Fox -
- Kitsunetsuki: Being Possessed by a Fox -
- Gay Boy With the Mask -
- Madonna Surrounded by Her Angels -
- Knock off Doll Models -
- Interview with Hong Kong Doll Owners -
- Blythism.net -
- Sleeping Angels Are they Dead? -
- Zaphy's Veiling -
- Heinrich Von Kleist -
- Android and Geminoid Science -
- Innovation 25 -
- Cross-Racial Procreation -

Chapter 2

Hong Kong: Subterranean Journey into Cross-Dressing and Transsexualism

- Departing from New Town Plaza -
- Meeting Maggie with Her Suitcase -
- Otaku and Rotating Stage -
- ACG in HK Convention & Exhibition Center -
- Mizuki & Hell Girl -
- Gothic Lolita -
- Transformation in City University of Hong Kong -
- Tsuen Wan the Old Town -
- Secret Apartment of Cross-Dressers -
- On the roof of IFC -
- Queer Family in Sheung Wan -
- Inside a Closet with a Revolving Door -

第一章

京都：人形娃娃與變身之神

- 拜訪天使之家 -
- Yoko 娃娃的回憶 -
- 伏見稻荷大社與超自然狐狸 -
- Kitsunetsuki：狐狸附身術 -
- 戴面具的同性戀男子 -
- 天使環繞的聖母像 -
- 山寨娃娃模型 -
- 訪問香港娃娃愛好者 -
- Blythism.net -
- 沉睡天使們是否已經死去？ -
- Zaphy 也得戴面紗 -
- 克萊斯特 (Heinrich Von Kleist) -
- 人形機械人和雙子流星科技 -
- 創新25計劃 -
- 跨越種族的繁衍 -

第二章

香港：異裝扮演與變性主義的地下旅程

- 從新城市廣場出發 -
- 與拉著行李箱的Maggie會合 -
- 御宅族與旋轉舞台 -
- 會展中心內的香港動漫展 -
- 蘆屋瑞稀 (Mizuki) 和地獄女孩 -
- 哥德洛麗塔 -
- 在城市大學裡變身 -
- 荃灣舊區 -
- 異裝人士的秘密公寓 -
- 在國際金融中心的天台 -
- 上環的酷兒家族 -
- 旋轉門後的衣櫥內 -

Chapter 3

Beijing: Communist Events Organization and Artistic Cooperation

- A Glance Back at Belgium -
- Divine Comedy & The Lukewarm Person -
- Getting Married/Divorced in Animation Garden -
- No Homosexual Marriage on Nongfu Mountain -
 - Yaoi: Love between Beautiful Boys -
- University Hotel & Communist Management -
- Imagining Families in Renmin University -
 - Mr. Lei & Branches of Cosplay -
 - ChinaJoy -
 - Male Sex Workers Rivalries -
 - NKLN Family -
 - Miss Ma the Tailor -
 - Vocaloid -
- Shooting Japan 1925 in 798 -

Chapter 4

Bandung: Breath of Fire in the Lucky Square's Parking Garage

- Lost in Bandung -
- Bonni the Guide -
- Publishing Boy Love in Indonesia -
 - Fadhila: a Cosplayer in Veil -
 - Polymorphous Perversity -
- Peterporn Scandal & Pornography Law -
 - Poppish Lovish in Lucky Square -
 - Crossplay in Indonesia -
- Fire-Breathing in the Garage -

第三章

北京：共產主義活動與藝術合作

- 回眸比利時 -
- 《神曲》與不冷不熱之人 -
- 在動漫花園裡結婚/離婚 -
- 農夫山裡禁止同性戀婚姻 -
 - 耽美：美少年之戀 -
- 大學旅館中的共產主義管理模式 -
- 在人民大學裡暢想幻想性家庭 -
 - 雷公：中國Cosplay分支 -
 - ChinaJoy -
 - 兩個妓院裡的男性工作者 -
 - NKLN 家族 -
 - 裁縫馬阿姨 -
 - Vocaloid -
- 在798拍攝1925年的日本 -

第四章

萬隆：幸運廣場停車場裡的噴火表演

- 迷失萬隆 -
- 導遊Bonni -
 - 在印尼出版耽美作品 -
- Fadhila: 戴面紗的cosplay愛好者 -
 - 千變萬化的變態性 -
 - 色情彼得潘醜聞與色情法 -
- 幸運廣場上的Poppish Lovish社團 -
 - 異裝角色扮演在印尼 -
 - 車庫裡的噴火功 -



Chapter 1

Kyoto: Animating Ball-Jointed Dolls and the Deity of Transformation

第一章

京都：人形娃娃與變身之神



I am heading to Kyoto and taking my ball-jointed doll Zaphy with me, donned in his own graduate student outfit designed by a Hong Kong fashion expert. I wanted to buy him his own tiny suitcase but it turned out to be too expensive. I bought this ball-jointed doll when visiting the mini-malls for Japanese and Korean commodities in Hong Kong. I interviewed several shop owners and doll lovers and then fell for a male doll of the Korean brand Pullip. It also made my work as a researcher much easier when I started making appearances with this enigmatic creature, my own imagined "perfect son" and alter ego, as people would be drawn to his charm, his immaculate outfits, and his gender-fluid personality.

We are traveling together to a special place in Kyoto, *Tenshi-no-Sato*, the Home of Angels, or the museum of Super Dollfie dolls, owned and managed by the Japanese company Volks. These are expensive ball-jointed dolls that have recently gained great popularity, establishing a global fan base. Their faces and bodies are made of a hard type of resin that resembles porcelain and are painted in delicate shades of cream. Some of them have very pale complexions, combined with red or green metallic hair, thus, they radiate an air of violence and/ or death.



I have become immersed in the fantasy families of ball-jointed dolls, with all the titillating manipulations of their lives and emotional significance. My boundless curiosity is unfolding here, and a desire for animating these humanoid forms is building up so elegantly and slowly that I don't even notice it. I am gazing and snooping around the doll zones like a happy tourist, splurging on these Japanese dioramas filled with human replicas and their awkward manners of living. I feel drawn to these

scenes of beauty and human excess and cannot easily control my movements, but there is no hope of ever really melting into the scenario. I will zip through sceneries, but I am excluded from the core of their physical existences and cultural histories. This perspective stems from my own unique traveler's point of view and reminds me that I carry along my own cultural baggage and individual obsessions, my past experiences of my little homeland and native language, complete with a large Belgian family and an unusual educational upbringing.

這次京都之旅我有球形關節娃娃 (ball-jointed doll) Zaphy 全程相伴，而他的全部旅行裝備不過是一件由香港時尚達人設計的畢業生襯衫。我原本想給他配上一個迷你手提箱，卻在箱子昂貴的價格前景而卻步。Zaphy 是我從香港一家販賣日韓產品的小型商場裡買到的。我與幾名店舖東主及娃娃愛好者進行訪問期間，一眼就看中這個韓國 Pullip 公司的男性娃娃。Zaphy 就像是另一個我 (alter ego)，又像是我虛擬的「完美孩子」。當我一開始帶著他一起進行研究探訪，我就驚喜地察覺我的工作格外的順利。人們樂於親近這個謎一般的小玩意，欣賞他的獨特魅力、品味他的完美造型，更琢磨他在兩性特質之間不斷游移的別緻風格。

我們京都之行的目的地格外獨特，名喚天使之家，又名人形娃娃博物館 (*Tenshi-no-Sato*)，該館由日本 Volks 公司擁有和管理。這些價值不菲的球形關節娃娃近來在全球掀起一股流行狂潮，世界各地都有它們的忠實粉絲。它們的面孔和身體採用一種質地較硬的樹脂材料製作，以便呈現出陶瓷板細膩的感覺，外層被塗上精緻柔和的奶油系色彩。有幾個娃娃膚色蒼白，再加上或紅或綠的金屬色頭髮，散發出暴力與／或死亡的氣息。



我漸漸沉浸在球形娃娃的幻想家庭裡，興奮得操控著它們的情感與生命。我被自己源源不絕的好奇心推使到這裡，愈來愈想為這些人形造物注入生命。這股慾望優雅而緩慢地在我體內流動，而我對它的存在卻絲毫不覺。我好像變成一個流連忘返的觀光客，聚精會神的看著這些人形複製品及它們笨拙可愛的行為姿態。我簡直被眼前的人形複製品美景迷得控制不了自己，但我也知道自己永無機會親身融會到這幅景像中，因為即便我可以在娃娃之家裡來回穿梭，我仍然被隔絕在它們獨特的存在方式和文化歷史之外。我獨特的遊客身份不斷提醒自己畢竟我也總是背負著自己的一切——我的文化背景和個人經歷、我的故鄉和母語、我那龐大的比利時家庭和異乎常人的教育背景。

I first came to Kyoto in 2001 after I had talked to my Australian friend and fellow scholar-artist Francesca da Rimini. I had interviewed her about her work with avatars and her charming alter ego - *Doll Yoko*. She told me that she had invented *Doll Yoko* while staying in the pristine hills near Kyoto and through daily online conversations with her friend Ricardo Domingues. *Doll Yoko* has invented her own mythology. She is a little girl who was drowned at birth and came back to life as a ghost that sought revenge. As the slogan on her web site indicates, "All women are ghosts and should be rightly feared"¹.



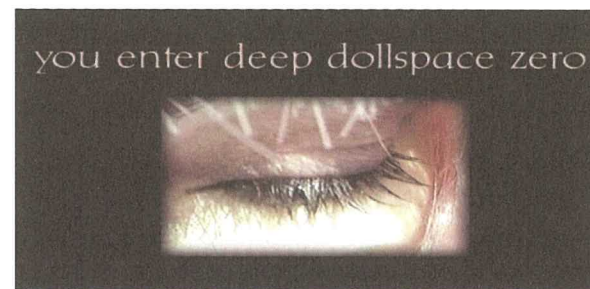
Doll Yoko is a powerful and beastly little girl who "swims up from the crater mud pond of dead girls... and places her moss damp lips on yours and kisses you tenderly... Her pale hands perform gentle inquisitions upon your flesh form as she haunts your imagination, bruising your skin with her words". Her words and stories are dark prophecies yet she was constructed as a fragile, cute or possibly innocent little sister. She is a ghost who can hover around and observe unknown or mysterious environments without knowing all their ancient histories or cultural force fields. The myth of the ghost was a strategic invention to denote an agent who was compelled to traverse the spaces that would normally be off limits and regulated by taboo. Sometimes da Rimini dressed up in the Japanese doll-like outfits of maids and Lolitas in order to make her alter ego more present.

She talked fondly of her stay in Kyoto and advised me to pay a visit to the Inari Fox Shrine, which is a large Shinto temple devoted to the god Inari and guarded by *Kitsune* or the supernatural fox. In Japanese mythology, the fox is a spirit which takes on different female or male guises and is considered to be a deity of transformation (*Henge*). The fox is a shape-shifter which can take the form of a human and especially prefers the look of a beautiful woman. It was common belief in medieval Japan that any woman encountered alone, especially at dusk or night, could actually be a fox. When visiting the Inari temple or Fox Shrine near Kyoto, one enters through a majestic exhibit of fox statues and an elongated gate of bright orange poles. The old country trails around and leading to the temple are plentiful and lush. One can inhale the greenery and vapors of these old hills while encountering hundreds of fox statues.

¹ The website (<http://dollyoko.thinq.net/>) is an interactive fiction and collaboration between Francesca da Rimini, Ricardo Domingues and Michael Grimm.

我第一次來京都都是2001年。那趟旅行之前，我剛剛訪問了澳大利亞籍友人、學者和藝術家弗蘭切斯卡·達·里米尼 (Francesca da Rimini)。我們談起她就虛擬化身 (Avatar, 即人類在電腦及網絡中通過各種符號實現的自我呈現) 所做的藝術創作, 也提到了她的第二自我魅力四射的Yoko娃娃。她告訴我創作Yoko娃娃的靈感來自她在京都近郊的原始丘陵上與友人Ricardo Domingues的日常網上聯繫。一次, 她從網路交談中得到靈感和啟發, 即興創作出了Yoko娃娃。Yoko娃娃則繼續書寫著自己的神話——Yoko出生當天就被人溺死在水中, 不久後她化身復仇幽靈重返人間。在Yoko娃娃網站上, 懸掛著這樣的宣言: 「每個女人都是幽靈, 你們應當畏懼她¹。」Yoko娃娃是個大而充滿獸性的女孩, 她「從堆滿火山灰的死亡女孩之湖游來……她將自己陰冷霉爛的唇印在你的唇上, 溫柔地吻你……她蒼白的雙手在你的血肉之軀上摸索, 而她口中吐露的字句則能纏繞住你的思想、鞭撻你的肌膚。」雖然Yoko娃娃的故事活是黑暗和恐怖的預言, 但她本人卻被塑造為一個脆弱、可愛甚至天真的小妹妹。她是一個即便她對當地歷史背景一無所知, 也可以在未知的神秘地帶上空盤旋俯視的靈魂。鬼魂的意象是被戰略性的創作出來作為呈現一個能夠自由進出禁忌之地的能動形象。弗蘭切斯卡本人有時也會穿上日式娃娃服裝, 打扮成女僕或是洛麗塔來表現她的另一個自我。

她津津有味的回憶著京都的生活, 還建議我去參觀稻荷大社 (Inari Fox Shrine) ——一座供奉著稻荷神 (Inari) 的、由狐仙 (Kitsune) 或超自然狐狸守衛的大型神道廟宇。在日本神話中, 狐狸是一種特殊的靈魂, 它能假扮成男人或女人的形象出現在人間, 因此被視為變身之神 (Henge)。狐狸的外形可以不斷變化, 它們能以人類形象出現, 更熱衷於變身為美女。在中世紀的日本, 人們普遍相信他們邂逅的單身女子, 尤其是在夜晚及黃昏見到的那些, 多為狐狸所變。當你走進稻荷大社或是京都近郊的狐仙神廟時, 首先映入眼簾的就是一座座輝煌壯觀的狐狸雕像, 緊接著就會看到一條由鮮橙色石柱組成的大門。神廟四野是鬱鬱蔥蔥的古老鄉村。在成百座狐狸雕像腳下, 輕輕吸一口氣, 就能嚙到古山的青蔥氣息。



¹ 該網站 (<http://dollyoko.thinq.net/>) 是三位藝術家的互動合作作品, 他(她)們是弗蘭切斯卡·達·里米尼 (Francesca da Rimini)、里卡多·多明哥茲 (Ricardo Domingues) 和米可·格林姆 (Michael Grimm)。

The fox is also known to sometimes enter a human being. *Kitsunetsuki* in Japanese literally means *the state of being possessed by a fox*. The victim is almost always a young woman whom the fox enters beneath her fingernails or through her breasts. Those afflicted with this demonic force would sometimes behave like wailing witches or hysterics (exactly like those from Western folklore). Japan scholar Hearn writes that besides these symptoms of madness, a strange kind of drifting lump would sometimes appear on the body:

Strange is the madness of those into whom demon foxes enter. Sometimes they run naked shouting through the streets. Sometimes they lie down and froth at the mouth, and yelp as a fox yelps. And on some part of the body of the possessed a moving lump appears under the skin, which seems to have a life of its own. Prick it with a needle, and it glides instantly to another place. By no grasp can it be so tightly compressed by a strong hand that it will not slip from under the fingers².

The lump keeps slipping away from underneath our fingers, keeps defying our anxiety and challenging our care for the afflicted person. But this person is also building up a new life, as s/he easily acquires new languages and will start to get very hungry, craving specific types of food:

Possessed folk are also said to speak and write languages of which they were totally ignorant prior to possession. They eat only what foxes are believed to like—*tofu*, *aburagé*, *azukimeshi*, etc.—and they eat a great deal, alleging that not they, but the possessing foxes, are hungry³.



In old Japanese medicine, *kitsunetsuki* is still listed as a specifically ethnic psychosis. Symptoms include hunger and "cravings for rice or sweet red beans, listlessness, rest-

² Lafcadio Hearn, *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan* (Project Gutenberg e-text edition, 2005), 158 (accessed on November 20 2006).

³ *Ibidem*.

狐狸的名聲也和牠時而侵入人類身體的能力有關。日語中「*kitsunetsuki*」一詞的字面含義就是「狐狸附身術」。受害者通常都是年輕女性，狐狸從她們的指甲蓋下或是胸部進入她們的身體。這些染上魔鬼力量的女人有時會像女巫般歇斯底里、嚎啕不休（和西方民間傳說中的女巫們簡直一模一樣）。日本學者小泉八雲（Hearn）寫道除了這些瘋狂的表徵，這些女人身上有時還會出現不斷轉移的腫塊：

這些被魔狐附體的女人表現出奇特的瘋狂。她們有時在街上裸奔，還大聲吼叫；有時又仰天躺著口吐白沫，像狐狸一樣尖聲驚叫。她們的皮膚下有一些會移動的腫塊；那些腫塊彷彿是活著的生靈一樣動來動去。如果你用針輕扎它們，它們會馬上滑倒身體的其他地方去。沒有人能夠用手緊緊抓住它們，因為它們總能從你的指尖劃走²。

腫塊不斷從我們指下靈活的滑開，公然嘲笑著我們的焦慮，也阻止我們治療狐狸附身的女人。可同時，被狐狸附體的人也在創造新的生活，他（她）們不費吹灰之力就學會了新語言，並飢餓難耐、想要食用新的食物品種：

被狐狸上身的人會書寫和使用他（她）們之前根本不懂的語言。他（她）們只吃狐狸喜歡的食物——豆腐、油炸豆腐、小豆飯等等。他（她）們的食量驚人，這說明真正飢餓的是進入這些人體內的狐狸而不是這些被附體的人³。



而在日本古代醫學中，*kitsunetsuki*則被列為一種特別的民族性精神病，其症狀包括飢餓以及「特別想吃米和紅豆、精神倦怠、心神不寧、討厭與他人的

² 小泉八雲（Lafcadio Hearn）：《在陌生的日本一瞥》（*Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*）（古登堡計劃電子版，2005年），頁158，擷取於2006年11月20日。

³ 同上。

lessness, and aversion to eye contact⁴." Some foxes are like vampires who feed on the life or spirit of humans by means of sexual contact. The lustful fox has the ability to melt into unsuspecting humans and once settled there, will concoct endless manipulations that closely resemble his/her life. The fox's supernatural abilities include "possession, mouths or tails that generate fire or lightning (known as *kitsune-bi*; literally, *fox-fire*), willful manifestation in the dreams of others, flight, invisibility, and the creation of illusions so elaborate as to be almost indistinguishable from reality⁵."



The demonic and lustful fox later morphed into a popular character in the stories of manga and anime. The motif of lust and possession is reinterpreted in the animation sub-genre of *Yaoi*, which are homosexual love stories between men but written for female readers. These stories show idealized effeminate males who are prone to complicated, tortured, and uneven relations. For instance, a manga entitled *Kitsune no Yome* (The Fox's Bride)⁶ is a good example of how the fox figure has entered a modern decadent fiction and fantasy character. In this manga, a boy named Akane from middle school is cornered at night and molested by a human male wearing a fox mask. Three years later, he is still suffering from his trauma and he is thus incited to remember and relive its violent erotic variations. The different pages and frames develop and recall this scary and abusive encounter. It is left open as to whether Akane is going through another memory blast or having a new physical encounter. The story slowly develops into a theme of ongoing lust and overt sexuality between the two gay boys.

These overtly or more subtle erotic yaoi animations are mostly marketed to women, who sometimes call themselves *fujoshi* or "rotten" girls and have existed as a specific fan group for about 40 years. Their obsessive and perverse inclinations have allowed for the creation of DIY products that are distributed all over Asia. In the story of *Kitsune no Yome* (The Fox's Bride), one can see that the tropes of illicit desire and identity transformation are deeply embedded in Japanese folklore.



眼神接觸⁴」。有些狐狸像吸血鬼一樣吸食人類的生命或魂魄，而吸食方法就是和人類進行性接觸。這些淫蕩的狐狸精通附身術，它們一旦附身於某人，就會不斷操控這人的生活卻不會被其他人覺察。狐狸的超能力包括：「附身、擁有能夠噴出火與閃電的尾巴和嘴巴（*kitsune-bi*，意為狐狸之火）、出現在他人的夢中、戰鬥、隱身、創造能夠以假亂真的幻象⁵。」

淫蕩而有魔力的狐狸已經成為動漫故事中廣受歡迎的人物，而狐仙傳說中關於慾念和佔有的主題則在耽美（*Yaoi*）動漫中重現——耽美是

以女性為目標讀者的男性同性戀故事。這些故事的男主角大多被理想化及女性化，他們熱衷發展複雜糾結甚至不平等的浪漫關係。其中，一部名為《狐の嫁》（*Kitsune no Yome*）⁶的漫畫就讓我們在現代幻想中看到古老的狐仙形象。漫畫中高中生Akane曾在夜間被一名頭戴狐狸面具的人類男子堵截和騷擾。三年後，他仍被這件事深深困擾，並在刺激下不斷回想並重現與該事件相似的各種暴力色情形式。漫畫花費大量篇幅來重現那次恐怖的邂逅，但卻並沒有說明這是他的回憶場景還是Akane在現實生活中的新經歷。故事逐漸深化著關於兩個同性戀男子之間性慾滿溢的主題。

此類情色口味或重或輕的耽美動漫作品大部份以女性為目標觀眾。女性讀者們有時會自稱為「腐女子」（*fujoshi*）。腐女子是一個具有40年歷史的粉絲群體。她們反常的性傾向推動著相關自製產品在整個亞洲地區的生產和傳播。在《狐の嫁》中，我們不難發現植根於日本民間文化的禁忌慾望和身份轉換的主題。

4 William A. Haviland, *Cultural Anthropology*, 10th ed. (Fort Worth: Harcourt College Publishers, 2002), 144-145; T. Yonebayashi, "Kitsunetsuki (Possession by Foxes)", *Transcultural Psychiatry* (1964), 1:2.

5 Kiyoshi Nozaki, *Kitsuné, Japan's Fox of Mystery, Romance, and Humor* (Tokyo: The Hokuseidō Press, 1961), 25-26.

6 The *Kitsune No Yome* manga is available at http://www.mangafox.com/manga/kitsune_no_yome/?no_warning=1 (accessed December 10 2010).

4 威廉·A·哈維蘭 (William A. Haviland)：《文化人類學》（*Cultural Anthropology*），（上海：上海社會科學院，2006年）；T. Yonebayashi, "Kitsunetsuki (Possession by Foxes)" *Transcultural Psychiatry* (1964), 1:2.

5 Kiyoshi Nozaki, *Kitsuné, Japan's Fox of Mystery, Romance, and Humor* (Tokyo: The Hokuseidō Press, 1961), 25-26.

6 這部漫畫可見於http://www.mangafox.com/manga/kitsune_no_yome/?no_warning=1，擷取於2010年12月10日。



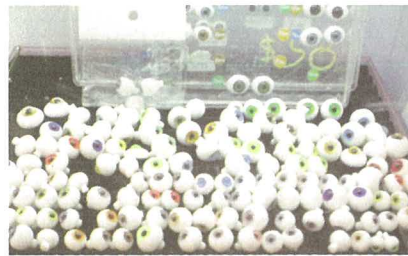
We are now ready to *fast forward* to the venue that houses a massive collection of the large (70 cm) ball-jointed dolls that are made in Kyoto and purchased by fan groups all over the world. In actuality, they are strictly created for the adult lovers of the doll. Children are not allowed in the museum, as one of the guards explained. They would simply make too much of a fracas, damage the collections and disturb the worshipful ambiance. The Super Dollfie dolls are not overtly sexualized fetish objects, but they cater to adult fantasies of constructing and owning a family. They are called “our angels” or “our daughters”, but they actually look like tiny replicas of young adults. These miniature humans have immaculately groomed appearances, while cultivating a melancholic and refined artsy or hipster personality. People travel to Kyoto to buy these “daughters” of sophistication or they have the option of playing with their already purchased Super Dollfie families within the museum. When the new dolls are ready to be picked up, they are offered to customers in a specific kind of birth ritual. The museum has a statue of the Madonna surrounded by Angels, and she is considered the mother of these families.

The museum has a designated play room furnished with high-class chairs for the dolls to sit in and engage in their own kind of conversations. To *play* mostly means to endlessly dress and position the doll in order to take photographs for private photo albums or galleries on the web. These dolls are expensive, costing about USD1,000 a piece. They consist of different components and body parts such as glass eyeballs, eyelids,

現在請準備和我迅速進入那個收集了為數驚人的、由京都製造和受世界各地粉絲追捧的大型（70厘米高）人形娃娃博物館去。事實上，館中的娃娃正是專為成人愛好者所製的。一位保安人員告訴我，該館並不向兒童開放，因為他們過於聒噪，會破壞館內的朝拜氣氛，還可能會損害館藏。人形娃娃製品也沒有被塑造成性玩物，但它們確實滿足了成年人希望建立和擁有家庭的幻想。娃娃們被喚作「我們的天使」或「我們的女兒」，不過它們看上去更像是迷你的青年人複製品。這些迷你人類外表完美無瑕，氣質憂鬱而具有藝術感和時尚感。人們遠赴京都，就是為了購買製作精美「女兒」或是在館內和已買回來的娃娃家庭玩耍。當一個新的娃娃被領走時，博物館會為消費者準備一個娃娃誕生儀式。博物館藏有一座天使環繞聖母雕像，聖母就被視為娃娃之家的母親。

博物館還為娃娃們專設一個遊戲室，室內置有高級座椅供它們休息談話。在這裡，「遊戲」是指人們為了攝製私人影集或是網絡畫廊而不斷地給娃娃們換衣、擺造型和拍照。這些娃娃都十分昂貴，售價大約在1,000美元左右。娃娃由大小部件及身體結構組成，比如玻璃眼球、眼瞼、眼睫毛、假髮、髮飾、不同膚色的面孔模型和不同姿態的手腳等等。顧客也可透過「全面選擇」的系統裡購買這些部件——即每位顧客可以自己選取娃娃身體的不同組

eyelashes, hair wigs, hairpieces, facial molds in different skin colors, and hands and feet in different shapes. All of these components are purchased through a “Full Choice System”—as customers can individually pick and choose, assemble and disassemble the existence of the doll. The doll parts can be either purchased in a store or ordered online through the Volks web site. Doll owners can browse endlessly through these collections until their eye settles on the perfect miniature object: a dark purple eyeball, a leather belt or mini skirt, striped leg warmers in bright colors, an expensive designer purse or flamboyant sunglasses, sneakers or high-heel boots. There are real gems to be found here and one is hard placed to avoid the trap of diving into these tiny replica collections. The Super Dollfie web pages are some of the most beautiful and tantalizing displays that I have ever seen, as are their counterparts in the material world of doll stores and assembly labs. The store in *Tenshi-no-Sato Kachu-an* carries all the necessary elements of the perfect department store. It looks like it was designed by a happy bouncy child who went out of his/her mind. It has shelves and racks full of neatly packaged doll parts—tiny shoes, socks, blouses, breasts, hair, shirts, glasses, stockings, lingerie, briefcases, suitcases, wardrobes, chairs, couches, and so on. It feels strangely liberating to shop for a doll as one easily understands that it is a totally useless activity. Indeed, these tiny products refuse to serve the adult world as either useful tools or as *super deluxe* commodities. These products are simply made for fake little humans; the question being, do they come alive through the interplay with caring consumers and do they have a (real) life of their own?



Doll owners and their fetish daughters socialize with each other on an international basis, expressing an unconditional attachment to their fantasy families, and their love for the brand and the Volks company. Their spiritual center is in Japan where they can show faith and devotion to their particular obsession, but the commodity has also produced a wide range of shadow industries and knock-off doll models in the greater East Asian region and beyond. I first spotted these dolls when visiting the mini-malls in the basement of Ginza Plaza, Hong Kong. The doll fad having spread to China and Hong Kong, fans have opened tiny stores and doll houses to manage and sell collections of ball-jointed dolls and doll clothes or accessories.

Most of these small businesses operate primarily through web sites or online auctions houses. Other doll merchants have stacked their wares in tiny stores where they are able to fit in only about four to five customers at any one time. These shops are artfully designed as their private collections and spill over into a retail service. Some of them offer cheap doll clothes that are manufactured in China, while others sell delicately hand-made outfits knitted together by their moms and grandmoms, things like hats, scarves and mittens for a wintertime outing. Even though one would hardly be able wear this type of winter clothing in the extreme heat and humidity of Hong Kong, our dolls may desire to wear these beautiful outfits when going out on a fantastic brisk autumn walk.



成部份來組裝或拆卸娃娃。這些部件也可以在實體店或是Volks公司網站買到。娃娃擁有者們可以無休止的在宏大的部件展覽裡尋覓自己鍾意的迷你物件，直到他／她們的目光終於落在一件完美的迷你物品上：一個暗紫色的眼球、一條皮帶或一條迷你裙、亮色的條文襪套、昂貴的名牌手袋，一副色彩妖艷的太陽眼鏡、一雙運動鞋、一對高跟靴……館藏中的幾枚真正的寶石還待被發掘，而其中的一枚則置在一處難以被挖掘的複製品海洋裡。而人形娃娃網頁更是我所見過的最為美麗誘人的頁面，其風采絲毫不遜於現實世界中的娃娃商店和組裝實驗室。

天使之家內的娃娃商店可謂是應有盡有的完美百貨商場。它看上去好像是一個手舞足蹈的頑童的即興之作。店內的架上整齊的擺放著包裝好的娃娃配件——嬌小的鞋襪、襯衫、胸脯、頭髮、T恤、眼鏡、吊帶絲襪、性感內衣、公文箱、行李箱、衣櫥、座椅、沙發等等。由於大家都明白為娃娃購物其實是一項沒有任何實際功用的行為，購物活動就變得格外自由而輕鬆。的確，這些嬌小玲瓏的

產品根本不屑於成為工具或高端奢侈品。它們是為人造的小人兒們製造的。那麼，這些娃娃們又會不會在和主人的互動中活過來、得到（真實的）生命呢？

在全球各地，人形娃娃的主人們都努力與自己的娃娃女兒互動，無時無刻不在表達對虛擬家庭無條件的依戀和對Volks公司及品牌的熱愛。日本是他／她們精神世界的中心，在那裡他／她們可以毫不掩飾自己的愛好和信念。但與此同時，這些產品也在大東亞及周邊地區產生了廣泛的影子工業與山寨產品。我就是在香港銀城廣場裡第一次看到人形娃娃的。現在，人形娃娃風潮已經席捲了中國大陸和香港，粉絲們在這裡開設小型店鋪和娃娃屋舍來管理銷售人形娃娃及其衣物配件。

這些小買賣中有不少都是通過網站或是在線拍賣行進行的。餘下的娃娃商人則把存貨放在狹小的實體店鋪裡，那裡至多只能同時容納四至五個顧客。這些店鋪設計得充滿藝術氣息，好像是店主私人珍藏過剩拿出來零售一樣。有些店裡會售賣產自中國的低價娃娃服裝，其它店鋪的商品則是娃娃的媽媽和奶奶們傾心縫製，其中包括帽子、圍巾以及冬日外出必備的連指手套。雖然在香港格外炎熱而潮濕的冬天沒人會穿著此類冬衣外出，我們的人形娃娃也許會想在涼爽的秋季穿上這些美麗的衣服出去走走。

(The young couple arrives in my apartment and opens a box designed especially for the Super Dollfie dolls)

Martin: The wigs, eyeballs and hands of the Dollfies can be changed. These two Dollfies know each other and they are friends. They are both our first dolls.

Asuka: Yes, and his doll is bit like "his other half" with her blue hair and blue eyes.

Zaphy: How did the two of you meet each other?

Asuka: We know each other from a BJD (ball-jointed dolls) forum on the Internet. We started talking on MSN and took photos regularly with the dolls. Then later we fell in love. I think that we really fell in love because of the stories that we were making up about our dolls.



Martin: And then I also started an extensive photo album for my dolls so that I could develop my imagination. Because everything has to be beautiful for this doll. I first needed a doll for my photography project during that time, so I decided to buy this doll. And now I already have 17 dolls, and each one costs between HKD6,000 and HKD20,000 (USD771-2,570).

Asuka: The components are also expensive, like a wig would cost you HKD300 (USD39). And the glass eyeballs are very special and expensive; they would cost a couple of thousand dollars. I know that Martin was really drawn to the blue iris of one of his dolls. My doll was custom-ordered in Japan. I also plan to make some clothes for them myself since I want to be a fashion designer. I made this one into my daughter as the doll is as pretty as an angel. And so I gave her the name "Angelic-Smile".

Zaphy: So how would you describe your relationship with the dolls?

(一對年輕的情侶來到我家，他們帶來了一箱為人形娃娃設計的配件。)

Martin: 這些人形娃娃的假髮、眼球和手是可以更換的。這兩個人形娃娃是對好朋友。他們分別是我們擁有的第一個娃娃。

Asuka: 對啊。這個娃娃和他的「另一半兒」很像，因為他們都有藍頭髮和藍眼睛。

Zaphy: 你們又是怎麼認識的呢？

Asuka: 我們是在一個叫BJD（球形關節娃娃）的網絡論壇上遇見的。一開始我們在MSN上聊天，也常彼此分享和娃娃的合影。後來我們就墮入愛河了。我們曾經給自己的娃娃們編了不少故事，我覺得正是這些故事使得我們彼此相愛。

Martin: 後來我開始為人形娃娃們拍攝一個大型相冊以發揮自己的想像力，因為我想把我的娃娃拍攝得美美的。當時為了給這個攝影工程找到一個娃娃模特兒，我就買下了這個娃娃。現在我已經買了17個娃娃，它們的價格大概在6,000-20,000港元（約771-2,570美元）不等。

Asuka: 娃娃配件也非常昂貴，譬如一頂假髮就很可能要花掉你300港元（約39美元）。而玻璃眼球就尤其特殊昂貴，大約需要幾千港元才買得到。Martin就特別喜歡他其中一個娃娃的藍色虹膜。我的娃娃是在日本特別訂製的。我還計劃給我的娃娃親手做些衣服，因為我想做個時尚設計師。我將她視為自己的女兒，因為她有天使一樣的美麗面容。我給她起的名字就叫「Angelic-Smile」（天使之笑）。



Zaphy: 那你們和這些娃娃之間是什麼關係呢？

Martin: Each doll has its own personality. And they are friends and partners with other family members of the doll. For me it is like the relationship with photographers and models.



Asuka: Yes, each of my dolls shares a certain aspect of her own personality. My Pink doll emphasizes my sweet and cute side. My Gothic Lolita doll expresses a negative and dark side of my personality. I try to bring out their personalities through their outfits and by applying makeup.

Martin: All my dolls have something in common with little parts of myself, except for this one here in my arms. She is the queen of the family. She occupies half of me and thus she is special.

Asuka: Yes, she is his female part.

Zaphy: Did you also have dolls when you were children?

Asuka: No, we actually did not.

Zaphy: I see that you mostly have female dolls. Are there also male dolls?

Asuka: Yes, male dolls are currently a big deal in the doll community. But I am not ready to have a male doll. First of all I am not psychologically prepared. And secondly, it is very difficult to make male clothes.

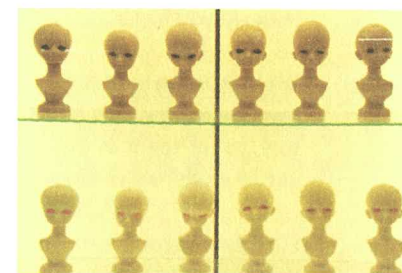
Martin: I don't like male dolls at all. But yes some of the male models are currently very "hot guys" among fans. They also believe that one of the male models resembles the famous Japanese rock star Hyde of L'Arc-en-Ciel and Vamps⁷.

Zaphy: Are there also many other male doll lovers?

Martin: Yes, actually there are quite a few now and the females are very accepting of that.

⁷ Hyde is the singer for the Japanese rock band L'Arc-en-Ciel as well as the singer for VAMPS. He joined L'Arc-en-Ciel in 1991 after leaving the band Jerusalem's Rod for which he was the guitarist. In addition to being the lead singer and main lyricist of L'Arc-en-Ciel, Hyde has released 4 solo albums and 8 singles, as well as started his own independent record label called Vamprose.

Martin: 每個娃娃都有自己獨特的性格。他／她們都是家裡其他成員的朋友和伴侶。而我和娃娃的關係就好像攝影師和模特兒之間的關係一樣。



Asuka: 我的每個娃娃都是我不同性格側面的延伸。我的粉紅娃娃象徵著我甜美可愛的一面。我的哥德娃娃則是我黑暗消極的性格表達。我總是通過她們的配飾和妝容來表現她們的性格。

Martin: 我的每個娃娃也多多少少分享著我的一些性格側面，除了我手上這個。她是家裡的女王，她佔據我的一半，所以她非常特別。

Asuka: 的確，她就是他體內的女性部份。

Zaphy: 你們小時候是不是也有娃娃相伴？

Asuka: 沒有，我們那時候並沒有娃娃。

Zaphy: 我發現你的娃娃幾乎都是女性的，你有沒有男性娃娃呢？

Asuka: 其實男性娃娃現在非常流行。但我不太想有個男性娃娃。一方面我心裡上還沒有準備好，另一方面來說男娃娃的衣服很難做。

Martin: 我一點也不喜歡男性娃娃。但的確是有些男孩模型對於一些粉絲來說是非常流行的「帥哥」。他們還相信其中一個男性娃娃與著名的日本搖滾巨星——彩虹樂團（L'Arc-en-Ciel）和Vamps樂團的成員寶井秀人（Hyde）⁷。

Zaphy: 所以也有喜愛娃娃的男性愛好者啦？

Martin: 沒錯，其實有不少男粉絲，而女粉絲看起來也還蠻接受他們的。

⁷ 寶井秀人是日本搖滾樂團彩虹樂團及VAMPS樂團的主唱。他1991年加入彩虹樂團，在那之前則是在Jerusalem's Rod樂隊擔任吉他手。寶井秀人不僅是彩虹樂團的主唱和作詞家，還曾為多個藝人專輯和八世單曲，他還開設了他自己的獨立唱片公司Vamprose。

Zaphy: How do you feel about Japanese culture in general?

Martin: We love Japanese culture and we also just want to dress and behave in our own weird way. This is still an unusual thing to do within Hong Kong culture, so we see it as making a real cultural difference. But of course, in the virtual world, we've already met hundreds of people who are really into it.

(The young couple moves to the computer where they plan to show the Volks web site.)

Asuka: The purpose of this Volks web site is to sell these dolls and to announce news. There is a Full Choice System, which allows customers to buy the doll as different components, but she will then be assembled in Kyoto and sent to you as your special "daughter." You can also go and pick up your daughter in Kyoto when she is ready and they have a special kind of "birth ritual."



Here is the doll that was apparently the first female doll of the president of Volks. There is a rumor among fans that he actually invented the head mold based on his own head.

Martin: Some dolls are standard models and some are special editions or limited editions. Those special editions are much more costly. Sometimes when a limited edition is launched on the web site, it will take only one to three minutes before the edition is sold out.

Asuka: So you can see that there are all these different head molds and some are much more feminine than others. And some of them have their eyes closed, which is a very popular feature among fans, who consider them to be "sleeping angels." You cannot really open these eyes very easily.

Zaphy: 你們覺得日本文化怎麼樣？

Martin: 我們熱愛日本文化，而我們也想按自己的意願從打扮和行為上表現自己獨特的一面。而在香港文化中，這些都不是尋常的行為，所以我們的所作所為恰巧指出了文化的差異。但是當然了，在網上我們其實早就見到成百上千喜歡這些文化的人。

(年輕情侶走到電腦旁，為我展示Volks網站。)

Asuka: 這個Volks網站的目的就是出售娃娃產品以及發佈相關新聞。這裡有一個全面選擇系統，顧客可以在上面選擇零散部件去組裝娃娃。但是娃娃將會在京都拼裝，最後通過郵寄到達你的手上，成為你獨一無二的「女兒」。當然你也可以親自去京都帶回你的女兒，那時你還會經歷一個特別的「誕生儀式」。

這個娃娃是Volks總裁本人擁有的第一個娃娃。粉絲中有人認為總裁是以自己的頭顱為原型設計出了這個娃娃的頭顱。

Martin: 有些娃娃是標準化生產的，也有些是特別版或是限定版。特別版通常十分昂貴。每當網站開始發售限定版娃娃時，只消三分鐘所有娃娃就會被搶購一空。

Asuka: 你可以看到這裡有很多不同的頭型，其中一些比其他幾個更具女性特質。這邊一些娃娃閉上了她們的眼睛，這個形象受到粉絲的格外推崇，他們給這些娃娃起名叫做「沉睡天使」。你要費些力氣才能搬開她們的眼睛。



Asuka: And then of course the eyeballs are colored in all kinds of ways, like there are pink or purple eyeballs. My mother once observed me looking at all those eyeballs and she found it very creepy. This trend has also influenced people in real life who are now all starting to wear tinted contact lenses.

Zaphy: How do these different fans socialize with each other in real life?

Martin: We go to doll gatherings. Sometimes we organize conventions for people to sell and buy doll clothes and accessories, like the one in Hong Kong called *Dollism Plus*. Or we may meet in a café in Mong Kok and bring along our dolls.

Asuka: We really hope to grow up with our dolls and we just hope that if we have real children that they will like the dolls as well.

One can buy products for female and male dolls but females constitute the vast majority of dolls. Most male dolls have a very effeminate look. I traveled to *Tenshi-no-Sato* with Zaphy, my own male doll. Zaphy is a knock-off version of the Japanese ball-jointed doll. Priced at about HKD700 (USD90), Zaphy was made by the Korean brand Pullip. Zaphy is a stunning blue-eyed male but most people would mistake him for a female, with his slender pale face and shoulder-length ash-blonde hair. I also shopped around in some of the doll rooms in Mong Kok, where I had discovered local Hong Kong designers offering the most lovely outfits and accessories at much cheaper rates. I had bought some nice Calvin Klein underwear for Zaphy and found him a locally designed T-shirt with the famous logo by American artist Barbara Kruger, "Your Body is a Battleground"⁸.



⁸ More information about the artist Barbara Kruger with a link to her website: <http://www.barbarakruger.com/artists/barbarakruger/press.html>

Asuka: 當然啦，你可以看到所有的眼珠都被各種方式上了色，比如粉色眼球或是紫眼球。我媽媽有次看到我盯著這些眼球不動，她覺得非常恐怖。人形娃娃的彩色眼球風尚事實上已經影響到了真實世界裡的潮流，不少人都開始戴美瞳隱形眼鏡。

Zaphy: 在生活中，粉絲們是如何彼此交往呢？

Martin: 我們會去一些娃娃聚會。有時我們會組織活動供人們買賣娃娃的衣飾，香港就有一個這樣的活動叫做Dollism Plus。有時我們帶上自己的娃娃在旺角的咖啡館碰面。

Asuka: 我們真的希望能跟我們的娃娃一起成長，也希望如果有一天真的有了自己的孩子，他們也會喜歡這些娃娃。

雖然市場上既有男性娃娃也有女性娃娃供人購買，但大體來說，女性娃娃的數量還是遠遠多過男性娃娃，不少男性娃娃的外觀極為女性化。而我則是帶著自己的男性娃娃Zaphy一同來到天使之家的。Zaphy是一個韓國Pullip公司模仿日本人形娃娃生產的產品，定價大約是700港元（約100美元）。Zaphy是個英俊無比的藍眼男孩，但是人們會被他柔和蒼白的面頰和及肩的銀灰色長發誤導以為他是個女孩。一踏進天使之家的商店，我就發現一個非常適合Zaphy的小箱子，可惜它的價格實在太高。在此之前我還去過香港旺角的不少娃娃商店，裡面的商品不但價格低廉，而且不少是由香港本地的設計師精心製作的。在香港，我給Zaphy買了一對Calvin Klein牌的內衣和一件本地款的T恤，T恤上印著美國藝術家Barbara Kruger的名句「你的身體就是戰場」（Your Body is a Battleground）⁸。

⁸ 關於這位藝術家的更多信息可參考：
<http://www.barbarakruger.com/artists/barbarakruger/press.html>

One Hong Kong designer of doll clothes, Blythism.net, offers a line of clothes and accessories specifically made for his type of male doll called "Tae Yang." When I browsed the lush winter collections for Tae Yang designed by fashion design student Milky, I realized that I would never think of dressing like that myself. Zaphy has a luscious skinny body and is simply more of a poser. Dolls are almost always dressed up better than their owners. They are replicas of human potential and become a substitute for personal identity management. Dolls manifest the owner's sublimated dandy-esque fashion crisis while the owner actually is an average dresser or slob. The doll is one of the most essential expressions of the *kawaii culture* and indeed this angel needs to be properly cleaned and clothed, carried around with love and pride, to be seen and cajoled under the gaze and commentary of others.

I had made an appointment to visit the Japanese "home of angels" and received confirmation two days later. I make my appearance on June 24, 2009. I am greeted by a friendly museum guard who gives me a basket in which to carry my doll-friend, Zaphy. The museum has several floors with museum displays but photography is allowed only in the main hall, where doll lovers gather to play with their dolls. On the right side of the room is a huge sculpture of a Madonna surrounded by a family of angels. She looks like a Christian Madonna but the guard explains that she is a replica too. She does not signify the actual mother of God but the idea that children are born here and bring love, joy, and wealth to the family. At scheduled times doll lovers will gather around the Madonna to receive a newly born angel.



I walk through the upper floors of endless doll displays, elegant creatures with sad eyes and perfect pale melancholic faces. The large museum is rather empty and has the atmosphere of a funeral hall, where people can admire replicas or remains of the departed. Some dolls look like they are indeed dead or asleep as they have closed eyelids. I have been told that this closed eyelid feature is peculiarly cherished amongst Super Dollfie fans. In the museum, the references to sleeping angels and death are juxtaposed with birth and youthful eroticism. One side of the museum is entirely devoted to younger dolls, where we can admire their prepubescent bodies and nude torsos, angelic faces, tender buttocks, and delicate underwear or lingerie. Opposite the hall of eroticism is a space where dolls have matured and are properly dressed to live a life of fame and beauty. Here we can admire a wide range of doll families and fashion designs that constitute the history of the brand.

Blythism.net是一個香港人形娃娃設計產品網站，站上售賣為「Tae Yang」（太陽）男性娃娃系列專門設計的衣服和配飾。我曾在那裡看到過時尚設計學生Milky的奢華冬裝系列，發覺自己似乎從沒想過要穿成類似風格。而Zaphy不同，他的皮膚嬌豔欲滴、身體纖細骨感，明顯是個勝過我幾倍的好模特兒。娃娃們似乎總是比他們的主人們打扮得更加好看。它們展現著人類的潛能，並成為我們管理個人身份的新途徑。大多數娃娃主人在現實生活中不過是衣著平凡卻又虛榮心旺盛的普通人，他們通過盛裝打扮娃娃來追求花花公子般奢靡招搖的衣著品位。人形娃娃可算是可愛文化（*kawaii culture*）中最重要表達元素之一，所以主人們必須小心打理小天使們的衣冠外表以便驕傲自豪地將娃娃展示給同好，最後贏得大家的關注和讚譽。

我通過Volks網站預約去日本天使之家參觀，並在兩天後收到回覆。我在2009年6月24日到館拜訪。一位面容友善的博物館門衛在館口迎接我的到來，同時還為我準備了一個攜帶我的娃娃朋友Zaphy的小籃子。館內有多個樓層展示館藏，但是遊客們只能在大堂拍攝照片，那裡是供娃娃愛好者和人形娃娃玩耍嬉戲的地方。大堂右邊有一尊巨大的雕像，雕刻的是被一群天使環繞的聖母。雕像看起來像是基督教聖母，但門衛講解說這座雕像是個複製品。她並不代表上帝的母親，人形娃娃都誕生於她的腳下，它們給整個家族帶來愛、歡樂與財富。當一個新娃娃將要降生時，博物館會安排一個特定的時間請娃娃愛好者們圍繞在聖母旁邊迎接娃娃的到來。



我在博物館的不同樓層中漫遊，欣賞著彷彿沒有盡頭的人形娃娃展品，目不轉睛的看著娃娃們優雅哀傷的眼睛與蒼白憂鬱的面孔。龐大的館身空空蕩蕩，瀰漫著一股殯儀館的氣息，人們駐足觀賞著逝者的遺體或是複製品。有些人形娃娃雙眼緊閉，彷彿真的已經死去或是在長眠。有人告訴我這種閉眼娃娃格外受粉絲青睞。在博物館中，象徵著沉睡天使和死亡的符號與代表誕生和青春情色的符號交織在一起。博物館的一側擺放的都是年輕的人形娃娃，放眼皆是它們幼小的身體和赤裸的軀幹、它天使般的面孔和精緻的內衣。正對著這座情色大廳的是陳列成熟娃娃的空間，那邊的娃娃們成熟穩重、衣裝得體、彷彿正在享受名利雙收的魅力生活。在這裡，我們可以看到品牌歷史上的各種娃娃家族和出類拔萃的時尚設計。

There are signs that prohibit photography in these exhibition halls and especially in the “assembly lab” section where the doll parts are put together and the angels brought to life by engineers. Once I return downstairs to the cozy inviting playroom, I take Zaphy out of my backpack and put him in his basket. I decide to take him around and act like a dumb foreigner who does not fully understand the rules of the museum. I wonder how long it will take the museum administration to spot the fact that Zaphy is a deviant doll, a different and inferior brand called Pullip.

Sure enough, our friendly guard shows up after about 15 minutes and explains that I cannot carry my doll inside the museum. I apologize profusely and tell her that I did not understand. She smiles and says that it is alright, then gives me a white blanket to cover Zaphy head to toe in his basket. I continue my journey and wonder why they did not decide to remove the deviant doll altogether. Then I realize that it is an elegant and reasonable solution to the problem, so that we would not give the incident too much thought and can continue to glide through the vast emporium of superior commodities. But of course I would not abandon or replace him just because he is cheaper. One does not need an expensive Japanese commodity to develop an attachment to the doll as a virtual agent.

These doll cults, whether emanating from the Volks brand or other Chinese and Korean merchants, are sophisticated as they provide us with a sense of aura and social network. We have collected many testimonies of people professing that their doll communicates with them, even if s/he has neither voice box nor the ability to simulate human movement. In his famous essay “On the Marionette Theatre” (1810) Heinrich Von Kleist explained that the perceived life and aura of dolls is driven by animistic worldviews and the art of simulating graceful movements. In the essay, he casts an experienced puppeteer who tries to convince an analytical philosopher of the superior, graceful movements of the marionettes when compared to humans. As he explains, humans may have superior bodies and motor skills that might enable them to become virtuoso dancers, but their actions and performances are frequently diminished or hindered by a psychic state of awareness, by engrained memory and thought. Humans will almost always slow down or break down when processing or remembering some aspect of negative thought. Only dolls and humanoids have the ability to be truly graceful, to shine more brilliantly, as their performances are less plagued by negative memory and awareness. The puppeteer also believes that the most inorganic of dolls will be able to simulate a divine experience:

這些展館都標有禁止拍照的標識。而在「組裝實驗室」裡該類標識尤為顯眼。工程師在這裡組裝好娃娃，將這些小天使們帶入人間。參觀途中，我返回樓下的賓客室，從背包裡拿出Zaphy裝在籃子裡。我希望帶著他到處看看，並通過假扮愚笨無知的外國遊客蒙混過關。我不停猜想管理人員會不會很快認出我的Zaphy是個次等公司Pullip的山寨產品。

果然，15分鐘之後，友善的門衛就出現在我身前，告訴我不應攜帶這個娃娃在館內走動。我連聲致歉，辯解說我不明白為什麼會有這樣的規則。她笑說沒事，用一塊白布把籃子裡的Zaphy從頭到腳裹起來，隨後示意我可以繼續參觀。我邊走邊琢磨她為什麼沒有直接把Zaphy拿走，後來明白門衛優雅而合理的解決了我們的分歧。她的行為可以讓我不再留意這個小插曲並繼續欣賞這家高級陳列品商場。可我才不會因為Zaphy價格低廉而轉身拋棄它。人們並不需要購買昂貴的日本產品來實現對自己的虛擬化身——人形娃娃的依戀。

這種娃娃崇拜，無論是通過日本 Volks 產品還是其他中韓商品在大眾中傳播，都值得我們的認真對待。因為它有助於我們理解愛好者的真實生活和社交網絡。我們收集了許多證據證明他／她們的娃娃雖然既不能發出聲音也無法像人類般活動，但的確能和主人交流溝通。在克萊斯特（Heinrich Von Kleist）的著名文章〈論人偶劇〉



（“On the Marionette Theatre”，1810）中，作者寫道人們之所以可以在人偶身上感到生命靈氣，是因為這些人相信萬物有靈，並懂得欣賞模擬藝術。他在文中提到一個經驗豐富的人偶操縱師，曾經試圖說服經驗哲學家人偶的動作遠比人類動作複雜優雅。他認為人們可能最初也許曾經擁有足以媲美舞蹈家的身體及運動技巧，但是人類的記憶和思想卻往往阻礙人們的運動和表現；他觀察到每當人們有了負面想法或記憶時，所進行的動作就會減慢或是僵化；所以只有人偶和其他人形仿製品才能有優雅光彩的舉止，因為它們的表現不會受到任何負面記憶或負面意識的影響。人偶操控師還認為最了無生機的人偶往往最有可能模仿神靈的體態：

We see that in the organic world, as thought grows dimmer and weaker, grace emerges more brilliantly and decisively. But just as a section drawn through two lines suddenly reappears on the other side after passing through infinity, or as the image in a concave mirror turns up again right in front of us after dwindling into the distance, so grace itself returns when knowledge has, as it were, gone through an infinity. Grace appears most purely in that human form which either has no consciousness or an infinite consciousness. That is, in the puppet or in the god.

This argument about divine movement in dolls is further influenced by the fact that it is narrated by a doll lover, a puppeteer who has for many years animated lifeless dolls in front of admiring humans. No doubt the puppeteer took good care of his fantasy creatures which provided his artistic well-being and income.

But even the most technologically advanced motions in robots or androids today are partially animated by the daily care and feelings of love by their makers and owners. Professor Hiroshi Ishiguro at Nagoya University is a well-known "android scientist" who makes human-like robots called "geminoids." He experiments with these near-perfect replicas of humans in order to ask fundamental questions about human psychology and to test his own levels of post-human immersion and attachment. As film maker Phie Ambo explains in the documentary *Mechanical Love*, "There is a reason why the best therapeutic robots come from Japan... Scientists in Japan are always figuring emotions into the process. What do you expect when you are with another person? What emotions are in play? Working with androids is incredibly exciting, precisely because they are something unto themselves. They're not alive, but they're not exactly dead either⁹."

The documentary film opens with intimate experiments by Professor Ishiguro. Fine-tuning his "geminoid" doll, which is an exact copy of himself, we immediately notice that he is an eccentric individual. The movement of his geminoid robot can be controlled through the Internet and his aim is to have it increasingly look and act like himself. The point of his experiment is to present the geminoid to his wife and daughter and to table their reactions. He hopes that they will choose the geminoid over himself, and at the same time he says that he will be utterly crushed by this choice. Ishiguro wants to tackle the bigger questions: "How will the family react once you introduce an android? Will it cause the collapse of or reinvent traditional roles? What effect does the robot have on the



我們可以發現在有機世界中，每當人類的思想逐漸變得虛弱而模糊，他們的行動就愈發聰敏決絕而充滿靈性。然而，如同在兩條直線中延展的空間突然在無限延展後在直線另一端出現，又好比我們一步步後退卻突然在凹凸鏡裡看到放大的自己，當人類的知識慢慢消寂於無限疆域之中，神性即會重現。因此，神性只能存在於全知全能或是絲毫沒有知覺的人類形態之中——即只能存在於人偶或是上帝的身上。

這段關於人偶運動具有神性的論斷，由於出自一位常年為觀眾表演木偶戲的操控師之口，顯得尤有說服力。鑑於這位操控師的生活收入都來自於人偶，他當然會對這些幻想造物情有獨鍾。

今天，即便是技術極為先進的機械人（包括人形機械人）都需要其製造者和擁有者的關愛和照顧來維持生命。名古屋大學的石黑浩（Hiroshi Ishiguro）教授就是一位知名「人形機械人」專家，他製作了名喚「雙子流星」（Geminoids）的人形機械人。這些近乎完美的人形複製品不僅對人類心理學的本質提出疑問，也幫助石黑浩教授測試自己對於後人類的痴迷及依戀程度。電影人費·安寶（Phie Ambo）曾在紀錄片《機械之愛》（*Mechanical Love*）中表示：「很多優秀的治療性機械人都產自日本，這是事出有因的……日本科學家長年以來就嘗試將各種情緒書寫到機械人程序中去。和他人在一起的時候，你會期待些什麼？會被何種情緒控制？之所以和人形機械人互動非常令人激動，就在於人形機械人既非生靈又非死物⁹。」

該紀錄片以石黑浩教授所做的一組親密實驗作開幕。石黑浩教授正在調校一台以他本人為原型製作的「雙子流星」機械人，看來教授本人也是相當的古怪特別啊！教授通過互聯網來操縱機械人的一舉一動，希望它的行為舉止能夠愈來愈像自己。這項實驗的關鍵部份是將雙子流星帶到教授妻女面前以觀二人的反應。他一方面希望妻女能夠誤以為雙子流星是他本人，另一方面則表示如果他如願以償又會被妻女的選擇深深打擊。但石黑浩教授還是想要探索一些更大的問題：「如果你將一台人形機械人帶回家中，家人會有怎樣的反應？家庭角色會否因人形機械人而遭受破壞



⁹ Phie Ambo quoted on the website at <http://www.mechanicallove.com/articles-and-reviews>.

Further information about Professor Ishiguro can be found in the Australian ABC radio program by Robert Iolini located at <http://www.abc.net.au/rn/360/stories/2010/3039882.htm> (accessed December 10 2010).

⁹ 詳見網址：<http://www.mechanicallove.com/articles-and-reviews>。

更多關於石黑浩教授的資料可見於由Robert Iolini製作的澳大利亞ABC廣播節目：<http://www.abc.net.au/rn/360/stories/2010/3039882.htm>，擷取於2010年12月10日。

dialogue within the family?" Again, at first sight the geminoid looks lifeless, dull and certainly less funky than the scientist himself, but it is exactly the mental connection between the two beings that triggers our interest. When he finally presents the robot to his family members, it turns out that his daughter totally rejects the robot, while his wife testifies that she could get used to it. He explains that his wife does not demand that much attention in daily life either, while his daughter is very close to him and loves their daily playful rituals.

A question in the geminoid research is whether Professor Ishiguro would be able to develop a sense of human "presence" or "aura" (what the Japanese call *sonzai-kan*). How do people get a sense of "presence" behind robotic motions? He explains that the geminoid is a kind of mirror that we are not able to shift our gaze away from. It is an unavoidable mirror, producing uncanny yet satisfying responses to our senses. Professor Ishiguro's newest female android, Geminoid F, will be produced and marketed by Kokoro, the same company that owns Sanrio and the *Hello Kitty* phenomenon.

Even in the case of the ball-jointed dolls, which do not in any way mimic the human musculoskeletal system, they are able to bring about a therapeutic effect once imbued with our gaze and devotion. As shown in Robert Iolini's research project about new developments in android science, some of these recent developments towards robot-dependent humans have their roots in older types of religion or cultural mythologies. In 2007, the Japanese government pledged 26 billion USD to develop a robot-dependent society, entitled "*Innovation 25*". *Innovation 25* seeks to produce and sell household robots which would be safe, comfortable, and convenient, and always ready to carry out basic domestic chores. This program is also driven by Japanese nationalism and the utopian dream that manmade robots would be superior employees to the migrant workers who currently live and work in Japan. This type of racial bias underlying eugenic cybernetics naively aims to improve the physical and cognitive abilities of humans, but also replicates damaging biases about race and culture. Japanese customers do well at raising doll families as they grow up with a flexible notion of the extended family. Anthropologist Jennifer Robertson explains that the Japanese may welcome androids into the family as they historically "privilege talent and competence over biology where household succession is concerned... and thus sons and daughters were often adopted if one's own (biological) offspring were perceived as less capable managers or caretakers"¹⁰. Roberts also believes that the Japanese belief in benign, benevolent, and cute robots is motivated by the animistic principles of the native Shinto religion itself. As Roberts explains, the vital energies or forces in Shinto are considered to be present in all aspects of the world and universe. They are seen as they infuse streams, rocks, and trees, or insects, humans, and human creations, such as dolls, cars, and robots.

10 Tomoko Tamari interviews Jennifer Robertson. See <http://theculturesociety.blogspot.com/2010/09/tomoko-tamari-interviews-jennifer.html> (accessed December 10 2010).

或重新定義？人形機械人會對家庭內部溝通產生何種影響？」雖然乍看上去雙子流星了無生氣，更沒有教授本人那麼與眾不同，但是我們深感有趣的正是二者之間的精神聯繫。當教授真的把機械人帶到家人眼前時，他的女兒非常抗拒，而他的妻子則表示可以與雙子流星和平共處。石黑浩認為這是因為他的妻子對日常生活並不太重視；而他的女兒則和他非常親密，她根本離不開其樂融融的父女關係。

雙子流星實驗試圖回答一個問題，就是石黑浩教授是否有能力賦予人形機械人「人氣」或是「靈性」（即日語的「sonzai-kan」，意為「存在感」）。當人們和互動型機械人同處一地時，他們如何建立對機械人的「存在感」呢？石黑浩認為雙子流星如同一面鏡子，人們根本無法轉開目光不去注視它。人們無法無視這面鏡子，它給人們帶來神秘而滿意的感覺。石黑浩教授的最新女性機械人作品「雙子流星F」即將被日本洛可可（Kokoro）公司批量生產、投入市場，該公司旗下還有曾引發Hello Kitty熱潮的三麗鷗（Sanrio）公司。

即便球形關節娃娃並沒有複製再現人類的肌肉骨骼系統，它們也同樣能夠為全情投入的愛好者們帶來治療效果。Robert Iolini關於人形科技最新發展的研究告訴我們，很多依賴人形機械人的人們都曾或多或少受其所在地域的舊式宗教文化傳說影響。2007年日本政府抵押債券取得260億美元的資金準備建設一個依賴於機械人的社會，該項工程代號為創新 25（Innovation 25）。創新25集中力量打造和銷售居家機械人，該類機械人安全便宜並能完成簡單的家庭雜務。這項計劃的背後隱藏著日本的民族主義和烏托邦夢想——即用人造超級工人代替在日本生活工作的移民工人。這個極端偏頗的計劃以優生學和控制論為基礎，試圖提高人民的體能和認知能力，卻絲毫沒有察覺到自己已經在種族領域和文化領域埋下禍端。

日本消費者很擅長於組織人形娃娃家庭，因為他們從小就學著認同「延伸家庭」這樣的彈性化概念。人類學家珍妮佛·羅伯遜（Jennifer Robertson）認為日本人之所以樂於將人形機械人引入自己的家庭是因為他們有史以來都「認為人類的聰明才智和競爭能力優先於人類的生物性，這樣才可以延續家族的強大和榮耀……於是乎，如果人們認為自己的（生理的）後代無法勝任經理人或是管理者的角色，他們很可能去收養符合要求的孩子¹⁰。」羅伯遜還認為日本原始神道（Shinto）信仰特有的萬物有靈觀也驅動日本人選擇善良無害、親切可愛的機械人。據羅伯遜分析，日本人相信世界萬物都具有生命活力。生命的活力總是源源不斷的注入泉水、岩石、樹木、昆蟲、人類和由人類所創造的如同玩偶、汽車及機械人裡。

10 皇仁（Tomoko Tamari）對珍妮佛·羅伯遜（Jennifer Robertson）的訪問可見於 <http://theculturesociety.blogspot.com/2010/09/tomoko-tamari-interviews-jennifer.html>，擷取於2010年12月10日。

That is why dolls can ultimately also be spiritual or divine, as Kleist's puppeteer suggested in 1810. Human creations stem from the same life force and are part of the same natural worlds as humans. Shinto religion allows for a more harmonious mutual enhancement between humans and non-humans, or nature and culture. While Western Christianity created a hierarchical God and cosmology in which only humans can have a soul or life force, Japanese Shinto in a sense is more pragmatic as people are able to develop attachments to immediate presences, agents, and circumstances. Thus we can become comfortably attached to our cybernetic angels and tiny daughters, hoping that they somehow will serve our immediate physical, mental, and spiritual needs. And I sincerely hope my Korean blue-eyed Zaphy will fall in love and procreate excessively with divine migrants, dark, yellow, or brown skinned aberrations and deviants.

所以，如同Kleist的木偶操控師在1810年所說的那樣，人類造物 and 複製品最終也同樣具有神性或靈性。神道提倡人類與非人類或自然與文化和諧共生的關係。如是，當西方的基督教努力營造一個充滿等級制度的神觀和宇宙觀時，日本神道則顯得更加實際，因為信仰後者的人們能夠對身外造物及環境產生情感。在神道觀念的支撐下，人們可以依戀於機械控制的天使和女兒，希望她們有朝一日可以滿足自己生理、心理及精神需求。而我則真摯的期待我的韓國籍藍眼睛Zaphy會深深愛上各種靈性造物——無論它們的皮膚是黑是黃還是棕、無論它們是否一樣，並與它們結合、生育無數後代。

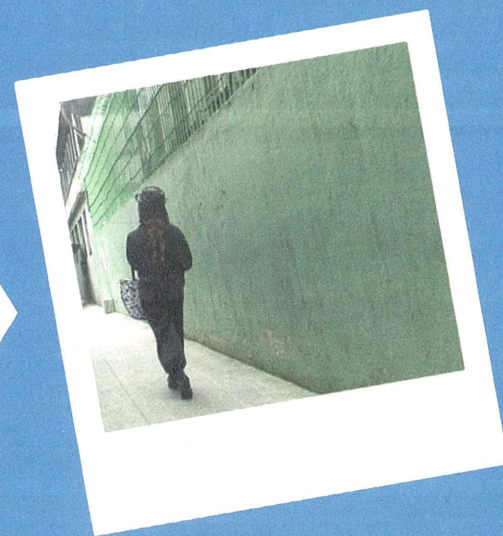


Chapter 2

Hong Kong: Subterranean Journey into Cross-Dressing and Transsexualism

第二章

香港：異裝扮演與變性主義的地下旅程



I am walking around the densely packed suburbs of Sha Tin, catching a glimpse of the Central New Territories before heading to the Western New Territories. I will soon travel underground via the numerous stations and connecting corridors of the MTR subway system. All signs of mystical old China seem to have disappeared. Tall skyscrapers surrender any architectural nuance, though upon closer inspection they reinforce the distinctions between social classes. Regardless of their social status, their names have been bizarrely appropriated from the West—The Balmoral, Classical Gardens, Uptown Plaza, Pristine Villa, The Palazzo, The Beverly Hills. These are the royal captains of real estate planning that have been drilled into the breathtaking valleys and mountains tops. They have chipped away at the steep mountain-scape and absorbed the older Chinese villages, leaving tiny remnants of low-rise housing on isolated hillsides or in the center of older city plazas. It is a curious mixture, a subtropical suburban high-rise sprawl aimed at housing the bustling masses of people, an ongoing development project attempting to catch up with Hong Kong's population boom since the 1980s.



I go down and merge with a stream of people who all rely heavily on public transportation, and then move inside the famous New Town Plaza mall, which is typically and directly connected to the MTR station. This is an overwhelming, gigantic shopping mall with anchor department stores and retail shops, designed by the second most influential family of Hong Kong real estate tycoons—the Kwoks. The late Kwok Tak Seng, the founder of Sun Hung Kai Properties, kept it in the family by co-managing it with his three sons, Walter, Thomas, and Raymond. New Town Plaza was started in the 1980s and was gradually and extensively expanded. One of its landmark features is the first computer-controlled music fountain to have ever been built in Hong Kong¹, perhaps not so impressive to the outsider, but important for the profile and mystique of the New Town Plaza. It is a Saturday afternoon in 2011 and people have endlessly

¹ An overview and analysis of Hong Kong real estate tycoons can be found in Alice Poon, *Land and The Ruling Class in Hong Kong* (Richmond, BC: A. Poon, 2005).

我漫步在人口密集的沙田市郊，嘗試在出發前往新界西前捕捉這片屬於新界中部的景象。很快，我便會鑽進通向數不清站點的地鐵裡，在地下穿行。所有舊中國風格的神秘符號好像都會消失在眼前。滿城皆是建築相像的摩天大廈，但在細細推敲下卻不難發現它們分明強化了城中的階級差異。但無論它們所屬哪個階層，它們的名字卻總是取自千奇百怪的西方語彙——承峰（The Balmoral）、新峰花園（Classical Garden）、新達廣場（Uptown Plaza）、曉翠山莊（Pristine Villa）、御龍山（The Palazzo）、比華利山（The Beverly Hills）。這些都是在香港風景如畫的、山頂山谷地段拔地而起的豪華地產。它們早已佔據了陡峭的山景，也慢慢吞併了古老的中式山村，只留下郊野孤山和舊城中心供人興建一些低矮的屋邨。這既是一副奇特的混雜景像——座落在亞熱帶城市市郊的高層建築肆無忌憚的到處擴張，試圖囊括熙熙攘攘的人群；又是一項仍在進行中的、緊追八十年代嬰兒潮的大型工程。



走進地鐵，混進嚴重依賴公共交通的人群之中，我來到著名的新城市廣場（New Town Plaza）——一座典型的、和地鐵站直接連通的大型購物商城。這是一個由對香港房地產具有第二影響力的地產界巨子——郭氏家族所設計的、佔地廣闊、充滿百貨公司和零售店的大型購物商場。新鴻基地產創始人郭得勝（Kwok Tak Seng）晚年決定由他的三個兒子郭炳湘（Walter）、郭炳江（Thomas）和郭炳聯（Raymond）共同執掌家族生意。新城市廣場建於1980年代，之後逐漸擴充。該廣場的著名地標之一就是香港第一台由電腦操控的音樂噴泉¹，也許對外界來說這噴泉並不算什麼奇觀，但是它卻有力的營造了新城市廣場的神秘氣質。這是2011年的一個星期六下午，人們

¹ 關於香港地產大亨的介紹與分析可參考潘慧嫻：顏詩歌譯：《地產霸權》（香港：天窗出版社，2010年）。

(as usual) flocked to the mall. The building has five floors and is a grand cage of glass that allows natural light to brighten up the store displays. It is absolutely mobbed but the floors are never less than clean and white. One imagines skating around on these shiny white surfaces, rolling around on them without getting dirty. People are drawn to these climate-controlled shopping malls to fight the cramped alienation and introversion of their home spaces, to stretch their legs and to get lost in commodity reveries.

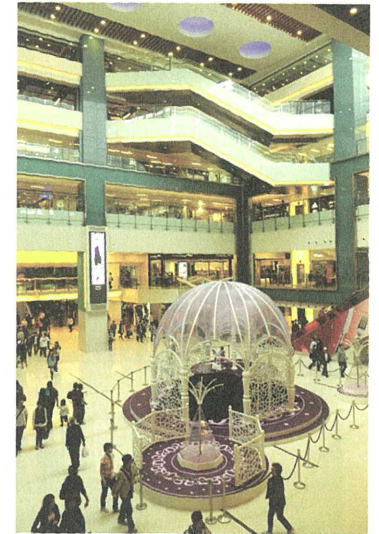
I can sense my own eyes wandering. They fall on a central display in the main lobby of the mall, a large pagoda of an imagined royal court, taking us back to the times of upper class mansions with their large ornate gardens. The pagoda is an outdoors resting place but is also designed as a finely laced metal cage, giving me over to fantasies of a dungeon's play room. Even though this kind of engineered pagoda is a cheap simulacrum, it is here to challenge the actuality of dense skyscraper homes where hardworking moms and dads are mundanely raising their offspring. I am going further off and contemplating moments of simulated enchantment, as if I were darting around in a virtual sun-baked forest with large ferns and edible mushrooms. I am brought back to the actual by a phone call from costume player Maggie who has agreed to rendezvous in the New Town Plaza.



Maggie is an ardent fan of Japanese animation whose identity has merged with animation, comics, and games (ACG) stories and characters. I am attracted to Maggie because she lives in whirling realms of visual fantasy culture and does not deny their impact on her body and identity. Maggie is a biological male who has a gender-fluid appearance and transgendered sexual identity. The Japanese-inspired fantasy worlds have deeply affected transgendered people like Maggie, providing mechanisms for transformation and escape from quotidian reality. Many animation characters have supernatural powers and morph between ghost-like and human entities, while also taking on android intelligence or gender-fluid attributes. Fans construct these types of alter egos and communicate online within the virtual chambers of the Internet. Sometimes they go a step further and desire to physically become like these characters by dressing up and showing off at animation fandom gatherings. I ask Maggie if these acts of identity changes have any reference to traditional Chinese cultural rituals, but she thinks of it as a global modern fashion that originated in Japan.

(像往常一樣)不斷地湧入商場。五層高的商場活似一個巨型玻璃籠，陽光從各個角度透射進來照亮了商場的陳列品。雖然場內早已是人群熙攘，地面卻依然潔白乾淨。如果有人在地磚上溜冰，想來也不會搞髒自己的鞋襪。人們在這些具有溫度調節功能的商場裡流連忘返，就是為了逃避各種麻痺異化或是逃脫狹小的家庭空間，能夠在這裡舒展四肢然後迷失在商品迷夢裡。

我能感覺到自己的雙眼正在四下環視。它們的視線停在商場大廳中心的展示櫃上，那是一個隸屬於某個虛構的皇家宮廷的大型寶塔，帶我們回到古時上流社會的私家廣闊庭院。寶塔雖是戶外休息場所，卻也被設計成一個結構精密的金屬籠，又使我想起地牢裡的遊戲室。雖然這種設計精密的寶塔不過是個廉價的複製品，它多多少少還是挑戰了置身於高層大廈裡的家庭——那裡住著的是勤勞父母正十年如一日地撫養著下一代。我愈想愈遠，在模仿魅力的片刻沉思，就似與蕨類和菌類植物一同置身於烈日當空的虛擬森林裡。這時，一通由已答應與我在新城市廣場會合的cosplay愛好者Maggie打來的電話把我帶回了現實世界。



Maggie是一位日本動畫的忠實粉絲，她的個性早已和動畫、漫畫和電動遊戲（ACG）中的各種故事及人物融為一體。Maggie令我著迷，因為她生活在變幻的視覺幻想世界裡，也從不否認視覺幻想對自己身體和身份的影響。從生理學角度來講，Maggie是一個擁有可遊走於兩性之間的外表和跨性別個性特質的男性。深受日本文化影響的幻想世界對類似於Maggie這樣的跨性別人士有著深刻的影響，因為它提供了轉變和逃脫現實的機制。很多動畫角色都具有超能力、能夠變身為人類或是鬼怪，而都配有智能機械人和中性色彩外型特質。粉絲們都建立起這類型的第二自我，並在網上的虛擬房間裡相互交流。有時，她（他）們可能會更進一步，想在現實生活中通過在動漫影迷聚會中的打扮和表演來使自己更加接近動漫人物。我問Maggie這些身份轉換行為是否會以傳統中國的文化儀式為參考，她認為這更應是源自於日本的全球時尚。

I am researching cosplay rituals in Hong Kong and I have ended up in a suburban shopping mall. Maggie has arrived and is accompanied by her suitcase on wheels. We hop on the MTR train to Kowloon Tong, where we transfer to another type of subway line, along with a thick mob of weekend commuters. It is long ride from the Central to the Western New Territories and we exit about 45 minutes later in a train station adjacent to another shopping mall, Tsuen Wan City Landmark. Maggie drags her luggage through long corridors only to make a stop in a Japanese Home Center (a chain of branded stores). She browses through the goods and selects a couple of clothes hangers. She pays for them and heads back to the noisy streets, food markets, and hectic out-of-door pedestrians.



This trip is one of several meetings that I have had with Maggie, making me aware that she lives out her appearances and fantasies on an “expanded stage.” It is a rotating stage with several platforms and changes of cultural scenery. She impersonates fluctuating characters, some of whom are online personalities that do not involve physical contact with the actual environment. But costume players can be differentiated from the more introverted *Otakus* (computer geeks) in that they crave to live out their fantasies as physical experiences in public places. While otakus have been plagued by the Japanese and Chinese mass media and described with stereotypes of dangerous introverts and social losers, costume players are thought to be outwardly freakish and bizarre.

The spiritual center of costume players in Hong Kong is the Convention and Exhibition Centre in Wan Chai, where they meet at a huge bi-annual trade fair for ACG products. The costume players are only allowed to dress up in the corridors and designated rooms. Even though some of them also make official stage appearances within the

我當時正在研究香港的cosplay習俗，並因此去到一個市郊商場。Maggie也踩著高跟鞋，拉著小箱子來了。我們鑽進開往九龍塘的地鐵，然後跟著週末的人群轉去另一條地鐵線。從中環到新界西是一條漫長的路程，45分鐘之後，我們才下了地鐵，而目的站又是比鄰的一座大型購物城——荃灣城市中心（Tsuen Wan City Landmark）。Maggie拖著行李箱在長長的走廊裡穿行只是為了在日本城（Japanese Home Center，一家連鎖零售店）裡停一停。她把店內的陳列掃視了一圈後，從中挑出一對衣架。付錢之後，Maggie又重新走進嘈雜的街道、食品市場和熙熙攘攘的行人路。



這趟旅途是我與Maggie幾次約會的其中一次，它使我發現Maggie其實是在一個「延展的舞台」（expanded stage）上展示她的外表和幻想。這是個設有數個平台和由文化布景帶來變化的旋轉舞台。Maggie身具多重角色，其中一些是線上人格，她們不會與現實環境的親身接觸；而角色扮演者則和內向的御宅族（Otaku，即精通電腦技術而不善人際溝通的人）不同，因為她（他）們嚮往在公共空間裡親身體驗她（他）們的幻想世界。當中日兩國的大眾傳媒長篇大論的將御宅族定型為內向型的危險份子時，角色扮演者則被視為外向型的瘋人怪客。

在香港，角色扮演者的精神聖地是灣仔的會議展覽中心——她（他）們在那裡參加兩年一度的動漫遊戲產品交易展。會展中心只允許角色扮演者在走廊和幾個特定房間更換衣物。雖然有些扮演者會在動漫展上登台表演，但大多數愛好者喜歡躲開閃光燈，在「後台」（backstage）為同伴及大眾擺造型。

ACG fair, most of them avoid the spotlight and stay “backstage” to pose for each other and for the general public. They hang out and socialize for hours while dressing up among a mess of makeup, snacks, props, and costumes. When their outfits are ready, they walk around and pose for photographers, who take hundreds of pictures that will be uploaded on the Internet. Just like the doll lovers, they carefully document the lives of their extraordinary alter egos, thus exploring mutual influences between the image and the physical self.



When visiting one of these conventions a few years ago, costume players from different animation stories and their “families” were present, getting slowly and surely ready for their appearances. Maggie was the one who stood out for me. I liked her friendly face and her outfit of a school suit and tie uniform. Maggie told me that she was playing the female character *Ashiya Mizuki* from the well-known Japanese manga *Hana Kimi*. *Mizuki* is a girl who is desperately in love with a boy who attends a famous all-boys college. *Mizuki* cross-dresses to enter the same school and to be close to him. I conducted my first short interview with Maggie, in which she explained her gender-bending character—as a biological male, she was acting out a female character who wants to pass as a boy.

I was very much attracted to Maggie’s role-playing and we decided to keep in touch. Several months later, she contacted me, saying that she was going to make an appearance at a Cosplay Convention at City University of Hong Kong, where I was teaching at the time. This time she dressed as Hell Girl (*Ai Enma*), a supernatural spirit who can be contacted by people who want to take revenge. She helps them by absorbing their

她（他）們往往花費幾個小時一邊打扮造型，一邊在擺滿了各種化妝品、零食、道具和服裝的地方約會和交際。當收拾妥善，她（他）們就會走向攝影師面前擺出各種動作。攝影師則會拍攝數以百計會被上載到互聯網的照片。就如娃娃愛好者一樣，角色扮演習慣於仔細的記錄她（他）們華麗非凡的第二自我，從而探索影像和自我之間的相互影響。



兩年前我曾訪問過其中一個動漫聚會，在那裡看到很多角色扮演者表演著不同的動畫故事，而她（他）們的「家族」（families）也會出席並緩慢而細緻的為表演者做造型準備。我很快在人群中留意到了Maggie。我喜歡她友善的面容和她的學校西裝外衣和領帶制服。她告訴我她正在扮演的是著名日本漫畫《花樣少男少女》（*Hana Kimi*）中的女性角色蘆屋瑞稀（*Ashiya Mizuki*）。瑞稀無法自拔的愛上了一位在知名男校讀書的男孩。為了接近她的心上人，瑞稀異裝為男性打扮進入了這所男校來接近他。這便是我第一次訪問Maggie，在簡短的對話中她向我介紹了她自己的混合性別身份——作為一個生理學上的男性，正努力扮演著一個要冒充成為男生的女孩。

我被Maggie獨特的角色扮演迷住了，我們都決定要保持聯絡。幾個月後，Maggie聯絡我說她將會參加在香港城市大學舉辦的cosplay同盟活動（Cosplay Convention），而我當時正巧在那家大學工作。這一次，她打扮成地獄少女（*Ai Enma*）——一個只與有心中滿是復仇慾望的人聯繫的超自然靈

hatred and locating their abusers. Maggie was wearing stark red contact lenses and a kimono patterned with flowers. She showed her cursing doll, lifting up her sleeved arm to the surrounding audience, just as Hell Girl would do before carrying out her deadly spell.

My third encounter with Maggie took place at a TV studio also at City University of Hong Kong. We now had invited her to dress up as her favorite female character and to explain her gradual identity transformation into Gothic Lolita, a figure whose impersonators are a subculture associated with Japanese street fashions and musical bands. They are related to costume players but they do not base their identities on specific characters. Except for their trendy platform shoes, Lolita impersonators look like Victorian porcelain dolls. They wear the clothes of bygone eras. In Hong Kong and mainland China they are often classified into three "types"—Classic Lolita who wears a simple white dress outfit, Sweet Lolita who dresses like a doll and in pink style, and Gothic Lolita who wears a black lacey dress and heavy gothic-style makeup. They inhabit a world of pre-sexual adolescence, their innocence emphasized through the heavy layering of vintage clothing and props. They also stage city gatherings, such as High Tea parties where they eat mini-sandwiches using knives and forks. They are exhibitionistic and media-savvy, but they also act decorously; their aesthetic of a nostalgic decadence refers to older feudal bedrooms or secluded rose gardens where sexual seductions unfold slowly and with a sense of grace. Modes of well-mannered femininity are taken to an extreme in order to develop performative subjectivities. Lolita-style love is characterized by a kind of uneven relationship between herself and an older male (Weird uncle), or vice versa, between a cute young boy and an older female (Elder sister)². In these uneven relationships, the younger person is the key figure who acts out an exaggerated mode of innocence while showing an excessive desire for the lover.

It was during her appearance as Gothic Lolita that she first revealed herself as a transgendered person with an open-ended sexual orientation. She was really different from the other costume players in that she thought of her nature as feminine or gender-fluid. She used her female fantasy costume as a venue to express her queer identity and to be accepted by the general public. She was on a complex mission to discover a more stable lifestyle and to find peace with her biological family, who did not approve of her sex change³.

魂。她會透過吸取這些人體內的仇恨和尋找復仇對像來幫助他們報仇雪恨。扮演地獄少男的Maggie配戴著一副鮮紅色的隱形眼鏡，身穿綴滿花卉圖案的和服。她捲起長袖，向周圍的觀眾展示手中的詛咒娃娃——就如地獄少女施毒咒前的標誌動作一樣。

我是在城市大學的電視工作室裡與Maggie進行第三次的約見。我們請她在工作室裡換裝扮演她喜愛的女性角色和解釋她是如何逐漸轉化身份成為一個哥德洛麗塔（Gothic Lolita）——這角色的扮演者往往都對日本街頭時裝及樂團有關的次文化極感興趣。她們雖然也是某一層面上的角色扮演者，但她們並不會對某個具體角色產生身份認同。如果忽略她們腳下時髦的高跟鞋，洛麗塔扮演者往往看上去是個維多利亞式的陶瓷娃娃。她們喜歡穿那些看上去年代久遠的衣服。在香港和中國大陸，她們通常可被分為三個種類（types）——「經典洛麗塔」（Classic Lolita）愛穿簡潔的白色系服裝；「甜美洛麗塔」（Sweet Lolita）則喜歡用粉色系的服飾把自己打扮成洋娃娃；而「哥德洛麗塔」（Gothic Lolita）則青睞黑色蕾絲裙和哥德式濃妝。她們都居住在一個滿溢著性青澀時期那懵懂味道的世界，那些厚重層疊的古董衣衫及飾物無一不在強調洛麗塔的純潔天真。洛麗塔們也會在城市裡舉行社交聚會，譬如參加一些必須使用刀叉享用迷你三文治的下午茶派對。她們既喜愛展示自己又懂得利用媒體，同時也深諳如何保持優雅的風度。她們對充滿懷舊氣息的浮華糜爛品的審美觀是借鑒於那些舊式封建的臥房或是幽閉的玫瑰花園，性誘惑在這些空間裡優雅的徐徐上演。為了發展這種表演意味濃厚的主體身份，洛麗塔們把那種強調舉止得體的女性特質發揮到了極致。而洛麗塔式的愛戀則以年長男子（怪蜀黍，即怪叔叔的諧音）和年幼女孩之間的不平等關係為特點，當然有時這種不平等關係也可以圍繞可愛男孩和成熟御姐²展開。在此類不平等關係中，年幼一方是關鍵性角色，她（他）們總是一邊抒發自己對另一半的無限欲望，一邊誇張的表現著自己的純潔無瑕。

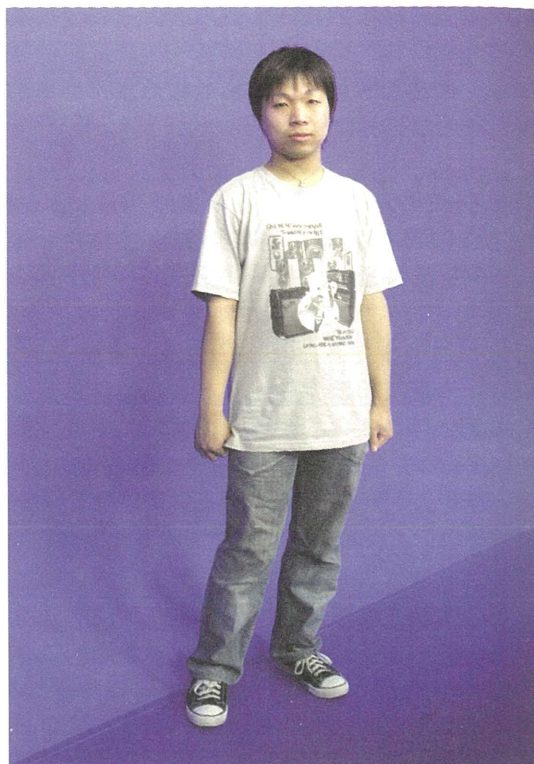
就在扮裝成為哥德式洛麗塔的過程中，Maggie第一次透露自己是一個沒有固定性取向的跨性別人士。與大部份角色扮演者顯然不同，Maggie認為自己本質上具有女性特質、或至少是流動不定的性特質。她借用女性夢想服飾作為表達自己酷兒身份的地方，以被大眾接受。她既在努力為自己探求一個更加穩定的生活方式，又在不懈努力與反對自己變性的家人和平共處³。

² The definitions of these relationships were taken from the Chinese interactive encyclopedia Baidu. http://baike.baidu.com/view/2864.html?tp=0_01 and http://baike.baidu.com/view/4575.html?tp=5_11 (accessed May 21 2009).

³ A full version of the interview can be found in the catalogue, Katrien Jacobs and Anne Peirson-Smith eds. *Extra/ordinary Dress Code: Costuming and the Second Skin in Asia* (City University of Hong Kong, November 2009).

² 這些角色的詳細定義可見於百度：
http://baike.baidu.com/view/2864.html?tp=0_01 及
http://baike.baidu.com/view/4575.html?tp=5_11，擷取於2009年5月21日。

³ 這個訪談的全文可見於Katrien Jacobs and Anne Peirson-Smith eds. *Extra/ordinary Dresscode dresscode: Costuming and the Second Skin in Asia* (City University of Hong Kong, November 2009)。



Maggie: When I first participated in costume play as a cross-dresser, my family members felt that it was nonsense and a waste of time. To be more precise, they thought I was giving our family a bad reputation. They thought I was an insult to the family name. Maybe my family is especially conservative and has a traditionally Chinese way of thinking?

Zaphy: Is it because you are cosplaying female roles? Or are they negative about the whole act?

Maggie: Yes, yes! Whenever I am cosplaying any characters, they think that I am insulting the family name... something like that. But they gradually got accustomed to it.

(Now sitting in front of the mirror in a TV studio's makeup room)



Maggie: 我第一次以異裝打扮參與角色扮演的時候，我家人都覺得那是十分無聊而且浪費時間。更準確說，他們覺得我敗壞了家人的名聲。認為我給家族的聲望帶來了侮辱。也許是因為我的家人特別保守和以中國傳統的一套來想事情吧？

Zaphy: 會不會因為你扮演的是女性角色呢？還是你的家人對cosplay本身很反對？

Maggie: 是的，是的！無論我扮演什麼角色，他們都認為我敗壞家人名譽……諸如此類。但是他們漸漸的也習慣了。

(Zaphy和Maggie一同來到電視工作室化妝間的鏡子前)

Maggie: In order to look natural, the fake eyelashes must be very, very soft, as if you have not put anything on yourself. But if they are too natural, you can't see their effect. If they are not a bit exaggerated, why should I even put them on?

(Placing glue on the fake eyelashes, getting ready to stick them on her eyes)

Maggie: You have to place them on the exact location (on your eyes), and press them into place.

Zaphy: So beautiful!

Maggie: Recently, there are cheaper fake eyelashes that cost about HKD100 per box, with eight to ten pairs per box. The price is very reasonable! Not bad at all! It is better than just buying a pair of cheap ones. These cheap ones are about HKD20. But these are good, and the price is very reasonable.

Zaphy: You mentioned just now that if you put on the eyelashes, you will look a bit slutty. Can you tell us more?

Maggie: I actually want to look more "pure", but once I put on fake eyelashes, I feel I am too girlish and slutty! I look REALLY lustful!

(Checking her fake eyelashes)

Zaphy: What if you use less exaggerated eyelashes? How would you feel then?

Maggie: It will then look as if I didn't put on any eyelashes. Then that is useless! If the fake eyelashes are not present, my eyes will look dull. On normal days, even when I put on mascara, it is still hard to show the contrast in the shape of the eyes. And also, it depends on the skill of putting on eyeliner. It depends on the color you are applying, and how you are applying it.



(Maggie has now moved inside the TV studio)

Maggie: 如果你想看上去自然一點，你一定要選用非常非常柔軟的假眼睫毛，就仿佛你眼睛上什麼都沒有戴一樣。當然也不可以太自然了，不然你就看不出它們的功效。如果一點都不誇張的話，我為什麼還要費事戴它呢？

(Maggie在假眼睫毛低端塗上膠水，準備把它們貼在眼睛上)

Maggie: 你要把它們放在合適的地方（在你的眼睛上），然後把它們壓進去。

Zaphy: 真好看！

Maggie: 最近，香港有賣一種價格平一點的假眼睫毛，一盒大概100港元，其中有八到十對假眼睫毛。這個價錢就非常合理！很不錯哦！比只買一對更便宜，因為這些假眼睫毛平均只要20港元一對。但是這些的質量又好，價格又公道。

Zaphy: 你剛剛說一旦帶上假眼睫毛，你看上去就有點淫蕩，這是怎麼回事呢？

Maggie: 其實我想要看上去更「純」（pure）一點。但是只要一帶上假眼睫毛，我就覺得自己太有女人味和騷味。我看上去真的很誘人呢！

(檢查了一下自己的假眼睫毛)

Zaphy: 那如果你用那種比較平常的眼睫毛呢？你會有什麼感覺？

Maggie: 如果那樣的話，我看上去就好像根本沒有戴假眼睫毛，那就沒用啦！如果看不出那些假眼睫毛的話，我的眼睛會顯得很沒有精神。平常的日子裡，即使我塗好睫毛膏，還是很難讓人看到我戴了美瞳的眼睛。同時，這也和畫眼線的技巧有關。這可與你選擇的眼線顏色和畫法有關的。

(Maggie 走進電視工作室裡面)

Zaphy: Can you tell us something about the figure of the Gothic Lolita?

Maggie: Her outfits are usually darker in color, black colored, and have some romantic connotations. It gives a feeling of prestige, royalty, and nobility. At the same time, it also has the feeling of "death."

Zaphy: Do you feel very different when wearing this costume? We'd like you to talk about how you feel today.

Maggie: I feel that I can be my true self after putting on the outfit.

Zaphy: What about your dress? Did you buy this, make it yourself, or is it ordered to be tailor-made?

Maggie: This costume is custom-made. I ordered it from a shop called Spider in Mong Kok; they have their own brand called Spider. This one cost me about HKD700.

Zaphy: Does your character have a life? Does she have a story of her own?

Maggie: I don't think so. I think Lolita is more like a fashion style.

Zaphy: But the social inspiration is Japanese? A Japanese notion of Lolita?

Maggie: The word "Lolita" originated in Europe. The Japanese then adapted and improved the Lolita style. In general, the Lolitas you are seeing in Hong Kong are Japanese-adapted ones.

Zaphy: Are the cosplayers interested in knowing about the historical European fashion styles?

Maggie: Actually, most people would not bother knowing the in-depth history of these styles. They simply put on the outfits because they are beautiful, or they design their own Lolita style.

Zaphy: So, would you go out dressed like this, out in public in Mong Kok for instance? Would you go out dressed like this Lolita with your friends?

Zaphy: 你能給我介紹一下哥德洛麗塔嗎？

Maggie: 她的衣服通常顏色深暗，譬如黑色，又有一些羅曼蒂克的內涵。她會給人一種很有威望、具有權威和高尚的感覺。與此同時也有「死亡」(death)的味道。

Zaphy: 當你穿著這套衣服的時候，會不會有什麼特別的感覺？不如講講你現時的感受吧！

Maggie: 我覺得穿上這套衣服之後我可以表現出真實的自我。

Zaphy: 那你的裙子呢？這條裙子是你買的、自己做的、還是在裁縫那裡訂製的呢？

Maggie: 這套衣服是訂做的。我在旺角一家叫蜘蛛 (Spider) 的店裡訂造的。他們有自己的品牌，就是蜘蛛牌。這套衣服需要700港元。

Zaphy: 那你扮演的角色有沒有生命？她是不是也有自己的故事？

Maggie: 我覺得她沒有什麼故事。我覺得洛麗塔更像是一種時裝風格。

Zaphy: 但她是來自於日本社會的啟示嗎？是日系的洛麗塔嗎？

Maggie: 「洛麗塔」(Lolita) 這個詞語起源於歐洲。日本人後來採用了這個表達，並發展出一種洛麗塔風格。總的來說，你在香港看到的洛麗塔都是日系洛麗塔。

Zaphy: 那cosplay愛好者們會不會也對歐洲時尚史感興趣呢？

Maggie: 其實，大多數人才懶得費時去探究這些時尚風格的歷史呢！她(他)們不過是因為好看才穿上這些服裝，也有人喜歡設計自己的洛麗塔風格。

Zaphy: 那麼，你會不會穿成這樣走去公共場所，譬如旺角呢？或是穿的像洛麗塔一樣和朋友出去玩？

Maggie: Yeah, we do, sometimes. I would go out with my male friends for photo shoots or café meetings, putting on the female Lolita outfits. But most people of course would only dress like this at home or for private functions. They'd seldom wear those outfits publicly.

Zaphy: Do you also dress up at home sometimes?

Maggie: I actually can't do that, because of my family's rejection.

Zaphy: What about other cosplayers? Do they accept you? How do you feel among the other cosplayers when you are cross-dressing?

Maggie: I don't feel anything special. Cosplayers just focus on whether you can be exactly like the cosplay "character" or not.

Zaphy: OK, so they are not interested in sexual identity or your sex role?

Maggie: Actually... some girls get very excited about it! But I don't know why. They get very excited about a guy cross-cosplaying a female character. They always want to take photos with me.

Zaphy: What about reactions of the general public? How do people react to your cross-dressing appearances?

Maggie: I think that people here are too conservative, but there is also a more open transgendered community. Usually we cross-dress and communicate with each other through online forums or meetings/gatherings.

Zaphy: So, do you identify as gay and "trans"? Do you like girls or boys? Or both?

Maggie: I have thought about that question a lot. I think that the concern is not whether I like boys or girls. When meeting other people, I don't care so much about physical sex/gender. I'd rather focus on the feeling when we meet. And also I am mostly "in a female role", so I would like others to take care of me.

Zaphy: Would you like to date a boy who can take care of you?

Maggie: 會，我們有時會這樣。我可以和我的男性朋友穿上女性的洛麗塔衣服，去拍照或是在咖啡廳見面。但是當然大多數人只在家裡或是私人聚會才穿成這樣。她（他）們很少會公開地穿成這樣。

Zaphy: 你在家裡也會精心打扮嗎？

Maggie: 我真的不能在家裡這樣做，因為我家人很反對。

Zaphy: 那其他的cosplay愛好者呢？她（他）們接受你嗎？當你異裝出現在很多cosplay愛好者身邊時會有什麼感受？

Maggie: 我沒有什麼特別的感受。Cosplay愛好者更加關心你扮某個「人物」（character）扮得像不像。

Zaphy: 好的，所以說她們對你的性別認同向角色並不感興趣啦？

Maggie: 怎麼說呢……有幾個女生對這個還蠻興奮的！可我不是明白她們為什麼會那樣。她們看到男生異裝扮成女性角色就會很激動，總是想和我合影。

Zaphy: 一般公眾又有什麼反應？他們對你的異裝扮相有什麼反應呢？

Maggie: 我想這裡的人們太過保守了，但是這裡仍然有一個開放的跨性別社群。通常我們會在網絡或是約會聚會中異裝打扮並且相互交流。

Zaphy: 這麼說，你會把自己定位為同性戀者或是變性人（trans）呢？你喜歡女生還是男生？還是都喜歡？

Maggie: 我自己也常常思考這個問題。我想喜歡男或女並不是關鍵問題。我和他人相處的時候，不會介意他（她）們的生理／心理性別。我更重視和他人相處時的感覺。另外，由於我大部份時間是「進入了一個女性角色」（in a female role），所以很希望有人能來照顧我。

Zaphy: 那你會想和一個可以照顧你的男生約會嗎？

Maggie: A boy or a TB (Tomboy). If it were a "boy", he would be a true male physically. The feeling would be very solid. For a "tomboy", although she is not a real "male", she would understand what a "girl" would be thinking about. So sometimes I would prefer "tomboys" over "boys."

Zaphy: Is it difficult to find a partner in Hong Kong?

Maggie: You can say that, yes. It is because others may find it hard to define whether you are gay or transgendered. In the world of lesbians, they would sometimes reject transgendered people like us. The lesbians generally like "real" girls. I won't reveal myself so easily and let them discover my identity. Whether I am male or female, I want them to love "me", my inner self, and not my "body." If we have feelings toward each other, regardless of gender, we would still get along with each other. This is what I believe.

(Maggie describing the outfit to the interviewers, after she has taken off her Lolita costume, and also removed all her makeup)

Zaphy: So how do you feel now?

Maggie: I don't know... I feel troubled. When I go home I have to sort out all my costumes!

Zaphy: Yeah, OK, but do you feel OK now to be a male person? To go back, home, back to your family, back to your mum?

Maggie: I hate them now...

Zaphy: Why don't you let your mum know... let her know that you don't like being male? To what extent do they know about your sexual orientation?

Maggie: They know that I have to consult a therapist.

Zaphy: Do you also want to take hormones?

Maggie: 男生 (boy) 和假小子 (Tomboy) 都行。如果是個「男生」，那就是一個生理意義上的真男性。那麼和他一起的感覺就會很穩定。如果是個假小子，雖然她不是真正的男人，但是她會懂得一個「女孩」(girl) 會想什麼。所以有時我會喜歡「假小子」多過「男生」。

Zaphy: 你覺得在香港尋找一個伴侶會不會很難呢？

Maggie: 你可以這樣說，是的。因為別人很難知道你到底是不是同性戀者還是變性人。在女同性戀者的世界裡，她們往往拒絕和像我這樣的變性人接觸，她們一般喜歡「真的」(real) 女孩子。我不會輕易表明自己的身份，我更願意讓別人猜猜我的角色。不管我是男是女，我都希望他們能夠愛這個「我」——我的內在，而不是我的「身體」(body)。如果我們彼此有感覺，那不管是什麼性別，我們都應該和彼此相處的不錯。這是我相信的。

(Maggie一邊描述著自己的感受，一邊脫下洛麗塔服裝和卸妝)

Zaphy: 那你現在覺得怎麼樣？

Maggie: 不知道啊……我覺得很麻煩吧？因為回家後又要整理自己所有的服裝了！

Zaphy: 對哦……可是你現在回到了男性角色感覺還可以嗎？這樣比較好回去，我是說回家、回到媽媽身邊？

Maggie: 我現在真恨他們呀……

Zaphy: 為什麼不讓你媽媽知道……讓她知道你不喜歡做男生呢？她們對你的性取向知道多少？

Maggie: 她們知道我在看治療師。

Zaphy: 你想服用荷爾蒙嗎？

Maggie: I am already taking them. They have already changed my metabolism, and in some ways affected my thoughts. Sure, definitely, I become emotional. It also makes me feel unwell. For example, I feel tired easily, suddenly... physically unwell and uncomfortable. Sweating, panting involuntarily and I'm also having pain in the bones and stomach, near the chest area.

Zaphy: But you still want to take them?

Maggie: The hormones are effective in some ways. It improves your skin condition, and also makes you feel different. I think they make the shape of my face look very feminine.

Zaphy: So that means you really want to transform your gender and have breast implants and sexual reassignment surgery?

Maggie: Yes, but there is still the family problem.

Zaphy: Is there a big social problem in the Chinese culture, in that you have to live with your parents?

Maggie: And live with what your parents have given you. So, it is an exhausting inner struggle for me.



Maggie: 我早就服用荷爾蒙了。它們已改變了我的新陳代謝，也在一定程度上影響了我的想法。我的確是變得很情緒化了，這也讓我覺得很不舒服。譬如說，我會很容易就疲勞，忽然就身體不適和不自在。出汗、不由自主的呼吸急促，胸口附近的骨頭，還有胃都會痛。

Zaphy: 可是你還是要繼續服用？

Maggie: 荷爾蒙在某些方面還是有用的。它令我的膚質變好了，也讓我覺得自己變得不一樣了。我覺得它使我的臉看起來愈來愈女性化了。

Zaphy: 這樣看來，你真的很想變性，也許會考慮植入義胸或是性再造手術？

Maggie: 也許，但是我還是有家人的問題。

Zaphy: 中國文化是不是要求子女與父母同住？

Maggie: 還要求我們接受父母給予的身體。所以對我來說，這是十分傷神的心理糾結。

It took many months of waiting after this last session before Maggie agreed to take us on this special journey from her biological family's home space to a hidden space shared with other cross-dressers. We are strolling around in the old part of Tsuen Wan. In the far distance we can see thick packs of glittering skyscrapers, places which nobody in our social circles could ever afford to live in. Maggie enters one of the decrepit buildings in old Tsuen Wan and asks us to wait outside until she is ready. She is still hesitant to let us inside her space. After one hour and 45 minutes of waiting, and several rounds of further negotiations on the phone, we are invited into the small apartment. Maggie opens the door for us on high heels, wearing black silken pants, and a fashionable ladies hat on top. Walking up the stairs, we go by many cramped sub-divided apartments. We are told that some of them are rented by self-employed sex workers who invite their clients there for sex sessions. Then we enter the space that belongs to Maggie and her cross-dressing friends, a tiny modest space with a shower, a large mirror and several wardrobes. Nobody else beside Maggie is present and it seems it would be a difficult place for several people to use at once, but it is used mostly by cross-dressers to store their clothes and to dress up in a safe space away from the family.



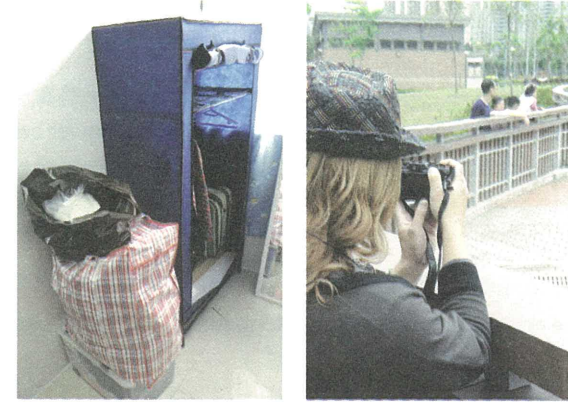
Zaphy: Do other people use this space as well?

Maggie: Yes, we share it amongst four people and we are all cross-dressers.

Zaphy: Are there other places like this in Tsuen Wan? Do you know if there are other cross-dressers who come to Tsuen Wan to dress up?

Maggie: I know a couple of them actually. They come here because the rent is so cheap here.

這最後的採訪是經過多個月的漫長等待，Maggie終於同意帶領我們踏上一次特別的旅途——從她的生理家庭的家庭空間走去她和其他異裝人士共用的隱蔽空間。這一次，我們漫步在荃灣舊區裡。遠遠的，我們還是可以看見成群的摩天大廈，那裡的寓所至少在我的朋友圈裡尚無人能住得起。Maggie走進一座舊唐樓，叮囑我們在樓外等候她打扮妥當。其實她還是有點猶豫是否可以將我們領入她的空間。我們等了一個小時又三刻鐘，期間還在電話上和Maggie進行數輪交涉，終於獲邀進入了樓上的小公寓。開門迎接我們的Maggie足蹬高跟鞋，身穿黑色絲褲，頭上則戴著一頂時尚的淑女帽。爬樓梯時，我們看到了不少狹小的套房。聽說，有幾間套房裡住著自僱的性工作者，她們時不時會在房裡為客人提供性服務。接著我們便進入了Maggie和她異裝朋友們合租的這個空間——小小的空間內設有一個淋浴噴頭、一面落地鏡和幾個衣櫥。Maggie的朋友都不在，而這裡看上去也容納不了幾個人，但無論如何，對這些異裝愛好者而言，這裡不失為一個儲存衣物和逃避家人的理想地帶。



Zaphy: 這裡會有其他人使用嗎？

Maggie: 會啊！我們是四個人合租的，我們都是異裝愛好者。

Zaphy: 荃灣別處也有這樣的地方嗎？會不會有很多異裝愛好者在荃灣找地方變裝呢？

Maggie: 我的確知道幾個這樣的人。她（他）們在這裡租房就是因為價錢比較便宜。

Zaphy: And how much does it cost then?

Maggie: Each of us would pay HKD500 per month (USD64).

Zaphy: That's not so bad I guess. So is it impossible to find a place like that in Sha Tin?

Maggie: Yes, in Sha Tin the rent is much more expensive.

Zaphy: And all these closets here are all wardrobes?

Maggie: Yes. All these are wardrobes. And this one is mine.

Zaphy: This one is yours? The biggest one! Can we have a look at it? Wow. This one is nice, huh?

Maggie: Yeah.

Zaphy: But you don't meet here to hang out and socialize... is it just a place for changing your clothes?

Maggie: It is only for changing clothes, but you can take a shower here as well. There is a bathroom there.

Zaphy: Yeah, thank you very much for showing it to us. So where are you taking us now?

Maggie: We are now going to go to Hong Kong Island where I have to attend a meeting in a couple of hours.

We continue our walk through old Tsuen Wan and head back to the MTR subway to go on our last leg of the journey. Maggie looks happy as she drags her high heels through the streets and public parks of Tsuen Wan. We are due for another long train ride into the heart of the city, where we will make a stop in the IFC building, one of the most illustrious malls and highest skyscrapers in Hong Kong. Maggie agreed to pose on the roof of this building. She also opens up and explains more about her other transsexual friends and her "mother" Joanne who is an older male-to-female (MTF) transsexual.

Zaphy: 那需要多少錢呢？

Maggie: 我們四個人平均每人月付500港元（64美元）。

Zaphy: 我想這個價錢應不錯吧！在沙田就不可能找到這樣的地方吧？

Maggie: 是的，沙田的地租貴很多。

Zaphy: 這些櫥櫃都是用來做衣櫥的嗎？

Maggie: 對啊！這些全都是衣櫥，而這個是我的衣櫥。

Zaphy: 這是你的啊？這可是最大的衣櫥了！我能不能看一看？欸！這個衣櫥真不錯呢！

Maggie: 對呀！

Zaphy: 不過這裡只是換衣服的地方，不是和朋友們交往的地方，對嗎？

Maggie: 這裡只能供我們換衣服，不過也可以洗澡。你看，後面有一個浴室。

Zaphy: 我看到了。真的謝謝你帶我們來這裡呢！接下來我們又會去哪裡呢？

Maggie: 現在我們去香港島，等一下我要在那兒見幾個人。

於是，我們再次穿過荃灣舊區，返回地鐵站，準備拜訪旅途的最後一站。Maggie看起來十分開心，她拖著那雙高跟鞋愉快的走在荃灣的街道上和公園裡。我們又要乘搭另一次長長的地鐵車程前往這個城市的中心地帶。我們會去國際金融中心（IFC），那是香港繁華的廣場和最高的摩天大廈之一。Maggie同意在國際金融中心的樓底上為我們擺造型拍照。她也漸漸願意敞開心扉，講起她的跨性別朋友和她的「媽媽」Joanne——另一個男變女（male-to-female）的跨性別人士。

Zaphy: That was like a long preparation for you to change. Do you think it is worth it?

Maggie: I feel happy, very happy.

Zaphy: Why is that?

Maggie: Because I can be myself now.

Zaphy: Do you do this every Sunday or also on week days?

Maggie: Whenever I have time, I will surely get beautifully dressed and go out in the streets. I will shop around for more dresses. And sometimes I hang out with my friends.

Zaphy: What about your friends? Do you feel that they are like very supportive to you?

Maggie: My friends support me. For instance, if I am not sure about what makeup products to buy, my friends will offer me some advice.

Zaphy: And what about your friend Joanne? You told me that she is a special person to you. So how do you feel about Joanne?

Maggie: Me and Joanne? I think we are like mother and daughter.

Zaphy: When did that relationship start?

Maggie: Ever since I have known her. Our relationship is very close and also complicated. When I am not sure about something, I will go and find her. She is always very nice in helping me out.

Zaphy: Also do you have any other friends like that?

Maggie: Yes, but I am not that close to them as with Joanne. Because she always gets me, even if I don't speak at all. She can read my mind.

Zaphy: 你剛剛在荃灣還打扮了蠻長一段時間的，值得這麼費時嗎？

Maggie: 我真的覺得開心，很開心。

Zaphy: 為什麼開心啊？

Maggie: 因為我現在可以做自己。

Zaphy: 你是不是一般在周日才會變裝，或是平日也會呢？

Maggie: 只要我有時間，我就一定會打扮得美美的出街。我會到處看看和買些衣服，有時也會約會朋友。

Zaphy: 說到你的朋友，她（他）們是不是很支持你？

Maggie: 我的朋友都支持我的。譬如說，如果我不知道該買什麼化妝品，我的朋友就會給我一些意見。

Zaphy: 那你那位朋友Joanne呢？你說她對你來說就是很特別的，你覺得她怎麼樣？

Maggie: 我和Joanne？我覺得我們就像母女一樣啊！

Zaphy: 這種母女關係是什麼時候開始的呢？

Maggie: 從我剛剛認識她的時候就開始了。我們的關係很親密也比較複雜。如果我不知道某件事應該怎麼辦，我就會去問她，她總是願意幫助我。

Zaphy: 你還有沒有其他像她這樣的朋友呢？

Maggie: 也有幾個，但是我還是和Joanne最親密。因為她永遠懂得我，哪怕我什麼都不說，她都能讀懂我的心。

After this short interview on the roof of the IFC Building, Maggie took off to go to her gathering in Sheung Wan. A few weeks later, she was kind enough to introduce us to some of her transgendered friends and acquaintances:

Joanne Leung is the “mother” of Maggie and a queer activist. She educates people about transgendered identity and is very open towards the various factions of the “trans” community, including the costume players.

Omena is a younger MTF transsexual who is also open about her sex change. However, she wants to be seen as a “real girl” or “pure girl” and distinguishes herself from occasional cross-dressers and costume players.

Natalie is a very young cross-dresser who joins in the conversation and espouses her admiration for two older women she considers her role-models. She is very attached to a Facebook group *Girlz Kingdom* for “Fake Girls”, or Chinese males who all strive to cross-dress and look like pretty girls. The group is open to members who are either biologically female or transgendered individuals, but it is closed to “males.”

Finally, Rob is an FTM transsexual who recently moved back to Hong Kong from London. He grew up in Hong Kong but moved to London when he was 17. When he lived in London he relied on a “queer family” for social support.



這段簡短的訪問就是在國際金融中心的天台進行的。緊接著，Maggie就前往上環的聚會。短短幾週之後，Maggie向我們介紹了她的幾位跨性別朋友及熟人：

Joanne是Maggie的「媽媽」，也是一個酷兒活躍份子。她熱衷於向周邊的人們介紹和講解跨性別人物的角色和身份，並對跨性別群體中的各種人士都抱有開放支持的態度，而部份角色扮演者也屬於這些群體；

Omena則是一位年輕的男變女跨性別人物，她願意公開自己的變性人身份。不過，她還是更願意被視為一個「真正的女孩」（real girl）或是「純女孩」（pure girl），也強調自己並非那種一時興起才選擇異裝及角色扮演的人群。



Natalie是一個年紀很小的異裝人士，她也加入了我們幾人的交談，並向我們透露她對兩個年長女性的愛慕之情，並把她們當成自己的模範。Natalie熱衷參加Facebook小組*Girlz Kingdom*的線上活動，該小組主要面向「偽娘」（Fake Girls）或是喜歡異裝、期望被人們視為美麗女生的華裔男性。雖然小組是開放予所有會員，當中既有生理性別本身就是女性的成員也有跨性別人物，但是它的內容卻更貼近「男性」；

最後，Rob則是一位女變男的跨性別人物，他最近剛剛從倫敦搬返香港。Rob在香港成長，但在17歲時移居倫敦。在倫敦，他很依賴於當地「酷兒家庭」（queer family）的社會支持。



(Joanne is Maggie's "mom" and Omena is her friend—both are transsexuals who participate in public dialogue about sexual identity.)

Joanne: I'm trying to build up a network in Hong Kong, but it's really hard because everybody has their own ideas, they cannot find a way to fit into each other's plans.

Omena: It is important for us to help each other, to share our experience, but the problem is that many don't want to share, because they don't want others to know about their past life once they do the transition. They have already become boys or girls, or rather, become "real boys" or "real girls", so the past does not exist for them anymore.

Joanne: So they just stay away from the community.

Natalie: And some people are ashamed of their identity. They don't want others to become like them. They think they are kind of like bad role-models; they just want others to be "normal."

Zaphy: So you see this as an open queer network for all kinds of transgendered people.

Joanne: I do believe that this network should be open. Sometimes people argue with me stating that transsexuals should not be confused with cross-dressers. But actually my point of view is that sometimes people are not sure about their true identity, they may treat themselves as cross-dressers, or maybe just try to be costume players. It may be just easier for them to be a cross-dresser or a cosplayer, because they don't have to make the choice to become a boy or girl.

(Natalie is a younger MTF transsexual. She is sitting in front of a computer and has opened the social network Facebook)

(Joanne是Maggie的「媽媽」而Omena則是她的朋友——二人都是曾就性別角色作出公開講話的跨性別人士。)

Joanne: 我正在努力建設一個香港的社交網絡，但是這件事並不容易做。因為每個人都有自己的想法，他們無法相互妥協。

Omena: 對我們來說，相互支持、分享經驗是很重要的事情。但問題在於我們中不少人並不願分享自己的經歷，因為他們不希望別人知道自己在變性前的生活。這些人已經至少成為了男孩或女孩，或是變成了所謂「真正的男孩」(real boys)及「真正的女孩」(real girls)，對他們來說過去的生活根本就不存在。

Joanne: 所以他們很想遠離跨性別群體。

Natalie: 還有些人對自己的性別身份感到丟臉。他們不希望有人以自己為榜樣，因為他們自認為是不好的榜樣，他們希望別人能夠做「正常人」(normal)。

Zaphy: 這樣說來，在你們眼中，其實跨性別人士是活躍在一個較為開放的酷兒網絡中了？

Joanne: 我的確認為這個網絡應該是開放的。有些人不認同我的理念，他們覺得應該把異裝人士和跨性別人士區分看待。但我覺得其實有些人對自己的身份還不很確定，他們不知道真正的自己到底是怎樣的，這些人可能以為自己是異裝人士，或僅僅參與一些角色扮演活動。對他們來說，其實做個異裝人或是cosplay愛好者就已經足夠了，他們不需要選擇做一個男孩或是女孩。

(Natalie是一個年輕的男變女的跨性別人士。她坐在電腦前並打開了電腦給我們介紹Facebook上的一個社交網絡)

Natalie: Basically Girlz Kingdom is just a Facebook wall, and sometimes you find information or people just post random things. You can basically discuss anything you want, but most of the posts are related to how you can become more like a girl. Or there may be some beauty advice or stuff about transsexual issues. This area is for the "fake girls", we call them "fake girls" and in Cantonese we call them 偽娘 (Ngai Noeng). It's not exactly equivalent to a definition of a cross-dresser because I think the term "cross-dresser" has a bit of a fetish element in it and sexual elements as well. But fake girls are more pure, it's more to do with actual attributes than how you dress yourself. She is born to look quite feminine and also her body figure is quite feminine as well, and her body build is quite slim and small, so usually she finds it difficult to find male clothes even she is biologically male.

Zaphy: So you are saying that maybe there is no fetish element in being a pure girl?

Natalie: Well, it's stricter. You have to become perfect, you have to look like a real girl, instead of just looking like male who wears female clothing.

Zaphy: That sounds pretty harsh.

Natalie: Yeah I know, but it's very important in this community, otherwise you can't be called a fake girl. Yeah, and some of them become celebrities. Like this one from Taiwan. And then they may start thinking about hormones or doing the surgery but here is where they upload their images.

(Rob is a FTM transsexual from Hong Kong who has undergone his sexual reassignment surgeries in London. He wishes to return to Hong Kong to work here.)

Rob: Well, I feel like Hong Kong is where I belong. This is where I grew up, where all the people I know are, and I love the culture here. And I can get a decent job here as well. I went through the entire transition in London instead of Hong Kong, because Hong Kong is a bad place to go through transition. Because there are all the rules, all the time, and all the paper work, and people comment on you and judge you all the time, even doctors, and even surgeons. They refuse to call you as your given gender sometimes. They still refer to you by your old name, and then there are the banks and stuff.

Zaphy: So you just wanted to come back after you were fully transitioned?

Natalie: Girlz Kingdom基本上只是一個Facebook的留言版，人們會時不時的在上面隨意貼點東西，有時候你也能從上面尋找你需要的資訊。基本上，你可以在這裡討論任何話題，不過版上大部份內容都是告訴你如何表現得更像一個女孩，也有些關於美容的建議或是和跨性別有關的討論。這個地方主要是為「偽娘」(fake girl)建立的，偽娘其實不能完全等同於異裝人士。因為我覺得異裝人士總有點戀物癖的味道，也有很強的性意味。但是偽娘更純真一點，她們關心很多具體的事情，並不局限於穿衣打扮。偽娘生下來就已經很有女性氣質了，身材也比較女性化，比較嬌小瘦弱，所以她們很難找到適合自己的男性服裝即使她生理上是一個男生。

Zaphy: 你的意思是做一個純潔的女孩就不會太過戀物嗎？

Natalie: 嗯，要求更高吧！如果你想變得完美，你就要努力看上去像個真的女孩，而不只是個穿女人衣服的男人。

Zaphy: 這話有點尖酸哦！

Natalie: 我自己也知道，但是對這個群體來說這確實是很重要的一點，不然你無法稱自己為偽娘。有些偽娘已經是網絡名人了，譬如說這個來自台灣的偽娘。偽娘中也有人考慮注射荷爾蒙或是接受變性手術，不過這個網頁只是用來貼貼圖片什麼的。

(Rob是一個來自香港的女變男跨性別人士，他在倫敦進行變性手術。他希望重回香港並在這裡工作。)

Rob: 嗯，我覺得香港可以給我歸屬感。因為這是我成長的地方，有我熟悉的人，我也喜歡這裡的文化。另外在香港我還能找到不錯的工作。我的整個性別轉換過程是在倫敦而非香港完成的，這是因為在這方面香港並不是一個好的選擇。就變性來說，香港有太多的法規、太長的等候時間、以及太多的文書工作，更不用說還會有人經常對你說三道四，即使是醫護人員也是這樣。他們不願意接受你的新身份，仍然用你以前的名字稱呼你，就如在銀行之類的地方，也有類似的問題。

Zaphy: 所以你只願意在變性之後才回來？

Rob: Right now I'm totally done with the transition, for me I just have to get my passport changed. That's it. And I have to get my top surgery done, but other than that I'm happy with anything else.

Zaphy: It's interesting because Omena over there told me the same thing. She's actually waiting for a new passport. Her life is on hold. She's waiting until the new passport comes through

Rob: Yes. How could I get a job with my old passport? No one's gonna hire me you know. Especially in Hong Kong.

Zaphy: Let's talk about the network. You said that you have a network of other transgendered people in London.

Rob: Yeah, definitely. I was really happy when I got to go to London, and I found them.

Zaphy: How did you find them?

Rob: Through the Internet, actually. They have this network called "queer youth network", it's for transgendered people under the age of 21. So it's for the young people who get there and they were led by someone older, who was like 30 or 40.

Zaphy: You mean that every younger person has an older person?

Rob: No, we actually go in groups. We are in groups of five or six when we go out.

Zaphy: Do you always go out in these little groups?

Rob: Yeah, definitely.

Zaphy: Are they like your family?

Rob: Yeah, more or less. It's like, we feel like we are part of a family. Because obviously not all the people around us or our families accept who we are, so we can engage with a new family and feel that life is full.

Rob: 現在我已經完全變性了，就我來說我只需要更換一本護照便可以了。還有一點點在上身進行的小手術沒有完成，但基本上我對其他的都很滿意。

Zaphy: 這很有趣，因為Omena剛好也告訴過我類似的事情。她也正在等候她的新護照——可以說她的新生命即將到來，只有一本新護照的距離。

Rob: 的確是這樣。我怎麼能用我的舊護照找到工作呢？你知道是不會有人聘請我工作的，尤其是在香港。

Zaphy: 不如講講社交網絡吧！你提到過在倫敦有一個跨性別人士的社交網。

Rob: 對啊，我真的很慶幸自己有機會去倫敦，有機會認識他們。

Zaphy: 你是怎麼找到他們的呢？

Rob: 通過互聯網。他們有一個叫「年輕酷兒社交網絡」(queer youth network)的網站，成員是21歲以下的跨性別人士。這個網絡裡會有一些30或20歲的年長成員引導新加入的年輕人。

Zaphy: 你指每個年輕人都有一個年長人士做導師嗎？

Rob: 也不是那樣，我們其實都是一群一群去的。一般一個群組裡有五、六個人左右。

Zaphy: 你是不是經常和這些小群體在一起？

Rob: 對啊，絕對是。

Zaphy: 他們會像是你的家人嗎？

Rob: 多多少少有些像吧！感覺就好像是我們都屬於一個大家庭那樣。因為，很顯然並不是我們身邊所有人包括家人都能夠接受我們的身份，所以我們需要一個新的家庭來領會生命的豐盛。

Zaphy: You told me that in this family, there are like sort of mother figures and father figures? How does that work?

Rob: We have members from all ages, the youngest is 13 or 14, to the older people who have been through everything, who are now like 40 or 50, who have a job, a stable life, and who have a partner. The oldest people are like goddesses or gods in our group. And he or she kind of leads us through the way. There are several different role-model figures, and they tend to come back after their transition. It's not like Hong Kong. In Hong Kong, after your transition, you kind of run away from everyone.

Zaphy: Can you give us an example of how they take care of you?

Rob: Yeah, of course. Emotionally speaking, they give us a lot of advice. Like when we are down, or when we have a lot of problems to think about our families, friends, coming out, and everything. Especially initially, it's really difficult for all of us to accept ourselves first, then it is also hard to explain to other people and to get them accept us. Even doctors in England, like my doctor, he is FTM himself, so he knows everything that you need. He takes care of your needs, whereas my friends transitioning in Hong Kong, their doctors are there more for money than for really wanting to help you. That's the main difference as well.

Zaphy: In this family, what kind of activities do you do?

Rob: Everything.

Zaphy: So you hang out a lot with each other?

Rob: Yeah. We try to hold a gathering once a week. Probably a big one once a month, with everyone, so about 40 to 50 people, all the MTFs, FTMs, queers, transgender or whatever you call them. Within our family, we try to go over to someone's house, maybe drink a bit, play some pool, chat a bit, catch up with everyone, watch a movie, something like that.

Zaphy: Since some of you are more transitioned than others, is there discrimination? Are there tensions between the different factions?

Zaphy: 你之前說這個家庭裡有些像是媽媽或是爸爸的人物，具體是怎樣的呢？

Rob: 我們的成員年齡不一，最年輕的只有13至14歲，年長有經歷的人現在應該有40至50歲左右了。年長人士大多有工作、過著穩定的生活，也有一位伴侶。最年長的人在我們的群體裡就好像女神或是神一樣。他或她有能指引我們。具體來說，有很多種不同的人物榜樣，他們變性後也會回到群體裡。這跟香港不一樣。在香港，人們一旦變性，就開始躲避同伴。

Zaphy: 可不可以用個例子說說他們是如何照顧你的？

Rob: 當然可以啦。在情緒上，他們會給我們很多建議。譬如說在我們鬱悶的時候，或是面對一些來自家人、朋友的問題、出櫃的問題等等。尤其是，對我們所有人來說，最初接受自己是很難的，而後來向他人解釋自己的身份以及希望得到他人的接受也是一件難事。即使是英格蘭的醫生，就如我的醫生也不例外，他本人就是一個女變男的變性人士，所以他很明白你需要什麼。他能夠在各方面照料你的需要。而在香港，當我的幾個朋友變性時，他們的醫生只關心診金，根本不是真心誠意的想要幫助他們。這是最主要的差異。

Zaphy: 在你的酷兒家庭裡，你都會做些什麼呢？

Rob: 什麼都做。

Zaphy: 你們也會花時間和彼此在一起嗎？

Rob: 會啊！我們爭取一週可以聚會一次，然後一個月有一個大聚會，大概會有40至50個人參加的那種，所有男變女的、女變男的、酷兒、跨性別等等……在這個大家庭裡，我們常常會互相到家裡拜訪，也許會喝點酒、打打桌球、聊聊天、與朋友聯絡、看電影什麼的。

Zaphy: 我在想，可能你們有些人就快完成了整個變性過程，也有人剛剛開始，會不會有互相歧視的可能呢？不同的小圈子之間關係緊張嗎？

Rob: No, definitely not, it's open, we kind of support each other, like maybe some people come in, say they were transitioning and then maybe half a year later they don't, they forget about it, we still keep them in the network. They are still friends, still family.

Zaphy: So why do you actually want to transition?

Rob: Because I feel like it's everything I've wanted to go through, and even if I live a life that I don't want, and if I get a lot of money and I get lots of fame, I'm not going to be happy. Whereas this life now I'm going through is very difficult, but I'm happier now than I've ever been.

Zaphy: Will you ever feel 100% male?

Rob: I am really sad to say I'll never feel 100% male, never ever. Now I feel about 30%, maybe after surgery I'll feel about 60%, even maybe 80%.

Zaphy: What kind of surgery did you have?

Rob: Bottom surgery. There is top surgery and bottom surgery. But even after that, even on paper you've changed everything, deep inside, if you dig it out, I'll never feel 100% male. There is always something lacking, because we are not born male, you have to accept the fact. Because the old "you" still exists, you cannot really say goodbye to the old "you" entirely, you know? Like you still have to meet your family, your relatives and everything, and people you run into, perhaps it's your boss, your old schoolmate, then it's going to make everything very awkward, but I'll say, if I get my ID changed, it will boost my confidence a lot more than what I am now, definitely.

(Omena is a MTF transsexual who documented her sex change on the Internet)

Zaphy: So what's the name of the social network that you posted your pictures on?

Omena: It is called "Sonic BBS" and is based in mainland China. Many people there know that I'm a transsexual. I posted my photos when I started to become a girl, or tried to be a girl, but my face wasn't as girly as now. And my followers pointed out weaknesses in me step by step. Many people wrote that they could not accept my looks. Most of them were men and they were giving me feedback.

Rob: 不，絕對不會有這樣的情況，我們是很開放的。我們總是互相支持，就如有時候會有人說自己正在變性，不過過了半年可能他們沒有堅持下去，但是我們仍然樂意在群體活動中看到他們。他們仍是我們的朋友和家人。

Zaphy: 那你為什麼會想要變性呢？

Rob: 因為我覺得變性是我生活的全部，我願意走過這個過程。就算我過著我不想要的生活，也即使我很富裕也很有名望，我還是不會開心。相比之下，儘管我現在的生活很艱難，但是這是我生命中最快樂的階段。

Zaphy: 你覺得自己是100%的男性嗎？

Rob: 我覺得挺難過的，因為從沒覺得自己是100%的男性，從來沒有。我現在覺得大概有30%吧，可能手術後會有60%，80%也說不定。

Zaphy: 你曾經做過哪些手術呢？

Rob: 下體的。一般變性手術分上體和下體。但是做了下體手術之後，我書面上的身份也完全改變了，內心深處卻從沒感到自己是百分百的男性。有些東西總是會缺少的，因為我們天生不是一個男子，所以你一定要學會接受這個現實。因為以前的那個「你」依然存在，你不可能完全告別以前的自己，你明白嗎？因為你還會見到你的家人、親友什麼的，包括你的舊老闆、老同學，碰到他們的時候，你還是會很尷尬。不過，我還是要說，一旦我拿到新的身份證，我會比現在多很多信心，一定會。

(Omena是一位男變女的跨性別人士，她常常在互聯網上記錄她性別轉化的過程)

Zaphy: 你上傳照片的那個社交網絡叫什麼名字呀？

Omena: 叫「Sonic BBS」，是一個大陸的論壇。論壇上大部份人都知道我是跨性別人士。我第一次傳照片的時候大概剛剛開始嘗試向女孩身份轉變，那時候我的臉還沒有現在這麼女性化。論壇上跟隨我的人會不時指出我的不足，一步一步的幫助我完成過渡。當時也有不少留言說無法接受我的外表。其中很多是男生，他們會不斷給我一些反饋。

- Zaphy: So they wanted to see a more authentic woman?
- Omena: Of course, yes.
- Zaphy: So what did they say to you? Give me an example.
- Omena: First they said that my face looked like a boy, and that it was very ugly, and that I should not try to do this and dream of becoming a girl, but I insisted on doing that and going this way.
- Zaphy: Weren't you angry when they said that to you?
- Omena: Well, I had to fight with the facts of life and try to change them. I cannot change the world, but at least I can change myself.
- Zaphy: How did you do that then?
- Omena: I started taking medication and have already done a lot of plastic surgery, and maybe I'm going to do more. I actually had a Japanese documentary filmmaker Kikichu Tomoko document my gender reassignment surgery, which took place in Bangkok last year on my birthday.
- Zaphy: Which birthday? How old are you actually?
- Omena: No comment. I cannot reveal my age, especially when there are so many gentlemen here.
- Zaphy: OK, we'll just keep guessing then. So you went to Bangkok, and then you were trying to transition after your surgery? How did you feel back then?
- Omena: It was a little bit painful, and the recovery was quite annoying. Not very painful, but annoying.
- Zaphy: Did you have regrets or were you feeling a bit sad?
- Omena: Not sad. Some people said "congratulations" to me because I had finally reached my dream. But as a matter of fact my students had already started called me "ms" instead of "sir." That proves that I had already reached my dream to become a girl, that people accepted me as a girl. The surgery was just the final step, something that I had to go through.

- Zaphy: 所以說他們想看到一個更像是女人的你嗎?
- Omena: 當然是這樣啦!
- Zaphy: 那他們都怎麼回覆你呢? 不如講幾個例子吧!
- Omena: 最初他們說我的臉看上去像個男孩, 而且很醜。還說我不應這樣做和別發夢能成功變成一個真正的女孩。不過我堅持走自己的路。
- Zaphy: 那時候會不會因為他們的話感到憤怒?
- Omena: 嗯, 我當時真的和生活抗爭和嘗試改變它。雖然我沒有能力改變這個世界, 但是我至少可以改變自己。
- Zaphy: 那你當時都做了些什麼呢?
- Omena: 我開始服用一些藥物, 也做了一些整形手術, 將來也許還會做一些吧! 其實有一位日本紀錄片導演Kikichu Tomoko拍攝了我的變性手術過程, 那個手術是去年在曼谷做的, 手術當天就是我的生日。
- Zaphy: 是哪個時候的生日啊? 你現在的年齡可以透露一下嗎?
- Omena: 我不想回答這個問題, 尤其現在有這麼多男士在場, 我更不會透露自己的年齡了。
- Zaphy: 好, 那我只能猜猜嘍! 這樣說來, 去過曼谷之後你就開始努力進行手術後的過渡了, 當時感覺怎麼樣?
- Omena: 其實有點痛苦, 因為手術後恢復過程是很煩人的。可能也不是痛苦, 是麻煩吧!
- Zaphy: 有沒有後悔過, 或者情緒比較低落?
- Omena: 倒也沒有低落過。有幾個人還「恭喜」過我, 因為我終於實現了自己的夢想。不過事實上我的學生在那之前就稱我為「小姐」(ms) 而不是「先生」(sir) 啦。這說明我早就實現了我的夢想, 手術不過是最後一步。

Zaphy: Did you receive support from the local transgendered community in Hong Kong?

Omena: The community didn't support me much.

Zaphy: No?

Omena: No, I only received support from a few persons. I generally don't like the transsexual community very much as I find that they vent and complain so much. They complain about society, attitudes, the law. They never talk about how you can gain respect from others. But I do have friends. I just don't want to talk about them, as I don't want to reveal their identity. When you are a transsexual, you often want to be a pure girl and not talk about being a transsexual. In Hong Kong, there are only three or four people who are openly transsexual.

Zaphy: How is your relationship with cross-dressers in Hong Kong?

Omena: I got to know the CD (cross-dressing) community in Hong Kong. You know there is an Internet forum called "CD family." When I was starting to use that forum, I found out soon that I was different from them. One of my sisters advised me not to have surgery as I would lose my sex drive. So I knew that I was different, as I did not care about getting sexually excited while wearing female clothes. And my sex drive is low now as I am affected by the drugs. We just want to be girls, and we want other people treat us as girls.

Zaphy: But still some people maybe can't go as far as you, so everybody has a different point in this transition I guess. I guess some people are just wavering, going back and forth, like Maggie?

Omena: Yes, right. I have known Maggie for three years, but up until now I still can't find out whether she's a transsexual or a cross-dresser. That's fine with me. I don't think there is an absolute condition which makes you do surgery, as you have to bear the responsibility to accept the result, the aftermath.

Zaphy: 香港本地跨性別群體在這個過程中有沒有給你什麼支持？

Omena: 群體沒有怎麼支持我！

Zaphy: 沒有？

Omena: 沒有啊，我只有少數的幾個人支持。我本身其實並不很喜歡跨性別群體，我覺得他們太愛抱怨了。他們埋怨社會、人們的態度和法律。他們很少討論如何取得他人的尊重。我雖然有一些朋友，可我現在不太想談及他們，以免透露他們的身份。如果你是個變性人，你大概更希望做個純女孩，而不願意被人看穿是個變性人。整個香港可能也只有三至四個變性人願意公開自己的跨性別身份。

Zaphy: 那你和香港的異裝人士有著怎麼樣的關係呢？

Omena: 我確實知道香港有異裝群體（CD，即cross-dressing community）。網上有個論壇叫「異裝家庭」（CD family）。我剛開始上這個論壇就發現自己和其他成員不同。論壇上其中的一位姊妹曾經建議我別做變性手術以免失去性欲。那時我就明白我和論壇上的人有差別，因為我不在乎穿女性衣服會不會讓我得到性興奮，而我的性欲因為受到藥物的影響的確不高。我們其實只是想要變成女孩，想要別人把自己當作女孩對待。

Zaphy: 不過總是有人無法向你這樣走到那麼遠，所以我想每個身處變性過程的人都會有自己的想法。也許其中有些人還在舉棋不定，譬如Maggie那樣？

Omena: 也對。我認識Maggie已經三年了，但是直到現在我也不知道她到底是個跨性別人士還是異裝人士。當然，這對我來說不是個問題。我覺得沒有什麼事可以逼迫你去做變性手術，因為最後要承擔責任和結果的那個人是你自己。

At the end of the Gothic Lolita interview, when she had taken off the Lolita dress, Maggie still felt elated and showed us the female corset and lacey panties that she had been wearing. This made me think of the impact of fantasy costumes and props, that some of these cannot easily be cast aside the next day. Whether performers have transgendered identities or fetishistic cravings, or view themselves as performance artists, some of their accouterments may take a deeper hold. Despite the mass media's reluctance to take transsexuals or cross-dressers seriously, they are dealing with precious moments of self-instigated ritual and personality growth that will understandably take their own time and course. The aim of cross-dressing and costume play is not necessarily to find and embrace a new identity but to explore multiple sexual guises and possibilities. Terre Thaemlitz has defined the queer cross-dressing impulse as living "inside a closet with a revolving door." Some queers or transgender people would argue for public visibility based on their acceptance of queer bodies and politics, while others may wish to simply remain invisible (in the closet) or endlessly diverge from labels and identities. The power of queerness may be exactly located in its tentative or temporary status or a lack of full materialization into identity politics. Thaemlitz makes an argument against the politics of visibility for MTF transgender people and shows that they are actually living as in-between subjectivities. S/he criticizes MTF people who are too obsessed with appearances of femininity or with the desire of trying to pass:

For myself, the power of transgenderism—if any—rests in this vagueness and divisiveness. It is not a power of distinction or difference from other genders, but rather the power of seeing representational systems of distinction or difference between genders collapse. It is not a power of transformation, but rather the power of transition. It is not a "third gender" offering unity, or a middling of genders. It is, by all means, a threat to the myth of social unity. Within the transgendered community, it is the potential to de-essentialise acts of transitioning in relation to social process⁴.

4 Terre Thaemlitz, "Viva Mc Glam: Is Transgenderism a Critique of or Capitulation to Opulence-Driven Glamour Models?" essay available on his/her personal website <http://www.comatonse.com/writings/vivamcglam.html> (accessed July 10 2010).

在那次與哥德洛麗塔訪問的尾聲時，Maggie脫去了洛麗塔裝束，她仍可以悠然自得地向我們展示自己穿過的女式胸衣和蕾絲底褲。這令我不禁思考著這些幻想式的服裝道具對人的影響，它們帶給人們的感受其實並不會隔天就消失得無影無蹤。不管角色扮演者們是否擁有跨越性別的身份或是對某些物品的癡迷愛戀，也無論她（他）們是否自以為是表演藝術家，她（他）們某些的表演總是有著更深的意味。不管大眾傳媒怎樣不願認真對待跨性別人士和異裝人士，這些人總是花費大量的時間精力來享受自我成長和自我激勵的儀式，並承擔這種經歷帶來的後果。異裝或是角色扮演的目的其實並不一定是去找尋一個新的身份，它也很可能是在於探索多重性身份和性可能。Terre Thaemlitz就曾將酷兒的異裝衝動定義為生活在一個「裝有旋轉門的衣櫥裡」（inside a closet with a revolving door）。有一些酷兒或跨性別人士願意在接受酷兒身體和酷兒政治的基礎上爭取能在公眾空間裡現身，但也有人也許更希望保持隱形的（在衣櫥裡的）生活，或能遠離各種固定的標籤和身份。酷兒的力量也許正在於它的暫時性或它的身份政治尚沒有被完全物質化。Thaemlitz就反對鼓勵女變男的變性人士投入到追求可見的政治中去，她／他認為跨性別人士更應該保持其生活在兩性之間的主體性，及批評那些極度迷戀女性外表希望被人視為女人的女變男人士：

對我來說，跨性別主義的力量——如果真的有這種力量存在的話——正在於它的模糊不清和分裂演化之中。它並不是想要將自己區分於其他性別，而是徹底看透了強調性別差異的再現系統已經崩塌。它也不是一種轉化的力量，而是過渡的力量。它更不是所謂的「第三性」（third gender）想要構造出一種整體性出來，也非在兩性之間保持中間位置。它在各方面來說都是對於強調社會整體性的迷思的威脅。在跨性別群體內部，它還象徵著一種潛能，即反對社會進程中將性別過渡本質化的能力⁴。

4 Terre Thaemlitz, "Viva Mc Glam: Is Transgenderism a Critique of or Capitulation to Opulence-Driven Glamour Models?" 文章可見於他／她的個人網站：<http://www.comatonse.com/writings/vivamcglam.html>，擷取於2010年7月10日。

Other scholars have stressed the importance of cross-dressing as a mechanism of the self and its social cohesion. For instance, African-American gay youth of the ballroom scene dress up and transition as women together, while also becoming part of queer families or “houses”⁵. As seen in Jennie Livingston’s well-known documentary movie, *Paris is Burning* (1991), gay men become highly flamboyant characters in ballroom performances, while they are often experiencing dire material circumstances in their everyday lives⁶. The imagined family structure helps people to stay afloat as marginalized subjects, while support is expressed through collaborations in making outfits and organizing performances in the ballroom. Some people will walk around in their ballroom costumes hours after the party, while other will immediately toss it aside or bury it in the closet. The afterglow of the costume party, the trials and errors of dressing and parading together will last as long as the individual’s experience of a sex session, sometimes fleeting, sometimes every day, occasionally momentous.

也有幾位學者強調異裝應被視為自我與其社會依賴性之間的互動機制。譬如，非洲裔的美國青年男同性戀就曾在舞廳裡一同盛裝打扮過渡成為女性，他們同時也成為酷兒家族或是所謂「大院」（house）的其中一份子⁵。這個例子為珍尼利文斯頓（Jennie Livingston）的著名紀錄片《巴黎在燃燒》（*Paris is Burning*, 1991）所記載。在片中，我們可以看到同性戀男子們在舞廳表演中變得極為艷麗浮華，而在現實生活中他們則過著擔驚受怕的日子⁶。幻想形式的家庭結構有助於被邊緣化的人們輕鬆地生活，成員之間則通過協作製造服裝及組織舞廳表演等活動相互支持。有的成員在派對結束後仍會穿上舞會服裝四處活動，其他人則馬上把服裝扔在一邊或把它們埋葬於衣櫥裡。扮裝舞會的餘韻——那些扮裝和遊行中共同經歷的點點滴滴，也會和人們的露水情緣一樣，有時一閃而過，有時地久天長，偶爾也會畢生難忘。

5 Emily A. Arnold and Marlon M. Bailey, “Constructing Home and Family: How the Ballroom Community Supports African-American GLBTQ Youth in the Face of HIV/AIDS”, *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services* (2009), 21:2, 171-188.

6 Jennie Livingston, *Paris is Burning*. [DVD] 1991 MiraRob Films.

5 Emily A. Arnold and Marlon M. Bailey, “Constructing Home and Family: How the Ballroom Community Supports African-American GLBTQ Youth in the Face of HIV/AIDS”, *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services* (2009), 21:2, 171-188.

6 Jennie Livingston, *Paris is Burning*. [DVD] 1991 MiraRob Films.



Chapter 3

Beijing: Communist Events Organization and Artistic Cooperation

第三章

北京：共產主義活動與藝術合作



I left my home country Belgium when I was 22 and I have never really returned to it. I have lived in several countries since then and have had several romantic relationships, but I do not have any children. I now have a husband whom I met at an art event in Boston and who moved with me to Hong Kong. We have lived and loved and worked together for more than seven years. We have tried but have been unable, as yet, to get me pregnant, but I have accepted it without too much fuss and sadness. But in Hong Kong I do have a 23-year-old “daughter”, Ansona Ching, who adopted me as her “mother” on the social network Facebook. We first met when performing in Shu Lea Cheang’s performance *MILK+*, which included “scenes of seduction, decadence, corruption, and above all sexual arousal and cautious reawakening of the AIDS epidemic¹”. Our family tie was just a chance encounter and silly game at first, but then we actually did become “relations.” She calls me Mom and I simply accept the title.



I miss my home country, my actual mother and siblings, my father who died ten years ago, my many lovely aunts and uncles, always full of gossip and empathy, my native language Flemish or Dutch, the Belgian cafés and the Belgian arts. I remember a specifically “cozy” and slightly surreal atmosphere, a perpetual funny-gloomy mood due to the country’s unending grey skies, insecurity versus its neighbors and dysfunctional home politics. I cannot recreate these rich and mixed homeland sensations in Hong Kong and to some extent, I have stopped looking for them. I live in a permanent culture shock that never totally subsides. It only pauses at times when I have to fortify my psyche and discover new territories. Perhaps it is a total accident that I have settled in Hong Kong. I love it and hate it—at least I am not a “lukewarm” person. I remember reading in Dante Alighieri’s *Divine Comedy* that to be lukewarm was considered a position for sinners and low-lives in the afterlife universe. A peculiar mixture of ecstatic dreaming and gloom required angels to fight everyday tepidness. I will take on their tactics².

1 Information about *MILK+* can be found at http://www.videotage.org.hk/projects/20100220_milkplus.htm (accessed February 10 2010).

2 This idea was stolen from a famous Dutch plagiarist and from the novel by Joost de Vries, *Clausewitz* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2010).

自從22歲離開故鄉比利時後，我從未真正的回去過。自那時起，我曾在幾個國家生活過，也有過幾段浪漫史，但是沒有孩子。幾年前，在波士頓的一次藝術活動中，我遇到了現任丈夫，隨後兩人一起移居香港。七年多的時光中，我們相伴相愛也一起工作。儘管我們幾經嘗試也沒能懷孕，但是我不過在香港卻有位年方23的「女兒」——Ansona Ching——她在社交網站Facebook上將我填寫為她的「契母」。Ansona和我相識於鄭淑麗（Shu Lea Cheang）的*MILK+*的演出中，那是一場「展出誘惑、頹廢與墮落等故事脈絡，將你帶進2050年的性愛境界。帶來性興奮之餘，再次喚醒大眾對愛滋病傳播的關注」的活動中¹。我們的家人關係最初不過是一場遊戲，但漸漸地我們真的培養出了「關係」。她稱我為媽媽，而我也欣然地接受了這個稱謂。



我牽掛我的母國，牽掛我的母親、兄弟姐妹和我10年前去世的父親，也想念那些熱愛八卦又不乏同情心的叔伯阿姨，我還想念我的母語佛蘭芒語及荷蘭語，想念比利時的咖啡屋和比利時藝術。回憶中，那裡的氣氛總有一抹特別的「溫馨」與稍許的超現實；比利時連綿起伏的灰色天空和它並不奏效的內政外交一起鑄就了人們既詼諧又憂鬱的情緒。關於故鄉的感情沉澱是我在香港無法再現和體驗的，而我也漸漸放棄尋找那些感傷。我似乎永遠生活在無邊無際、永不止息的文化衝擊之中，有時更不得不停下腳步、調理精神才能繼續對新領域的探索。也許我定居在香港純粹是偶然的，而我對這個偶然則是愛恨交織——至少我並不是個「不冷不熱」（lukewarm）的人。但丁在《神曲》中告訴我們，不冷不熱是罪人和下等人在死後世界中的生活狀態；不冷不熱是癡狂及憂鬱的奇異混合體，天使們唯有日復一日對其反擊才能爭取到些許微溫——而我則要借用天使的策略²。

1 有關*MILK+*的資料可瀏覽網頁：http://www.videotage.org.hk/projects/20100220_milkplus.htm，攝取於2010年2月10日。

2 這個主意盜自一位著名荷蘭對竊者以及一本小說：Joost de Vries, *Clausewitz* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2010)。

There are many reasons why people seek fantasy families. It does not matter if they have stable families; or are ever-restless travelers who have been uprooted from their home countries. The fantasy family and its deviations from the normal may appear in dreams, in artworks, in hobbies, and fan groups. Some people need costumes and props to change their biological selves and become cross-dressers or transsexuals after undergoing sexual realignment surgery. Others look for siblings and parents by joining a social network. People seek temporary reconstructions of their biological families as they walk through life and become their own clans, smaller or bigger than the ones they grew up in, more or less open-minded or repressed. They may seek connections with multiple families at any one time without wanting to whole-heartedly belong to them. Perhaps their loner nature wants to try out various identity fluctuations, without committing to an alternative or queer family with specific rules and habits.

My interest in these fantasy families was first piqued by research into online marriage among animation fans in mainland China. One of the major web sites of that time, Animation Garden, encouraged fans to build family relationships while sharing the products of animation culture. In a specific area of the site, the Nongfu Mountain Forum, half of its membership was "getting married"³. The site would issue a certificate after the marriage took place and members would display their marriage status in all of their correspondences. They would also upload a copy of their marriage certificate on the website.

At the same time, the institution of gay/lesbian marriage was being debated on this web site. Many animations fans were interested in supporting virtual gay/lesbian marriage, but others argued that this was unacceptable in China. The site's administrators eventually decided not to allow virtual gay/lesbian marriage, even though online marriage as such allows for all kinds of subversive pairings. The site seemed to have inspired the need for love or friendship through an adaptation of traditional family roles such as LG (lao gong), LP (lao po), GG (ge ge), JJ (jie jie), etc.⁴ One of the site's very young members had already developed relations with a "little husband" and eventually wanted to marry him. Another female member had about ten "younger brothers" and two "elder sisters." Moreover, several years into the social fashion of online marriage, Nongfu Mountain decided to institutionalize online divorce as certain members were getting disappointed and wanted to break off their marriages. When interviewing married fans, it became clear that they had taken their family relationships quite seriously and were upset when they turned sour. Most interviewees admitted that their online affections were also seeping into the physical realm as they had gone on to meet/ hook up with their friends, or had started an actual relationship with their virtual husbands or wives.



3 The Animation Garden and Nongfu Mountain web sites were available at <http://www.dmhy.net> (accessed March 17 2006). They have meanwhile ceased to exist and have been replaced by other social networks such as renren.

4 The coded vocabulary for these family roles goes as follows: LG: Chinese Pinyin "laogong", means husband; LP: Chinese Pinyin "laopo", means wife; GG: Chinese Pinyin "gege", means elder brother; JJ: Chinese Pinyin "jiejie", means elder sister; DD: Chinese Pinyin "didi", means younger brother; MM: Chinese Pinyin "meimei", means younger sister.

人們尋覓幻想家庭往往出自各種原因，這與他們是否擁有穩定的家庭，還是在母國以外的地方四處流浪無關係。我們在夢境和藝術中、在業餘嗜好和粉絲群體中都能夠看到與正常家庭關係背離的幻想家庭。有些人需要借助服裝和道具異裝打扮來轉化他（她）們的生理自我，或是通過變性手術成為異裝人士或跨性別人士；其他人則加入社交網絡、尋覓理想中的兄弟姐妹和父母。在漫長的生命中，人們也許會試圖暫時性的重建家庭關係，建立屬於自己的部族。人們或會尋求在同一時間和多個家庭建立聯繫，但並不全身心的隸屬於其中任何一個。這也許是因為他（她）們孤獨的本質推動他（她）們既去嘗試各種身份形態，又不為某個另類家庭或酷兒家庭的規矩習慣所限。

我曾經研究過中國大陸動漫粉絲的在線婚姻現象，正是這項研究激起我對於幻想家庭的好奇和興趣。當時，大陸的一家主要動漫網站「動漫花園」鼓勵粉絲們在分享動漫文化產品時建立家庭關係。在動漫花園的「農夫山」論壇，半數成員都在「結婚」³。動漫花園會為在這裡成婚的會員頒發結婚證書，並會在會員狀態中顯示他（她）們的婚姻狀態。網站也允許會員將結婚證書的拷貝上傳到網上。

也是在那時，動漫花園上掀起了一陣關於同性戀網絡婚姻的討論。不少動漫粉絲熱情支持同性戀會員的虛擬婚姻，但其他人則表示在中國此類婚姻並不被接受。儘管線上婚姻支援各種離經叛道的夫婦組合，網站管理員最終卻決定不允許虛擬同性戀婚姻。網站似乎啟發了會員們通過靈活使用傳統家庭角色如LG（老公）、LP（老婆）、GG（哥哥）、JJ（姐姐）⁴等來追尋愛情和友誼。一位非常年輕的網站會員就和她的小丈夫有了穩定的關係，並準備和他在線上結婚。另一位女性會員則有十個「弟弟」和兩個「姐姐」。而已有七年在線結婚歷史的農夫山論壇更決定推行在線離婚，這是因為有些會員對自己的網絡婚姻感到失望並希望能結束婚姻關係。我訪問了幾位處於虛擬婚姻關係中的會員，發現他（她）們對自己的虛擬婚姻十分認真；一旦虛擬婚姻出現裂痕，他（她）們都會感到痛苦。許多受訪人承認他（她）們在虛擬世界裡的愛戀已經開始滲入真實生活中，他（她）們不是在準備和虛擬伴侶見面，就是早已在現實生活中和虛擬丈夫／妻子戀愛。



3 動漫花園和農夫山網址：<http://www.dmhy.net>，擷取於2006年3月17日。現在這個網站已不存在，新的社交網絡如人人網已取代了它。

4 這些英文縮寫詞語代表了一些家庭角色：LG是老公的拼音；LP是老婆的拼音；GG是哥哥的拼音；JJ是姐姐的拼音；DD是弟弟的拼音；MM是妹妹／美眉的拼音。

Besides these large social networks and animation, comics, and game (ACG) fan groups, there are the more specialized fan groups like the female Boys' Love fans who are obsessed with comics about the sexual affairs conducted between two males. These female readers project desire onto the anguished love affairs between dominant males and their submissive, inexperienced partners. They also draw their own manga and go as far as fantasizing the submissive male into pregnancy. The submissive partner will slave to get the attention of the dominant, will always be there for him despite rejection, and will be happy to carry his baby. This vision of the pregnant homosexual male is somehow branded in my mind as an important tenet of the mainland Chinese fantasy family. This is indeed a generation of Internet users with a strong attachment to social networks in matters of love and sex education. Despite the fact that all Internet communication is controlled by the government of the PRC, they feel enabled and enriched to go crazy, play and bond on the level of virtual kinship.



I travel to Beijing with my colleague Anne Peirson-Smith to talk to Chinese costume players and observe them during their social gatherings. We are accompanied by a Hong Kong Chinese assistant Henry, who has some fluency in the Mandarin language and who is helping us get settled in the hotel facilities of Renmin University. This on-campus hotel is a remnant of old-style communist management and requires our utmost patience for every little bargaining detail. It is a nightmare dealing with its red-uniformed personnel who project an imperious attitude towards visitors. We should be very grateful to be allowed to stay in the government-subsidized residency, but in reality it is a bureaucratic mess. We are required to pay in cash in advance, well before entering the sweltering rooms, and will be subject to several more house rules. We even have to pay cash in advance for every phone call we intend to make in the future, some of which will no doubt disappear in some functionary's anonymous pockets.

Henry is trying to mediate the situation but he eventually gives up as there appears to be a total communication breakdown. We are used to these moments of crisis but still cannot escape from the heavy and volatile atmosphere. Henry is as much affected by the officious hotel personnel as we are. He is not used to traveling outside Hong Kong and started receiving worried phone calls from his mother two hours after our arrival. Several days later he will mysteriously disappear from the project as he seems unable to get out of bed before 12 noon. Maybe he simply represents the Hong Kong night-owls who typically dine out late and then go online until 3 am in the morning. The inability of Hong Kong youth to get eight hours of sleep is like a built-in act of resistance to an overly planned life of parental control, menial low-paying jobs, top-down management styles, and 14 hour workdays with little relief besides two meals a day.

除了類似於動漫花園這樣的大型社交網絡和ACG的粉絲群組，網上還有更加細化的粉絲社群如女性耽美（Boys' Love）粉絲就是其中一例，這些女性沉迷於描寫男性同性性關係的漫畫之中。她們將自己的慾望折射到攻（主動的、處於支配地位的男性）與受（順從的、被動的男性）之間的痛苦愛戀上。有些耽美粉絲還會自己創作漫畫，其尺度可以大到幻想小受（受的暱稱）懷孕的情節。小受常常需要拼命賺得小攻（攻的暱稱）的關注，就算被小攻拒絕後也會在原地癡癡等待，也願意為小攻生育。這個令我印象深刻的男同性戀孕夫正是中國大陸幻想家庭中的重要一員。他的出現折射出這一代網絡使用者在愛慾教育中對於社交網絡的強烈依戀。雖然網民們不得不面對中國政府對網絡傳播的嚴格管制，但是在虛擬家庭中他（她）們卻能夠瘋狂遊戲、互相傾心。為了解中國大陸的角色扮演cosplay愛好者、觀察他（她）們的社群活動，我和同事Anne Peirson-Smith一道奔赴北京。和我們同去的

還有中國助手Henry，他不僅會講較為流利的普通話，還幫助我們入住人民大學（下稱人大）的旅館。這家旅館就建在人大校園中，它保持著老式的共產主義管理風格，無時無刻不在各種細節上折磨我們的神經。和那些身著紅色制服的旅館工作人員打交道簡直是一場噩夢，他們對投訴者既專橫又傲慢。我們似乎應該為能住在這個政府補貼的旅館而心存感激，但事實上這裡就是個一團亂麻的官僚機構。沒等我們進入悶熱的客房，工作人員就要求我們用現金支付住宿費，並告誡我們各種住客戒律。在這裡，就連打個電話都得事先支付現金，這筆錢無疑進了哪個官員的口袋。



Henry一度嘗試調停場面，但最終還是發現根本無法和工作人員交流。即便我們已經慢慢習慣各種問題，反覆無常的旅館還是讓我們難以忍受。Henry也和我們一樣被愛管閒事的工作人員嚴重影響了情緒。他很少離開香港，出發了才兩小時就開始不斷和媽媽通電話。幾天後他神秘的離開了我們的研究小組。因為他幾乎根本無法在中午12時以前起身，也許他也是一隻香港夜貓子，晚飯總是很晚才吃，上網到凌晨三時才睡。香港年輕人不夠八小時睡眠的作息習慣恰恰反映了他們的一種反抗：反抗父母過度的干預、反抗卑微的低薪工作、反抗嚴密的自上而下的管理方式、也反抗每天連續工作14小時、除了兩餐外沒有放鬆時間的生活。

The atmosphere is lifted when one of our local translators Bonnie Mu joins the scene. She is tremendously helpful and gregarious, looking happy, rested, and energetic. She does not mind an early morning start and can also hang out late at night. Bonnie Mu accompanies me to a seminar for graduate students about animation fandom in China and the quest for virtual families. I have sent an SMS message to the coordinator Ren Deju to meet me at 4 pm and he replies immediately in incongruous US slang, "be there or be square." Bonnie Mu helps translate between English and Chinese, but it turns out that the students are fairly fluent in English and are happy to talk. I have asked them to think about their own families and what kind of siblings or parents they would like to have if they would be able to imagine a new type of family. They are confused about my question but soon start chatting to each other about this awkwardly provocative question.

Most of them are only children under the One Child Policy of 1978, which was installed in China as a means of population control in urban areas while making some exceptions for people in rural areas and for China's ethnic minorities. The policy is intrusive and has had a huge impact on the social psychology of Chinese families. For instance, since most Chinese families want sons rather than daughters, the policy has been criticized for causing a gender imbalance and for encouraging parents to overindulge their only male child, treating him like a "little emperor." It has also caused an increase in forced abortions of females and/or infanticides of newborn daughters. Some of these acts have been documented in Xinran's book, *Message From an Unknown Chinese Mother: Stories of Loss and Love*, which is compilation of testimonies and interviews with Chinese women and midwives who were forced to abandon or drown girls at birth⁵. While female infanticide still exists in rural areas, there has been little reliable information about how the government is dealing with this practice. Xinran's book shows that these family dramas abide by their own cultural logic that cannot be easily understood by foreigners.

It is one of the saddest books that I have ever read, but it does convey a sense of disparate cultural perspectives on a very sensitive matter. Even though the PRC has implemented better regulations for internal and international adoption of abandoned baby girls, there has been a silencing of the traumas inherited and processed by newer generations. I have never been able discuss this with my mainland Chinese students in Hong Kong, who mostly originate from urban regions and who as a group are in fact female-dominated. Their parents did cherish them as their only children and desire to support their education abroad. As a matter of fact, my forays into Chinese fantasy cultures have been highly stimulated by an underreported feminine desire for change. I have gained it from and shared with my female students in Hong Kong, though it has not been the only driving force.

⁵ Xinran, *Message From an Unknown Chinese Mother: Stories of Loss and Love* (Chatto & Windus, 2010).

Bonnie Mu是我們在北京找到的翻譯，她來了之後，這裡的氣氛開始明朗起來。她活潑外向、善於交際，看上去總是輕鬆快樂而充滿精力，也不介意和我們一起早出晚歸。她還協助我為一群研究生舉辦講座，講座的主題是中國境內動漫粉絲群體及其對虛擬家庭的追尋。講座開始之前我就給協調人任德軍先生發短訊約他下午四點會面，他很快用美式俚語回覆我說不見不散（be there or be square）。講座中Bonnie為我們進行中英文同步翻譯，但很快我發現這群學生不但英文流利還樂於參與討論。我請他（她）們一面反思自己的家庭，一面設想由各種虛擬家庭成員組成的新型家庭。他（她）們被我的主意難住了，不過很快就開始討論起這個古怪而刺激的想法。

學生中大多數人都是獨生子女，可算是1978年計劃生育政策的產物。計劃生育是中國政府當年為了控制城市人口而推行的政策，全國除農村人口和少數民族外都受該政策控制。該政策在很大程度上影響著中國家庭形態的發展演變。譬如說，由於很多中國家庭有重男輕女的傾向，很多批評都指出計劃生育政策不但導致了中國家庭中不平衡的性別比例、還使得家長們把獨生男孩寵成「小皇帝」。同時，這項政策推行後，強制墮胎及溺殺女嬰的案例都增多了。華裔作家薛欣然在其所著的《無名中國母親的來信——一個關於愛與失去的故事》（*Message From an Unknown Chinese Mother: Stories of Loss and Love*）中，訪問了多位曾被迫遺棄、溺死女嬰的中國母親和產婆⁵。今天，在中國農村地區殺害女嬰的行為仍然存在，但我們很難知道政府如何處理此類行為。欣然記載的家庭故事往往遵循著中國特有的文化邏輯，故而很難為國外讀者所理解。



儘管書中的故事令人悲哀傷感，但它們同時也提供了獨特的文化視角去理解此類敏感話題。今天，雖然被遺棄的中國女嬰有機會被國內和國際家庭領養，政府對於領養程序的管理也越來越規範，可是新一代繼承了上一輩的情感創傷，卻仍然沒有機會言說這些痛苦。在香港時，我並沒能和我的大陸學生們討論這個問題，他（她）們幾乎都來自於中國各大都市，並有股陰盛陽衰的趨勢。父母們都很疼愛這些獨生子女，希望能夠送孩子們去國外讀書。事實上，這些女孩子們對於變革的強烈慾望也刺激和推動了我對中國幻想文化的興趣。雖然我研究的主要動力並不僅僅來源於和這些女孩子的溝通分享，但是同她們的接觸的確刺激了我的研究興趣。

⁵ Xinran, *Message From an Unknown Chinese Mother: Stories of Loss and Love* (Chatto & Windus, 2010).

The students in my Renmin university class are again female-dominated. They are jotting down notes about the siblings or parents they have never had. I introduce myself as a person from a "large" (six person) family wishing I had had a little sister to play with and take care of. Since I don't have any children of my own, I project a "mommy wish" back into my younger life, though I have to admit that it was a spur of the moment thought to win them over. The students report back that their desire to have siblings was very strong when they were younger, but that they have generally managed to overcome their familial loneliness through a network of friends.

Thus the tongues become untied and we start discussing their desire for a new and larger family. As future moms, they want at least three or four children. As kids and youngsters, they want many little brothers and little sisters, besides pets like cats and dogs and snakes. They have thought about expanding virtually by becoming cute fantasy characters, like a luscious Wonder Woman or the cute robotic cat Doraemon, with its yojigen-pocket full of amazing gadgets. Lastly, some women mention that they would like to change gender. One woman says that she wants a twin brother who has blonde hair and green eyes, besides a new pair of college-educated architect-parents and a black cat. She is already used to playing male characters in role-playing games based on her knowledge of Japanese animation. Adopting a different gender is very common in her circles and she says it is not at all a strange thing to do, though she keeps it hidden from the outside world. Another woman wants to be a man as she finds it frustrating to be a woman in Chinese society. Specifically, it is hard for her to date men who are in power as there is automatically a lot of gossip attached to this kind of relationship. It would be so much easier to just be the powerful male and go out and be entertained. But since she cannot change her gender, it would also be nice if she could just have an older brother to hang out with. Her desire for an older brother is shared by several other women, who acknowledge that they do miss the close company of older males as "older brothers" who take care of them when needed, in a Platonic rather than a romantic mode.



而在人民大學的這場講座中，女學生也同樣佔主導地位。她們紛紛取出紙筆，開始描繪那些自己從未有過卻幻想存在的虛擬家人。我首先分享了自己的情況：我出生於一個「大家庭」（六口之家），心理總是希望能有一個小妹妹，我可以和她一道玩耍，也可以照顧她。這也許是因為我沒有生育子女，所以暗中將「做媽媽的願望」投射到我的少年時代。不過我必須承認這個願望其實是我在講座當中才創造出來的，為的是能贏得聽眾的好感。果然，學生們回應我說他（她）們少年時代也曾極度渴求能擁有兄弟姐妹，由於這個願望無法實現，他（她）們學會了用友誼沖淡孤獨。

慢慢地，我們打成一片，終於討論起對於建立新型龐大家族的慾望。女生們表示將來做了母親會至少生育三、四個孩子；而現在作為家庭中年幼的成員，她們幻想自己除了能養寵物，也可以擁有幾個小弟弟和小妹妹。她們也談到可以在虛擬家庭中加入各種可愛的幻想人物，比如說美麗的神奇女俠，或是口袋裡裝滿道具的多啦A夢。最後有幾個女生表示想要轉換自己的性別。一個女孩告訴大家她幻想有個金髮碧眼的孿生兄弟，一對擁有大學教育程度的做建築師的父母，以及一隻黑色的貓。她其實是一位日本動漫粉絲，喜歡在角色扮演中飾演男性動漫角色。在她的朋友圈裡，飾演異性角色是很平常的事，但她還是傾向於對外界隱藏這個愛好。另一個女孩則認為女性很難生存在中國社會裡，故此想要變成男人。她發現如果女性主動約會權勢高於她的男性，馬上會招致風言風語；而如果



她是處於主動地位的男性，約會異性並被其取悅就立刻變得無比容易，但現實中她並不能變成男人，所以她也幻想自己能有個年長的兄弟。其他幾個女孩也有與她差不多的幻想，她們都很希望有個能照顧自己的「大哥哥」。她們解釋說，自己和「大哥哥」的關係應該是具有柏拉圖意味多過愛戀意味的。

Another woman reveals that she is the mother of a daughter and would really like to have a son. She is legally not allowed to have a second child, but she believes that the One-Child Policy will be adapted in the future. The first man to speak up in the classroom says that he hopes to have a little sister. He has already sufficiently analyzed himself, he says, and he simply feels a lot of desire for very young and cute girls. The class is loosening up now and realizing that this association game of describing virtual families has a gentle therapeutic effect. I ask the male student if he wants to marry a woman who is much younger than him, and the class breaks out in giggles. He replies that as long as she looks young it is OK with him; she does not have to be that young. I ask him if he views this kind of desire as a Japanese-influenced phenomenon, and he wholeheartedly agrees.

The morning after my seminar with graduate students, we start documenting two teams of costume players. One is the Renmin university team who will represent the university in an annual ACG convention called ChinaJoy, which is officially supported by government and other IT industries. The other team is an independent or "fringe" team of young players and photographers who act out characters and relationships in remote locations in order to make their own kinds of photographic narratives. In a previous interview with Beijing cosplayer Lei, it was made clear that China has developed two distinctive strands of costume play. One strand wishes to participate in state-funded events, as they are well supported by government and corporations, which means cosplay teams are sometimes paid to promote or judge events. Lei represents the other strand, which belongs to a more autonomous and alternative youth mob. Both strands are trying to create characters and stories that blend aspects of Japanese animation and Chinese culture:



還有一位女性告訴大家她已經生有一女，但很希望能再生一個兒子。根據法律，她並不可以生第二胎，不過她相信獨生子女政策將來會改進。教室裡第一個發言的男性表示自己很想有個小妹妹。他說自己早就分析過這個願望，覺得他就是想有年輕可愛的女孩子圍在身邊。這時教室內的氣氛已經十分輕鬆，大家發現這個描述幻想家庭的遊戲其實有些心理治療的作用。我問這個男士他會不會想娶個比他年輕許多的妻子，大家聽到這個問題都笑了。他說自己的妻子不必很幼齒，只要看上去年輕就可以了。我追問他是不是受日本文化影響才會偏愛年輕女性，他表示完全同意。

講座之後那天一早，我們就開始對兩組cosplay愛好者進行紀錄片拍攝。其中一組是人民大學的動漫社團，他（她）們即將代表學校參加一年一度的ChinaJoy。ChinaJoy是由政府及資訊技術工業贊助的動漫年會。另一組則是由年輕愛好者與攝影師構成的獨立「邊緣性」社團，成員們喜歡在偏遠地區進行角色扮演，並擁有自己獨特的攝影風格。而在追蹤這兩個團隊之前，我們還訪問了北京cosplay愛好者雷公，他向我們介紹在中國大陸已經發展出兩種風格不同的cosplay類型。第一種cosplay接受政府和企業的資金資助，愛好者們喜歡參與政府舉辦的大型活動，也有機會擔任一些活動的評委。第二種cosplay的參與者則多為更加自主更加非主流的年輕人，雷公就是其中一員。兩種cosplay都在努力創造融中日文化於一爐的動漫角色和故事：



Lei: We are different from the “cosers”, the professional cosplayers in China. There are around a hundred professional cosers in China. They make a living from participating in cosplay shows and being judges for compensation. Some of them can earn 100,000 yuan per show.

Zaphy: How come your community loves Japanese pop culture so much? What does it all mean to you?

Lei: It's inevitable that we are influenced by Japanese pop culture, since the largest comic book industry is dominated by Japan, and nearly 95% of comics we see today are Japanese ones. So, most of the cosplay terms are imported from Japan; you can call it a new cultural communication. But in our cosplay shows, we are not limited to Japanese comics. We are now actually adapting game cultures and anime cultures too. And now we are trying something more challenging—we are trying to blend these elements into Chinese culture.

For instance, in recent years we have created shows like Eight Fairies (fairy tales of the Han Dynasty and Taoist divinities), which won the first place in the 2007 China International Cartoon & Animation Festival, Generals of the Yang Family (stories about a group of female generals of the Yang family in the Song Dynasty), which won us a Golden Mask Award, and The Legend of Chinese Zodiac Signs (legends of the 12 animals), which was Champion at the 2009 ChinaJoy cosplay Award.

Zaphy: Do you think that costume play in Beijing is very different from the other parts of China?

Lei: In the North, we focus on the representations of the stories, while in the South people focus on the “pure image” and hence photo-taking is more usual. In the North, most clubs are made up of students who have limited funds; in the South, cosplay clubs are a communal or societal thing, containing white collar workers, students, IT professionals, whatever... they have more money. Plus, Southern China is more economically advanced than Northern China. I have seen some Southern clubs spending



雷公：我們和所謂的「coser」不同，coser指的是中國大陸專業的角色扮演者。中國現在大約有一百多個這樣的人。他（她）們靠參與cosplay演出和當比賽評委賺錢。其中有人參加一次活動就能賺到十萬多塊。

Zaphy：為什麼你們這個群體這麼喜歡日本流行文化呢？日本流行文化對你們有什麼特殊的意義嗎？

雷公：受日本影響是必須的，現在最大的動漫系統就是日系動漫，我們所觀看的95%以上都是日本的動漫，而且很多的動漫專業詞彙都是由日本傳過來，可以說是一種新文化傳播，必須是很大的影響。但是在cosplay中，我們不僅僅限於動漫或日本動漫，在ACG（Anime, Comic, Games）方面都會有涉及。畢竟在cosplay的效果上面，日本是先驅，我們是要從模仿開始的。然而在這些年的發展之後，比如遊戲，或者還沒有動畫化的漫畫，都可以用來表演，而在這些的學習模仿之後，我們現在把這些融入到中國文化裡。譬如說，近年來我們就創作了《八仙過海》的演出，在2007年中國國際動漫節贏得冠軍，還有獲得「金面具獎」的《楊家將》以及獲得2009年ChinaJoy Cosplay大獎的《十二生肖傳奇》。



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Zaphy：你覺得北京的cosplay表演和中國其他地區有區別嗎？

雷公：南北相比，北方靠劇本，南方靠道具。北方重視內容再現，南方重視影像重現，所以他們很重視拍照。北方多是學生團體，資金較少，年均社團支出在一至二萬；南方很多都是社會團體，經濟寬裕，有時一件衣服就可以花掉他們2.7萬元人民幣，或是做一些一比一大小的服裝。我曾經見過一件《三國演義》的服裝，是用金屬所製的，穿上它你真的可以去作戰。在北京，我們負擔不起這樣的服裝。我們都是自己找裁縫。裁縫會按照我們的設計做幾件簡單的服裝，我們自己會做好衣領、衣袖、裝飾品等等。其實現在大部份

27,000 yuan on one costume. They also make clothes of 1:1 proportion.

Once I saw a costume for a Three Kingdom cosplay that was made of metal. You could actually fight a war wearing it. Here, we can't afford that. What we do is find a tailor first. He or she would make a simple dress we want out of some chosen fabric, and then we do the rest. We make the collar, the sleeves, accessories, and patterns—everything. And now many conventions don't allow the use of metal, so we cannot buy the real stuff for props. We make them on our own. Of course, super rich clubs have their private labs, so they can make everything—it's very professional stuff. Therefore, when we are making an angel wing, we end up with something one meter long, while Southerners would have something of eight meters.

But on the other hand, if your costume is too heavy and too delicate, you can't really perform. So we have our advantages in performing.

Zaphy: Why has the Chinese government decided to support these developments?

Lei: On the government level, in cities like Beijing, Shanghai and Hangzhou, the government is quite supportive. ACG is part of the consumer culture. If it goes well, the local economy can benefit a bit. Therefore, in these cities, every year there are scores of competitions and shows. And nowadays, even if it's some kind of non-relevant exhibition, cosplay clubs are invited to perform in order to attract more people. Also, sometimes shopping malls will invite us to perform for their promotional campaigns and other kinds of shows. Since we are quite the phenomenon right now, we go and perform to raise money for our club.

Of course there is censorship too. Now that we are supposed to be in a "harmonious society", everything has to be harmonized. Before we do the performance, we have to submit an audio copy of the show to the related bureau. And that's when many sensitive things are cut out. For political censorship's sake, we don't take on sensitive topics in our cosplay; for instance, we don't talk about the Taiwan problem or Tibetan problems, and we don't mention national leaders' names. And the story must be positive and morally upright.



活動都不歡迎金屬道具，所以如果需要金屬道具我們也得自己做。當然，特別有錢的社團甚至會有私人實驗室，所以基本上他們什麼都能做，很專業。這樣一來，同樣是做天使之翼，我們最多做個一米長的翅膀，南方人很可能做個八米多的東西出來。但是反過來說，如果你的服裝太重太精緻，你也很難穿著表演，所以我們在表演上較有優勢。

Zaphy: 政府為什麼會支持cosplay的發展呢？

雷公：政府的話，在北京、上海、杭州這樣的城市是很支持的。動漫本來就是消費性行業，推廣起來能推動經濟，所以每年都會有幾十次大大小小的全區、全市、全國級的比賽或者展出，而且就算是某某其他類的展會，只要有可能，都會拉出來一支 cosplay 團隊來做演出以吸引人們的目光。還有，有時候商場也會在搞活動的時候請我們去表演。我們社團現在有一定知名度，所以可以有機會參與表演來籌錢。



當然，審查總是存在的。尤其是我們現在生活在「和諧社會」裡，什麼都得和諧。在實地表演之前，我們需要呈交一份表演錄音給相關部門，很多敏感的部份就會被刪掉。考慮到政治審查的存在，我們不會在 cosplay 中加入敏感話題，比如說我們從不談論台灣問題、西藏問題，也不會講國家領導人的名字。而 cosplay 的故事也必須是積極向上的。有時候你不得不遵守這些規則，哪怕這樣一來你的故事會變得特別傻逼。

在色情限制方面，對衣著的要求基本上很簡單，就是不要露點，不要挑逗。另外內容上來講，很多東西只可意會，不能言傳。比如 BL（是 Boy's Love，耽美動漫的簡稱），你可以放兩個男人在一起並肩作戰，一個甚至為另一個吃醋，但是情色性質的行為，比如接吻，是絕對不可以的。

但其實很多觀眾早就熟悉故事情節，他（她）們自己會聯想，所以

You have to abide by these rules even if it may reduce your story to “super stupidity.”

As for erotica things, the rules are basically quite simple: you can't show breasts or a crotch, and can't be flirtatious. Apart from that, in terms of content, you have to be subtle in many things, and not too explicit. Like if you have a Boys' Love (Male-Male love story) plot, you can put two men in a scene, show their admiration for each other, or even jealousy, but you can't let them touch each other sexually—like kissing is unacceptable.



Actually, audiences who understand the plot already have a mindset for such meanings, so what we do is drop a hint for them rather than representing it. Yes, the Boys' Love theme is a bit troublesome; and it's not only just in cosplay. I run a comic shop and we import most of our books from Taiwan because they do a great job in translation. But Boys' Love books can be banned in the Customs House. That's why most Boys' Love copies you see in China are pirated ones.

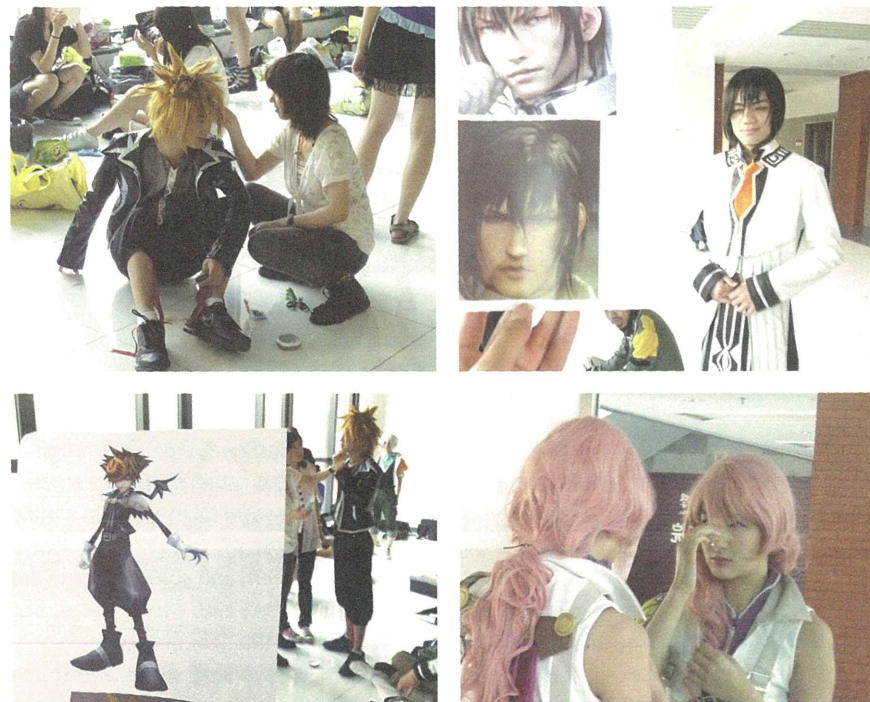
We also have “Lolitas” and “Weird Uncles” in our society now, which echoes with things in cosplay culture. In our club, there are many gays and lesbians, and they are very good actors; among the best, I'd say. As for transvestism, cosplay IS a culture where dress speaks for everything. So yes, there is a huge amount of transvestism going on here.

It's hard to say what it actually means, as we never count or define the genders. As I mentioned, “cos” in the word cosplay symbolizes transvestism, so we don't really care if one is a man or a woman. Are there still gender restrictions these days? Look at popular tomboy singer Li Yuchun, and Korean flora-boy Jun-ki Lee; with our massive population in China, surely you'd expect there to be quite a few more of them?



我們只要給個暗示就行了，不用全部呈現。耽美主題就有些困難，這不僅僅限於cosplay表演。我自己經營一家動漫書店，很多書都是從台灣進的，因為台灣人的翻譯做的好。但是耽美圖書在海關可能就被沒收了，所以你在國內看得耽美圖書一般都是盜版的。

我們的社會本身就有洛麗塔和怪蜀黍（即對喜愛洛麗塔的年長男子的戲稱，取其諧音怪叔叔），cosplay文化不過是在回應這些社會現象。我們的社團中不乏男女同性戀，其中很多人都是特別好的演員，可以說是最好的。而談到異裝扮演，cosplay本身就是一種服裝文化，所以cosplay裡當然會有大量的異裝扮演存在了。而是男扮女多還是女扮男多，這個無法統計，男女的多少不是說按照喜好就可以分出來的。Cosplay的COS本來就是變裝的意思，至於變成男人變成女人，這就很難說了，對於現在而言，還有性別限制麼？現在有李宇春，李準基這樣的流行偶像，你覺得類似的人在中國這個人口大國會少麼？。



These cosplay events in different cities in China are carefully planned in collaboration with government and IT industries who invest in the events in order to promote products targeted towards youth audiences. In the 2010 competition of ChinaJoy, all cosplayers were asked to take part in a 20-minute play based on an existing animation story and whose soundtrack is entirely pre-recorded and checked in advance by government censors. When the costume players perform, they lip sync to the specific lines and songs of their pre-recorded script, which they have written themselves.

The Beijing event takes place in a mall for electronics called Zhong Guan Village, which is packed with small electronics outlets and devoid of any natural lighting. The mall is noisy and bright but there is a lack of customers to peruse and buy the products. The cosplay stage is a makeshift construction set up in the main lobby and plastered with screaming advertisements for the newest cell phone brands and gadgets. The stage is readied for a judged competition amongst 20 teams who all get exactly 20 minutes of stage time. The reality is that the event will experience a lot of hurdles and repeated delays, so cosplayers have ample time to hang out, wait, and dress up in the aisles of the mall.



The Renmin cosplay team is guided by their group leader Chen Xiao, who is the director of the crew and assists in every aspect of complex and time-consuming preparations, including everything from the ordering of McDonald's meals to the disentangling of huge colorful hair wigs. He does not think of these performances as art, but more as a hobby and an expression of friendships between people who like the same characters. They did spend about six weeks in rehearsals, but he repeats that it is not to be taken too seriously as an art form. He is a very sweet and communicative person who has invited us to observe the team for one day and record the backstage dynamics. He explains that they are acting out a story of the video game animation megabuster *Final Fantasy*:

Chen Xiao: Our script is based on the latest version of the game, Final Fantasy 13. It should be the latest version I believe. However, we only used the same characters from the game but wrote an entire new story. The original story is very dramatic and serious, while ours is much more like a parody. It is our "total fantasy" of Final Fantasy. The story takes place in a male sex workers' house or a gigolo den, where women can go to choose a male sex worker. The management is all women, and some of these are sisters and cousins of the sex workers. There are two such houses, but one is large and a really popular place, while the other is home to only inferior sex workers. One of the inferior sex workers sends a letter to the other house to challenge its management. The story is primarily a humorous tale about the delivery of this letter and all the personalities who get entangled in it.

在中國大大小小的城市地區，為了保持與政府和IT贊助商保持合作——後者往往以青少年觀眾為目標消費者，此類cosplay活動都需要小心翼翼的計劃和操作。以2010年的ChinaJoy為例，所有參賽節目都需以已有動漫故事為藍本進行創作表演，其表演時間需控制在20分鐘以內，而表演的音軌必須在賽前錄好並通過政府審查。在實際演出中，演員只動嘴唇不發聲音，面部表情也要和錄音內容保持同步。

ChinaJoy的北京大賽在中關村商場舉行。中關村是北京的數碼港，到處都是小型電子產品賣場，看不到一絲自然光線。商場裡人聲嘈雜，燈光明亮，不過想要購買產品的顧客看起來卻不多。Cosplay的舞臺是個可移動設施，現在搭建在大廳裡，周圍纏繞著各種手機品牌的廣告海報。比賽共有20支團隊參加，每支團隊只可以在評委面前表演20分鐘。但事實上，比賽過程中有不少時間延誤，所以參賽者就有足夠的時間在商場走廊裡準備熱身。

陳瀟是人民大學cosplay社團的領隊，也是該社團的編導人員。他負責協調各種繁雜耗時的準備工作——從在麥當勞訂餐到梳理糾纏的彩色假髮都得他幫手。他認為cosplay表演並不是一種藝術，而是志同道合的動漫粉絲的共同愛好和消遣。雖然陳的社團花費了六週的時間綵排準備，他仍還是重申cosplay不宜被上升到藝術的高度。陳是一個善於溝通的人，他請我們在比賽前一天參與他們的綵排活動、觀察瞭解社團的活動機制。他告訴我們社團的參賽節目改編自熱門電子遊戲《最終幻想》。

陳瀟：我們的劇本改編自《最終幻想》最新版本，現在應該已經出到《最終幻想13》了。不過我們其實只是採用了遊戲裡的主要人物，cosplay的故事是我們自己創作的。原作的故事既有戲劇性又很嚴肅，我們的故事更像是一個搞笑版本。可以說是對《最終幻想》的「最終幻想」。



故事發生在一個男妓匯聚的妓院，女人可以在這裡挑選男性性工作者，而妓院的經理們卻全都是女性。故事中共有兩個這樣的妓院，一個規模大、生意好；另一個妓院的男妓則質量差很多。小妓院的男妓就給大妓院下了戰書，所以故事就是關於下戰書和各種角色在這個過程中的舉動。

I ask him if they deliberately reversed the gender roles of the typical sex session between worker and client, but he says that they actually heard about the recent popularity of male gigolo dens in Beijing. He expands that these adaptations of Japanese stories are often based on their student lives and local news stories. When asked about the reaction of mass media to cosplay, he replies that some local newspapers like *China Daily* consistently condemn the infiltration of Japanese pop culture, while others report positively as they are more specialized in and are knowledgeable about ACG culture.

When hanging out in the Zhong Guan Village shopping mall, I can see that their artistic inclinations are manifest in their inter-group socializing and their drawn-out dress up/dress down activities that take place before and after the official stage performances. The performers are self-absorbed and spend hours of the day grooming their appearances. We can see them endlessly doing each other's hair and makeup as if they are engaged in a meditative process. They do not spend a lot of time on vocal or stretching exercises for their stage performances, nor do they rehearse their characters or their lines, which have indeed been pre-recorded a long while back. When I talk to Chen Xiao about the motivation level of the team for actually winning the competition, he says that they do not take it that seriously and do not really have big hopes for winning.

As explained in the second chapter, the costume players in Hong Kong tend to have their most important gatherings during the bi-annual ACG fairs that take place at the Hong Kong Exhibition and Convention Centre. These fairs attract masses of visitors who want to see and purchase new ACG products, while costume players hang out in the corridors and act out their characters. They bond together in small groups of friends and laze about while getting ready for a show that never actually happens. This process of identity transformation is powerful but does not lead to a demonstrable climax. It takes from many hours to an entire afternoon to finish preparations, but only a few "hard-core" costume players will actually perform on an official stage within the ACG fair.



The essence of most costume players is to socialize and have fun on the fringes of a commercial product fair, to idle about while dressing up and checking their style through the ubiquitous use of digital cameras. The cosplayers in Beijing are different as their performances are much more rigidly prepared, checked by government censors, judged by a team and acted out on an official stage. However they still do not see these performances as a serious art form or seriously competitive activities. Just like the Hong Kong cosplayers, the team members in Beijing create these short dramas as a way to assert friendships and play with aspects of identity transformation.

我問他社團是不是在故意反轉賣淫行業中的性別角色，他說其實故事的靈感來源於最近北京興旺的男性賣淫行業。他補充說一般對動漫故事的改編多數是基於學生生活和當地新聞。當我問他大眾傳媒對cosplay的反應時，陳回答說很多本土媒體如《中國日報》總會譴責日本文化入侵中國，但是也有一些記者本身就精通動漫文化知識，所以會寫出正面的報道。



在中關村的商場裡，我發現在cosplay愛好者相互溝通以及賽前賽後換裝變身時，可以發現他（她）們的藝術氣質。表演者多數有些自我中心，他（她）們可以花費幾個鐘頭來修飾自己的外表。我們總是看到他（她）們一遍又一遍的彼此幫助著梳理頭髮、修飾妝容，其執著與認真程度近乎於冥想狀態。他（她）們很少練聲或熱身，也不太勤於綵排或背誦台詞。陳告訴我們社團成員沒有把比賽看得很重，對於勝負也不是特別在乎。



在第二章裡我們看到，對香港cosplay愛好者來說，最重要的社交機會就是兩年一屆的動漫大會。這些活動吸引了大群觀眾前往會展中心，他們可以在那裡欣賞購買最新的動漫產品，而cosplay愛好者們則集中在走廊裡扮演自己喜歡的角色。愛好者們一小群一小群的聚在一起打發時間，他（她）們似乎總是在為一個永不開始的表演精心準備著。身份轉變的過程雖然強烈刺激但是並不能被大眾目睹。雖然所有愛好者都會用幾個小時甚至整個下午的時間化妝準備，其實只有很少數所謂「鐵桿」愛好者能有機會在動漫大會上登臺表演。對絕大多數愛好者來說，動漫大會的精華在於可以和同道中人聚在一起嬉戲玩耍，可以一邊打扮自己一邊查看數碼相機裡自己的妝容。在北京，cosplay愛好者的表演則多是經過精心準備的，他（她）們不但要通過政府的重重審查，還要在官方比賽中登臺競爭，但即便是這樣，他（她）們仍不認為自己是在參與某種嚴肅藝術。和香港cosplay愛好者一樣，他（她）們更傾向於將cosplay當作是結識朋友、鞏固友誼和轉化身份的空間。



Cosplayers belong to a hyper-media generation and they use social networks to establish and maintain friendships and to build extensive photographic galleries. They also get involved in collaborative artistic work, as if the goal to become an artist, a fashion designer, a photographer or a filmmaker, requires them to have an alter ego or an alternative "character." These types of "idle" and self-indulgent activities are frowned upon in the highly materialistic and moralistic government-controlled society that envisions cosmopolitanism as a

kind of communist-controlled economic expansion. The curious hobby offers a unique blending of vanity and creativity, a self-obsessed outlet, but it also requires that those involved talk excessively with peers in order to learn about new trends and gain access to practical information. Many cosplayers told me over the years that the "general community" can at times be supportive, but also very bitchy and derisive of newcomers, especially when comments are shared anonymously in online environments. But in some cases cosplayers build smaller circles to ward off the venomous vibrations of the general community.

The second team I followed in Beijing sees itself as such a "small village family" within the larger cosplay community in Beijing. Atom is one of the members of this impromptu family and explains that it refers to a grouping of like-minded costume players who gather and travel to remote places to make "visual art" and develop rotating personalities. As she explains:



We come from a league named "NKNL" (no kuso no life... no passion no life), built over a four-year period, with members mainly from Beijing and Shanghai. We share a belief that cosplay can be a kind of visual art instead of just expressing the willingness to emulate a fondness of characters. We try to make cosplay photos that represent scenes and presences in original works. Sometimes we travel to remote and concealed places to find appropriate camera scenes. After the photography sessions we create a series of photos with a text telling a story, and we insert coordinated music to create atmosphere. Maybe it sounds like some multimedia act but we'd like to call this a kind of "paper-movie."

Cosplay愛好者是超媒體時代的一代，他（她）們懂得通過社交網絡來建立和保持友誼，也喜歡在媒介上開設私人相片廊。他（她）們常常會相互合作進行藝術創作，並夢想成為藝術家、時尚設計師、攝影師或是電影人，這些願望都推動他（她）們去構造一個第二自我或第二「角色」。在由道德主義政府掌權的高度物質化社會中，共產主義控制下的經濟擴張被人們視為一種新世界主義的夢想，而年輕人「無所事事」、自我沉溺的活動則要遭受白眼。年輕人的獨特愛好將虛榮心和創造力巧妙的混合在一起，這既賦予他（她）們沉浸在自我世界中的機會，



又迫使他（她）們不得不彼此溝通跟上新鮮潮流、獲取實用資訊。很多cosplay愛好者就向我吐露，「一般團體」雖然會予以成員們長期支持，對新人卻十分刻薄嚴酷，這種現象在匿名留言的網絡環境中尤其嚴重。所以有時，愛好者們會在大群體裡建立小圈子來抵擋他人的惡言惡語。



我在北京跟隨的第二支團隊稱自己為北京cosplay圈裡的「小型鄉村家庭」。Atom就是小家庭的一員，她說這個家庭的成員是一群志同道合的cosplay愛好者，她（他）們喜歡一起去遠方旅行，一起創造「視覺藝術」、一起發展不斷變幻的人格：

我們來自一個叫做NKNL的聯盟（無惡搞不生活，無激情不生活）。聯盟已經有四年的歷史，成員多是北京和上海的cosplay愛好者。我們堅信cosplay不僅僅是簡單的角色扮演，更可以成為一種視覺藝術。我們努力拍攝cosplay影像，想要重現原作中的場景和故事。有時我們會去一些遙遠偏僻的地方尋找合適的拍攝地點。拍攝結束後，我們會剪輯一系列的照片來講述一個完整的故事，有時我們還會編纂音樂來豐富故事的感覺和氣氛。也許有人覺得我們在做多媒體藝術，但是我們自己喜歡把這叫做「紙電影」。

I meet with three other members of the NKLN family and accompanied them to one of their favorite places, the 798 art compound, to observe the making of two "paper-movies." The coordinator of this team is the photographer Franseca who has a close friendship with Atom and is also very devoted to her current performer, Phoenix. The other members of the team are Woody and Xiao, who go along to help Franseca and Phoenix get dressed and set up lights and props for the different cosplay scenes. They are content to be part of this family as its helping hands even though at times they also dress up. Franseca has meanwhile compiled many of her colorful and enigmatic paper movies on the popular social network "Deviantart"⁶ I had first met Franseca on a previous trip to Beijing and tried to find out what these cosplay relationships mean to her. I knew about her close relationship with Atom. Franseca explained that she could not separate the desires of their characters from actual love experiences.



Zaphy: Assuming that you and your lover are both cosplayers, when you cosplay two characters together, would you feel that you two are actually in love?

Franseca: Actually I can't completely split real love from the love in fiction. Sometimes you feel that the character that you are going to cosplay is so similar to yourself. And your partner is also cosplaying a character that is very similar to her. When you are both doing that for a while, maybe you will feel that you are performing a real life or a relationship. It's convincing but it is a blurred experience.

Zaphy: If you and your partner can both accept that, I would assume that it could be very powerful?

Franseca: I often doubt whether I like the person or I just like the character. It's hard to say. And vice versa, the experience of playing roles is also influenced by our actual relationships.

⁶ Franseca's work can be found at hybridre.deviantart.com/gallery.

很快我又見到了其他幾個NKNL的家庭成員，並和她們一起來到798藝術工廠，觀看了兩部「紙電影」的製作過程。這支隊伍的領隊是Atom的密友Franseca，她和今天的cosplay表演者鳳凰關係也不錯。隊中另外的成員Woody和Xiao都是前來協助拍攝的。她們雖然偶爾也會扮裝表演，但也很滿足於做個小幫手。Franseca此時正在流行社交網站Deviantart上傳她製作的幾部紙電影⁶。在這次旅行前，我也曾來過北京幾次，早在那時就已經認識Franseca，還曾問過她cosplay愛好者之間的友誼對她有什麼意義。我也知道她和Atom親密無間，還猜想她們也許是一對女同性戀戀人。Franseca則說她無法將現實中的愛慾情感和對動漫人物角色的喜愛分辨開來。



Zaphy: 如果你和你的戀人都是cosplay愛好者，當你們一起扮裝表演時，你會不會覺得你們彼此相愛呢？

Franseca: 我其實根本分不清虛擬的愛情和現實中的愛情。有時候你會覺得你扮演的角色和你本人非常相似，而你的愛侶同時又在扮演一個和她很像的角色。一直扮下去的話，也許你就覺得其實你們演繹的是一段真實的情感關係。那種感覺非常真實，但又有點模糊。

Zaphy: 假如你和你的愛侶都有這樣的感受，我肯定這種經驗是非常強烈的。

Franseca: 我常常疑惑，我喜歡的到底是角色本身還是扮演角色的人。同樣，角色扮演的經歷也多少會影響我們在現實生活中的關係。

⁶ Franseca的作品可見於hybridre.deviantart.com/gallery。

In my second meeting with Franseca and three other members of her cosplay family, she did not want to discuss her relationship with Atom. Whatever was happening was partially based on a fantasy construct that was too hard to explain at that moment. In the meantime, I was taken on a fieldtrip to the tailor Miss Ma, whom was also considered to be a member of the family. Miss Ma makes costumes for the costume players who live around Communication University of Beijing, including those of the NKNL family. We arrive at the outskirts of this university and pass by a sprawl of small restaurants alongside a large dirt road. We are then hoarded into a dark alley by Woody. The smell upon entering Miss Ma's tiny shop is fantastic and I wonder what kind of special herbs she has been cooking.

There is a huge tree growing through her tiny shop where she also houses her motorbike and various sewing machines for constructing immensely complex outfits. We start a conversation and I immediately notice that she likes to talk. She tells us that she is happy with her line of work but just wants or needs to get more business—as she thinks that the cosplay fad has already diminished a little. We are all glued to where her monologue is going during our short visit, at the end of which she pulls out her magical scroll—hundreds of drawings and photos of people's favorite animation characters which she has bound together with a purple string. Customers have brought her all these drawings and sketches, knowing that Miss Ma will turn them into a great outfit. I mention our common friend Atom who enjoys portraying male characters. She shows us Atom's new golden-brown kimono that is waiting to be picked up:

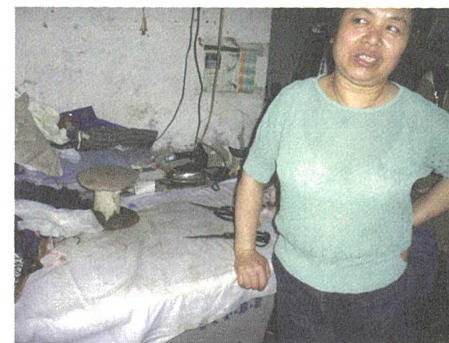


Zaphy: I am friend of Gao Yuan (Atom). We meet in Hong Kong and she encouraged me to visit you here.

Miss Ma: Yes, I have made a lot of costumes for her. Actually, there are several people like Gao and Woody who frequent my shop here. I have been doing this for a very long time. Before Atom, there was a girl called Ren Jing, also from Communication University. Ren asked me to make many

而現在，當我第二次見到Franseca時，也許是因為有其他人在場，她不太願意談論自己和Atom的關係。無論她們有過怎樣的故事，她們關係中的一部份都是建立在幻想世界上的，所以在今天這個場合很難解釋清楚。之後，她們帶我一起去拜訪另一個家族成員——裁縫馬阿姨。馬阿姨專為住在北京傳播大學附近的cosplay愛好者製作服裝和道具，NKNL家族便是她的顧客之一。在傳播大學外圍的一條髒髒的小路上，一排排小飯館林立於街道兩旁，緊接著Woody就領大家轉進一個小黑胡同裡。到了馬阿姨家，撲鼻而來一陣奇妙的清香，我猜她正在用某種香料做菜。

馬阿姨的小店正中，居然長著一顆高大的樹，樹周圍環繞著各種縫紉機器、做工複雜的服裝道具以及一架摩托車。沒說幾句，我就覺察出馬阿姨是個健談的人。她說自己很喜歡手上接到的cosplay訂單，但也希望或需要得到更多的生意，因為她認為cosplay的潮流愈來愈低迷。我們都津津有味的聽著她的獨白，最後更是被她拿出一副神奇手卷迷倒了——馬阿姨用一根紫線將幾百張動漫人物照片和素描穿在一起。這些圖片都是上門訂製服裝的cosplay愛好者們拿來的，馬阿姨看了圖片就能做出一件件精美的服裝。我提起我們共同的朋友Atom，說她喜歡扮演男性角色。馬阿姨就找出Atom剛剛訂做的一件金棕色和服給我們看。



Zaphy: 我是高原（Atom）的朋友。我們是在香港認識的，是她介紹我來你這裡。

馬阿姨：我給她做過不少衣服。我很多顧客都是像高原和Woody這樣的老顧客。高原之前，還有一個叫任靜的女孩，也是傳播大學的學生，她請我做了好多套衣服。我想，我做這個都已經有十年歷

costumes. I think it has been ten years since I started doing this. Every year, new students will come to me ordering new costumes.

Zaphy: How do these students find you?

Miss Ma: Through recommendation from friends. They often have this competition thing going on. When my one of my customers wins a competition, people will ask them about their tailor. Apart from Communication University, I have customers from other universities too. These people from other universities have gotten my address from the competitions where my customers have won. I haven't done anything to promote myself.

Zaphy: So it is word of mouth? Does it make a good income or is it just a side-line business for you?

Miss Ma: It doesn't bring a lot of money. I have not employed anyone, so I have to do it all by myself. Therefore I only take a certain amount of orders which won't wear me out. So it's not my major income. I take all kinds of orders from schools, stages, etc. I don't expect to make a lot of money. I just make sure I can make some. I don't need much money. I am already too old. Though sometimes I get big orders when the university is having a special event and they order ten or 20 costumes. Then I have to ride out there and buy fabrics for all those costumes—it is a lot of work.

Zaphy: Miss Ma, how much do you charge for each cosplay costume?

Miss Ma: It depends. 150 to 200 RMB. Sometimes I charge more with complicated costumes which have more pieces, layers, and garments. I will charge an extra 20 to 30 RMB. With simpler ones, I will deduct 20 to 30 RMB. The price is flexible. And I am very familiar with these kids; hence I won't raise the price. They don't really bargain with me, and I don't ask for a lot. So that's it. Two or three years ago, there was more business. Scores of people came and ordered. Now many of them buy online.

Zaphy: And what kind of drawings are you using to make the costumes?

Miss Ma: They give me cartoon-like pictures and then I try to interpret these and make the costume, but of course I will make slight variations to the colors and fabrics.

史了。每年新學生都會來我這兒訂製衣服。

Zaphy: 他們是怎麼找到這裡的？

馬阿姨：都是同學推薦的。他們經常有比賽要參加。有時候我的客人贏了一場比賽，人家就會問他們是誰做的衣裳。除了傳播大學，其他大學的學生也來找我。那些學生就是在比賽上知道我的地址，但我從來沒有宣傳過自己。

Zaphy: 那就是全靠口碑啦！做這個的收入好嗎？還是你只是當成副業做的？

馬阿姨：做這個賺不到什麼錢。我也沒有僱人，全靠自己做，所以我能接的訂單也是有限的，不能把自己累壞了。這個不是我收入的主要來源，我也接其他的活兒，學校啊、舞臺啊都有，但我也沒有指望能從這裡賺多少錢。我已經老了，不需要那麼多錢。雖然有時候我也接過大訂單，比如說大學搞什麼活動晚會的，可能找我做10件、20件衣服。那我就得開摩托車出去採購材料，可累了。

Zaphy: 馬阿姨，你每件cosplay戲服收多少錢呢？

馬阿姨：那要看是什麼衣服，一般在150元人民幣到200元人民幣左右吧！愈複雜的衣服我收得愈多，因為它們需要更多的層次和布料，一般多收20、30元人民幣。簡單的，我就少收20、30元人民幣，價格是很有彈性的。而且我和這些孩子都很熟，所以我也不會加價。孩子們很少討價還價，我也不會獅子開大口。兩三年前，生意比現在好些，那時候有幾十個顧客，現在很多人都在網上買衣服了。

Zaphy: 那你都是根據什麼圖稿來做衣服的呢？

馬阿姨：學生們會給我一些漫畫圖片，我就試著照著圖片做，當然在顏色和布料上我做的可能還是不太一樣。

Zaphy
(to Woody): What about you, Woody? Do you get your costumes from Miss Ma or do you buy them from the Internet?

Woody: I buy all my outfits here. I trust her and know that her work fits better than those from the Internet. Every time there is a senior who will bring a junior here. And then the junior becomes senior, and then they introduce the newer ones to me. The seniors will guide us through the whole process at the beginning. First of all, they take newcomers to buy fabrics, and then introduce them to Aunt Ma. It helps juniors to understand and master the whole thing.

Miss Ma: And Internet tailors can only refer to pictures. So they have some shortcomings in choosing colors and textiles. There is lack of communication between buyers and tailors on the Internet. You sometimes get things that don't really match your expectation. Here, people bring their fabrics. So they are sure of the basic things.

Zaphy: Do you enjoy making the cosplay costumes?

Miss Ma: I find it challenging and interesting. Every time I have to make a different costume. And they are not ordinary, but special and abstract designs. Sometimes the difficulty I encounter makes me more attracted to the challenges. It bores me if I make the same things one after another.

Zaphy: Since this cosplay fashion has come over from Japan, how is it affecting Chinese culture?

Miss Ma: I couldn't understand this at the beginning, but I have gradually become more used to it. Everyone now has his/her own interests and hobby, and it is very different from my generation.

Zaphy
(對Woody): 你呢？你是從馬阿姨這兒買衣服還是在網上買啊？

Woody: 我所有的戲服都是在這兒買的。我信任馬阿姨，我知道她的做工遠遠好於網上那些人。每次都是師兄、師姐帶師弟、師妹們來這裡訂衣服，後來師弟、師妹們就變成了師兄、師姐，他們再介紹新生過來。學長們會領著我們把整個過程走一次。首先，他們會帶新生們買布料，然後就是介紹新生們來馬阿姨這兒。這有助於幫助新生理解整個過程。

馬阿姨：網上的裁縫能參考的只有圖片，所以他們選的布料和顏色可能不夠好，因為他們缺乏和顧客的交流。你很可能拿到手的和你想要買的不是一個樣子。在我這裡，顧客都是自己帶著布料來的，所以基本上不會有出入。

Zaphy: 那你喜歡做cosplay的戲服麼？

馬阿姨：我覺得做這種衣服特有意思，又有挑戰性。每次做的衣服都完全不一樣，而且都不是尋常的衣服。設計都很特別，很抽象。有時候愈難做我就愈愛做，一件接一件做一樣的衣服太無聊了。

Zaphy: Cosplay文化是從日本引進的，你覺得這對中國文化有什麼影響？

馬阿姨：一開始我也不懂，不過我現在慢慢習慣了。每個人都有自己的愛好嘛，這和我們這一輩不一樣。

The next day we follow the NKNL family to one of their photo-shoots. We meet at the old communist factory-turned-art-district "798" where they have also preserved one of the old Chinese coal trains. Franseca uses this setting to take photos of Phoenix, who is portraying Hatsune Miku (初音ミク), the extremely popular girl character and virtual singer from the synthesizer software Vocaloid. Vocaloid enables users to synthesize songs by typing in lyrics and a melody. People submit their DIY songs to a web site and they are then interpreted and sung by a family of virtual singers. The software itself and the characters of the Vocaloid family have stirred specific musical fads and fan groups around the world.

Hastune Mike is a cute young girl with long green ponytails. Phoenix is enacting her in this setting as she found a song on Vocaloid about a high-spirited female train conductor during the era of a Japanese war and economic downturn. To her the girl with green ponytails and green uniform represents an element of nostalgia and fantasy in times of political darkness.



Franseca: People use the Vocaloid software to create songs both in Japanese and in other languages, and they use different styles such as Chinese style or European style songs. And it's interesting that people make songs using the Vocaloid software and they upload them to the web site. So the virtual characters imitate and interpret people's songs, and people respond by imitating the characters' vocals. It is very interesting interplay between human and virtual singers.

Many people have fallen in love with the software and characters. Phoenix based her character on a song, which is a very good song. She really likes this song. This song dates from the year 1925, from the last century, in Japan.

Phoenix: Because Japan was going through the Great Depression in 1925.

接下來的一天，我們跟隨NKNL家庭來到了798工廠，觀看她們的影像拍攝。798工廠是由老式共產主義風格工廠改造的藝術新區，工廠廠址內還保存著老式的中國煤炭運輸火車。Franseca就以火車為背景給鳳凰拍照。鳳凰扮演的角色叫做初音未來（初音ミク，Hatsune Miku），這個人物也是混音軟件Vocaloid中的虛擬歌手。Vocaloid能夠幫助用戶將歌譜同歌詞混合成完整的歌曲。人們可以將自己創作的歌譜、歌詞上傳到該網站，那裡有一群虛擬歌手演繹你的自製歌曲。這個軟件和虛擬歌手家庭在全球推動了一股另類音樂的風潮。

初音未來是一位可愛的年輕女孩，她紮著綠色馬尾辮。鳳凰對這個角色的演繹非常獨特，她在Vocaloid的曲目中找到一首以戰時日本列車售票員為主人公的歌曲，對於她來說這個紮著綠色馬尾辮、身著綠色制服的女孩身上充滿著對於某個政治黑暗時代的幻想和懷舊。



Franseca: 大家用Vocaloid這個軟件製作日語或其他語言的歌曲，還會採用各種不同的曲風，比如中式曲風或是歐式曲風。歌曲做好之後，大家會把它傳到網上。網上的虛擬歌手就可以演唱這些自製歌曲，而網民可以模仿虛擬歌手的聲音相互討論。這種人類與虛擬歌手之間的互動非常有趣。很多人都很喜歡這個軟件和各種虛擬歌手。鳳凰就是從歌中得到靈感，扮演一個特別的人物。她特別喜歡那隻歌曲，歌曲的背景是上個世紀1925年的日本。

鳳凰： 因為當時日本正經歷著大蕭條。

Franseca: 1925 is a symbolic year in Japan, because it was a turbulent year. Just like 1949 in China. At that time, Japan suffered from the economic crisis, so there were many darks thoughts in people's mind.

Phoenix: They killed themselves.

Franseca: Yes it was a weird year.

Zaphy: Is that why you wear this costume today?

Franseca: She is a train conductor. It is a fantasy about the war. The tough war years and finding some beauty in it.

Zaphy: Is it all based on your love for ACG culture or do you also see it as your professional activity or even a business?

Phoenix: That's a good question, because we think that the virtual relationships have invaded our real lives. In my case, my hobby and professional goals are totally blurred in fact. For instance, I also have a shop selling these costumes, as I majored in fashion. In this way I make more friends. People want to have their costumes and they'll find me. We talk to each other a lot too, so it is not just about selling and buying. Or I sell second-hand costumes to my friends for special rates. I call it "a business of huge potentials."

Zaphy: Why do you think young Chinese people like Japanese culture so much?

Phoenix: Perhaps because we don't have so much attractive culture in our own country.

Woody: I think there is some kind of special communication going on, like in football, when two teams whose countries are fighting each other in a war zone can still offer an amazing match for the audience. I don't find it wrong. I think Japan is way ahead of other countries in the ACG industry. It is like the US is ahead of others in making Sci-Fi movies. These films are welcomed globally. Good stuff always gets nice feedback from people. For instance, in Chinese culture, we had our fashions of the Tang Dynasty. They also have received global recognition. That is just how it goes.

Franseca: 對日本而言，1925年是一個很有代表性的年份，因為當時非常動盪，就好像是中國的1949年。當時，整個日本都因為經濟蕭條而一蹶不振，人們的想法普遍黑暗憂鬱。

鳳凰：他們會自殺。

Franseca: 那真是一個奇怪的年月。

Zaphy: 這就是你今天穿上這套服裝的原因吧？

Franseca: 她演繹了一位火車售票員。有點兒像戰爭幻想。艱難的戰時歲月也會有些許讓人驚艷的東西。

Zaphy: 你們的活動僅僅是出於對於動漫文化的熱愛嗎？會不會覺得這也是一種專業活動，或者甚至是一種商機？

鳳凰：這個問題提得很好，因為我們自己也會思考虛擬關係對真實生活的入侵現象。就我而言，我的愛好和職業發展目標是混在一起的。比如說，我其實有個賣戲服的商店，我所讀的專業也是時尚設計。在這些活動中，我可以認識更多朋友。當他們需要製作戲服的時候，就會來找我。我們也會分享購物經驗什麼的，有時候我也會向朋友低價出售二手戲服。我覺得這是一個很有潛力的行業。

Zaphy: 你們覺得是什麼使得中國年輕人這麼喜歡日本文化呢？

鳳凰：也許是因為我們自己的文化中缺乏這麼有趣的東西吧！

Woody: 我覺得這裡面有某種文化交流的意義，有點像足球。有時候兩支球隊所代表的國家可能正在交戰，但是球隊卻仍然可以為觀眾獻上一場完美的比賽。我覺得這沒什麼不對的。日本在動漫產業中絕對處於領先地位，就像是美國在科幻電影製作中的地位。美國科幻大片在全球都受到歡迎。好東西總會得到欣賞。而中國文化中我們就有唐代的時尚，在全世界也受到歡迎。

And so we follow the NKNL family on their journey with Hatsune Mike who would later morph into a violent warrior-girl with a sword. The historical references of time and place in these "paper movies" are always vague and do not carry a lot of significance for cosplayers. I rarely find that performers and their rotating characters are expressing deeply emotional cultural memories or traumas. It is a unique type of consumer-oriented variety show that does not allow audiences to become deeply invested in specific stories or characters. It wants audiences to closely follow and feel the process of transitioning into various types of other-worldly beings, which connotes a type of freedom from labeled identities. It is the freedom to be amateurish, experimental, and consumerist all at once, while these acts of dressing up also seep through the fabric of everyday life. It is not about being an artist or celebrity but about preparing for it and breaking it down again, about friendships and bonds that get created through intimate acts in the backstage room.



就這樣，我們看著NKNL家庭從初音未來變身為手握長劍的女戰士。這些「紙電影」的時空背景總是十分模糊，對cosplay愛好者來說也沒有什麼重要意義。我很少看到表演者和她們扮演的角色能夠反映出深層次的文化記憶或是文化創傷。Cosplay是一種獨特的消費導向型綜藝表演，觀眾們無法從人物和故事身上得到深層感受。Cosplay的關鍵是促使觀眾們觀察表演者不同角色身份的不斷轉變，體驗到不為某一身份標籤所束縛的自由。在這種自由體驗裡，變裝過程慢慢滲入生活中的點點滴滴，你可以既是業餘玩家，又是前衛實驗者，更是積極的消費者。Cosplay和成為藝術家或名人並沒有關係，它的精華就在於一次次的準備和結束，在於愛好者們在後台建立起的友誼和親密。





Chapter 4

Bandung: Breath of Fire in the Lucky
Square's Parking Garage

第四章

萬隆：幸運廣場停車場裡的噴火表演



I have arrived in the city of Bandung where my very dedicated host Bonni Rambatan walks me into the region's breathtaking mountains. I am blown away by the variety of smells and flowers and start disentangling my stressed-out research process—how to continue my forays into the sexual undergrounds of Indonesia and how to get a handle on the city of Bandung. My anxieties are fixated on the less than appealing qualities of the city of Bandung, the country's third largest city and the capital of the West Java Province of Indonesia. Historically, Bandung's ideal topography and climate convinced the colonial Dutch East Indies government on using it as their capital city and as a resort area. After Indonesian independence, from 1945 onwards, the city experienced rapid development and urbanization that has transformed it into a dense and sprawling metropolitan area. As an uninitiated outsider, I can say that the weather is indeed less scorching and less humid than surrounding regions. The mountains are pleasant and lush, the villagers are walking around in superb moods, but it has been difficult to spot cultural highlights among the endless urban sprawl and intensely congested traffic of Bandung.



So I surrender to Bonni and his uncle's guidance and end up relaxing for a day in the mountains. I first met Bonni in Hong Kong when he showed some of his erotic drawings and costume designs in an art exhibition about techno-sexual bodies. I was drawn to his sci-fi hoop dresses with automaton dildos as they reminded me of a bizarrely lit Christmas tree. We talked a little and realized that we were both members of an unorthodox "sex art family." He then invited me to visit Bandung to attend some fan conventions and follow one of its most well-known cosplay groups, the Lunar Cosplay Team.

初到萬隆不久，熱情好客的印尼友人Bonni Rambatan就帶我鑽進了城郊的山林裡。山野的景色美得令人窒息，漫山遍野的花叢攜著芬芳撲鼻的香味立刻捲走了我的疲憊。我終於有機會放鬆一下，暫時脫離那些緊張的研究——怎樣進入印尼的地下性文化繼續我的探索之旅、怎樣在萬隆城裡展開研究。萬隆是印尼第三大城市，也是西爪哇省的首府。城內景觀雖不能令人流連忘返，倒也足夠安撫我的焦慮緊張。荷蘭殖民政府就曾選擇氣候宜人、地處要衝的萬隆作為印尼殖民地的首都，政府要員們也樂於在這裡消暑渡假。自從1945年印尼獨立後，萬隆得到充份的發展，並迅速踏上城市化進程，現在已經是一個人口密集、不斷擴張的大都會了。對我這樣一個初到者而言，萬隆的氣候的確沒有周邊地區那麼炎熱潮濕。城郊的山野青翠欲滴，路上的行人也都情緒高漲。不過，身處於無邊無際的市郊地帶，眼望著城內堵塞的交通，我發現很難找到什麼文化亮點。



於是我只能求助於Bonni和他的叔叔，在他們的導引下得以在山林裡休息一天。我和Bonni相識於在香港舉辦的一個關於科技／性感一身體的藝術展，當時他曾經給我展示了幾張他的情色素描和服裝設計圖紙。我至今還記得其中有一張圖紙上畫有一套佈滿了科幻鐵環裝飾物的裙子，他還給裙子配了一個自動假陽具。不知道為什麼，那個設計總是令我聯想到散發著奇異光圈的聖誕樹。我們沒聊多久就發現彼此都是古怪「性藝術家庭」的成員。當時他就



Bonni helps me shake off habituated opinions that have been subliminally incorporated into my life projects and curious, yet neurotic, personality. I am made quickly aware that Indonesia is culturally very different from the other places that I have visited, and it would be impossible to do my work here without his assistance. For one thing, Indonesia has a majority Islamic population and its government has introduced one of the most extreme laws for the regulation of sexual imagery. I find out that despite this hostile anti-porn climate, or maybe as a side effect of it, animation fan groups and sexual subgroups are thriving.

Some of my proof of this comes from Yamila Abraham, founder and editor of the USA-based Yaoi Press, who wrote an article about the power of Boys' Love manga (homo-erotic love stories for female audiences) in Indonesia¹. When she founded the Yaoi Press and sent out her first international calls for Boys' Love artists, the Indonesian artists were among the first ones to respond. But even though the genre has a strong following, Abraham fears that anti-pornography laws in In-



¹ Information about Yaoi Press can be found on the website www.yaoipress.com.



邀請我去萬隆參加幾個動漫粉絲活動，還說我應該去看看萬隆最著名的cosplay社團——Lunar Cosplay Team。我很快就覺察到印尼和我之前拜訪過的地方十分不同，如果沒有Bonni的協助，我幾乎無法在那裡展開工作。印尼國內大部份人都信奉伊斯蘭教，而印尼政府在性影像管制方面的法律制度可算是全球最嚴。不過我也發現，儘管身處如此仇視情色的文化之中，印尼的動漫粉絲群體和性小眾們還是如雨後春筍般迅速發展著。Yamila Abraham就是這個不斷成長的群體中的一員，她創辦了一家以美國為總部的耽美出版社，並負責出版編輯事宜，她還曾在印尼發表過論述耽美動漫影響力的文章¹。當她初創耽美出版社時，曾經向全球作家徵求耽美文章，而最先回應她的人就是幾位印尼藝術家。雖然耽美文化現在已經擁有了大量的支持者和粉絲，Abraham仍然擔憂印尼的反色情法會阻礙耽美文化的前程。她告訴我們，印尼的第一批耽美愛好者都是本土動漫產業的粉絲。上世紀60年代到70年代是印尼漫畫工業的黃金時期，當時印尼的漫畫零售業和租賃



¹ 這家出版社的網址是www.yaoipress.com。

Indonesia could affect the future of the subculture. According to Abraham, Boys' Love fans in Indonesia first began as regular manga fans of the local comic industry. They experienced a golden age in the 1960s and 1970s, which was largely due to the development of a comic rental kiosk system for comic books. This boom was stunted by several government figures who denounced the trend as "Western poison" that would, among other things, foster laziness. Thus, there was a vacuum in indigenous comic making in the 1980s when Japanese manga started coming in². Television networks started airing Japanese anime in 1996 and various Japanese franchise products were imported, or reinterpreted by local artists. Indonesia has an extensive trade history with Japan, which facilitated the import of much of the mainstream, popular culture products. As for adopting the more outrageous aspects of Japanese sexual queer imagery, local artists have created a softer version of Boys' Love where the sexual desire between male characters is rendered implicitly rather than explicitly³.

Just as in mainland China's porno-hostile climate, the Indonesian government turns a blind eye to sexual entertainment yet also forces fans to hide or downplay their sexual identities. Even though the government somewhat tolerates Boys' Love comics and their homo-erotic content, they steadfastly refuse to enact laws that protect sexual minorities, resulting in a mostly homophobic atmosphere. Nevertheless, Indonesian women and men have developed deep affections for these queer subcultures and manga fantasies as they provide a space for experimentation and bonding.

Thus, the Indonesian government keeps an eye on sexually explicit materials but is, generally speaking, supportive of the more mainstream animation, comics, and games (ACG) cultures. It supports cosplay conventions, for example, through sponsorship by the major state-owned phone service provider, Telkomsel. In Bandung, "cosplay capital of Indonesia", there are about ten cosplay teams, with monthly and even weekly competitions taking place all over the city. Moreover, some of the "Harajuku" dress styles have even begun to seep into the everyday fashion styles of the public. Still, I am told over and over again that Indonesian youth are hesitant to dress outlandishly and generally follow Islamic dress codes that avoid sexy outfits that reveal or display flesh. Some Islamic girls, who ordinarily wear a veil, have also embraced costume play, but they adapt the outfits so that they keep their hair and necks covered.

Before arranging my trip to Bandung, Bonni set up a meeting with an emerging cosplayer, Fadhila, who is also a devout Muslim. It was difficult for me to convince her to join this project as she simply seemed hesitant to spend time with us. When we finally managed to meet her, her attitude was extremely polite and friendly, yet still wary and distant. She was a striking beauty and dressed very stylishly. Her eyes looked large as she was wearing the color contact lenses that are so popular among ACG fans. We conducted a short interview in which she explained how religious costume players like herself manage their choice of outfits and characters.

² Fan photos from Indonesia Fujoshi Forum can be found on the Facebook Group Pecinta Yaoi. <http://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=121572274579244&set=o.161024260585116&theater>.

³ Yamila Abraham, "Boys' Love Thrives in Conservative Indonesia," in Antonia Levi, Mark McHarry and Dru Pagliassoti eds. *Boy's Love Manga: Essays on Sexual Ambiguity and Cross-Cultural Fandom of the Genre* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 2008), 45.

業都在急速發展。可惜，這種發展態勢卻為幾位政府要員阻擋，他們聲稱漫畫潮流是一種「西方毒藥」，它會使得人們消極懶惰。於是，印尼本土漫畫在80年代經歷了一段空白期，而日本動漫剛好在同一時間進入印尼。從1996年開始，電視台開始播放日本動畫片，印尼也開始進口大量的日本動漫產品，也有本土藝術家重拍日本原著。印尼和日本的進出口歷史本來就很久，印尼國內很多主流的流行文化產品都是從日本進口的。而印尼藝術家們也根據日本創作的酷兒情色影像進行改變，創造出了本地特有的軟性耽美作品。在這些作品中，男性角色之間的性慾望變得更加婉轉隱晦，不再是日本式的赤裸坦白²。

印尼政府反色情的態度和舉措和中國大陸政府如出一轍，他們一面容忍氾濫的性娛樂產業，一面又強迫動漫粉絲隱藏或低調處理自己的性身份。雖然，政府對於耽美動漫及其同性戀內容持容忍態度，它卻仍然拒絕立法保護性小眾權利，導致整個社會都瀰漫著一股恐同氣氛³。然而，印尼的男女粉絲們早就深深愛上這些酷兒文化和動漫幻想，並在這個另類世界裡相互聯繫、大膽試驗。印尼政府雖然對含有性內容的動漫作品保持警惕，但大體上來說它非常支持主流動漫文化。譬如，政府曾經通過國有電訊企業Telkomsel為cosplay大會提供資金支出。

萬隆是「印尼的cosplay之都」，那裡大約有十個cosplay團隊，城裡每月（有時每週）都有cosplay比賽。而在萬隆街頭，你可以發現來自日本原宿地區的服裝風格以及滲入年輕人的日常時尚潮流之中。但也有不少人告訴我印尼的年輕人不大敢穿出格的衣服上街，基本上還是根據伊斯蘭教義選擇服裝，不會穿得多麼性感，也不會露出肌膚。有幾個喜愛cosplay的女孩，因為信仰伊斯蘭教，所以平常都會帶著嚴實的面紗，而她們的cosplay服裝也經過改良，能夠包起她們的頭髮和頸部。

來萬隆之前，Bonni還曾介紹我認識了一位cosplay新星——虔誠的伊斯蘭教徒Fadhila。但是Fadhila並無心參與我們的研究，她看起來似乎不太想和我們在一起。她始終保持一種彬彬有禮的態度，但同時又保持著高度警惕。她是個美麗驚人的女孩，穿衣打扮也非常入時。她還帶著在動漫粉絲圈裡流行的彩瞳隱形眼鏡，所以眼睛看上去非常大。我們還是和她做了一次簡短的訪問，瞭解了像她這樣喜愛cosplay的宗教信仰徒怎樣選擇cosplay的角色和服裝。

² 在Facebook小組Pecinta Yaoi上可以看到印尼裔女子們的攝影作品：<http://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=121572274579244&set=o.161024260585116&theater>.

³ Yamila Abraham, "Boys' Love Thrives in Conservative Indonesia," in Antonia Levi, Mark McHarry and Dru Pagliassoti eds. *Boy's Love Manga: Essays on Sexual Ambiguity and Cross-Cultural Fandom of the Genre* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 2008), 45.



Zaphy: How do you deal with the restrictions from Islamic religion?

Fadhila: Well, people who wear a veil like I do can only cosplay certain suitable characters. Or maybe you just would want to play Gothic Lolita, and you can use the bonnet.

Zaphy: So do you always have to keep your hair covered?

Fadhila: Yes, it's my hair and my neck. But I can find characters like Ragnarok's priest who wears a hat.

Zaphy: So you cannot do the regular characters?

Fadhila: Well, at first I used a wig to cover my hair. But recently I discovered that wigs are also actually not allowed. So I think that I'm going switch to another character.

Zaphy: You also do male characters, right? How do you feel about that?

Fadhila: Well, doing a male character is cool. Because a lot of female characters expose too many body parts by wearing a bra, or a mini skirt. Male characters usually use a robe and other cool stuff.

Zaphy: So it's actually easier for you to be male characters then?

Fadhila: Yes, maybe it is easier for me.

Zaphy: 你如何應對伊斯蘭教義中的一些規矩限制？

Fadhila: 像我這樣戴面紗的人其實也可以找到合適的角色來扮演，譬如說想要扮演哥德式洛麗塔，我們就可以利用小黑帽。

Zaphy: 所以你需要把頭髮包起來？

Fadhila: 對啊，頭髮和脖子都要包起來。我可以找到一些這樣的角色，譬如說《魔偵探洛基》（魔探偵口基，*Ragnarok*）的牧師就總是帶著帽子。

Zaphy: 那你就不能做些一般的角色嗎？

Fadhila: 一般我可以找頂假髮把自己的頭髮遮起來。不過最近我發現其實戴假髮也是不對的，所以我得換些角色。

Zaphy: 我知道你也會扮演男性角色？那是什麼感覺呢？

Fadhila: 演男性人物特別酷。因為呢，很多女性角色都是只穿胸衣或者迷你裙，那樣會露出太多的身體。男性人物一般穿得都是長袍什麼的。

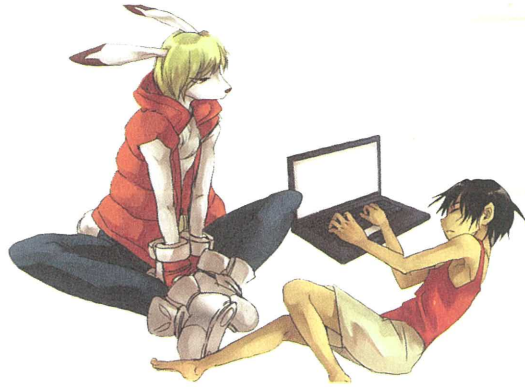
Zaphy: 這樣看，其實對你來說，扮演男性反倒容易啦？

Fadhila: 對啊！



It would have been very difficult for us to further discuss the space for transgression provided by cosplay, but she seemed certainly very aware of the trend and its opportunities. Bonni further explains that besides these moral and religious guidelines, dressing outlandishly and standing out from the crowd is still mostly seen as a severe social mishap. He himself gleefully breaks this rule by wearing a jaunty hat and pointed white leather shoes. But Bonni may be different from his pals, who are into flamboyant animation stories but also lean towards a more repressed, respectable self-expression. In the case of Fadhila, her willingness to suit the moral code is bizarrely, yet safely, transcended by a desire to cross-dress, a trend which is very common among cosplayers.

The world of ACG culture thus offers a safe platform for experiencing illicit fantasies. There is a unique type of temptation located in the masquerades of Japanese animation. First of all, some of the prominent animation movies show a romantic battle between the deadening forces of global network entertainment and the "holistic" values of local cultures⁴. In the well-known anime movie,



Ghost in the Shell, a sexy yet gloomy government-controlled android tries to preserve national identity by fighting off terrorist attacks and then kills her hacker enemy, Puppet Master. She eventually merges with the "sad puppet" in a kinky and drawn out unification scene, in which both entities hold an extensive philosophical and erotic dialogue before reluctantly falling into each other's "arms". *Summer Wars* is a more recent anime movie that concerns people's addiction to a social network called Oz. Oz is managed by its members but starts interfering with the daily life ecologies of the ordinary Japanese. The avatars in Oz are animalistic, psychedelic, aesthetically enhanced beings. The main players in Oz gain power as they suck up atoms into their expanding bodies. They accumulate hundreds of these "atoms" to hold sway over their underlings in order to carry out combat and various game activities. These movies maintain a bleak vision of globalization, but they also depict the ecstasy of merging with mysterious, erotic, data-loaded entities.

⁴ *Summer Wars* (2010) was directed by Japanese animator Mamoru Hosoda. Hosoda is perhaps best known for his critically acclaimed 2006 hit *The Girl Who Leapt Through Time*, an emotionally charged animated science fiction drama about a girl who finds out she can time-leap in to the past in order to re-shape the future. *Summer Wars* is set in an alternate 2010 in which people log in to the networking world of Oz. People log in to this world using 'Avatars', characters customized to personal specifications. *Ghost in the Shell* is a Japanese multimedia franchise composed of manga, animated films, anime series, video games, and novels. It focuses on the activities of the counter-terrorist organization Public Security Section 9 in a futuristic, cyberpunk Japan. The first entry in the franchise was Shiroo Masamune's *Ghost in the Shell* manga, first published in 1989 in *Young Magazine*. The manga series has been adapted into two anime films, *Ghost in the Shell* (2005) by Mamoru Oshii and *Ghost in the Shell 2: Innocence*.

我本以為很難和Fadhila討論cosplay文化中的異裝現象，沒想到她其實很懂得利用這個選擇。Bonni進一步分析道，除卻各種道德和宗教戒律的限制之外，在印尼社會，人們還是會覺得打扮出格根本不符合社會規範。Bonni自己就喜歡挑戰這些規則，他會專門挑鮮豔的帽子和尖頭白皮鞋穿了上街。可Bonni的朋友卻不是這樣，他們雖然也喜歡華麗的動漫故事，但在生活中仍然選擇更為保守的風格從而獲得別人的尊重。Fadhila就是這樣一個例子，她通過在cosplay裡異裝扮演男性來遵循道德規範，這個奇特的做法看起來在印尼cosplay愛好者中還很流行呢。

由此可見，動漫世界賦予人們一個奇妙的安全地帶，在那裡我們可以享受不為社會包容的幻想禁忌。日本動漫作品的確含有某種獨特的誘惑味道。首先，很多傑出的動漫電影其實都是全球娛樂網和某一地區「整體文化觀」角力的產物⁴。在著名動畫片《攻殼機動隊》（*Innocence*, *Ghost in the Shell*）就描繪了一名受政府控制的性感人形機器人在國家遭受恐怖襲擊時全力維護母國。機器人最後殺死了入侵電腦系統的仇人——玩偶大師。但是在故事的末尾，機器人卻以一種詭異的方式和玩偶大師融為一體。在他們合二為一之前，兩人還展開了一場充滿哲學意味和情色暗示的對話。《夏日大作戰》（*Summer Wars*）則是近年來的新作，故事中的普通日本人們都沉溺於社交網絡Oz之中。Oz使用者們最初能夠控制管理Oz系統，但他們漸漸發現Oz已經入侵了他們的日常生活。在Oz系統中，每個人都有一個虛擬化身，這些虛擬角色無論在野性、精力還是美學意義上都是普通類型的加強版本。Oz系統裡的大玩家開始通過吞噬小型用戶不斷擴充自己的虛擬化身，他們吃下成千上萬的小型虛擬化身壯大自己，以便在各種遊戲和戰鬥活動中佔據優勢。這幾部電影對全球化趨勢持批判態度，同時又向觀眾展示了人類與神秘性感的數據化身結合一體的癡狂狀態。



⁴ 《夏日大作戰》是日本動漫導演細田守的作品。細田守的2006年的舊作《穿越時空的少女》曾在評論界贏得好評，該片講述的是一位能夠回到過去重塑未來的少女的故事。而《夏日大作戰》的背景則是近年的OZ社交網絡世界。電影中的人們在Oz系統裡按照自己的喜好建立虛擬化身。《攻殼機動隊》則是日本系列動漫作品，包括動漫電影、動畫電視劇、電子遊戲和同人小說。《攻殼機動隊》的故事發生在數碼技術氾濫的未來日本世界，核心內容則是關於反恐組織「公安九課」的反恐活動。該系列的開山作品是士郎正宗發表於1989年的漫畫作品，隨後動漫導演押井守將漫畫改編為兩部劇場版作品《攻殼機動隊》與《攻殼機動隊2：INNOCENCE》。

As Anne Allison has argued, Japanese animation narratives are driven by a unique type of polymorphous perversity as they exhibit:

Continual change and the stretching of desire across ever-new zones/bodies/products, and techno animism, the foregrounding of technology that animates spirits, creatures, and intimacies of various sorts. Resonant with the fluctuation, fragmentation, and speedup facing global youth across the world, such a fantasy also becomes addictive, compelling players to keep changing and expanding their play frontiers through a capitalism of endless innovation, information, and acquisition⁵.

And of course this ideal of fluctuating organisms is also presented in the genres of sexually explicit movies, which show a protagonist's overall disjointed quest for sexual gratification among a wide range of ghost-like entities. In the well-known hentai series, *La Blue Girl*, the girls are supernatural ninjas (literally: spies in disguise) who go around and seduce young men and have loud sex, while also getting visits from a perverted race of demons called the Shikima⁶. Protagonist Miko Mido is ruled by a tall and muscular demon-master Shikima Lord, also her father, who has inserted a small chip in her vagina. She is controlled by him but can utilize her "sexcraft" and carry out certain sex rituals to reverse his rule, which is ultimately how she will save the world from demons.



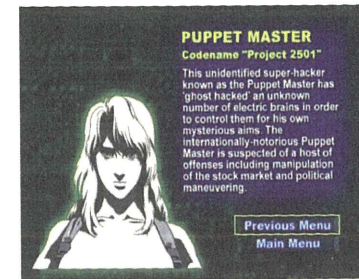
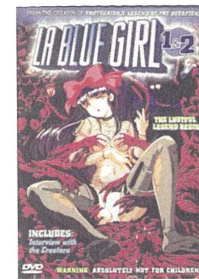
Indonesian animations fans are no doubt familiar with polymorphous perversity in ACG cultures, but to articulate that as a positive culture value is altogether a confusing matter. And this is really how I ended up in Bandung—I was invited by Bonni, who mediates and helps me acclimate to the environment. According to Bonni, who lives and works in the East Javan city of Malang, Bandung is generally a city where people are more optimistic, where culture and tourism are more appreciated, and where art materials are cheaper because of the proximity of factories and trade networks. He himself goes there frequently to catch up with his friends. Several months after my visit to Bandung, Bonni became the director of a series of short films made in collaboration with the Lunar Cosplay Team. The series is to be released on the Internet and will be promoted to cosplay groups worldwide. It is a DIY and fan-controlled production but it is presented as a parody of the typical *otaku* types that have invaded Indonesia, like the animated singing idols of Vocaloid, the Lolita girls, or the fans of homo-erotic Boys' Love stories. Since the movie reveals and parodies its own fan cultures, it does not really promote any type of sexual identity, but it does show a passion for, and a zeal to reach, the aesthetic heights of animation and identity transformation. It also encourages youths to rebel against their families and to be more queer-friendly. One of the actresses in these movies, Kazu Huyn (who will be interviewed by Zaphy later), plays a *tsundere fujoshi*, or fan of Boys' Love movies, who has a tough outside but a very soft interior.

⁵ Anne Allison, "The Japan Fad in Global Youth Culture and Millennial Capitalism" Frenchy Lunning ed., *Mechademia: Emerging Worlds of Anime and Manga*, (University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 19.

⁶ *La Blue Girl* is an erotic anime and manga series. Based on the manga by Toshio Maeda, the *La Blue Girl* anime, like his other hentai series features a large amount of tentacle rape. It departs somewhat from its predecessors, however, by lightening the atmosphere with humor, lightly parodying the "Tentacle Hentai" genre. An immensely successful series, *La Blue Girl* has inspired, over the years, several OVA series for a total of 14 episodes, a comic book adaptation, three live-action movies, some PC games, and some art-books.

Anne Allison認為，日本動漫的敘事往往受人們想要不斷變形的癖好所驅動：

慾望總是在各種新鮮領域/ 身體/ 產品內不斷延展變化，而能夠操控人類精神、身體及親密關係的高新技術則備受推崇。這樣的幻想回應了全球各地各種各樣不斷成長變化的青少年，它愈來愈能讓人如癡如醉，更促使年輕人們在資本主義社會無窮無盡的創新、資訊和消費中緊跟最新潮流⁵。



當然，在各種情色動畫電影中，我們也可以發掘這種求新求變的活動機制。電影主人公們總是在各式各樣的妖魔鬼怪身上得到性滿足。在著名的色情系列作品《淫獸學園》（*La Blue*

Girl）中，女主角們都是擁有超能力的忍者（忍者日文原意即為易容者），她們四處出動尋找青壯年男子，誘惑他們進行狂野的性行為。同時，一隻名喚 Shikima⁶的變態惡魔種族也會來找她們的麻煩。女主人公 Miko Mido 就被她的父親、高大魁梧的 Shikima 魔王一手控制，魔王在女兒的陰道植入了小型晶片。雖然她得聽從魔王吩咐，她卻也可以運用「媚術」舉行某種奇特的性儀式來反抗他。最終她正是借助這樣的本領把整個世界從魔鬼手中拯救出來。

儘管印尼動漫愛好者也熟悉動漫文化中的變形癖好，但他（她）們並不能把它看作一種正面的文化價值。這也是我來萬隆的原因——Bonni 的盛情邀請。Bonni 在西瓜哇城市萬隆生活工作，他覺得在印尼，萬隆人最為積極樂觀，也懂得欣賞文化及旅遊業；另外，萬隆城內到處都是大小工廠和貿易場所，這也使得藝術材料更加價廉物美。他本人三不五時就會來萬隆會友。就在我的萬隆之旅結束後不久，Bonni 還和 Lunar Cosplay Team 合作，監導了一系列短片。這些短片將會在網上發表，面向全球 cosplay 團隊。儘管這些作品是動漫愛好者的自製產品，但故事卻拿印尼的傳統宅男宅女形象開刀（其中包括 Vocaloid 中的電聲歌手、洛麗塔扮演者以及愛好耽美故事的腐女子），對他（她）們開起善意的玩笑。由於短片以搞笑風格展現了動漫粉絲群體，它並沒有真的去推崇某種性身份。不過觀眾從中還是不難感受到創作者對於動漫審美和身份轉化的激情和追求。短片還鼓勵年輕人勇於反叛自己的家庭，友好的對待酷兒人士。片中的演員之一，Kazu Huyn（Zaphy 後來還訪問了她）就扮演了一位內柔外剛的腐女子。

⁵ Anne Allison, "The Japan Fad in Global Youth Culture and Millennial Capitalism," in Frenchy Lunning ed., *Mechademia: Emerging Worlds of Anime and Manga* (University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 19.

⁶ 《淫獸學園》是一套色情的動漫系列。基於前田俊夫所創作的漫畫畫基，《淫獸學園》就如他在其他的無盡創作一樣，以大量的觸手強姦。它的出發點有點來自它的前身，但是它以幽默的手法使氣氛變得輕鬆了，輕輕地模仿了「觸手無盡」類型。作為一套非常成功的系列，《淫獸學園》在多年來開展了多個共 14 集的 OVA 系列——由一本漫畫書改編成的三個真人電影，多個電腦遊戲和藝術圖書。

Bonni himself is quite open to discussing and informing me about sexual identity and pornographic representation in relation to government regulations. During my visit in July 2010, the city and the rest of the country was in the thralls of a huge hyper-mediated sex scandal. One of Indonesia's and Bandung's best-known pop singers, Nazril Irham, or "Ariel", had been detained for breaking the famous Indonesian anti-porn law by videotaping "promiscuous sex" with two female TV personalities, Luna Maya and Cut Tari. The sex tapes of the "Peterporn scandal" ("Peterpan" being the name of his band) were being widely distributed on the Internet after being uploaded by one his collaborators, who had secretly lifted them from Ariel's laptop. Instead of persecuting this illegal theft, Irham himself was charged and jailed under the draconic 2008 anti-porn law, which makes it illegal to photograph or videotape any type of private sex act, even those intended for personal uses that were never meant to be distributed to the public at large.

The pornography law of 2008 had been haphazardly passed by legislators despite massive protests from the wider public and also despite much turbulence within parliament. The parliament proceeded with the vote "despite more than 100 lawmakers, from two major parties, marching out in protest." The remaining factions, or about 400 members, then voted in favor of the law. The bill outlaws all pornographic acts and images, broadly defining pornography as man-made sexual materials in the form of drawings, sketches, illustrations, photographs, text, voice, sound, moving pictures, animation, cartoons, poetry, conversations, and gestures. It also makes illegal public performances which could "incite sexual desire"⁷. The videotaping of private sex acts is made illegal as it is assumed that other people may get access to them and be incited by them. Not only does the law ban all forms of sexual representation, it almost encourages people to spy on other's sex lives in order to judge or persecute them.



In January 2011, Irham was jailed for three and a half years for "giving an opportunity for others to spread, produce, and prepare a pornographic video"⁸. The scandal also pushed President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono to warn his mainly Muslim nation that it was at risk of being crushed by the information technology frenzy. He called for stricter monitoring and censorship for its increasingly web-connected urban youth. After the Ariel scandal broke in June 2010, Indonesian Islamic fundamentalist groups rallied in Central Jakarta demanding that Ariel be caned and then stoned to death. In addition, the Indonesian Child Protection Commission (KPAI) asked that he publicly apologize for his actions to a fan base of millions of young children.

⁷ For information on the 2008 anti-pornography law, see Peter Gelling, "Indonesia passes broad anti-pornography bill", *New York Times*, October 30 2008.

⁸ "Ariel jailed for Peterporn affair", *Asiaone.com* January 31 2011: <http://www.asiaone.com/News/Latest%2BNews/Asia/Story/A1Story20110131-261298.html>.

Bonni很樂於和我分享討論政府控制下的各種性身份和色情作品。我在印尼的那段時間，正好趕上了性醜聞引發的媒介熱潮。印尼知名的萬隆歌手阿里爾（Nazril Irham，又稱Ariel）因拍攝自己和兩個女性電視紅人（Luna Maya和Cut Tari）的「濫交」視頻而被控違法印尼反色情法。小飛俠醜聞（阿里爾所在的樂隊名叫Peter Pan）的性交視頻在網上廣為流傳，而上傳視頻到網上的人是阿里爾的一位工作夥伴，視頻就是此人從阿里爾電腦裡竊取的。然而，偷竊視頻的人並沒有被判刑，阿里爾自己倒是在嚴酷的「2008反色情法」下被迫監禁。2008年修訂的這部法律規定任何攝製私人行為的行為都是違法的，即使拍攝者無意將作品在公眾空間內傳播發表也要受到法律制裁。

儘管立法時普通市民曾經大肆反對，甚至國會議員也持有異議，立法者還是隨隨便便就通過了反色情法。國會不得不在「兩個主要黨派中有一百多位立法者遊行反對」的局面下通過決議。法律針對所有種類的情色行為和情色影像，將色情空泛的定義為人造的、與性有關的材料，其中包括圖紙、素描、插畫、照片、文字、聲音、電影、動畫、卡通、詩歌、言談和姿勢。它甚至也不允許能夠「引發人們性慾望的」⁷公眾表演。攝製私人行為也是違法行為，因為反色情法想當然的認為其他人也有機會看到這些影響並被起引發性慾。法律不僅僅嚴禁任何對於性的表現方式，它還鼓勵人們互相監視彼此的性生活以便控訴和裁決那些違法者。

2011年1月，阿里爾被判三年半的有期徒刑，罪名是「給予他人機會傳播、複製和製作色情視頻⁸」。醜聞還迫使總統蘇西洛（Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono）警告國內穆斯林信徒要提防資訊科技的迷惑，他呼籲要針對都會裡的青年網民建立更加嚴格的監察和審查機制。在2010年6月小飛俠醜聞爆發後，印尼國內的伊斯蘭原教旨主義群體在雅加達中心集會，要求杖責阿里爾，並聲稱要用石頭擲死她。同時印尼兒童保護組織（KPAI）更要求阿里爾公開向他數以萬計的青少年崇拜者致歉。



內的伊斯蘭原教旨主義群體在雅加達中心集會，要求杖責阿里爾，並聲稱要用石頭擲死她。同時印尼兒童保護組織（KPAI）更要求阿里爾公開向他數以萬計的青少年崇拜者致歉。

⁷ 關於2008年反色情法的詳盡資料，請參考：Peter Gelling, "Indonesia passes broad anti-pornography Bill" . *New York Times*. October 30 2008.

⁸ 關於該事件的新聞報導可見於："Ariel Jailed for 'Peterporn' Affair" . *Asiaopne News*. January 31 2011: <http://www.asiaone.com/News/Latest%2BNews/Asia/Story/A1Story20110131-261298.html>.

Regardless of these pronouncements, Indonesia is as affected by the new waves of sex culture as is the rest of the world. As demonstrated by Singaporean columnist John McBeth, recent statistics show that Indonesia exhibits similar patterns of web-surfing for Internet pornography as any other Asian and non-Asian society. McBeth condemns the Indonesian war on pornography, arguing that it sends a very somber and discouraging message to the emerging youth cultures⁹.

These debates around sexually explicit media are raging in many different religious or secular cultures, including Japan, where a new shelving law is being debated for stores selling manga depicting underage characters (also called: *lolicon*) even if they do not include sexual scenes. While some Japanese critics argue that the entire genre should have tighter regulations, others see that as a dangerous move since it would stigmatize a wide range of less extreme or completely un-extreme products within the genre. The more progressive critics want to endorse its unique aesthetic sensibilities and argue that it should not be confused with actual child pornography¹⁰.



But it becomes harder, if not impossible to defend the unique qualities of polymorphous perversity in ACG culture if all erotic representation is already under surveillance. Indonesia is a majority Muslim nation with little tolerance for new trends in entertainment technologies and has passed the most extreme anti-pornography laws, ones that prevent young people demanding sex education or holding public debates around these issues. In our interview with Bonni, we tried to locate a philosophical point of departure when discussing the moral stringency in law and culture.

雖然這些聲討活動如火如荼，印尼還是和世界其他地方一樣，受到性文化新浪潮的巨大影響。新加坡專欄作家McBeth就表示，最近有數據顯示印尼和亞洲及其他地區一樣，其網民在瀏覽網絡色情時表現出了同樣的行為模式⁹。McBeth譴責印尼社會對色情展開戰爭，認為這是在向青少年文化傳遞一種陰鬱而喪氣的訊號。

今天，世界各地的宗教組織和封閉文化內部都有關於性媒介的政變討論。日本也不例外，現在日本國內正在審議是否立法禁止販賣含有低齡人物Lolicon（洛麗控，意為情迷於幼齡少女的感情癡結的漫畫作品），無論這些作品內是否有性場面。一些日本評論人士表示早就該對這種漫畫嚴肅處理了，另一些人卻把這個現象看成文化退步的標準，他們擔心該法律將會使得此類漫畫中不極端或不很極端的作品處於尷尬境地。更為激進的評論家更指出人們應當學會接受該類漫畫所含有的獨特美學價值，而不是將其與兒童色情混為一談¹⁰。

然而，一旦動漫作品中所有的情色再現都被嚴加審查，那麼動漫文化就很難保持其追求多種形態變化的癖好。印尼的主要人口穆斯林們常常無法容受娛樂技術帶來的新鮮風尚，他們支持嚴酷的反色情法律，希望通過該法律剝奪年輕人獲得性教育或是討論性話題的機會。訪問Bonni時，我們討論了印尼法律和文化以道德為名所持的嚴酷手段，並努力從哲學思考的角度出發來討論這個話題。

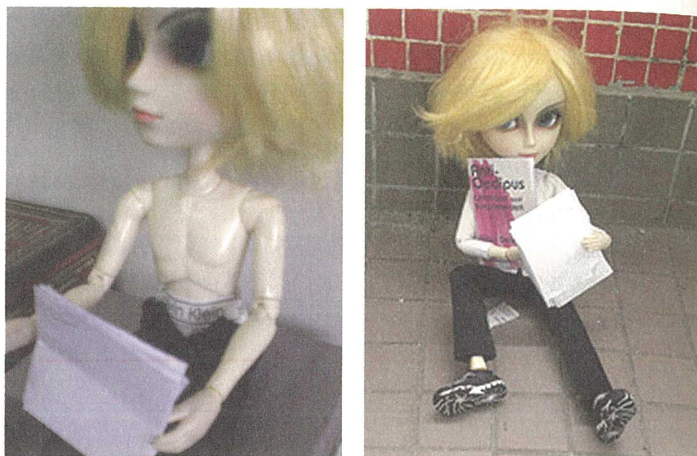


⁹ John McBeth, "Moral Outrage Smacks of Hypocrisy", *The Straits Times*, June 26 2010.

¹⁰ See the roundtable discussion between Naoki Inose, Takasi Murakami, and Kenro Hayamizu. In Hiroka Azuma ed., *The Map of Contemporary Philosophy* (LIC, 2010), i-xxvii.

⁹ John McBeth, "Moral Outrage Smacks of Hypocrisy" . *The Straits Times*, June 26 2010.

¹⁰ 請參考：Naoki Inose, Takasi Murakami 和 Kenro Hayamizu的討論：
Hiroka Azuma ed. *The Map of Contemporary Philosophy* (LC, 2010), i-xxvii.



Zaphy: I have been observing all these cosplayers who are so much into their characters. Why are they so much into them? Can you explain that to me?

Bonni: My theoretical viewpoint on this comes from psychoanalysis. Even when you are acting out "self" in daily life, you are already impersonating a character. And this is especially the case when you are talking about creative works like literature or in costume play—the character simply helps bring us into a matrix of fantasies. If we can get into the character it is much easier to start experiencing an imaginary world. And the next question would be as follows—now that we are into this character and we are looking back, is there still such a thing as real life? So once we get into the fantasy matrix through a character, the character really starts shaping our perception of reality as well. I believe that costume play crystallizes this aspect of fictionalization in art. It is as Zizek once said, "the trick is not to see an illusion behind reality, but inside reality."

Zaphy: Can you explain how these acts of impersonation are empowering for Indonesian youth?

Bonni: It is just a different language to express meaningful emotions and ideas. It cannot be expressed in another language. It is like finding the right words or gestures to tell somebody that you love them, because if you would tell them plainly, it may not convey the right meaning to them. And if people would confront you about your strange use of language, you can always distance yourself from it and tell them it was not you.



Zaphy: 我觀察這裡的cosplay愛好者一段時間，發現她（他）們非常投入自己扮演的角色，你覺得為什麼大家會這麼投入呢？

Bonni: 我是從心理分析學的角度來理解這個現象的。其實即便是在日常生活中，人們也是在「扮演」自己這個角色。而在類似文學藝術和cosplay這樣的創意活動中，我們所扮演的角色則更能將我們引入幻想世界的魔幻裡——一旦你融入角色就可以在想像的空間裡馳騁縱橫。而如果我們融入了某個虛擬角色中去，就不禁會自問其實所謂現實生活是否是一個真實的存在呢？這是因為我們所演繹的角色會在不知不覺中影響我們對於現實的感知。我覺得cosplay的遊戲恰恰捕捉到這種虛擬化藝術的精華。Zizek就告誡我們，幻覺並不是隱藏在現實底下，它其實就在現實之中。

Zaphy: 那麼這些人物扮演活動又是怎樣給印尼青少年賦權的呢？

Bonni: Cosplay為人們提供了新的語言去表達自己的情感和觀念，這是其他形式的語言無法替代的。這就好像一個戀愛中的人仔細甄選合適的語彙來吐露愛意一樣，平淡無奇的語言很難表達他（她）的心聲。而即使人們指出你的語言使用不當，你也有機會換種方法言說自我。

Zaphy: I heard that the cosplay fad started here about five years ago? Are people using it to express things that they could not say or state in other ways?

Bonni: Well, yes, but it is also a safe zone for youth to make statements. The events are now supported by the government and also by corporations who make big money out of it. For instance in the event Poppish Lovish, the audience is required to text a message to vote for their favorite character; so the audience also gets involved in the fantasy matrix, but the money goes to the company, as they will take away some of the phone credit beyond the price of a regular message. That is why these companies support the events.

Zaphy: Do cosplayers then invite their friends to vote for them?

Bonni: Yes, of course. And that reveals a hypocrisy behind these attempts at democratization of youth culture, as those people with upper-class or middle-class friends can of course receive more votes.

Zaphy: Would you generally say that the cosplay culture caters to the privileged class in Indonesia?

Bonni: Yes, I would think so. And five years ago there was really not much of a community either but now it has opened up quite a bit. Take myself as an example, for instance; I have been interested in animation for ages and I make my own comic strips and I have done a lot of research about cosplay, but I realized that it would be really expensive to get involved. You have to buy all the materials and make your own costumes. It is not uncommon for costume players to spend USD500 on one costume. Of course that is a lot of money for Indonesia, as it would be for many other cultures. You can buy cheaper cosplay clothing, but there is a bit of snobbery among the players about those who would walk around in these "inferior" costumes.



Zaphy: 聽說印尼的cosplay潮流已經流行了五年左右，這個活動是否真的可以幫助人們表達出平時無法言說的東西嗎？

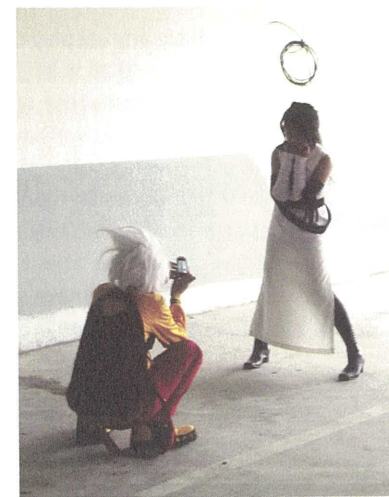
Bonni: 的確可以，而且對青少年來說，用cosplay表達自己也很安全，尤其是政府和有利可圖的大企業現在都支持cosplay發展。舉個例子吧，有個cosplay活動叫「Poppish Lovish」，參加活動的觀眾都得發短訊投票選出他們最喜愛的cosplay扮演者。這樣一來，觀眾可以體驗幻想世界，而電訊公司也通過高額短訊收費賺了一筆，所以很多公司都喜歡支持cosplay活動尋找商機。

Zaphy: 會不會有cosplay扮演者在自己的朋友裡拉票呢？

Bonni: 當然有啦！所以如果其中一個cosplay扮演者擁有中上層階級的朋友，他（她）肯定可以得到更多的票數；從這個現象中你可以發現，所謂「民主得推動青少年文化發展」是多麼虛偽的腔調。

Zaphy: 你覺得印尼的cosplay文化是不是在迎合上層階級呢？

Bonni: 我深有此感。五年前cosplay社群根本沒有多少人，但現在不同了。就拿我自己來說，我喜歡動漫很多年了，自己也會畫畫漫畫，還研究過cosplay文化，但我發現這些活動都需要大量金錢來維繫。想要做自己的戲服，首先要花錢買齊所有的原材料。經常有愛好者花費500多美元買服裝。500美元在哪裡都是不小的數目，印尼更不例外。當然你可以買到便宜的服裝，但你得忍受很多愛好者的白眼，要知道這個群體裡還是有不少勢利眼，他（她）們根本看不起穿「低級」服裝的人。



Zaphy: Do players see these costumes as some kind of an investment and avenue to success?

Bonni: Yes, you could see it that way. Some people may invest USD500 in a nice costume, then another thousand to produce an excellent photo-album, and this is indeed a good way to get noticed and to become a celebrity. You can even become a celebrity beyond the cosplay world. Take for instance the Filipina cosplayer Alodia Gosiengfiao, who is the probably the most famous cosplayer in South East Asia. She has a fan base and gets invited to events and conferences. She also did a major promotion for a mobile phone company, whereby the winner could go on a date with her¹¹.



Zaphy: Do you have any cosplay celebrities like that in Indonesia?

Bonni: Not like that, but some of the groups are relatively known, like the Lunar Cosplay Team that we have been hanging out with. They have their own kind of following. Some of them make peculiar kinds of costumes and try to follow an Indonesian type of aesthetic. We saw one of them doing an Indonesian character and mixing local batik fashions into his cyborg costumes. He is also learning about circus-like acts of fire throwing to attract audiences, and how to make smart clothes using digital devices. He has an artistic sense of turning himself into a commodity and seeing where it will go.

Zaphy: So cosplayers use the pop culture to search for an Indonesian identity?

Bonni: People have also started making Indonesian manga and anime, and that topic is heavily debated in the animation circles. Of course, Japan is still seen as a real utopia and a really lavish type of place, so everything Japanese is still considered to be "hot" and that of course includes pornography. But people ask themselves if they could actually do something better than that. We do have a rich cultural background with distinct differences between the 33 regions of Indonesia. We had a very thriving cultural period around the 1500s and we like to think back to that as well. You noticed at the Poppish Lovish event that we have good dance traditions.

¹¹ Cricket, "Sexy Baroness Cosplayer: Alodia Gosiengfiao," *Nerd Society*, February 17 2011: <http://www.nerdsociety.com/sexy-baroness-cosplayer-alodia-gosiengfiao/>; Deviantart.com: <http://blackmage9.deviantart.com/>.

Zaphy: 那有沒有cosplay愛好者把購買、穿著昂貴的衣服當作一種投資或者是成功途徑？

Bonni: 可以這麼說。有些人真的會花500美元買套衣服，再投入1,000美元製作精美的相冊，他們很容易吸引目光、一舉成名。有時候，甚至連外界都會知道他們的名字。有一個菲律賓人名叫Alodia Gosiengfiao，我想她應該算是東南亞最著名的cosplay扮演者。她擁有一些不少粉絲，還經常獲邀出席各種活動。一家大電訊公司就曾經邀請她代言，公司還在用戶群中舉行比賽，贏家可以獲得和她約會的機會¹¹。



Zaphy: 印尼也有這麼有名的扮演者嗎？

Bonni: 還沒有那麼有名的，但是也有幾個團隊享有一定知名度，譬如我們之前看到的Lunar Cosplay 團隊。其中有些人喜歡根據印尼的審美觀念訂製比較不同、比較怪的衣服。我曾經看過一個人扮演某個印尼人物，他當時的賽柏格服裝還帶有印尼蠟染印花風格。這人還學習表演雜技吸引觀眾，也試著用電子設備製作智能服裝。他懂得通過藝術手段把自己變成商品出賣。

Zaphy: 原來這些cosplay愛好者是在通過流行文化尋找自己的印尼身份啊。

Bonni: 的確，現在人們也開始製作本土動畫，印尼身份在動漫圈裡是個備受爭議的話題。當然，人們還是把日本視為動漫世界的理想國，而所有日本的東西——包括色情片——都很「潮」。不過印尼人也在自問，我們是不是應該就此止步。我們不但擁有豐富的文化積澱，全國各地的文化和各不相同，同時我們很難忘記印尼在16世紀曾一度享有的輝煌文化。你有沒有注意到，在Poppish Lovish的活動中我們融入了印尼的舞蹈傳統。

¹¹ 參考：Cricket, "Sexy Baroness Cosplayer: Alodia Gosiengfiao," *Nerd Society*, February 17 2011: <http://www.nerdsociety.com/sexy-baroness-cosplayer-alodia-gosiengfiao/>; Deviantart.com: <http://blackmage9.deviantart.com/>.

Young people wondered what happened and why now we are so behind. Like our soap operas are really terrible and the people in them cannot act at all. Youths are really starting to hate that kind of lowest-common-denominator culture. They have started to wear pins against soap operas. They are in need of self-invention and use pop culture to make DIY products, like all those photo galleries on Deviantart.com, which is a very popular web site here. That is where the cosplay celebrities come alive on their stage. These youth are alternative and they may hate the government, but they do like many other aspects of their cultural heritage and traditions.

Zaphy: Muslim women need to cover their head and neck area and bring that requirement into their costumes. How do you see women cosplayers positioning themselves towards the Islamic religion?

Bonni: We also have rules against revealing certain areas of the body, like even the stomach or the legs. People often express that they wish the rules would be more relaxed, but they do not actually challenge them either. Since cosplayers are already considered to be outcasts, they do not want to antagonize the public any further.

Zaphy: What do you think about the impact of sexual representation in Japanese animation?

Bonni: Japanese pornography in general can be so much more extreme than American pornography. But since Islamic religion is heavily opposed to American products, it is perhaps easier for Japanese products to be imported here. We have all the innocent products and commodities like the pillowcases showing naked anime girls or underage girls. I do have friends who are devout Muslims and Japan fans at the same time, but they are mostly women. I do not have many male friends like that and my guess is that it would be harder for men to reconcile these two traditions. They are either devout or otaku, but not devout and otaku at the same time. We don't find the same overlap that we can find with females.



年輕人們也會思考：印尼究竟發生了什麼會變得如此落後？我們的肥皂劇水準就很差，裡面的演員根本不懂怎麼演戲。年輕人痛恨如此低質量的文化水準，他們特別需要自我創新，也需要利用流行文化來自己製作各種文化產品，譬如Deviantart.com上面那些自製的照片圖冊什麼的。這就給了cosplay名人成名的機會。這些年輕人過著另類的生活，他（她）們憎惡印尼政府，但又熱愛印尼傳統和文化。

Zaphy: 穆斯林婦女們需要遮蓋她們的頭部和頸部，即使在cosplay裡也不例外。你覺得這些參加cosplay的穆斯林怎樣看待自己的伊斯蘭身份？

Bonni: 其實不僅僅是頭頸，我們也反對裸露身體其他部位，就連腿和腹部也不能露。人們嘴上常說希望這些規矩可以不那麼嚴格，但是他（她）們卻不靠實際行動來挑戰這些規矩。而cosplay愛好者本就被視為社會裡的另類人物，他（她）們不願意觸犯規矩惹怒大眾。

Zaphy: 你覺得日本動漫中的色情描寫對印尼有什麼印象？

Bonni: 日式色情比美式色情極端多了。不過伊斯蘭教特別敵視美國產品，反倒使得日本產品有機可乘。我們什麼不純潔的日本產品都買得到，譬如說那種印著動漫洛麗塔或動漫裸女的枕套。我就有幾個熱愛日本文化的穆斯林朋友，基本上都是女性，男性中比較少見這樣的人。我覺得可能男性比較不容易去融合這兩種文化的傳統，他們不是虔誠教徒就是宅男，不太可能集兩者於一體。



Zaphy: What is your opinion on the Indonesian "Peterporn scandal"?

Bonni: Yes, there have been death threats against him and his work is being banned as well. Here in Indonesia you are not supposed to make any videos under the new law, even if it is a totally private video of your own sex life. And then of course it is totally prohibited to have sex outside marriage. And one of the celebrities that Ariel had sex with is actually married. We sometimes have stories of non-married couples living together getting harassed by neighbors. They will visit them and will even try to cane them, but that is mostly in rural areas. But then we also know here there are many people and celebrities in the cities like Jakarta who have affairs and make sex tapes. The young people and high school kids are making amateur sex tapes as well. Just hang out with them and you will see—they distribute them via their mobile phones. It is well known but you cannot officially talk about it, let alone support it. Also people here used to distribute porn in interesting ways, like they would place it in folders in a specific Internet café and would share passwords with each other, making it harder for anyone else to pinpoint the guilty porn consumer. But that is not happening anymore as the cops just come in now and take away the entire hard drive.

Zaphy: Do you actually like those DIY sex tapes made by youngsters?

Bonni: No, because they are very usually very badly made, so I cannot get into them. The amateurish quality does add a voyeuristic feeling as if we are allowed to peek into the "backdoor room." And it is important for them to show that they are Indonesians having sex in Indonesia. If porn has been so censored locally and colonized by Japan, these tapes are used to explore a fantasy of sex as national identity.

Zaphy: What about the edgy Japanese porn genres like *lolicon*, is that also popular here?

Bonni: We also have some of the *lolicon* (underage) pornography here but some of it is very soft core and just depicts clothed young girls. It also just refers to a style of drawing as in a very "cutesy" depiction of underage girls. We have our own manga artists and "loli artists" here who draw these kinds of animation girls. And some of the more mainstream themes like teen-girl romance actually find distribution in the major bookstores here. I have been involved in this myself for a while and I think that we have pretty good quality here in Indonesia.

Zaphy: 你對印尼的「小飛俠醜聞」又怎麼看呢？

Bonni: 有人放言說要殺死他，他的作品也被禁了。在印尼，面對新的反色情法，你不能製作任何情色視頻，就算是自拍自看也不行。而且婚外性行為也不被允許，而「小飛俠醜聞」中有一個名人是已婚的。我們時不時就聽說非婚姻關係的伴侶會被鄰居騷擾。在農村，鄰居不但會上門騷擾他（她）們，還會嘗試杖責他（她）們。不過像雅加達這樣的都市裡，不少人都有婚外情，不少人都會拍性錄影帶。就連高中生都在拍攝業餘色情錄影。你只要跟他們混一段時間就可以發現他們用手機分享性視頻。在印尼大家都知道，你不能公開談論這個，更不要想公開支持攝製性行為的活動了。印尼人發行、傳播色情片的方式也很有意思，譬如說大家會把視頻存在某個網吧的電腦裡，然後共用電腦密碼，所以很難發現到底誰在看電腦裡的色情片。不過員警現在可以沒收硬盤了，所以這個方法已經沒用了。



Zaphy: 你喜歡青少年自製的性視頻嗎？

Bonni: 不喜歡，質量太差了，根本沒辦法投入地看，而且業餘水準的視頻總是令人覺得你是在偷窺，加上青少年特別愛強調他們拍攝的是在印尼進行性行為的印尼人。現在政府對色情的審查特別嚴格。本土色情市場基本是日本片的天下，所以觀看青少年色情製品時性幻想在某種程度上也帶有國族意味。

Zaphy: 像洛麗控這樣的邊緣日本色情片在印尼流行嗎？

Bonni: 我們這裡也有洛麗控色情片，只不過其中有些片子還是屬於軟色情，裡面都是穿著衣服的少女。洛麗控有時也指描繪可愛小女孩的畫風。在印尼也有各種漫畫家，包括畫洛麗塔的，他們喜歡畫各種動漫女孩。其中畫少女的算是主流畫家，大書店都會賣他們的作品。有段時間我就是畫這個的，我覺得我們這個流派的質量還不錯。

Zaphy: Do Indonesians also like the Japanese ball-jointed or sexy dolls that are so popular in other countries?

Bonni: The Super Dollfies are not that popular here because they are way too expensive. Then people would rather cosplay than buy those dolls. But they have those very sexual figurines made in China that you can get all over the place, even if they are hidden in a box underneath the counter. They are cheaper and they come in different sizes. Some of them are huge actually. But the shopkeepers hide them a little bit to prevent the religious people from spotting them.



Zaphy: 印尼人也喜歡日本產的球形關節娃娃麼？

Bonni: 球形關節娃娃並不太流行，它們實在太貴了。人們寧願cosplay這些娃娃也不捨得花錢買。不過在印尼你可以買到中國製造的性感玩偶，這東西到處都是，有時候商人把它們放在櫃台下面。中國產品很便宜，而且有各種型號，其中不乏大型玩偶。很多商店為了不被那些宗教信徒抓住舉報會偷偷摸摸的賣這些產品。

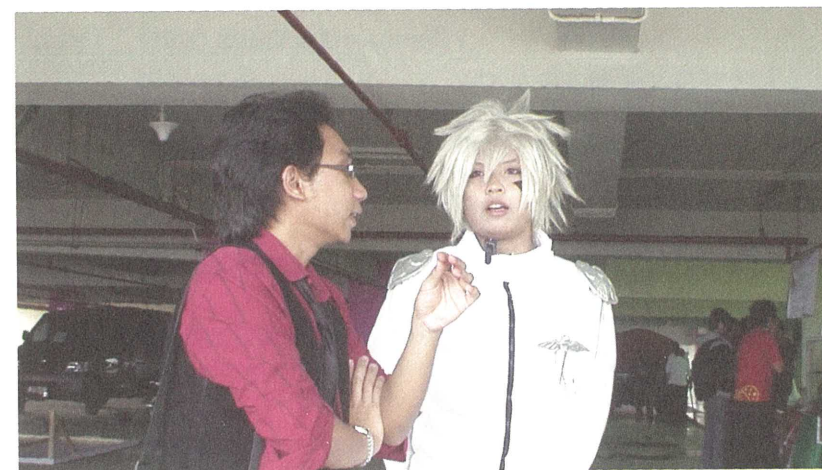


We are stuck in a typical Bandung traffic jam, fitfully trying to reach our destination, the mall named Lucky Square, where we will observe the Poppish Lovish cosplay and music convention. These events are a very good example of the shopping-mall-ization of international culture. The mall was originally a hub of retail outlets but has absorbed a wider network that includes social functions and creative outlets for consumerist pop cultures. Indeed, the cosplayers have already arrived early to prepare their stage acts and costumed appearances. I am impressed that they are more physically present than the cosplayers of other countries. They are practicing competitive dance performances, which will be performed on the central stage accompanied by pre-recorded Japanese pop music. What is also distinctive, compared with other countries, is that the Lucky Square has prepared a large, impressive, and professionally designed stage for them and that there is a crowded audience. Before the official stage acts unfold, I am able to interview several members of the Lunar Cosplay Team. I am intrigued by Kazu Huyn, who is a Boys' Love fan and an experienced cosplayer and takes a central role in explaining the events to me.

Rundown Acara Poppish Lovish Cosplay

Waktu	Kegiatan	Tempat	Ket
13.00 - 15.00	Pembelian Luar Panggung dan Kostum	Area Convention Hall	- Seluruh Cosplayer sudah berkumpul di convention hall dan dikorong meninggalkan kanal PB - Cosplayer yang selesai dimial diarahkan berada di sekitar area panggung
15.00 - 15.15	Persiapan naik stage	Area Panggung	Seluruh Cosplayer beresap di backstage berkoordinasi dengan panitia
15.15 - 15.25	Pembukaan	Panggung	MC membuka acara
15.25 - 15.45	Performance individu	Panggung	Seluruh peserta siap di backstage
15.45 - 16.05	Performance Team	Panggung	Seluruh peserta siap di backstage
16.05 - 17.00	Photosession	Area Photo Spot	Seluruh Cosplayer sudah berkumpul di photospot untuk diphoto
17.00 - 17.10	Vam - Vam Boyz	Panggung	Seluruh cosplayer berada di area panggung
17.10 - selesai	Free Time	Area Photo Spot dan Convention Hall	Free Time for Cosplayer

另一日，我們兩人準備一起趕赴一個名叫「幸運廣場」的大型商場，卻不幸遇到了印尼常見的交通堵塞。現在很多國際文化活動都被不斷的商場化，就如那天幸運廣場裡會有音樂節目和Poppish Lovish cosplay社團的演出。幸運廣場本是一個零售販賣店雲集的商業樞紐，不過近年來這裡也吸引了各式各樣的社交網絡，有不少消費主義的流行文化活動會在這裡舉行。當我們終於來到商場，那些cosplay扮演者早就化妝完畢，也佈置好了舞台。這群愛好者比起我在其他國家內見過的cosplay愛好者更善於展示自己。演出開始之前，他（她）們還在舞台邊上跟著日本流行音樂演練著具有一定難度的舞蹈節目。而這家印尼商場提供的表演空間也遠遠大過我在其他國家看到的同類場所，巨大的舞台早已經過專業設計，美輪美奐。在官方舞台上演出前，我訪問了數位Lunav Cosplay社團的成員。我被Kazu Huyn深深迷住了。他是耽美粉絲，也是一位有經驗的cosplayer，同時在為我解釋活動內容期間扮演主要的角色。





Zaphy: Basically, I am trying to find out what the costumes mean for Indonesian people?

Kazu: Today the focus is on Japanese dance and Korean dance. But our costume play is basically the same as in any other country. We just copy the characters.

Zaphy: So why do you like it so much?

Kazu: Because I want to be my favorite character and I want it to become real. This character is an anime character. I want to become as true as possible and I want to feel it and make it and feel it myself.

Zaphy: So who is this character then? And who are you?

Kazu: This is Byakuran, the male character from the anime "Katekyo Hitman Reborn!" This character is about a person who wants to make a new world.

Zaphy: So do you like being a male character?

Kazu: I like the male character, because the costume covers more of my body. Women's costumes are sexier and I don't feel confident wearing those.

Zaphy: So how does it make you feel to be dressing like a man? Does it affect you when you start cross-dressing as a male character? Does it affect your perception?

Kazu: I feel much better.



Zaphy: 你能簡單講講，對於印尼人來說，這些cosplay服裝意味著什麼呢？

Kazu: 今天我們表演的焦點是放在日韓舞蹈上。就cosplay而言，我們和其他國家的愛好者來說沒有什麼不同，都是在扮演角色。

Zaphy: 你為什麼這麼喜歡cosplay呢？

Kazu: 那是因為我很想變成我喜愛的動漫角色，cosplay可以實現這個願望。我希望能夠扮到最似，也很想能夠親身感受做這個角色的經驗。

Zaphy: 你扮演的角色究竟是誰呢？

Kazu: 是《家庭教師Reborn!》裡的男性角色Byakuran，他是一個想要創造新世界的人。

Zaphy: 你喜歡扮演男性角色嗎？

Kazu: 我蠻鍾意的，因為男性服裝不會讓我露出太多身體。女性服裝就會性感很多，我沒有自信能夠穿著它們演出。

Zaphy: 那穿成一個男人的樣子會有什麼感覺呢？會不會影響到你？

Kazu: 感覺非常好。



Zaphy: Maybe because you can express yourself better?

Kazu: Yes, I feel much better. I will try to be like a man. But in my normal life, I am still a woman.

Zaphy: How do you feel in general about other cross-dressers?

Kazu: I think it's weird but I think in cosplay it's better; it is much easier to accept because we just adapt what was in manga. So it's OK with me. But sometimes I feel troubled. Some girls are fans of this male character and will approach me as such. And they don't perceive me as a girl, but as a boy. I do feel a bit troubled because I'm not a lesbian or something like that.

Zaphy: So how do you react to them in this situation?

Kazu: I just keep smiling. I have already cosplayed many characters: Lelouch from Code Geass, and then Nakijin from Basara, Agito from Air Gear, and many more.

Zaphy: What about the characters of Yaoi or Boys' Love?



Zaphy: 會不會穿成男性可以幫到你表達自我？

Kazu: 會啊！我cosplay時會努力扮演男人，不過現實生活中，我還是個女人。

Zaphy: 你覺得異裝愛好者怎麼樣？

Kazu: 我覺得他（她）們有點奇怪吧，但是在cosplay裡就不會。因為那些角色都是漫畫人物，比較容易被大家接受。不過，我也曾經被這個問題困擾過。有的女孩子很喜歡我扮演的男性角色，會主動找我，而她們並不把我看作女孩。我覺得很難處理這樣的事情，因為我又不是女同性戀者。

Zaphy: 遇到這樣的事情，你會怎麼做呢？

Kazu: 保持微笑。我已經扮演過很多角色了，譬如《反叛的魯修斯》裡的Lelouch，還有《戰國婆娑羅》裡的Nakijin，還有《飛輪少年》裡的Agito，還有很多。

Zaphy: 有沒有耽美角色啊？

Kazu: Yaoi! Yes, I love it! I like it! I give it two thumbs up. I have done that too. I love reading Boys' Love manga. I also read *doujinshi* (DIY manga) online, and some of them are made by my friends.

Zaphy: Why you do like reading about romance between males? What is your excuse for that?

Kazu: I like it because of the characters. I love handsome men, or kawai men, or pretty men. But I also really like the stories. I don't like a hard-core *yaoi*, you know. I prefer it softer.

Zaphy: What is your opinion about real-life guys? Does it affect your taste towards the real-life guys?

Kazu: Yes, it affects me a little bit, But I like normal men. Yes! Normal is good! (*She gives two thumbs up while saying it*) But, in manga or anime Boys' Love is good. (*Laughing out loud*)

Zaphy: What do the other cosplayers mean to you—the women and men in your team Lunar Cosplay Team?

Kazu: We hang out a lot while searching for materials for cosplay, or when watching movies, anime, or when reading manga.

Zaphy: Are you also friends or do you feel like you are a family?

Kazu: Usually in cosplay we observe a different kind of kinship. Because when we are in school or somewhere else, we don't really connect like that with others. But within the cosplay friendships, we feel a stronger kinship. I feel lucky that in my real family, my sister likes it a lot too, but then my parents really hate it. My mother will come and see me if there is a competition, but she does not like me doing it when there is no competition.



Kazu: 耽美！我最愛耽美啦！我喜歡耽美！也有扮演過耽美角色。我特別喜歡看耽美漫畫。我也喜歡在網上看一些同人漫畫，有些同人作品就是我的朋友畫的呢！

Zaphy: 為什麼會喜歡看兩個男人的浪漫故事呢？

Kazu: 我想是因為我喜歡那些人物吧？我喜歡長得英俊或是美麗的男人，可愛型的也不錯，不過我也真的很喜歡耽美漫畫裡的故事。我不喜歡所謂的硬核耽美，還是愛看軟性的耽美。

Zaphy: 那你在現實生活中對男性有什麼看法，耽美漫畫會不會影響你在現實生活中對男性的口味？

Kazu: 會啊！會影響一點的。不過我喜歡正常人。正常才是好的！（她一邊說，一邊豎起大拇指）不過呢，漫畫裡的男人還是耽美型的好。（又開始大笑起來）

Zaphy: 我想你參加的cosplay社團Lunar團裡應該有不少男男女女，他們對你來說有什麼特別的意義嗎？

Kazu: 我們經常在一起，看看動漫電影啦，看看漫畫啦，一起蒐集cosplay表演的材料啦。

Zaphy: 你們會不會像是好朋友或是家人呢？

Kazu: 在cosplay社團裡我們有一種很特別的家庭關係。因為我們很多時間都在學校裡，但和同學沒有什麼交流，而在cosplay朋友圈裡，大家可以很強烈的感受到家庭氣息。我覺得自己很幸運有一個喜歡cosplay的親姐姐，當然我父母特別討厭cosplay。我媽媽有時候會看我在cosplay比賽裡的演出，但如果不是比賽的話，她不喜歡我參與cosplay活動。

The cosplay teams start performing comedic or virtuoso acts, alternating and sharing the stage with live performances by local rock bands who really know how to play the audience, getting them to dance and scream. I have never witnessed such an intensely energetic cosplay event, where the audience jumps up from their chairs and responds almost ecstatically to the performances.

A few hours into my interviews with the cosplayers we end up in the parking garage of Lucky Square, where cosplay team Itonumbe has gathered for an interview. They started their dress-up hobby several years ago inspired by the live action movies called, *Tokusatsu Henshin Hero*. Their costumes originate from a specific series called *Kamen Rider*. The members of Itonumbe explain that they make their own costumes out of a rubber-like fabric that was intended for the production of shoes. The senior players in the team will actually teach the juniors how to shop for materials and make their costumes. The costumes are spectacular and one of the cosplayers is actually practicing his craft of breathing large clouds of fire¹². I am transfixed by this side-spectacle and surprised how the fire thrower managed to proceed despite security regulations. It also reminds me of the Taiwanese cosplayer Mierocco who explained that for cosplayers like herself, "life is useless when there is no fire", and that she develops alter egos and costumes that can inspire and control her yet suit her inner demons.

Later on, Bonni explains that Japan has also invented an erotic genre *Mecha Musume*, showing cute girls wearing heavy sci-fi battle gear. I am wondering what else these heavily clad cosplayers are hiding underneath the layers of a seemingly juvenile hobby. They use costumes and fabrics to disappear from actuality and become an alternate presence, thus allowing spectators to accordingly project their own reverential fantasies. These youth do not have the money to buy expensive costumes, hence looking for the cheapest deals and the most affordable raw materials becomes an integral part of the game of creation. I crave to enter their liminal worlds and feel their inner demons, but have to navigate complex networks of an alternating reality encased in the shopping mall. The shopping mall is a state-endorsed paradise of consumerism that offers its hidden corridors to radical experiments with identity and performance art. We could all try out this new type of theatrical space by wandering around the shopping malls and intensely imagining life as another character. The people in this book have just taken it one step further—being our superb angels of the imagination, and announcing the death/rebirth of art.



12 Mierocco is a Taiwanese cosplayer featured in a short film, *I am that: Cosplay*, produced and directed by Mia Chen (2009).

沒多久cosplay社團就開始表演短劇和音樂節目，和她（他）一起登台的還有當地搖滾樂團。搖滾樂手似乎很懂得如何和觀眾互動，台下傳來一陣陣尖叫，也有觀眾開始跟著音樂搖晃自己的身體。這是我所見過的最有活力的cosplay表演，觀眾們不時從座位裡躍起，幾近癡狂。

幾個鐘頭後，演出結束，我有機會訪問幾位cosplay表演者。他（她）們帶我去了幸運廣場的停車場聊天。這些愛好者幾年前在一部叫做「特攝變身英雄」（特撮変身ヒーロー, *Tokusatsu Henshin Hero*）的動作電影，深受啟發，開始參與cosplay活動。他們的服裝是以《幪面超人》（仮面ライダー, *Kamen Rider*）裡的服裝為藍本製作的，而製作服裝的原料則是用來做網球鞋的橡膠製品。社團裡經驗豐富的老團員會教新成員如何選購衣料、如何設計製作服裝。他們自製的服裝真是奇妙極了，有一位成員甚至能夠穿著這種服裝表演噴火雜技¹²。我被這個特技震住了，也想不通這種表演又是如何通過商場消防條例的。我記得曾有一位台灣cosplay愛好者Mierocco曾向我解釋對於像她那樣的愛好者來說：「沒有火焰的生活根本沒有意義」，而她曾創造出身穿cosplay服裝的另一個自我來控制自己內心深處的魔性。



後來，Bonni還告訴我現在日本已經推出了新類型的色情動漫——兵器娘（メカ娘, *Mecha Musume*），裡面都是配備重型科幻戰鬥裝備的可愛女孩。我不由得疑惑，如果沒有這些青少年業餘文化，那些穿著層層疊疊戲服的cosplay愛好者又能到哪裡去？他（她）們正是利用服裝道具從現實生活中逃出來，變成世界上的另一個自己，而他（她）們的觀眾也可以在觀看表演時透射自己的幻想。這些年輕人沒有錢購買昂貴的戲服，不得不四處蒐集便宜的衣料，這些討價還價的過程也在不知不覺中成為cosplay

創意遊戲的一部份。我渴望自己也可以進入他（她）們的幻想世界，感受他（她）們口中的內在魔性，但同時又不得不在大型商場的現實景象裡遊走。我深切的感受到，這座商場對於消費主義文化來說，真是一座不折不扣由國家認可的天堂，它的大門開敞，歡迎著各種身份實驗和表演藝術。本書中所述的各個人物才剛進一步向此邁進——成為我們華麗的幻想天使，宣佈著藝術的死亡／重生。

12 Mierocco是台灣的一套短片中的cosplayer，詳見：陳明秀：《我擬她》（台灣，2009年）。



Wandering Dolls: COSPLAY Journey across East Asia

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娃娃遊蹤：東亞COSPLAY之旅

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This book is a travelogue of a Belgian scholar's discovery of popular cultures and ACG subcultures in East Asia. The author and her doll wander through Kyoto, Hong Kong, Beijing and Bandung, probing into all kinds of gendered characters adored by cosplayers, doll players, crossdressers, and other ACG fans, understanding their imagined selves in both reality and fantasy, as well as reflecting on major social and political issues of ACG subcultures, digital technologies and virtual fantasy processes. It is from this colorful visual journey and the multi-voiced dialogues that the readers get an opportunity to broaden their imagination and to venture on their own paths of discovery and reflection.

Eric, K. W. Ma (Professor, School of Journalism and Communication, CUHK)

This book offers a very compelling and readable visual ethnographic account... her exquisite and sensitive depictions draw readers into a deeper involvement with the characters and stories... The author's detailed articulation leads readers to step back from their quest for exotic novelties, helps them to enter the daily life of transgendered people and cosplayers, and hence invites them to start their own interpretive re-reading and rediscovery and reflection... With a focus on visibility, body and identity, this book also helps readers understand body politics of consumer culture in general.

Travis, S. K. Kong (Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, HKU)

Hong Kong needs Katrien. Not just due to the fact that she is famous in using provocative and controversial materials as a tool of pedagogy in helping students understand digital networks, media technologies, arts and censorship but also because of the fact that her work brings a new direction to academic endeavor... She always challenges conventional research methodology with creative and audiovisual documentation, blurs academic disciplines with artistic creation, and expands our imaginations of the impossible...

本書是一名比利時學者在東亞地區對流行藝術及動漫文化作深入探索的旅行手記。作者與娃娃走過京都、香港、北京及萬隆，深入了解動漫角色扮演、娃娃愛好者、異裝愛好者及其他電玩遊戲迷的性別角色、在交錯的現實與幻想世界中的自我想像，同時對動漫文化、數碼科技及神秘的幻想進程在主流社會和政治等議題進行深刻討論。在色彩繽紛的視覺旅程與貼心的對話中，擴闊了讀者的想像，引領我們的再思考。

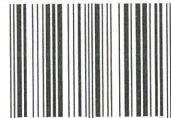
馬傑偉（香港中文大學新聞及傳播學院教授）：

這是一部很有感染力和現場感的視覺民族誌……作者細緻與敏感的描述讓人如臨現場……細節的描述讓讀者逐步修正獵奇印象而進入跨性別人士與cosplayer的生活日程，並打開了再認識、再反思的門徑……這本書聚焦於視覺／身體／身份的議題，對理解今天各種廣泛的身體政治尤其重要。

江紹祺（香港大學社會學系助理教授）：

香港需要Katrien。這不僅僅因為她善於利用頗具刺激性和爭議性的材料作為教育工具幫助學生們認識和理解數碼網絡、媒體技術、藝術與審查，更是由於她的作品為學術界探索指出新的方向……以極富創意的影音記錄挑戰傳統的研究方法擴充了我們對於不可能疆域的想像……

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