

Chapter One Introduction

My thesis is aimed at investigating how gay sauna patrons can freely perform a wide range of dissident sexuality and how the spatiality of sauna impinges impact on gay patrons' sexual identities and erotic expressions. Gay saunas, as a part of queer landscapes, have constantly generated multiple meanings and made undeniable influences on gay men's sexuality and personal lives. They provide gay men with erotic site/sight to explore sexuality and to expand their network and communities. In particular, they seem to offer an escape from various oppressive apparatuses of social and sexual lives in real world.



My analysis on the performance in gay sauna will focus on: how sexual interactions between gay patrons are structured and conducted; how the setting functions to enhance sexual communications, negotiations and encounters; what strategies are taken by patrons to satisfy their sexual needs. In my investigations, I will apply Richard Schechner's theories of performance and Victor Turner's theories of ritual. These theories allow me to explain the rules and codes during the ritual process in gay saunas, which intrigue bodily communication between the clients as performers and spectators. I intend to elaborate the interrelationship of space, performers, spectators and the elements that determine the process of a ritual performance. Furthermore, by employing Turner's theory of "liminality" and

“communitas,” I aim to investigate the political meanings of the ritual-like sex performance which subverts the basic hetero-sexual normative structure with alternative sexual activities.

First of all, I would like to give a brief historical sketch of Taiwan’s gay saunas. Generally speaking, the sauna business in Taiwan was mainly derived from the idea of Japanese sauna. In 1970s, sauna was first imported from Japan and its name refers to traditional Finland bathhouse, sauna. The sauna’s facilities and functions are derived from Japanese ideas and technologies and they mainly focus on male patrons. Owing to its convenience and a great variety of facilities, sauna has attracted many male patrons to relax, take a bath, or stay overnight. In sauna men enjoy the freedom of being nude in public, which provides homosexuals with a camouflage to fulfill their erotic fantasies.

Gay saunas issues are seldom discussed or presented in publications; hence, which gay sauna is the very first one in Taiwan can not be found in existent documents. Only in Lai Cheng-Che’s (賴正哲) MA Thesis, *Working in the Company: A Research on the Performance of the New Park Gay Community* (在公司上班---新公園作為男同志演出地景之研究), he mentioned that the first gay sauna in Taipei is Bai-Le-Men (百樂池), then its name was changed to Zun-Fu-Hao (尊富豪), near Zhongshan Hall (中山堂) in the 1980s. In addition, according to my interview, one of

the gay sauna owners told me that at the very beginning, there is no gay-only sauna in Taipei, but a few men-only saunas. Gay men tried to risk their lives to get sexual contacts with men from some of these men-only saunas, and the most famous one that attracted most gay patrons was KuoKuan Bathhouse (國光浴室) which was in simple and shabby conditions that most straight men would not patronize there. Another one is Xile Club House (喜樂會館); however, its shabby and dirty conditions drove most patrons away and turned itself down.

During 70s and 80s, cruising for sex in a sauna where not all the patrons are gays, gay people would run the risk of being accused of sexual harassment, or even being arrested, blackmailed, or violently attacked. Hence, to prevent these situations from happening, a gay manager established the first gay sauna, Bai-Le-Men, but it doesn't exist anymore. In 1980s, its profitability stirred the blooming of other gay saunas at that time. From Taipei, Taichung, to Kaoshung, gay saunas appeared in big cities because cities easily foster a high population of gay people and promote the convenience for sexual encounters. Besides, the facilities inside saunas were also improved from sleazy to flossy in order to attract more clients. Now there are at least 12 gay saunas in the urban areas in Taiwan.¹

¹ Reasons for closure of Taiwan's gay saunas are poor management, bad location and other accidents. For instance, in February 1996, the fire accident burned down Hawaii gay sauna in Taichung. In 2000, a gay sauna, 24 Hui Guan, opened in Xinbeitou (新北投); however, it was closed in a few years for the inconvenience of its location and poor business.

In Taiwan, most gay men and lesbian live and work in the heterosexual world where they face prejudice and discrimination. The heterosexual apparatuses dominate everyday environments from domestic space, workplaces to public space; meanwhile, they also constrain the homosexual space by containing lesbians and gays' social and cultural practices. Being oppressed by heterosexual hegemony, gay men and lesbians know how to survive in the hostile territories. They endeavor to reproduce and reclaim cultural and social space of queer landscapes by means of their specific cultural practices, such as cruising in the park and public toilets, gay pubs and bars, dance floor, home parties, and so on. Reclaiming space and reproducing the meanings of "queer acts" has become a way to envision a host of new relations, communities and the distinctive lifestyle with a variety of spatial expressions and social, political and cultural practices. These diversified queer spaces have become the new linkages within and among gay communities.

Under the repressive heteronormality, the homosexual are marginalized to or forced to become sexual experts who steal moments of privacy and infiltrate the interstices of society for new alliances between one another to confront homophobia and social inequities by reclaiming their territories (Bérubé 189, Delph 137-8). Therefore, exploring the queer space of a community can lead to recognition of the presence of a range of minority sexualities and experiences.

Due to the increasing variety of lesbian and gay practices as well as the rising lesbian and gay consciousness, more and more geographical researches focus on homosexual spatiality to investigate their social and cultural practices in various spaces. Over the past ten years queer communities and space also have become one of the important subjects for queer studies. They emphasize uniqueness of place as parts of identification practice to queers. Gay saunas are one of the main queer territories to gay communities as well. For gay people, saunas are the places to explore gay men's sexual experience, to learn enjoying sex and making friends with the same interests.

My objectives of study focus on gay promiscuity in gay saunas; however, promiscuity is more likely to be defined as a "problem" to the public when this issue occurs. In the past, western social researches regard gay promiscuity as "deviant behavior" and the medical studies consider gay promiscuity dangerous and high-risky behaviors causing sexual venereal disease and AIDS. Such a concern also takes place in Taiwan medical studies especially on AIDS issue. Therefore, it is one of the serious subjects to be concerned.

In order to adjust or avoid "deviant conducts," alternative suggestions, as the issue is taken as a social problem in the western, have been proposed to encourage gay men to enter long-term relationships or monogamy, and to pursue other activities which bring gay culture into closer alignment with heterosexual norms. After all, the

diverse sex experiences still cannot be accepted with the excuse like gay promiscuity threatens the public health and social morality.

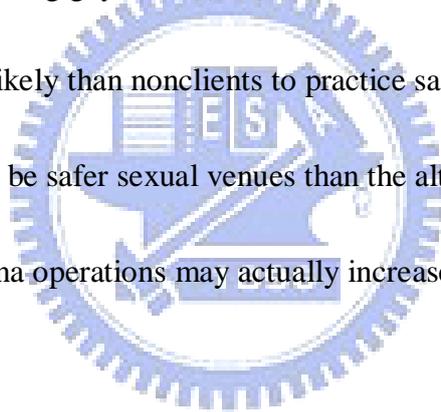
The other perspective on gay bathhouses in previous researches is the concern about the states policies and strategies on policing sexualities, such as preventive politics on public sex, promiscuous sex and unsafe sex under the pretext of preventing AIDS transmission. During the 1980s, the age of AIDS, the US government attempts to close all gay bars and baths to stop the spread of AIDS by preventing gay men from engaging in “high risk” sexual contacts with each other. Allan Bérubé, a historian scholar, constructs a legal defense of gay baths (gay saunas) on the basis of their long history as being the place for gay social gathering. Furthermore, he criticizes the state’s use of public fears to accuse gay baths as one of the sites of disease spread, and emphasizes baths as a community resource to promote safe sex while bathhouse closure only results in relocating the sexual activities in other places. Besides, he added, a working relationship of cooperation and trust between the city and the gay community should be established to promote safe sex education and dispel fears and stigmas with which the city government is attacking the gay community (187-8, 217-9). The ten years’ debating over the spread of AIDS mainly focuses on two parts: one stresses education for safe sex and individual responsibility; the other relies on state intervention and legal restrictions on sexual behaviors in semi/public space.

However, the government's reaction to AIDS leads to police raid and arrests of gay men for "immoral acts," resulting in the closure of some baths.² Ronald Bayer in his medical researches analyzes that restricting the baths could not directly eliminate the spread of AIDS epidemic, but serve to warn "against the dangers of promiscuity" (71).

In 1994, Bolton, Vincke and Mak present the result that gay men who frequent saunas versus those who do not, and the relationship between attendance at saunas and the practice of risky sex to confirm that the spread of HIV has nothing directly to do with

the frequencies of patronizing gay baths (270). The result of their data shows that

"sauna clients are more likely than nonclients to practice safer sex. This finding suggests that saunas may be safer sexual venues than the alternatives. Therefore, closing or restricting sauna operations may actually increase HIV transmission..."(269).



Unlike the intervention of western governmental policies on gay bathhouses, Taiwan's gay sauna issues are mostly discussed in medical studies, especially the AIDS issues. Most data warn that gay saunas are the high potential sites for HIV

² Fortunately, Taiwan's gay saunas have not suffered the public attacks that might lead to their closure as the US bathhouses suffered in the mid-80s, the age of sexual panic fostered by AIDS. There is almost no oppressive response toward gay saunas in Taiwan. Sometimes, there are only a few police raids to ensure public safety service, the fire license for the usage of the buildings or to manhunt the criminal that might hide himself in saunas. According to Taiwan's law, sauna business belongs to service industries and what the police can interfere is to inquire for saunas' business license and public building safety confirmation.

infection and sauna patrons are the highly risk group in terms of AIDS and syphilis. They focus on surveys of risk-related behaviors and on the knowledge, attitudes, and practices that might be associated with the risk of HIV infection. These studies try to collect quantifiable data on sexual partners, specific sexual practices, sexually transmitted disease, and factors understood to contribute to the spread of HIV. By doing so, they aim at reducing the behavioral risk of infection on basis of the documentation and provide information and knowledge about the risk of HIV infection to educate the public, especially gay group, about the importance of safe sex practices (Shu-Fen Lai 41-50).³ Their intention of safe sex education is very important for gay sauna patrons to protect themselves and others, and the studies also assume that more broad-based prevention programs could be developed to persuade individuals to change their behaviors so as to reduce HIV infection and the spread of STDs⁴. What medical researches focus on is health issue; however, the cultural meanings related to shared and collective gay sexuality haven't be adequately studied. Why do gay men need to create such space for sex? How are these modes of sexual practices forged inside? Why does its existence mean a lot to gay culture? How could gay saunas draw so many gay men to patronize them since they understand the risk of getting infection? These are the issues that most medical researches have not

³ See Molecular Epidemiology of HIV-1 Infection in Men who have Sex with Men from Gay Saunas in Taiwan by Shu-Fen Lai 《台灣男同志三溫暖顧客感染 HIV 之分子流行學研究》by 賴淑芬.

⁴ STDs: Sexually Transmitted Diseases

discussed.

On the other hand, gay sauna issues are seldom presented in queer studies or publications in Taiwan, especially in academic field. As the issue is raised in mass media, the main focuses are gay promiscuity, HIV infection risk and sexual epidemic transmission. Most queer studies in Taiwan mainly focus on the literature and movies, popular cultural phenomena, and so on. Only two publications mainly discuss gay saunas in terms of cultural studies: one is “Re-constructing Sexual Hierarchy: Hong Kong Gay Saunas Ethnography (性階梯再生產：香港三溫暖的人種誌)” by K.C. Kan; the other is “Representing Erotic Sauna Circumstances (進出、隱現、遮裸、卸戴：情慾三溫暖的氳氳)” by Chang Ming-Fong (張銘峰). Kan’s fieldwork is about Hong Kong gay saunas, and he suggests that gay sauna subculture reproduces the heterosexual hierarchy. By analyzing these interviewees, he indicates that heterosexual sex-negative image of “bad” sex⁵ affects gay patrons that they stigmatize those over-sexualized patrons with aggressive sex invitations, and those bad reputations show how sexual hierarchy is reproduced (42-5). Gay promiscuity is still a dirty secret to most gay communities. However, his analysis doesn’t show us clearly about those who enjoy having “bad” sexual practices inside gay saunas and why gay saunas could be such an attraction or addiction to them, which is one of my focuses in

⁵ According to Gayle Rubin’s sex hierarchy, bad sex is homosexual, unmarried, nonprocreative, cross generation, in sin, promiscuous, with manufactured objects, SM, casual, and for money. For more details, please see “Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality.” in *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*, 14.

my project. Kan concludes his project only from gay patrons' perspective to confirm the reproduction of sex hierarchy in terms of sexual acts inside gay saunas, which is undeniably important. However, the reality is that not all sauna patrons take this hierarchy so seriously as they visit saunas, but pay more attention to the hierarchy of figures, which I believe is more complicating and more interesting.⁶ Therefore, I want to explore a further argument that a gay sauna is an important locale where sexual performance, identification, and networking mingle, a public yet private space that urges us to reconsider the topographies of sexuality which are often troubled, muted, and stigmatized.

In Chang's paper, he tries to re-confirm gay saunas' multiple functions as a home-like community, a health gym, and an erotic site in order to erase its stigma as a site of promiscuity and sheer sex. He believes that gay sauna could be both "healthy and erotic" by comparing it to a community where patrons can learn more about gay identity and queer cultures instead of just sex (222-3). Chang is aware of the stigmatization of gay saunas in Taiwan's gay subculture and he points out their multiple functions as healthy clubs or community in order to de-stigmatize gay saunas (210); however, sex indeed serves as the main reason for gay clients to visit there.

Why gay saunas are tagged with the stigma as a site for deviant sexual practices and

⁶ For instance, sauna clients' physical types have been classified Taiwan's gay saunas into different catalogues for the youth and macho type, for the chubby and uncle type, for the elder. These divisions attract different types of bathers to patronize saunas.

promiscuity is mainly because sex always happens inside. Chang intends to focus on the bright side of saunas with an emphasis on “good and healthy” exercises for bathers to patronize saunas. But I don’t think these points could erase the stigma. The real question should lie in how and why most people stigmatize deviant sex and promiscuous sex; why this stigma affects most people’s ideas about sex. Therefore, my research focuses on sexual practices inside saunas to reinforce its sexual function and the legitimacy of those who enjoy sex, and there are a great variety of “deviant” ways to enjoy it. By doing so, I want to indicate that, in contrast with “good” and “clean” sex⁷, notorious promiscuity is, as a matter of fact, an essential part for gay people to explore “deviant” sex, which could be the way for patrons to identify one another, which is what Chang feels reluctant to mention about in his work.

Most Taiwan’s queer geographical researches’ texts focus on gay/lesbian bars, parks, riverbank or hot spring to depict specific groups of “sexual minorities” in these spaces. They emphasize the uniqueness of these places as parts of identification practice to those who inhabit them, and the ecology of marginalized lifestyles is central to generate identities, strategies for survival and produce queer communities. Gay saunas share the same features. However, the main difference between gay saunas and other queer space is that saunas provide space for the gathering sex more

⁷ Also, good sex is from the idea of Gayle Rubin’s sex hierarchy. For more details, please see “Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality.” in *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*, 13-4.

directly. Thanks to this feature, the public reports on gay saunas always focus on the issues of risky sexual acts, gay promiscuity and AIDS. This feeds the public's curiosity and may generate a hostile social reaction to gay saunas. Thereafter, patronizing gay saunas cannot be commonly discussed openly and honestly among gay men for it is stigmatized with the physical disease and moral infidelity.

However, this concept only reinforces the heterosexual oppressions on sexualities and marginalizes sexual expressions. Therefore, my main stress falls on gay saunas as the landscapes with contradictory features as a site of subversion to the public and potential liberation of sexualities. My analysis firstly highlights how the acts inside sauna are structured as a positive game for gay participants and how the spatial structures contribute many sexual encounters to insure that the outcome of the sex acts inside is positive and inviting. Being a gay insider, I firmly believe that what happens inside gay sauna could mark or change one's identity. The interactions give participants chances to express themselves and to identify with one another.

In order to analyze the specific meanings of sexual activities, I adopt the idea of performance as a broad spectrum of actions ranging from greeting, sex, play and ritualistic patterns. Rather the emphasis is on inquiring about the sexual behavior; the ways patrons interact with one another; the connection between the play and ritualistic behavior; the various modes of communication with developed rules; the roles that

participants play -- all these provide ways to constitute meanings and to affirm individual and cultural values.

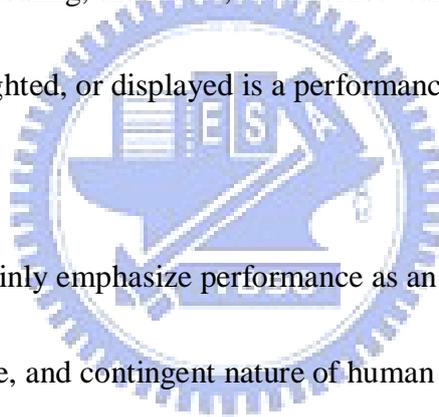
How does such an operation work? What rules could govern it? What roles may patrons play? What sort of ritual might sustain the sexual actions? What are the risks of such activities? How do patrons relate this behavior to their ordinary lives? To answer these questions, I hope to detail patrons' interactions and movements, and draw the meanings from the roles they play in performance. What I want to stress is that play is seen as an essential aspect of human communication and a part of cultural phenomenon. To be brief, I would like to discuss how bathers "play" more precisely in chapter two before going to their ritual performance. By presenting the process of play, we could have an overall concept of sauna spatial layouts and how patrons pursue sex with creative playful skills.

After the discussion on play, I will begin by considering sexual practices inside gay saunas the performers' acts on the stage for the audience, who could also take part in the roles of the performance. This requires me to look more carefully into the ritualistic performance. Patrons show their best part of acting to trigger the audience's interest and turn the whole performance into the ritualistic orgy in specific areas. That might bring forth the formation of spontaneous community with a transcendent feeling of togetherness. During the process, patrons worship male bodies and indulge

themselves in sex. A desirable sexual world is created out of the reality involving the transformation of bathers' roles from a social individual to a sexual performer. For the present, it is worth looking more closely at some important features of performance.

Richard Schechner provides a convincing definition of performance as follows:

Performance must be construed as a broad spectrum or continuum of human actions ranging from ritual, play, sports, popular entertainments...and everyday life performance to the enactment of social professional, gender, race...and on to healing, the media, the internet...any action that is framed, presented, highlighted, or displayed is a performance (Richard Schechner, 2001).



Performance theories mainly emphasize performance as an enactment of the creative, constructed, collaborative, and contingent nature of human communication and interaction. At the same time, performance is a process that helps analyze the uniqueness of a particular culture, constitute meaning, and affirm individual and cultural values. It is the basic concept that can be applied to situations inside gay saunas. For instance, the interaction between patron's role expectations and role performances were highlighted by gestures, eye contacts, physical touches, and body movements, which further facilitate the continuous dialogues between individuals.

This dialogic process is an integral part of performance that involves behavioral

coordination and negotiation between individuals. Meanwhile, these communicative elements transform communication into performative structural units.

My analysis of sauna patron's performance begins with the process of patronization. Arnold van Gennep's treatise of "rites of passage" and Richard Schechner's conception of transformative performance inspire my discussion of the progress of patron's identity transformation. I follow Arnold van Gennep's division of rites with three phases: separation, limen and reincorporation or reaggregation; I elaborate this idea on ritualistic performance in saunas. Visiting gay saunas is like participating in a sexual journey, a rite of passage, and the process of taking part in the sexual orgy can be taken as performing sexual ritual.

The pattern of rites of passage is worthy of reiteration: separation, a detachment from a fixed point in the social structure; limen, an ambiguous period of passage; reaggregation, a return to society. First, one is radically separated from the social order or transformed into a special or intermediate state. Then he is in a neither-nor status during the ritual transformation period called "liminal period"⁸ or "liminality" by Victor Turner. In the transition, one is often reduced to a subordinate or fluid state subjected to collectively imposed refashioning. This in-between period is often characterized by paradoxical or dramatic reversals of ordinary behavior, values or

⁸ Van Gennep borrowed "limen," the Latin word for "threshold," to underscore this transition. He mentions that liminality presents as being outside society, untouchable and dangerous, sacred as opposed to profane, which is the separation involving the physical detachment of the participant from normal life in an elimination of social structure.

orders. One needs to step outside of normal society and social frameworks in order to alter one's status or position. In the final stage of reaggregation, during which basic principles of social life are celebrated or reinvigorated, the subject is reintegrated into normal life, usually into a different social role from that occupied before the rite.

During such process of transition, patrons experience dynamics between ritual performance and spatial context. In other words, patrons' performance leads to Dionysitic, spontaneous community and both performers and spectators collaborate to expand various types of sexual acts. The hidden gay sexual scenario emerges with patrons' creation of erotic scene and their physical interactions. This phase seems to involve inversions by encouraging homosexual promiscuous acts and may also generate the chaotic suspension of normal behavior in orgiastic sequences.

In my analysis, this pattern can be elaborated to emphasize the process of the patronization inside gay saunas and the detachment of sauna patrons' status from their social position and turn to be sexual individuals. Victor Turner believes that participations detach ritual subjects from their old places in society and move them, inwardly transformed and outwardly changed, to new places. This transformation process of ritual can be read side by side along with Richard Schechner's idea about transformation performance.

Richard Schechner introduces the process of performance to survey the

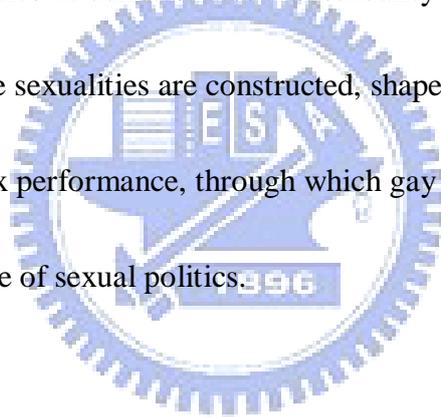
interrelation between performers and spectators. He regards the performance as the acting, the art of temporary transformation. Performer is transformed and enabled to do things “in performance” which he cannot do ordinarily and achieve new self after performance. In particular, the transformation performance enables performers to transform from one status or social identity to another; meanwhile, it enables the performers to undergo changes to achieve their new selves. Schechner points out that the “transformation performance” entails audience participation and spectators are relatives of the performers or part of the same community. He emphasizes that the abilities of the transformation entail skilled performers; hence, the audience get pleasure from the transformation performance. In the steam room, the performers having sex also require some skills to invite the spectators’ participation. And spectators can also be the decider to join or leave or just appreciate the show.

Schechner in his *Between Theater and Anthropology* notes, “the Performance Group as a way of transforming individuals into a group and then used The Group as transporters in an attempt to make a collective out of individuals who institute an audience, a temporary collective --- a community for the time being” (148). The community functions quite like “*communitas*⁹.” In the ritual process, the specific sites formulate the ritual and the people engaging with the performance constitute

⁹ The Latin term “*communitas*,” or social anti-structure, means “a relation quality of full, unmediated communication, even communion, between definite and determinate identities, which arises spontaneously in all kinds of groups, situations, and circumstances” For more details, please see Turner’s *Variations on a Theme of Liminality*, 46.

communitas. Communitas groups serve as symbolic and often “escape” from “the total system” from which the group feels alienated. Turner defined that it subverts the basic heterosexual social structure and presents radical sexual performance with alternative sexual activities. In view of communitas, I hope to emphasize the meanings of gay saunas as the sites to mobilize a collective sexual community that is flexible, always in flow, an open space for us to rethink sexualities.

In conclusion, sauna patronization provides new approach to the construction of sexualities and body politics. It demonstrates that sexuality cannot be controlled or regulated. Rather, diverse sexualities are constructed, shaped, and given a new form during such ritualistic sex performance, through which gay patrons of saunas assume and display a new posture of sexual politics.



Chapter Two Patronizing/Playing Inside Sauna:

The Spatiality and Cultural Significance of Gay Sauna

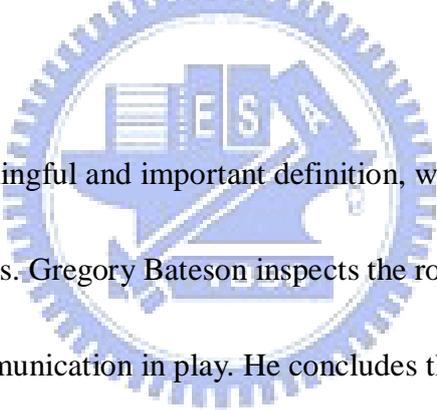
In Chapter Two, my focus begins with the concept of “play” to introduce gay sauna as the play area where clients can flirt with one another while eroticizing certain spaces and facilities. I interpret certain spatiality inside saunas as gratifying space for clients to experience the sexual exposure and adventure. Better play opportunities can be provided with the spatial layouts so that clients as players can perform their courting techniques. These can help players achieve the fundamental goal of pursuing sex with their creative skills. In order to introduce gay sauna as a space for free erotic play, I intend to show how the spatiality enchants patrons to perform sexual practices and what elements fuel client’s passion for sexual games.



I. Approaches to Play

What is play? The meaning of play can be seen in the following quotation, “To play means to do something that is neither serious nor real...we play to escape, to step out of everyday existence, if only for a moment, and to observe a different set of rules. We play to explore, to learn about ourselves and the world around us” (Henry Brial 115). Johan Huizinga, one of the first modern scholars who analyzes play, uses the term “play theory” to define the conceptual space in which play occurs. He suggests that play is primary to the condition of culture and civilization as follows:

Summing up the formal characteristics of play we might call it a free activity standing quite consciously outside “ordinary” life as being “not serious,” but at the same time absorbing the player intensely and utterly. It is an activity connected with no material interest, and no profit can be gained by it. It proceeds within its own proper boundaries of time and space according to fixed rules and in an orderly manner. It promotes the formation of social groupings which tend to surround themselves with secrecy and to stress their difference from the common world by disguise or other means. (Huizinga, 13, 1950)



Huizinga gives us a meaningful and important definition, which features with creative qualities of play principles. Gregory Bateson inspects the role of play in communication and communication in play. He concludes that human further development is related to play because humans need to play in order to adapt, survive and evolve. Both of the theorists relate play to culture and individuals development process (182-3). In addition, play theorist Brian Sutton-Smith offers seven "rhetorics" of play combining the scientific and cultural discourses. These rhetorics concern the ancient discourses of Fate, Power, Communal Identity, and Frivolity and the modern discourses of Progress, the Imaginary, and the Self. Sutton-Smith shows how these discourses might offer the components for a new social science of play.

He suggests, “it is the communalizing orgy of the festival as a play form that itself creates feelings of identity in the participants” (110). That is to say that play provides shared enjoyment for its members and gives expression to one’s identity. The relationship between individuals, play, and experience determines one’s play performance, which is the matter I lay emphasis on in this chapter.

Victor Turner also calls play the “liminal” or “liminoid,” meaning that it occupies a threshold between reality and non-reality. Play separates itself from ordinary life of which a closed space is marked out. We play to escape, to step out of everyday life, to observe a different set of rules. He explains, “play reveals us the possibility of changing our goals and, therefore, the restructuring of what our states to be reality” (Turner, 1983, 233-34). Hence, for the reason stated, I focus on gay saunas as the place where cultural experience is located and they provide the chance for the individual and the environment to relate to each other on the basis of one’s creativity in playing. In order to give detailed information of how sauna patrons play in the specific areas, I depict gay saunas as the playground and gay patrons as players who make good use of the facilities to play the games related to the surroundings. After that, the interrelated acts between players will be my focus. By doing so, gay patrons can assume their alternative identities by playing the erotic acts, and the unique cultural patterns so that play could subvert the values of official culture and

reconstruct or create its own world. This will promote the formation of groupings within its own proper boundaries of time and space according to the orderly rules or manners. By the progress of play, patrons will learn and create their distinct performing skills like a system of expressive and communicative language. With this dialectic relationship, patrons get involved in the world they create within the mindset of play.

II. Gay Saunas as Sexual Playground

Since gay sexual acts are not encouraged in public sphere, gay men take risks of being accused of sexual harassment, and being arrested, blackmailed, or violently attacked in certain public space. Hence, gay saunas provide the patrons with a space for sex with protection to enjoy gay sex without being concerned about the harms of being exposed to the public. That is to say, protection and personal safety are the main concerns so that patrons can play with their free will.

As a secret sexual playground to the public, gay saunas are located at hidden locus in-between the buildings and mansions near the metro or public transportations where gay patrons can easily reach and leave. In addition, gay saunas operate as “health clubs” by focusing on private membership only in this covert manner. By covering their doorway gate with shop’s identical logos or rainbow icons, gay saunas disguise themselves to be visible to insiders only in order to avoid outsiders’ ignorant

intrusion. These bounded settings separate the sexual world from the outside and provide some protection, especially for those who are closeted and cannot risk being recognized by outsiders.

For its features of convenience and secretly hidden locale, gay saunas continue to flourish in main cities in Taiwan, and attract large numbers of men seeking sexual purposes. Gay saunas make the clients unashamed of their sexual practices and help them explore sexual fantasies. Hence, what are these playground features that can lure so many gay men for sex and for fun? From my observation and interviews with some patrons, I conclude some basic characteristics.

First, as mentioned above, gay saunas are located in the convenient spots in the cities where gay men can easily reach. For example, at the beginning of Taiwan gay sauna business, most gay saunas are located in the Ximending (西門町) area or Taipei Main Station where most travelers and businessmen would visit or pass by when visiting Taipei city. At that time, New Park (新公園), public toilets in Zhonghua market (中華商場), Taipei Main Station and Red Theater (紅樓) are the famous spots where gay men would cruise for sex. Hence, the first gay sauna was situated near there. Till now there are three famous gay saunas still located in Ximending area with convenient route of public transportation.

Second, gay saunas provide protection and personal safety that shelter gay men

from being arrested, harassed, blackmailed, and assaulted or police raids. Besides, gay saunas identify themselves as homosexual baths, so those who would be offended by homosexual behaviors would not go there or would leave. Compared to the inconvenience and the risk of having sex in public areas, gay saunas seem to offer a safe alternative for sex.

Third, the admission fees are reasonable. The fee is 400 NT dollars for 14 or even 24 hours and patrons can have about 65 percent discount with the bath coupons with membership cards. A few gay saunas also offer weekdays discount to attract more clients. All the facilities inside are affordable and free, such as drinking, gym, Karaoke. Furthermore, each patron can check out and check back in 4 hours later if he would like to go out for some times.

Fourth, gay saunas have advantages over bars because they tend to focus more directly on sex. Gay saunas are marked explicitly for erotic activities, and people who enter saunas may freely assume that they share sexual interests with those who are already inside.

Fifth, they provide at least a modicum of hygienic conditions that clients could have cleaner spaces and clean bodies to have sex. It's not convenient to clean one's body first before or after having sex in public areas, such as parks or public restrooms, hence the bodily hygienic condition won't be a problem in gay saunas.

Sixth, sexual activities can be taken in saunas for some patrons' living situation does not permit them to have gay sex at home. From my interviews, some bisexuals who live with their wives or children do not dare to have sex with men at home, so they look for their sexual games in gay saunas. Some gay men who live with their parents also share the same problem.

Seventh, they offer chances for specific sexual interests and practices, which fulfill voyeuristic desires as well as group-sex desires. In this space, "sexuality charges situations "(Tattleman 71), and sexuality dominates the sexual acts.

Eighth, these playgrounds provide facilities, such as pools, gyms, Karaoke, home theaters or video rooms that offer the client a variety of experiences and entertainments during a visit. Some elder gay men often occupied the Karaoke room and Karaoke has become one of the social activities to them. Besides, gay porn videos are not permitted to play in Taipei gay saunas; however, the gay saunas in Taichung and Kaoshung, gay porn is played in the lounge theaters to provoke the sexual atmosphere and also to provide the masturbation scene.

Gay saunas provide these conditions, which lure gay bathers to have sexual conducts and have totally different sexual experience which is not acceptable to the outside world. By patronizing inside, patrons create patterns of acts to pursue sex in this limited time and space, which formulate boundaries of space and time apart from

the “straight” world. Like Johan Huizinga’s definition of play in *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture*, he demonstrates that “play” is a free and uncertain activity standing out of “ordinary” life within limited time and space. It’s a way for us to escape, to explore, and to learn about the world and ourselves. The environments and facilities of gay saunas, like the playgrounds, create the atmosphere of play and make bathers create a sex-only world where pursuing sex is the main purpose in this playground, which is totally alienated from the outside world.

However, these basic images cannot bring gay saunas’ specific playful vision to life without knowing the detailed layouts and the interrelation to patrons’ sex acts. Hence, the following introduction of spatial layouts and physical acts explicates the interaction between the patrons and space, while consuming the bodies, desires, layouts and erotica.



III. The division of spatial layouts in gay saunas

Spatial layouts are properly organized in basic formulas in gay saunas so that patrons are aware of where sexual activities might take place and how to behave properly to correspond with one another in these locales. The patterns of courting formulate the rules which patrons as players seem to abide by and may change with the proper potential partners, timing and space to grab the chances to have sex. These spontaneous interactions represent the essential aspects of sexual encounters through

play. Thus, the basic facilities and spatial layouts show why the gay saunas could function as playgrounds for sexual purposes and how gay players could enjoy the locales by relating to one another. By introducing the spatiality, I will depict in details how the playground enables patrons to pursue pleasure, to negotiate with one another and to play in details.

In order to have a clear picture about how to play inside, I aim to divide the spatiality into three parts: public areas (locker rooms, hallways, lounge and Karaoke rooms, computer rooms and gyms), semi-public areas (bath areas, theater lounges, dorms, orgy rooms, saunas, steam rooms, pools, Jacuzzis), and personal or private areas (cubicles, bath booths, personal shower rooms). The way of division mainly depends on different areas, timing, and, in particular, the interactions.

Cruising means catching the attention of a guy to whom one is attracted and then seducing him in one way or another to lead to sex acts. It is also possible to restrict to being cruised, which means to only respond to initiatives by others. In most cruising situations, participants perform both roles. (Maurice van Lieshout 353)

Cruising is the basic courting practice to play inside gay saunas. How to cruise around in these three areas and how the cruising practices are related to patrons' interactions are my first concern. By introducing these areas, I relate the mutual interactions to

show the diversity of play from patron's courting practices. Based on my observation, I will introduce the public space first, to show the overview of cruising patterns at public areas in saunas.

Public space inside gay saunas is a place where all patrons can cruise around without being excluded because of physical appearances, ages or others' rejections. These zones generally consist of the passages and sidewalks leading to other areas for public use. The public zone generally is more open and freer space than other zones yet it is the place where people get their first overall impression of the areas and can hang around. This space is always well managed by the building layouts of management organization. Amenities such as social areas with lounges, Karaoke rooms, TV theaters, gyms, lockers, hallway counters etc. are all part of this zone. In public areas, social interactions are main actions, and sexual acts seldom take place there because performing the overt sex acts under the brightest light could make other patrons feel uncomfortable about the deviant behaviors. Public space is the stage for greeting and searching for potential sex partners. It's also the space to show one's courting practices and to build up the mood for sex games.

When patrons enter the sauna with their clothes on, the clerk behind the counter will greet them with services by receiving the payment, handing patrons the towels and the key to the lockers. After taking off their clothes, they get naked with only one

towel knotted on the waist, ready to play the sexual game. Taking off one's clothes makes the patron become the object of public gaze in public areas, and those who are already inside gay saunas act like hunters waiting for the new-coming preys. Eye contact or gaze is one of the efficient means to convey one's interest in another man.

“I am always aware of behaving like a desired image as entering gay saunas because unexpected gaze is overwhelming in evaluating you as a potential sexual partner, and you never know who is going to give you a shot!” James, the ferry and the senior, skilled in playing “the target” in gay saunas, informs me of that. “Sauna is a cruel world because physical appearance determines one's charms. So knowing how to appeal the other's attention is important.”¹⁰ To most gay patrons like James, public space is the main stage where patrons display themselves and look for the potential partners at the same time. Cruising around in order to present oneself and search for the proper playmates in the public areas are the main acts taking place.

However, displaying oneself in public is just the beginning to show up on the stage, ready for the competition. While cruising, patrons commonly accompany the communicative gazes with gestures and body languages for sexual negotiation. Besides, verbal communication is seldom uttered while playing seducing scene. Patrons hardly use verbal messages to attract others. Hence, as the chasing game

¹⁰ James (pseudonym), personal interview, 12 Apr. 2006, Taipei

begins in public areas, voices and languages are turned into other sexual messages through body languages, eye contact, gestures, overt postures, facial expressions or movements. If the conversation occurs during cruising, it is usually brief and in lower volume than usual. Only in some social areas, such as TV lounge rooms, social rooms, Karaoke rooms, patrons chat with one another in ordinary volume. Besides, without verbal communication, patrons can avoid the possibility of awkward or embarrassing situations by being directly rejected.

When an individual employs nonverbal means to express a desire to sexually connect with another and his interest is rebuffed, he can quickly, easily, and with relatively little loss of composure withdraw from the interaction. This is not so easily done when an interest or proposition is verbally presented... These means of communication also allow for a man to psychologically cope with rejections more easily. (Richard Tewksbury 228-9)

“Silence maintains mystery that will increase the sexual mystery; besides, that is another protection from being directly rejected,” one of my interviewees, William confirms this situation, “so the best way to negotiate with the potential sexual playmate is to send signals with your gaze and body languages. Besides that, cruising silently implies searching for unspeakable sexual encounter with anonymous strangers

and nobody would know what really happens; therefore, the convenience of having sex without verbal communication entices me into cruising for sex.”¹¹

Manipulating one’s signs of sexual interest in another guy during cruising without verbal communication is the way of playing. Instead of verbal communication, bathers take the modes of gaze/eye contacts, body language, gestures, movements and touch to indicate one’s interests in and sexual preferences to others.

Gaze is the most constant way to show one’s interest. When one is interested in another man, he will look at him or give him a direct gaze. Most of the gazing patterns take steps by approaching the one, giving him a holding glance, looking into his eyes and walking past him more than once, then turning the face in the direction of him. These are basic modes to express one’s desire by gazes. Place yourself nearby and try to make eye contact in order to confirm if there’s a chance to receive his reciprocal glance. Eye contact is the essential way to confirm the signal of sexual interest to certify the availability for others’ interest in communicating, and possibly further sexual connection.

Gesture and body language are often employed when courting for the specific man. Typically gestures involve movements of a hand or the head. Simply wave one’s hand to imply someone to come closer. A nod implies one’s friendly attitude to invite

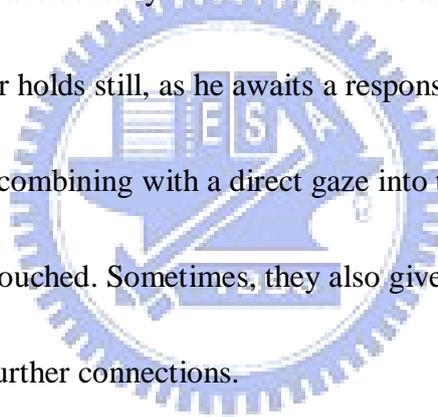
¹¹ William (pseudonym), personal interview, 28 Feb. 2006, Taipei

someone for further connections. Standing against the door of the cubicle means “I am waiting for someone to share the bed with.” Lying naked in the room implies one’s readiness for someone’s visit and sexual encounter. These are some basic gestures and body languages to communicate.

Another way of courting is movements, following someone to show interests.

After following him for a while, be sure to touch his arms or hands accidentally as passing by him. The accidental touch is a light brushing on the legs, hands or hips, not a bump. “When one man accidentally touches another he almost always significantly slows (if he is moving) or holds still, as he awaits a response” (Tewksbury 228).

Patrons often do this act combining with a direct gaze into the eye of the desire man, who is just accidentally touched. Sometimes, they also give facial expressions with a smile or a nod to invite further connections.



These exchanges of signals and messages by gesture, body languages, movements, and touches are like the tricks of playing in order to win the desired one. However, the uncertainty of winning the game drives players to challenge and take the risk of losing. In order to generate an efficient communication, most patrons practice proper tricks at proper space and timing. These negotiating interactions correspond to one of the main characteristics of play carrying messages and communications through seducing and pursuing sexual partners.

The quality of “uncertainty” is for playing and for fun. Uncertainty makes every patron risk losing or winning. With the threat of defeat and the joy of winning, the game becomes more fun. Being coolly refused or being given a resentful glance of rejection happens all the times in every corner. In that case, one may just purposely ignore the sexual invitation by walking away. These patterns of courting and rejecting are the characteristics of play. “Play is designed to be extremely lucrative and ruinous...it creates no wealth or goods...at the end of the game... all can and must start over again at the same point” (Roger Cailliois 5). In this sense, playing inside gay saunas is like playing a competitive courting game. The courting situations at public areas are sort of different from what happens at semi-public areas. Indeed, some overlaps of courting practices exist between those two areas. But the facilities and qualities that semi-public space provides are different, which turns the courting situations into more secret and fascinating.

Semi-public space is a transitional space between private and public space. To me, semi-public space is considered a spontaneous organizing system; in other words, the systems work together through patrons’ competition and compromise with proper timing and members. In semi-public space, competition is the act of striving against other members for the purpose of achieving dominance or attaining a goal for sexual connections. Compromise is a concept of seeking for agreement and mutual

acceptance by physical communication. Acts of competition and compromise correspond to each other while communicating and creating a play-like atmosphere which could arouse the interest of passersby. Competition leads to more diversity of involvements and tricks; compromise creates coordination for sex connections. As the process of interaction goes on, the activities may attract more participants to get involved and transform sex acts into a sexual orgy. With these qualities, the semi-public areas are the most stimulating and daring space for sex orgies.

Like public space, semi public space also creates the openness of the areas to all sauna members and makes most patrons feel at ease, which means patrons can enter and leave there as they wish, without permission. In addition, most semi-public space features with darkness creating a comfortable mini-climate where people could stay and wait for chances for sexual encounters without being recognized.

“I enjoy being in the steam room. The total darkness encourages me to touch or act more boldly. When entering the steam room, I have to squeeze through a mass of bodies. At this point, I could have the chance to bump into a clutch of men engaged in orgy. Besides, most patrons are interested in what’s going on inside this hot, sticky and clouded steam room.” Andy said.¹² With its accessible function, semi-public space is designed as a gathering space to attract the neighboring passerby’s

¹² Andy (pseudonym), personal interview, 13 Apr. 2006, Taipei.

participation, which may generate more activities so that visitors can enhance the diversity of sexual acts. Besides, the semi-open entrance gives the convenience for patrons to come or leave the space, as is the case for patrons to join the sexual scenario and also can avoid unfriendly sexual harassments inside by leaving on the spot. Everybody can enter and search around, but activities unrelated to the purpose of sex are not unlimitedly permitted. For instance, people don't talk loudly or make fun of sexual acts inside. These acts of dos and don'ts applied for the purpose of sexual acts can be regarded as the rules of playing. Patrons inside the semi-public space abide by the rules, which make the areas serve as an attractive locale for passersby and secure buffer for sexual acts. These semi-public areas are identified as place for group sex and patrons can expect more sexual encounters inside.

“Playing inside the steam room could be regarded as my sexual relief, when I could not find any playmates after cruising for hours. Then, I would wait for chances inside the steam room. Sometimes having an orgy there is more fun than waiting for other's (sexual) invitation (in other areas). No one will care who you are and what you do there as long as you don't take any offensive or impolite actions toward others. In addition, it is the best place for casual sex with a number of unknown partners. That really turns me on with a perceived thrill of the act.” Akira, a 45-year-old man,

mentioned.¹³ Those who enjoy promiscuous sex could take semi-public areas as their base for playing. While others prefer monogamous sex than sexual activities altogether, private space could meet their needs.

Private or Personal space allows a patron for domination on the territory; in other words, no other people can enter the place without his permission. A lockable cubicle is the most private space for patrons. The cubicle, built and divided in a simple wooden box or frame, is about five feet wide and eight and nine feet long, furnished with a mattress on the platform, an electric light, some toilet papers, a small dustbin and a door which can be locked.

Some patrons occupy it, using it as a personal stage where he could exhibit personal sexual invitation to the passersby with the door open. They often turn on the light of the cubicles, leave the door slightly ajar and position themselves to signal that they are available for sex. Some lying on the stomach with face down, displaying their butt in the room; some lying on their backs, spreading their legs to show off their erecting penis; some lying on the side with sexy poses covered with a towel or bedsheet over one part of the body; some lying on the back totally naked with a small towel covering their face; some even bring their sex toys, such as dildo or rush laid by the side; most patrons just stand by the door to the cubicle, watching the passersby

¹³ Akira (pseudonym), personal interview, 15 June 2006, Taipei.

and waiting for one-to-one encounters. Once someone approaches the door, the man in the cubicle maintains the right to accept or refuse his access to the room.

Permission is often expected if the visitor shows his intrusion to the private space. When the occupant glances at the visitor with a smiling nod, waves his hand to invite his coming or touches back as the visitor touches his body, which means the occupant accepts the visitor's entrance to his personal space. Then the door would be quickly closed. However, if the entrant doesn't meet the occupant's need, the occupant might avoid the visitor's glance and physical touch by covering his nude body with the bed sheet or shaking his hand as rejection. The exchanged touch assures the sexual invitation. It is considered poor etiquette that the entrant keeps on touching the occupant's body or staying in the room after being rejected.

Sometimes the open door signals an invitation for others to watch or to join in sexual activity. Alex and Moffy, the five-year-couple, enjoy patronizing gay saunas to search for the third playmate to have a threesome in the room. "Cubicle is where we like to put on our sex show first in order to invite the third playmate, we always let the door open to invite the passersby to peek and people with the same interest would join our activities. Sometimes, we just take it as fun because not always can we successfully have a threesome there. Besides, if the entrant does not meet what we

need, we would reject his intrusion,” Moffy added.¹⁴ Both Moffy and Alex know how to run a threesome acts well to manipulate it for their own needs. “I don’t feel jealous to see the other guy to have sex with Moffy, neither does he. Because we take this as a game for fun; we both feel that after having sex with someone new tighten our relationships.” Alex said, “it doesn’t embarrass me to do the acts, displaying our sexual acts in the cubicles. To me, I take this as role-playing. Seducing other’s participation is like playing the role of being desirable preys. It really turns us on and waiting for unknown visitors can stimulate our sexual interests.”¹⁵ The interview shows the individual player inside the cubicle knows the full round of implication that his erotic actions imply to invite the playmate to join him. Patrons exaggerate and show off in order to impress playmates as well as non-players who are watching. The known, shared, or organized rules of playing are the common knowledge to most sauna patrons. These interactive rules feature gay sauna as the playground and patrons know them well to play and to fulfill their sexual fantasy-fulfillment. “Both sexual scripting and imagination are important means by which individuals manage presentations of self, which in turn shape and direct interactional (especially sexual) possibilities and consequences” (Tewksbury 312).

The subcultural techniques of communication and involvement must be acquired

¹⁴ Moffy (pseudonym), personal interview, 3 Mar. 2006, Taipei.

¹⁵ Alex (pseudonym), personal interview, 3 Mar. 2006, Taipei.

from playing. Patrons explore themselves, learning by trial and error, practicing skills, and playing. They learn the information about the gay sexual environment from enjoying the actions themselves. The patterns of behaviors and activities intrigued by patron's desire stand consciously outside ordinary life and allow players find sexual diversion, to escape from responsibilities and routines of ordinary life. "It (play) proceeds within its own proper boundaries of time and space according to fixed rules and in an orderly manner. It promotes the formation of social groupings which tend to surround themselves with secrecy and to stress their difference from the common world by disguise or other means" (Huizinga 13).

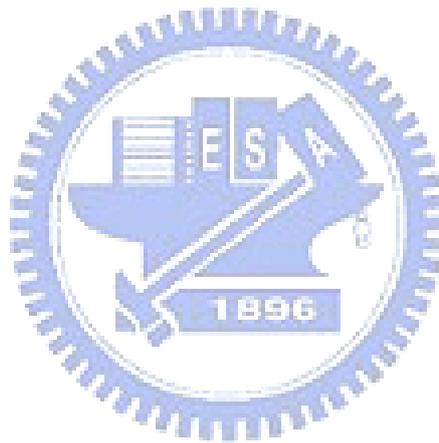
VI. Conclusion

Gay saunas appropriate certain materials and structures with dim light or darkness to offer free space to recall patrons to forge the sensation of bodies. Entering the gay saunas is like entering a period of time during which the patrons, actions and space are transformed into new functions and meanings through playing. With the differences of sauna spatiality, patrons react with a diversity of courting practices, which offers patrons more opportunities to seek diversity of sex and partners.

Cruising and sexual activities take place twenty-four hours a day and all year round in gay saunas. The desire to have sex is one of the main drives of sauna patron's behaviors. Most patrons are not confined to a single sexual encounter but to a series of

sexual encounters with one or more sexual partners. Even as patrons rest, they remain in the never-ending erotic activities. Watching the passing parade of cruising patrons and hearing the sound of erotic activities, patrons' attendance is an entirely engrossing affair. Patrons are encouraged to have sex which develops their tactics to chase for sex. However, not all the patrons have the chance to have the encounters without any efforts. The chance of succeeding in connecting the sexual partner takes lucks as well. The unstable populations of sauna patrons, the number varying with the time of day, and the physical types, ages, faces affect the courting practice and make the competition more complex. The elements of winning and losing are not controllable by players, and it makes the competition so fascinating but so cruel. Indeed, it's quite uncomfortable to be rejected or see the desired one going away with the other guy. The emotional states of sadness and worries sometimes arise during the scene of encounter. But there's no need to complain because the mating game still goes on. Most patrons don't expect to look for one-to-one-only sex encounters, and they prefer to make a variety of sex choices in saunas. The only fatal problem is the fewer patrons inside saunas, the less fun it would be. This is a grouping game that everyone is involved with one another with the proper time and space. The thrill of putting oneself at risk of testing his luck, to prove his sexual value, sexual attraction, to enact his sexual identity, this play involves one's self to communicate with others from a risky

game to explore one's new identity. The progress of playing involving exploration, learning, and risk and communication leads gay patrons to learn about themselves and be aware of another reality or a freer self.



Chapter Three Ritual performance and Gay Sexuality

This chapter attempts to theorize gay sexuality and promiscuity in gay saunas. In Chapter Two, I apply theory of “play” to focus on sauna clients’ patronizing behaviors in order to stress queer creativity in conjunction with erotic culture. Such creativity provides temporary escapism from the real world for gay men, which leads them to an imagined erotic utopia unfettered by prejudice and persecution. During the process, one could promote one’s sexual identity by transforming ordinary self into a sexual performer. It allows a collective identity, shared by gay patrons and strengthened by their sexual engagements. Furthermore, I will conduct a close analysis on sexual performance and sexual behaviors, especially the ritualistic orgy in semi-public areas. To provide a more in-depth analysis of sauna patrons’ sexual escapades, I regard visiting gay saunas as a performative or a ritual process, drawing critical and methodological support from performance theories.

By presenting the performance process, I examine certain significant spatial and erotic elements that equate group sex to ritualistic interactions, which I regard as ritual performance. During the performance, patrons could escape from the oppressive heterosexual apparatus, experience the diversity of sex, recognize the multiplicity of sex, and identify their sexual preference. Sharing experiences of the sexual orgy provides transcendence of personal and corporeal boundaries and a sense of

togetherness. Meanwhile, the sense of belonging is accompanied by what anthropologist Victor Turner calls the “*communitas*”¹⁶. Participants feel bound to one another with the sense of belonging and camaraderie, and the communion of equal individuals. *Communitas*, which characterize liminality, offer an implicit critique of structural differentiation and imbues social structure with anti-structure values and creative force. Hence, my focus on patrons’ “*communitas*” is to subvert the basic heterosexual social structure and present radical sexual performance with alternative sexual activities.

I. First Phase of Rites of Passage: Separation and Transformation performance

“Visiting gay saunas is like going on an adventure out of the real world,” one of my interviewees, Mark, said. “There is no other place, as far as I know, that could provoke so many (gay men’s) sexual encounters at a given time. Such pleasure happens exclusively inside gay saunas.” His words also show an awareness of transition between states and statuses. “Unleashed from the outside world, this is where I could chase what I desire without uncomfortable feelings and pressure,” Mark

¹⁶ *Communitas* is a response to the “existential deprivation” of social-structural differentiation (Turner 1978b: 284) and represents “the desire for a total, unmediated relationship between person and person ...in the very act of realizing their commonness” (Turner 1974: 274, 284; 1969:105) as well as the recognition of individuals “as equal in terms of shared humanity”(Turner 1969: 177; 1974: 274, 284)

adds.¹⁷ Most sauna patrons admit that being in the sauna is being another self who has always been one part of his characters.

The detachment from the outside world begins with the entry into saunas. At first, the act of removing clothes symbolizes a detachment from a fixed social structure to a phase of passage where they can perform their sexual intentions more readily. Shortly, taking off clothes adumbrates that a performance is about to begin. As Richard Schechner points out, most theatrical performance involves temporary transformation:

Performers are changed transformations and those where performers are returned to their starting places, transportation, because during the performance the performers are taken somewhere but at the end, often assisted by others, they are cooled down and reenter ordinary life just about where they went in...Transformation performance is to transform people from one status or social identity to another not only makes a change but is itself the means by which persons achieve their new selves (126-7).

Transformation is the necessary process to prepare the patrons for performance --- acting out their sexual needs and to ensure their identities. The process allows one to experience another self's identity through celebrating collective actions. This leads to a new perception of self, a release from the constraints of prescribed social role, and it

¹⁷ Mark (pseudonym), personal interview, 15 June 2006, Taipei.

evokes feelings that could express a sense of patron's sexual identity by "depersonalizing oneself and objectifying one's physical body" (Martin S. Weinberg and Colin J. Williams, 1975). By the process of transformation, patrons proceed to the second phase of rite.

II. Second Phase of Rites of Passage: Liminality and Communitas

The main characteristic of the second phase is known for its liminality, or the liminal period, the transitional period, which Turner sees as by far the most important phase during a ritual process. The liminal phase involves a prolonged period in which the participant is both literally and symbolically marginalized. Turner thereby emphasizes this process of transition to characterize the ambiguity of ritual subject and how these neither-this-nor-that, betwixt-and-between positions can elude or slip through the network of symbolic classification and challenge the constructed norms of the society.

In my analysis, I regard semi-public areas positioned as a neither-this-nor-that space which is irregular and anomalous. They also provide freedom for patrons to transgress the dominant system of social classification on sexuality. The sense of transgression opens up creative possibilities that intrigue patrons' sexual desire to participate in the performance. These places are embedded in networks of relations created through patrons' contacts and continuing pleasure where patrons can invent

new selves to communicate with one another.

Place is produced as a setting for actions through collective activities and it provides the facilities that instigate patrons' passion in collective activities. Therefore, how do these rooms evoke feelings that express the sense of erotica and sexual identity? By concluding with three main features of semi-public areas, I explain why these rooms could be so tempting that a large amount of bathers will get involved in the performance.

The first reason is darkness. The feature of no lighting encourages orgy because every patron becomes a potential sexual partner and hence allows for a mixture of diverse physical types which can hardly be classified. Immersed in total darkness, the patrons who have taken off their clothes are in the neither-this-nor-that position, as they are doing away with social values or responsibilities for the time being and turn into what they really desire. Moreover, because of total darkness, rejections do not cause embarrassment at all and sexual explorations become possible. Patrons maneuver in the pitch-dark room by touching, which greatly increases the probability of chance encounters. It is within this darkness that corporeal boundaries and carnal desires have undergone constant deterritorialization and reterritorialization. It is also within such darkness that individual identity is erased and replaced by anonymity, which, for the participants, represents a communication unadulterated by physical

attributes.

The second reason is the high frequencies of bathers' visits. On most occasions, patrons would roam in these areas once or twice while cruising. Most patrons passing through the areas would slow their pace or stop and lift the curtain to peep. Other patrons might stand by and wait. They stand there or slowly fool around until they find someone desirable as the prey, then start to hunt it. People waiting outside may feel curious about what is going on inside if patrons keep going in without walking out. They might walk inside to figure it out. As the new-comer lift the curtain, the light penetrate into the dark room, and then patrons staying inside could glance around the contours of the bodies nearby for further sexual explorations.

The third reason is chances for free sexual exploration through tactile sensations. In gay saunas, tactile sensations are made possible by nudity and darkness. Entering the steam room, patrons should be completely naked; some patrons might carry a small towel to cover their genitals. Tewksbury explains, "Nudity in the steam room facilitates efficient assessments of one another as sexually desirable objects" (218). Owing to the convenience of nudity and darkness, some patrons, especially those elders who don't look so desirable, have the chance to touch others' genitals. And most patrons have chance to come into close proximity of each other's body, which facilitates sexual arousals. These features not only contribute to the neither-nor state

of semi-public areas but also open up possibilities for patrons to transform themselves into sexual performers.

During the transformative performance of gay sauna, the rite of passage enacted between performance and ritual are enhanced by the temporal and spatial aggregation as well and the interaction between spectators and performers. Schechner has it, “not only the physical place but time, space, spectator and performer aggregate---

generates a centripetal field that gobbles up whatever happens on it or near it.”

Schechner adds, “This absorption into the center is the chief parallel between performance process and ritual process” (118, between the theater). The patrons/performers in gay sauna create scenes and encourage spectators to join the actions that a series of sexual encounters with more sexual partners joining the scene.

Both the performers’ skills and the spectators’ engagement determine the ritual’s running. My interviewee explains how the scene (ritual) is executed in the steam room by adding that the spectators’ participation is a key element to fuel the fire of the ritual.

By hearing the moans or experiencing the caresses, other spectators would be gathering to form a crowd like the audience to enjoy the show. The more spectators flock together, the more performers would participate in the orgy. Meanwhile, the whole performance would mix different groups and participants, and it transforms the performances into a ritual-like carnival. From my observation, as long as any

spectator joins the couple's performance, other spectators will be soon seduced to participate in the ritual/performance and then form a community-like *communitas*.

As the unrestrained indulgence is encouraged, patrons are encouraged to disregard the social values, to transcend social limitations and to empower themselves. They are thoroughly imbued with sexual pleasure during the liminal phase which will strengthen their sense of belonging as well as sexual identities.

Replacing one of the participants or exchanging partners is quite common during the performance. The crowd will not disperse, but anxiously wait for the chances to get involved in the group sex by caressing one another or masturbating themselves. Some patrons do not like to be observed when engaging in sex and they would leave the scene, but most people take advantage of the scene to perform their sexual fantasy, which encourages them to be involved in promiscuous sex. Individual's play and group action generate symbolic ritual interactions from the sexual invitation to intense orgy. Individuals develop self concepts through the ritualistic process of interaction and communication with others. The self concepts motivate patrons' actions and encourage them to produce an erotic situation through their interpretation and imagination. Meanwhile, they are in the optional state by remaining part of self-mastery with freedom and transcending part of themselves by performance during the ritual process. By presenting one's sexual availability and interests, patrons act as

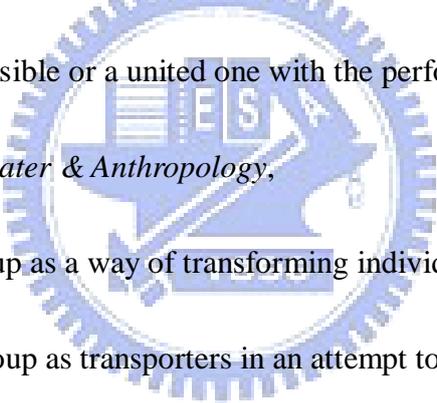
spectators and performers by grouping together in the presence of other spectators or performers, which make the individuals aggregate one another into the group as a collective community.

Later, the whole ritual becomes a sexual orgy in which performers' involvement has been increasingly deepened and hence attracted more spectators' participation. Meanwhile, the whole ritual reaches climax with the mixture of performers and spectators. This is a successful ritual performance that leads to Dionysitic, spontaneous community to generate the rules of the ritual, and both performers and spectators collaborate to explore and invent various types of sexual performances.

Andy, a 28-year-old salary man, shared his orgy experience with me, "when I enter the steam room, the overwhelming male nudities arouse my sexual desire directly. It's like being in wet dreams. I feel I have passed out of the body into another state of rapture being, an ecstasy, and undulated with the sexual acts. I follow what I hear, feel what I touch, and enjoy what I practice. It's not a total loss of self-consciousness, but a sense of personal control over the sexual activities. I can directly touch whom I want. Though I might be rejected, I don't feel embarrassed. Instead, I just turn to the next group in search of right encounters."¹⁸ Frankie, 42 years old, said, "When the orgy takes place, I feel like being absorbed into their actions.

¹⁸ Andy (pseudonym), personal interview, 13 Apr. 2006, Taipei.

Everyone seems getting involved with one another. The feeling allows me to be free shortly in an ecstatic state. My focus is narrowed down to sex itself. Everyone falls upon everyone else in a series of twists, and I really enjoy the mutual contacts without fear or pressure.”¹⁹ In my interpretation, both Andy and Frankie are in the process of liminal state into the orgy performance. The feelings of trance or flow first lead them to a degree of unconscious state, then to a progressive gradation of a positive, conscious, illuminating condition. At that moment, there is little distinction between self and others or between stimulus and response. Patrons are experiencing the feelings of becoming invisible or a united one with the performance. To note in Schechner’s *Between Theater & Anthropology*,



Performance Group as a way of transforming individuals into a group and then used The Group as transporters in an attempt to make a collective out of individuals who institute an audience, a temporary collective --- a community for the time being” (148).

The community, which sauna patrons participate in while grouping the performance, functions quite like “communitas,” as defined by Turner. Patrons can escape the alienating structure of a social system and turn into communitas, or social antistructure. During the liminal period, communitas liberates participants from social

¹⁹ Frankie (pseudonym), personal interview, 12 Apr. 2006, Taipei.

obligations because it relaxes the requirements of everyday hetero-social behaviors while making transition from the heterosexual matrix to an alternative homosexual world. This emerged *communitas* during ritual liminality stands at a concrete opposition to social structure and allows participants to experience different sexual interactions which might make possible changes of personal sexual identity. This helps them build up a positive self-concept, like the initiation of rebirth simultaneously in progress.

III. Third Phase of Rites of Passage: Reaggregation

How are these meanings interpreted by patrons during the performance? How are clients' interpersonal networks related to one another? What impact does the performance have upon patrons' lives and self-images? After this in-between liminal period, a patron has undergone a transformation, detached from the society and altered a different self-position. Performers share with liminal genres and have the potential to create new sexual concepts. In the final phase of reaggregation, the individual is reintegrated into normal life, into a different "social role" than that occupied before the rite. To van Gennep's view, rituals mark one's transition through the various stages in life; they mediate and signify changes in individual's lives, conferring on them identity and status in their communities, taking them from one state of physical and social being to a greater one. At the same time, these rituals

validate the transitions, values, and hierarchy of the culture.

From the interviewees who frequented the steam room, I learned that participating in the orgy performance have special meanings to them. Visiting saunas makes their sexual fantasies come true. In this section, I want to present some different examples of my interviewees' experience to recognize patrons' self-identification after participating in the sexual ritual performance.

Jack, a 32-year-old stud, said, "The steam room is explicitly for orgy. Of course, the main reason to be there is for group sex. I think most patrons know exactly what is going on inside. We share similar sexual interest and enjoy orgy. I am always aware of the surrounding situations and if the chance for right sex came, I would go for it and enjoy the feelings of being served or giving the service to others. It's such an excitement to be surrounded by so many male nudities...after having a great time there, well...how can I put into words...I feel satisfied and released..." Jack expresses his feelings of having sex in the steam room by explaining that it is "very important" to have the kind of sexual life. Even if he had a partner, he would still go for sex in saunas. "I think I can get some encouragement from others' appreciation on my body and I really appreciate the way they show their 'feedbacks' on me," he added.²⁰

Waku, a 22-year-old student, shared, "Last Sunday afternoon, when I walked in

²⁰ Jack (pseudonym), personal interview, 2 Dec. 2005, Taipei.

the steam room, I uttered a noise in my mind, ‘oh my god, there are so many people here.’ There were a bunch of people stuffed into a small steam room, and some are having sex. It took me a while to search for a spot to locate myself and wait for the chance. A few moments later, I could hardly move my body because more and more men are getting close to me. I was almost jammed in male bodies and I tried to protect my penis from harassments and it was like performing a gay porn scene. Anyway, when I left behind those craving hands, I found one of the attractive bodies as my prey. He didn’t reject my invitation, as I reached out my hand. We had sex right away. During the process, I could sense hands all around my back or on my butt. I tried to push them away after knowing most of them are the elders”, but it didn’t work much. Suddenly, another hunk standing next to me intended to join. I left my body open to let him come on over. Well, it was an impressive threesome encounter, and I had a great time. However, sometimes I really don’t appreciate some unwanted touches because some of them are really offensive by taking advantage of me.”²¹ Waku is a beautiful youth to sauna patrons, so I can understand his popularity for some patrons at his age. He mentioned that it was really like going on an erotic journey when he visited the gay sauna for the first time. After getting familiar with the whole situations, he learned how to deal with sexual encounters, to enjoy sex and to enrich his sexual

²¹ Waku (pseudonym), personal interview, 31 July 2006, Taipei.

experience. “Now, I know much better about myself and what my body needs,” he said.²²

Kenji, 34 years old, told, “I like to be there, the orgy room, every once in a while for excitement when I visit gay saunas. I have to work on weekdays, so I think it would be a good way to have at least some weekend entertainment there... The steam room is also a convenient way to achieve orgasm because some people would do me fellatio or masturbate me. So, I go to the steam room for occasional sexual relief if I could not find any sex from the other sites. Though the steam room sometimes stinks and not so well cleaned inside, I still can sense lots of people crowding for sex there. So I prefer to have sex in the orgy room compared to the hot steam room. What the orgy room excites me is that sometimes I can pick out a guy there and take him to the cubicle to have one-to-one sex only. But the real excitement to me is staying inside the steam room, where orgies easily occur. It really thrills me to have sex with many studs at the same time. The more I get, the happier I am...”²³

Puppy, a 29-years-old teacher, said, “I go to the sauna more often when I feel down. I don’t feel guilty when I have sex in gay sauna, but I don’t feel like really enjoying it when so many men crowding in the steam room. Sometimes, I feel that they are like turning into vampires sucking each other’s blood. When I think of that, I

²² Waku (pseudonym), personal interview, 31 July 2006, Taipei.

²³ Kenji (pseudonym), personal interview, 6 Sept. 2006, Taipei.

just feel scared and withdraw from the scene right away. But, I still have to admit that the scene really turns me on when so many nudities are crowding for sex.”²⁴

Mr. Ho, a 43-years-old married self-called bisexual, said, “I think I have two spirits. One is for my (heterosexual) family; the other is my gay spirit. I don’t feel guilty when I have sex with men. Their acts comfort my gay spirit and I feel very pleased. My wife is busy with her career and household, so she doesn’t have a clue about my sexuality and my visit to saunas. Though we don’t have sex for a while... I don’t really like to have sex with so many guys at the same time in the steam room because I feel a sense of guilt for that. I have no idea why. Maybe that’s too much for me.”²⁵

From my interviews, some patrons, Jack, Waku, Andy and Kenji, take the orgy as one of the delights during the tour in gay saunas; the others, Puppy and Mr. Ho, regard it as a meaningless game or a kind of degradation. Indeed, the patrons’ responses vary with their respective experiences. For instance, Jack discovers that he can gain confidence from others’ appreciation on his body in orgy. Jack said, “I think I am a muscle wrestler type of man or some people call ‘bear-type man,’ which could be kind of over-weight to mainstream ideas about men’s fitness. However, after realizing that my body is attractive to some people, I become interested in working

²⁴ Puppy (pseudonym), personal interview, 11 Dec. 2005, Taipei.

²⁵ Mr. Ho (pseudonym), personal interview, 11 Dec. 2006, Taipei.

out in gym and now I have more confidence in my appearance.”²⁶ As to Waku, having group sex allows him for good chances to broaden his sexual experience and to learn skills. “Since having those great ‘oh-oh-ohs,’ I have become a qualified oral server and I believe it can give me some extra credits to attract more playmates.”²⁷ I view Jack and Waku as being in the process of development of one’s distinct personality and sexual identity. During the ritual performance of the orgy, they encounter the particular stage of life experience in which individual characteristics are recognized or known through the interaction with others. Therefore, Jack and Waku will think of themselves as unique and separated entities.

However, to Puppy, the orgy is nothing but a brief meaningless sexual experience. No matter what happens there, he doesn’t think it would affect his ideas about his sexual life. Puppy notes, “As what I mentioned, I sometimes feel scared to have sex together with so many unknown bodies. Though it is quite erotic to me, I don’t really enjoy it. So, I just take it as a kind of game that some people like; others don’t.”²⁸ Mr. Ho also takes the same stand and says, “I am a family man, which means I have to be more aware of preventing myself from getting STDs²⁹. Therefore, I don’t go for the orgy. And I don’t want to comment about that.”³⁰ Both Puppy and Mr. Ho, whether

²⁶ Jack (pseudonym), personal interview, 2 Dec. 2005, Taipei.

²⁷ Waku (pseudonym), personal interview, 31 July 2006, Taipei.

²⁸ Puppy (pseudonym), personal interview, 11 Dec. 2005, Taipei.

²⁹ STDs: sexual transmitted diseases.

³⁰ Mr. Ho (pseudonym), personal interview, 11 Dec. 2006, Taipei.

involved in orgy or not, return to their ordinary selves after patronizing gay saunas.

Although the ritual embraces all performances might inspire and arouse patrons' sexual interests, it might just transport the performers back to their ordinary selves without any change.

During the unclear and contradictory orgy process, a patron is situated in the liminal stage that his promiscuous acts could be regarded as the inversions of the secular values or even the authority and his liminal mind could be in the contradictory way of meeting his sexual needs or rejecting the orgy sex if he couldn't make himself totally get involved in. Not all patrons would take part in the orgy performance inside the semi-public rooms. Though patrons express themselves as understanding one another "comradeship" mentioned by Turner in the liminal group, and they can be themselves with sexual identities instead of acting institutionalized social roles.

However, some patrons still don't agree with those "over" promiscuous acts for fear of catching sexual transmit disease, being stigmatized by others, or being uneasy with shy or not feel being touched by strangers.

IV. Conclusion

Patronizing gay saunas is like getting into a community that provides patrons with knowledge about sex and reinforces their sexual activities. The orgy is like a

ritual transforming social order and producing alternative reality. Liminality and *communitas* provide a means by which to render sexual acts beyond the limitations of (hetero) sexual experience as opposed to structuralized monogamous sexual values. Ritual *communitas* makes it possible to transform structure by infusing it with alternative, anti-structure values which emerge in the experience of immediacy and egalitarianism. Patrons can search for sexual pleasure without obligation or commitment.

Sexual ritual performances happen all the times because gay saunas provide ideal locations. Every patron is a potential performer. Bathers create their own sexual fantasies to bring about the liminal phenomena and generate the spontaneous and democratic *communitas*. By being connected to one another, the sexual ritual becomes an open stage for different types of performers to realize their fantasies, disregarding social values, moral beliefs or any other boundaries. There's no social hierarchy inside and everyone enjoy the freedom to accept, to reject, and to seduce others through performance. Age, physical or facial features, and social status are annulled and everyone is in the betwixt-and-between position when the ritual is reaching its climax. Therefore, it temporarily creates a utopia which allows sexual expression and boundary-crossing.

Resonating to Schechner's ideas about transformation, patrons are transformed

from ordinary bathers into sexual subjects, performing their own sex shows to worship Eros and unleash the repressed desire from the social normality. The ritual creates the moments of sexual deviation, pleasure, seduction and transgression to subvert the social norms about sex. With its liminal characteristics and functions, the ritual has the potential of erupting and subverting the consistency and coherence of existing order or system. Because liminoid performance is perceived as temporarily outside the real world, it provides moments of detached reflection and reflexivity, which can be potentially subversive and revolutionary. The transformation enables performers to encounter one another in spontaneous, direct, immediate and equal interchanges. It also liberates them from conventional constraints. They thus share with liminal genres the potential to create new social form. The primary motivation behind ritual is the desire to break free of social structure temporarily in order to transcend its social and existential limitations and reconfigure it.

For performers, the sexual ritual is like initiate transformation in role reversal which empowers them and expands their sexual experiences. By this communal interaction in the process of ritual, the new possibilities of sexual liberation and identities are related to performance. Like the different sexual positions adopted inside, kneeling, lying down, leaning, crouching and so on, bodies turned into parts for different sexual purposes, new discovery of sexual experiences will be crafted

onto every performer's sexual subject and open up new possibilities of sexual
communitas.



Conclusion

Creating and maintaining a culture of queer sexuality in a heterosexual society is an important political and cultural practice. Displaying gay men sexual acts challenges the concept of sexuality. Sauna patrons practice ways of being and enact sexuality through collective and communal actions. The gay sauna is a place to explore sex and to inquire how patrons create and manage their own erotic performance. It builds the communal space where sexual behavior, identity, techniques, and etiquette can be shared and refined. It helps gay men envision a sexual world outside the restrictive boundaries of homophobia, discriminations and violence. To most patrons, it offers an escape from oppressive aspects of daily life and evokes feelings that express a sense of belonging and identity. Hence, patronizing gay saunas is one of the resistant means against sexual restrictions.

Gay saunas offer opportunities for a variety of impersonal, casual and anonymous sex. By means of sexual communication, gay men support one another, exchange ideas, and generate sexual communities. From the multiplicity and contradictory ways of different sexualities lived out by patrons' performance, we can regard the ritualized performance as an important way to celebrate sexual identities. Patrons' performance on sexualities not only expresses what they desire for, but also inscribes the erotic experience on their minds and bodies. It makes gay men sexuality

visible, and leads to a more open-up sexual world. Therefore, I focus exclusively on sexual experience to explore patrons' sexual acts related to the sauna spatiality, patrons' etiquettes, considering issues of patrons' sexual representation and expressions.

I apply the concept of "play" to introduce variant forms and rules in sexual communications to explore the relationship between individuals and spatiality attributing to gay erotic culture. Patrons apply devices to catch other's attention, to arouse desire, and to seek encounters. Almost in spontaneous behaviors responding to courting situations, patrons know the rules and ways to play well. By developing play skills, patrons go with their actions of flow by blurring self-consciousness, then indulging themselves in the sexual play. Such sensual experiences contribute to play structure which can produce a sense of pleasure and a feeling of creative achievement. In addition, the process of play induces learning through exploration of environment and allows the development of sexual behavioral versatility. Play creates an erotic environment contrasting to that of everyday life. It also suggests that enjoying sexual pleasures can be experienced in more than ordinary ways. Play can therefore be reflexive and leave us the discussion to think about the social and cultural dimensions of gay erotic world.

In order to further understand the more aggressive erotic culture, it is important

to recognize the relationships between various activities and how these activities are performed. These actions generate patterns, draw patrons' attentions, and lead to a ritual-like performance. Therefore, I apply ritual theory to analyze how sauna clients perform their sexual acts by generating ritual-like communicative interactions. Ritual theory helps me refine the interconnections between gay sexual identity and community; see how the performance transforms the patrons into the sexual subjects, and recognize new perspectives on sexuality.

As being in the ritual performance, participants are separated from normal life, attain emotional attachment and commitment with one another. This process gives the community-like togetherness, a sense of belonging in achieving sexual pleasures. This process is the chaotic suspension of ritualized rebellion, the breach of a social norm, and the antistructure of liminality. Therefore, sexual experiences, identity, and connections are newly redefined according to a range of sexual behaviors.

By means of ritual performance, performers are permitted to have freedom on sexual expressions to certain extent. The freedom makes a unity that gay patrons could take part in communal activities, share their feeling, reconfigure themselves in novel ways and discover new arrangements and possibilities of sexualities. The ritual performance makes a transition of time and space so as to reflect on an ideal of community, to create something through patrons' sexual experiences. This leads to the

formation of sexual communitas and the rise of resistance.

In conclusion, performance is a state of mind, a way of seeing and being, with a special viewpoint toward the actions and the world. Gay saunas serve as the stage where patrons could freely perform their sexual identities. Following from what Turner stresses on ritual's primary power of transformation, I conclude that the liminal phase in ritual performance could transcend human limits, opening up possibilities of human sexuality as thrusting individuals together, affirming and creating community with one another. Hence, my thesis represents how patrons perform their sexual needs in the ritual as a springboard for launching reforms or rebellions. With this mode, patrons' transformation could lead from the physical to the spiritual level.

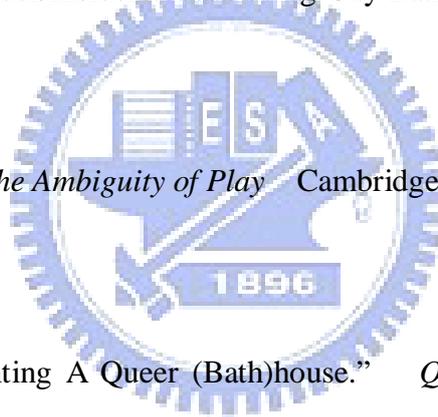
However, there are still many complicated dynamics and issues worthy of in-depth studies on gay saunas and the communities, such as the physical preference, the evaluation of physical hierarchy, stigmas on over-promiscuous acts and aging crisis or discriminations. These issues are also important to gay sauna subculture, and much still remains to be concerned. I hope there will be more insightful discussions on them in the future.

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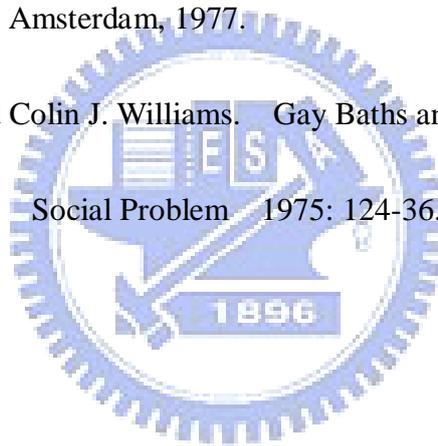
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Interviewees' data

Pseudonym/age	Partnership/marriage	Occupation	Preference/Experience	Frequency/Interview Time/ notes
2005-2006				
James/48	single	Salesman	bottom; enjoy orgy and Karaoke	Once a week/ 16:00 April 12, 2006
William/38	single	Engineer	versatility	Depends/ 14:00 Feb. 28. 2006
Akira/45	single	unemployment	versatility	Depends/ 14:30 June 15, 2006
Alex/45	steady partner, Moffy, for 5 years/ divorced	Sales Manager	threesome and top only	Once a month/ 20:00 March 3, 2006
Moffy /38	steady partner, Alex, for 5 years	Engineer	threesome and versatile	Once a month / 19:00, March 3, 2006
Mark/37	single	Editor	bottom	One a month / 15:30 June 15 2006
Andy/28	single	Salary man	top	Twice a month/ 11:00 April 13, 2006:
Frankie/42	single/ married	Self-employee	bottom; enjoy karaoke	Every weekend/ 16:00 , April 12 2006
Jack/32	single	Sales Manager	orgy and top only	Once a month/ 20:00 Dec.2 2005
Waku /22	single	Student	versatility	Once/twice a month / 19:00 July 31 2006
Kenji/34	with partners	Dancer	bottom only	Once two month/ 14:00 Sep. 6 2006
Puppy/29	single	Teacher	oral sex only	Depends Dec. 11 2005
Mr. Ho/43	single/ married	Designer	top only	Depends/ 20:00 Dec.11 2005