

Exploring the Meaning of Yaoi in Taiwan for Female Readers: From the Perspective of Gender

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The purpose of this study is to explore the meaning of *Yaoi* in Taiwan. *Yaoi* is a Japanese phrase that describes a group of females who enjoy creating and reading the male homosexual comic books or novels. This study uses an intensive interview method to examine the meanings behind the females' enjoyment of reading *Yaoi* texts. Based on the literature, this study uses the perspective of genders to examine the interview data by six concepts: *reciprocity*, *substitution*, and *social taboos* in love relationships as well as *conversion*, *initiative*, and *wantonness* in sexual discourse. The result of this study shows that the primary meanings to *Yaoi* readers are: to practice the doubts from the established gender conventions; to enjoy the freedom from breaking free of gender constraints through those stories without any gender differences; to gain joy and satisfaction by crossing the standard gender norms through fictional homosexual love stories. Limitations and suggestions for future research are discussed as well.

Boy's Love (BL) is one kind of male homosexual romantic love story, usually written and read by women, that exists in the form of comics and novels in Taiwan. These kinds of stories originated from the non-professional creation and adaptation of parody works in the 1970s in Japan. These adapted works were privately published without the jurisdiction and supervision of publishing houses together with the adaptation of well-known works. Therefore, there was no need to spend time and effort laying out the plot before directly getting to the bold description of explicit sex. Due to the lack of plot and the significant meaning of stories, those creators considered their works as "no highlight, no story, no meaning" (*Yama nashi, Ochi nashi, Imi nashi*). In Japan, these kinds of comics or novels were called *Yaoi*. The integration of commercial publication and other privately published works, along with the creation and readings between female authors and readers is known in the broad sense of *Yaoi* (Mizoguchi, 2003).

Yaoi stories can be traced back to Taiwan since 1992, when the Copyright Law was amended, and comic books went from piracy to legitimacy. With the market booming, a large number of *Yaoi* were introduced to Taiwan via Japanese comics. Other than *Yaoi* comics from Japan, the privately published *Doujinshi* in Taiwan was also an important resource. After establishing a good readership, the number of readers of the original work from Japan or privately published *Doujinshi*, as well as parodied male homosexual love stories, grew steadily over time. The autograph signing session of Japanese *Yaoi* comic writer, Shungiku Nakamura, caused quite a sensation by the long queues of readers at the Comics Fair in 2006 (*United Daily News*, 2006, August 12). Another example: a *Yaoi* forum was held at the 2007 Taipei International Book Exhibition, and the degree of popularity of *Yaoi* in Taiwan could be witnessed by how many avid readers burst into the exhibition hall on that day (*United Daily News*, 2007, February 2).

Based on the above broad definition of Yaoi given by Mizoguchi (2003), the “Yaoi phenomenon” is composed of three elements: the Yaoi text, the female creators, and the female readers. The purpose of this study is to explore the meaning of Yaoi in Taiwan through interviews with female readers.

Review of Literature

Nagakubo (2005) pointed out two major aspects in Yaoi texts through the analysis of male homosexual love story texts: romantic love stories and erotic novels. These two aspects comprise homosexual love stories and they are both indispensable in analyzing Yaoi. Therefore, it should be an effective starting point in exploring the reasons for women reading homosexual comics and novels.

Romantic Love Stories

Analyzing romance in Yaoi, Nagakubo (2005) found that the love relationships in the stories are mostly one on one; they tend not to get intimate with people other than their own partners. Fujimoto J. (2007) pointed out this kind of one-on-one, focused, and everlasting love is considered the biggest common denominator in Yaoi. The text basically emphasizes the loyalty in love relationships with each other, which is similar to general romantic novels. Through the viewpoints of couples in a loving relationship, it describes the love stories between two homosexual males. One homosexual male is considered the active chase role (*Seme*) while the other is the passive receiver (*Uke*). Therefore, the story is in fact a transformation of heterosexual love stories (Nagakubo, 2005).

A question may first surface based on the fact that Yaoi stories are indeed the anamorphous of heterosexual love stories: Why is it that the general novels centered on love in recent years cannot satisfy all female readers' needs in love and sex? Why do some women give up reading general romantic novels but read Yaoi love stories instead? In J. Fujimoto's (2007) explanation, while women obtain the desire in pursuing “pure love” through media, they also understand that pure love cannot necessarily be found in the real world. They leave their own gender aside and choose fictional homosexual stories instead. Nagakubo's (2005) interpretation of this is that most general romantic novels stress mutual one-on-one love relationships between males and females and this kind of love relationship might be able to satisfy most females' expectations about love. However, for females who obtain doubts and negative attitudes towards females' characters and status in such love relationships, general romantic novels cannot satisfy their curiosity about love and sex. If the female leading characters in general romantic novels are replaced by males, the differences in genders will then disappear and the feeling of inequality will no longer exist, so some women find this kind of text more acceptable (Nagakubo, 2005). The elimination of inequality in gender differences in Yaoi will therefore completely remove gender barriers as gender-related or power-related love relationships are abolished. Hence, Y. Fujimoto (2007) considered Yaoi as a “gender blended” text. Ueno (1998) thinks the reason why adolescents love the good-looking youth in comics can be explained as the idealized self image by young girls. It can

also be described as the third gender beyond male and female, and the male characters in Yaoi can therefore be described as female roles in this context. Fujimoto (1998) examines Yaoi beyond gender perspectives. Taking Osamu Tezuka's *Princess Knight* as an example, the princess needs to be disguised as a man inheriting the throne and setting out on adventures. Hence, females can only eliminate discriminatory treatment towards them in society through gender adaptation. Through the male homosexual love stories adapted by Doujinshi, females can use their inside male characteristic as a substitute to experience love. In other words, females can experience the male status in relationships through Yaoi stories.

Secondly, Nakajima (1991) explores Yaoi's meaning through the social status of women, and explains that some females prefer reading Yaoi because they are considered the disadvantaged gender in the society. Females can enjoy "pure love" through the social taboo of homosexuality as a rebellion against the disadvantaged viewpoint of the female gender in a society. Moreover, due to the existence of sexual taboos, female readers feel, compared to the relatively simple heterosexual love stories, that those stories are more profound and deeper since their forbidden love is excluded and shunned by society (Mizuma, 2005).

Based on the above views, the meaning of Yaoi for the female readers should be discussed by focusing on three concepts: the gender reciprocity of relationship, the substitution in gender role, and the social taboos regarding homosexual relationships in Yaoi.

Erotic Discourse

From the erotic discourse aspect, some Yaoi texts are full of sexual violence. Nimiya (1995) thinks that female readers can be entertained by the sexual abuse plot in Yaoi. Women create a safe zone, and consequently, they can enjoy sexual exposition within Yaoi storylines but also forget that they could be the victims in the sexual violation plot (Nobi, 2007). Fujimoto (1998) explained that after breaking away from their female identities, they can ignore all their disadvantages in sex such as rupture of the hymen or pregnancy, in their enjoyment of the obscene sexual exposition in Yaoi. As a result, they can be free from being a disadvantaged gender in sexual relationships, but can enjoy the story plot as an observer; that is, they get to enjoy sexual exposition through "sex conversion" in those stories. Nagakubo (2005) explains Yaoi readers' desire as similar to the *Seme* role in homosexual love stories, in as much as they wish to express sexual initiative just as the male characters. In other words, females embedding themselves in males can actively reach out to males and pursue sex just as the *Seme* role in Yaoi text. Nakajima (1991) uses "arbitrariness" to interpret Yaoi: as there is no gender difference in homosexual love stories, females feel an unprecedented fresher and freer form of sexual exploration. To sum up, based on the different viewpoints above, the meaning of the Yaoi is that the female readers gain *convertibility*, *initiative*, and *wantonness* from the erotic discourse in Yaoi. Although the erotic discourses are full of homosexual sexual violence, they are different from the general ones targeted at male readers. Female readers can enjoy the stimulation from sexual exposition aspects without the fear of being victimized.

In Taiwan, little research on Yaoi has been conducted. Early research indicated that those who read homosexual comics are female-dominated (Chung, 1999; Hsiao, 2000). Yaoi comic

readers tend to be more accepting of the case of homosexuality. Although readers tend to be supportive of homosexuality, it does not indicate any homosexuality in the readers' sexual orientation (Hsiao, 2000). However, recent studies have shown the existence of male readers as well, and their sexual orientation is either homosexuality or bisexuality (Chang, 2006). Other than for entertainment purposes as the motivation for reading homosexual love stories (Chung, 1999), the study also found that the Yaoi phenomenon can display resistance under the patriarchal values (Chang, 2005), and access to imagine fair and equal love relationships (Chang, 2006). In this way, women hope to possess equal status with males in a relationship, which is how they imagine men in these relationships to be (Yang, 2006). Studies in Taiwan show that it is also to gain gender equality and confront compulsory heterosexuality. The research done on Yaoi in Taiwan has extended from sexual recognition to gender identity perspectives.

According to these reviews of literature on Yaoi both in Japan and Taiwan, it is considered appropriate to explore the meaning of Yaoi based on love relationships and erotic discourse from gender aspects. Therefore, in this study, the meaning of Yaoi in Taiwan will be examined by the following six concepts: *reciprocity*, *substitution*, and *social taboos* in love relationships, as well as *conversion*, *initiative*, and *wantonness* in sexual discourse.

Methods

Interviews were conducted in this study to explore the meaning of Yaoi. According to the literature review, six concepts: reciprocity, substitution, and social taboos in love relationships, as well as conversion, initiative, and wantonness in erotic discourse are considered the major reasons for Yaoi reading behavior. Therefore, this study will further discuss the six concepts as follows.

Love Relationships

1. Why do readers gain reciprocity in gender aspect from the stories and what does reciprocity in Yaoi mean to them?
2. Why do readers gain substitution in gender aspect from the stories and what does substitution in Yaoi mean to them?
3. Why do readers gain social taboos in gender aspect from the stories and what do social taboos in Yaoi mean to them?

Erotic Discourse

1. Why do readers gain conversion in gender aspect from the stories and what does conversion in Yaoi mean to them?
2. Why do readers gain initiative in gender aspect from the stories and what does initiative in Yaoi mean to them?
3. Why do readers gain wantonness in gender aspect from the stories and what does wantonness in Yaoi mean to them?

Usually, Yaoi readers do not have significant characteristics as they were mainly gathered through the high anonymity of internet media (Yang, 2006). Therefore, in this study, 17 female interviewees were found through internet comics and Boy's Love (BL) discussion forums. They consider themselves "Fujo" (Yaoi readers or creators are referred as "Fujoshi" in Japanese) and they have been reading Yaoi for more than five years. These interviews were conducted from December 2008 through January 2009. The age range of the interviewees is from 18 to 28 years old; the average age is 20 years old; the average age for the start of reading Yaoi stories is 11.8 years old, with an average of 8.2 years long reading duration. Table 1 is the information of the interviewees with their personal information indicated as A to Q in English in order to take their privacy into account. All interviews were conducted in Chinese and translated into English in this paper by the researcher.

Results

The Meaning of Love Relationships in Yaoi

First of all, concerning reciprocity in gender aspect, the following are the findings through the interviews with Yaoi readers. In general romantic love stories, female characters lack the quality of independence because of the typical female gender image. Consequently, the female leading character is cast as someone who needs the protection of the male leading character, which results in an inequality in gender power relations. Yaoi readers chose homosexual love stories instead of general love stories due to their doubts about this kind of gender configuration:

- A: In Yaoi, they support each other by actions, unlike girls' comics using words only.
- C: The difference between Yaoi and girls' comics is that the *Uke* in Yaoi have a say as well, unlike the heroine in girls' comics—they don't say much; their characters seem to be passive.

Judging by the answers from the interviews, from the concept of reciprocity in gender aspect, although the *Uke* (passive side in interaction) is considered the female character, the character is a male; he still can express his own opinions and take action to support the other despite the great similarities between general and Yaoi stories of love relationships.

- H: You see boys protect each other in Yaoi comics, which I prefer. Why do I have to be protected by men? How come the weaker part is always a girl? I disagree, I don't think so, either. If both genders are equally capable, they both can contribute. This way, it's more enjoyable to read as well.

Table 1.
The Information of the Interviewees

ID	Age	Job	Start reading age	History of Yaoi
A	22	College student	13	9 years
B	19	College student	9	10 years
C	18	College student	10	8 years
D	28	Office lady	13	15 years
E	18	College student	11	7 years
F	20	College student	13	7 years
G	19	College student	13	6 years
H	21	College student	13	8 years
I	18	College student	13	5 years
J	20	College student	8	12 years
K	20	College student	13	7 years
L	19	College student	11	8 years
M	20	College student	12	8 years
N	23	College student	13	10 years
O	18	College student	12	6 years
P	18	College student	13	5 years
Q	19	College student	11	8 years

Some readers—take case H for example—raise doubts about the setting of men being stronger and women being weaker in general love stories. They chose Yaoi instead. This way, there are no gender differences and the characters can interact with each other more mutually. It can be concluded that Yaoi readers want to gain the equality in gender by reading homosexual love stories in order to oppose the typical image of genders in general love stories.

Secondly, from the concept of substitution in gender aspect, Yaoi readers find it hard to imagine themselves as the female lead in general love stories because of males being stronger and females being weaker images. They therefore chose homosexual love stories instead:

D: What about Yaoi that attracts me most is that there are two male leading characters. I don't know why that I just can't stand those female leads in romance, they are really unrealistic compared to real life. I feel they are also more childish; it's seems like they chose to run into trouble; they indeed look for danger by themselves.

L: You find girls who are pretty idiotic going out with rich men or a dumb girl being surrounded by a group of hot guys in general romantic love stories, how is that possible? You know it will never happen in real life. Why would the lead man choose that girl in fact worse than me in the real world? I find it unfair once I bring myself into the storyline in order to understand the plot. That's why I prefer men being with other men in the stories; I find it more acceptable since they both are quite attractive and outstanding.

As in the examples of case D and L, Yaoi readers cannot stand female leads who are cast in disadvantaged roles in general love stories. What is more, the storyline is surreal and unrealistic. They feel those fictional homosexual love stories are more reasonable in comparison. They show their resistance of the "Pretty Woman" getting married and living happily ever after in general love stories by embracing homosexual love stories instead. Yaoi readers find it difficult to see themselves as the more disadvantaged female lead in "Pretty Woman"-marrying-the-prince relationships; instead, they can actually experience love through man and man relationships. Hence, those readers get to experience more realistic love by fictional stories through the substitution of genders and the resistance of men being strong but females being weak.

Finally, from the concept of social taboos in gender aspect, this study discovered the social taboos are the primary element for Yaoi readers to deeply experience the feeling of love.

E: I find Yaoi makes a stronger impression for readers. When you read stories still being considered social taboos, you feel deeper, like it goes right to the deep end of your heart despite the society being more open to it nowadays.

F: It's considered a kind of happiness by seeing two characters I like being together. I guess it's also kind of self-torture sensation by the twists and turns aroused by forbidden love.

Q: It's quite good to be able to regain the motivation in life from the stories or the courage to be moved. It can also be treated as the outlet for daily lives. It's like you are tearful because you are moved after reading or you feel you deserve a better lifestyle. The stories warm me up, I am envious of them full of love, courage, and determination most of the time.

As shown by the examples from case E, F, and Q, Yaoi readers feel bitter and sweet in the forbidden love in Yaoi stories. Homosexual relationships are not allowed in both Japanese and Taiwanese societies, therefore, they need to be strong despite all the obstacles from the social morality and the judgments from others. Yaoi readers experience the self-tortured sensation through those stories. Especially in Q's case, this kind of self-tortured sensation is not only an outlet from emotions, but it is also the courage and motivation for life by the male leads attitude towards their love.

C: I think that homosexuals are also just human beings; it also influences my views on homosexuals by reading Yaoi. I know it does not equal homosexual relationships, but I find it more acceptable for me to see man and man in a relationship just like I've had a vaccination by having read Yaoi comics.

Just like C, most interviewees find that they can accept homosexual relationships and even the more controversial aspects like legalizing same-sex marriage or adopting children by same-sex couples.

M: I think it's because I read Yaoi comics, I find it more acceptable for homosexual marriage and gay couples adopting children. The society does not accept their existence. They are forced to accept public traditions. At times I feel it's hard for them to find their better half and survive in the communities.

Just as case M reveals, Yaoi readers find happiness by resisting the standard values in heterosexuality from social taboos in homosexual love stories.

The Meaning of the Erotic Discourse in Yaoi

First of all, from the perspective of gender conversion, violent content is often found in homosexual love stories, and female readers tend to enjoy the violent storyline from an outsider's viewpoint. This way, they are entertained by the forbidden kind of love and social taboos. This kind of satisfaction can be hard to explain in actual words.

I: General sexual description can be boring, it's nothing special really. The sexual description in Yaoi tends to be like taboos, ruder, in a way. I can't quite explain, it's like the struggle between two males can be more violent while the struggles never last long in girl's comics, so they're less interesting to read.

Perhaps due to the differences in genders between Yaoi readers and homosexual love story characters, those female readers cannot truly relate to the homosexual characters, and they might, as a result, feel more excited by the storyline relying purely on their own imagination when it comes to reading the conversion aspect in homosexual love stories.

N: I prefer Yaoi's sexual description better than that between men and women. It's because I can relate myself to the sexual relationships in girl's manga since I am a girl myself. But I feel so much more excited by the description between two guys, since I am not a boy and I can let my imagination go wilder.

L: You get the sense of caring for each other in Yaoi, compared to adult films, where the only focus is to have sexual intercourse. While you still see some forceful behavior in Yaoi, gay guys show more concern by consulting each other's well being, et cetera. The sex scenes in general romance to me are pretty boring since they only occur when the feeling is mutual. Although you get to see some forceful behavior in adult films, but there are no story plots whatsoever.

Judging by the responses from readers' feedback, we gather, from the conversion in gender aspect, that readers get to enjoy the storyline better by having the gap in gender differences. Although they cannot quite explain why they enjoy the sexual violence in the plot, they find it more acceptable that there is caring and considerate behavior in the couples along with the violent sexual interaction.

B: I think that violence is built on the basis of love in Yaoi, so that's okay. If not, it will definitely offend me.

O: There is more focus on conquering each other in Yaoi relationships; not just physical description, unlike girl's comics, where it's centered around females' physical description and men tempting women.

In Yaoi stories, women are no longer viewed as being the provocative gender; men become the object of observation, being watched by the female readers, and that's how they get to enjoy the sexual description in the stories more.

Secondly, through literature, females can experience the sexual experience as the initiative role. As previously discussed, by not being in the passive role of being watched and tempted by males, they gain the status of someone who can take the initiative of observing male bodies in Yaoi:

A: The drawing styles for characters in girl's comics are more like child body lines, and they don't really look that attractive; the drawing lines of male and female characters are fairly thin and slim. On the contrary, Yaoi authors will actually watch gay pornography to do research, or go to gay clubs to understand their life styles. That's why they do a good job on drawing gay bodies. They draw more muscular and more truthful body lines. I can actually watch men's figures in Yaoi more than in girl's comics.

D: Yaoi sex scenes are very realistic, to the degree of adult comics. However, the big-breasted girls are way exaggerated in both adult comics and girls' romantic

comics. I think the emphasis is too much on sex, and the girls were very seriously materialized.

L: Some girls wouldn't dare to watch adult films; they seek Yaoi as an alternative. I think adult films are mainly for guy viewers. You always see very girly and cute girls there and guys watching them by wearing goggles, isn't that the case? Girls find adult films disgusting; those films are for guys to do a hand job, but what's there for females? It's taken for granted for guys to watch films, people might think it's sick and disgusting for girls to watch them, too.

Thus, according to case A, the sexual exploration aspect in homosexual love stories is seen in Yaoi. In addition to obtaining the position of observing male bodies in a tasteful manner, based on the feedback from case D and L, females do not seem themselves in those love stories and also avoid the chance of being materialized. Rather, they can satisfy their curiosity in sex through fictional homosexual love stories.

Finally, through interviews, it is understood that there are no gender differences in homosexual love stories. Unlike general romances, there is no need to reach another level of social class through marriage.

E: I like the younger ones taking the *Seme* side. In addition to breaking the taboo in gender barriers, the age difference is also less encountered. There is another layer of obstacles to break through when the *Seme* side is younger; I find it even more satisfying to read.

Judging by case E's answer, the *Seme* (active side in interaction) can be fixed as a younger role, which is a very different fix compared to general romances. While this kind of "set-up" (the younger character as the *Seme* side) can be hard to be accepted in general romances, readers tend to appreciate the variety of matching pairs in Yaoi literature.

F: Let's put it as adult talk. For sexual intercourse, that means a guy inserting his thing there; it feels dirty just thinking about it. Though there is sexual intercourse in Yaoi, it does not look as dirty if it's presented as aesthetic and dreamy. I've seen Yaoi films; I honestly can't stand them since those actors can't be portrayed as dreamy as those in Yaoi comics. After all, those characters in Yaoi comics are fully imaginary; it's because they happened to fall in love with guys, not that they were born to be homosexual.

Based on the feedback from case F, there is a complete separation from reality since Yaoi stories are fictional. Through aesthetic and dreamy sexual description, homosexual love stories can meet women's desires more closely.

Discussion

From the perspective of female gender, this study intended to explore the meaning of Yaoi for female readers' in Taiwan. Through literature, this study focuses on six central concepts: reciprocity, substitution, and social taboos in love relationships, as well as conversion, initiative, and wantonness in sexual discourse. They are the fundamental aspects of the interview questions and data analysis. Across 17 interviewees, the meaning to Yaoi readers is considered to be resistance to "men are strong and women are weak" general love stories; rather, they prefer the reciprocity in genders of Yaoi stories. Yaoi allows female readers to experience a more truthful romance in a fictional story by substitution. Moreover, the social taboos provide readers the happiness to rebel against the standard values of heterosexuality.

From erotic discourse of Yaoi stories, conversion means female readers are not the gender being observed and watched passively. Initiative avoids female readers being sexually objectified. Wantonness allows them to get beyond the framework of genders; readers will be able to enjoy a wide variety of untraditional relationship pairings.

It can be interpreted, based on the research findings, that both genders do not share the equality of social participation probably because the labor force participation and average salary rate of Taiwanese women are still lower than men. Under the circumstances, women reach "socially upward mobility" through marriage. As a result, in romance stories, male characters are stronger and more powerful in social status or power relations than female characters. Therefore, there is inevitably a deprivation of self-independence for female characters in romantic stories (Lin, 2006). In addition, the pro-active behavior in females cannot be tolerated in general love stories. This kind of background setting may satisfy most females, but not Yaoi readers. They raise doubts about such gender stereotypes. That is why homosexual love stories are created in order to satisfy their dreams in love relationships and sexual curiosity.

Most Yaoi readers are junior-high or high school girls. This age group coincides with self gender identity. This is also the age full of fantasy of love and curiosity in sexuality. According to the views from Nakamura (2009), for teenage girls, becoming adult females means that their behavior must comply with heterosexual norms. However, this inevitably means becoming sex objects and facing the fear and danger of sexual violation by males in heterosexual norms. With the emergence of homosexual love stories, adolescent girls gain the access to satisfy their curiosity about sex yet feel secure in the homosexual love story contents.

In addition, most pornography or adult videos are produced from male angles in Taiwan, and females are mostly observed and watched objects in those videos. There is a serious problem of commercial products objectifying females in this setting. Therefore, those sexual novels suitable for male readers are not necessarily suitable for female readers. Although in recent years, with the attention of romantic novels becoming more obscene in Taiwan, the context of male pornographic novels, such as males sexually violating females, can still be found in female romantic stories. It is suggested that some romantic stories are based on the sexual angle of pornographic novels or adult videos. However, it is also difficult to conclude

whether sexual discourse in romantic novels truly reflects upon female sexuality or is simply a copy of female social status derogated by a patriarchal-focused society.

Conclusion

From the results of the conducted interviews, the primary meanings to readers from Yaoi are: (a) to practice the doubts from the established gender conventions, (b) to enjoy the freedom of breaking free from gender constraints through those stories without any gender differences, and (c) to gain joy and satisfaction by crossing the standard gender norms through fictional homosexual love stories.

Basically, Yaoi culture is composed of female “behavior in creation,” “behavior in reading,” and “Yaoi text” (Mizoguchi, 2003, p. 29). This research solely focuses on readers’ perspectives to study Yaoi from a gender angle. It is not considered a thorough Yaoi research based on the angle of gender alone. Gender can be a fundamental approach in studying Yaoi. However, Yaoi is not a concrete concept; instead, it is a rather abstract concept, forming and reflecting societal values. Yaoi reveals the relations among social classes through cultural struggle and social domination. As a result, social context should be included when it comes to Yaoi interpretation in “creation,” “text,” and “reading” aspects. The findings of this research show that Yaoi female readers gain the freedom through breaking the stereotypes in gender differences and loosening the frame of gender norms. In order to further examine Taiwan Yaoi culture, it is necessary to study the context of gender order in Taiwan and explore how the Yaoi trend has been constructed socially and historically. It is hoped that more research will be conducted in the near future.

Note

The interview data were previously used for two articles in Japanese.

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