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Staging Social Intimacy by Hand Angel: A Crip-Queer Infrastructure of Support in Taiwan

ABSTRACT

The crip-queer body in East Asia, in this case Taiwan, has long been scripted by Confucian moral frameworks in which sexual desires are often rendered invisible and subordinated to the mandates of heteronormative reproduction. Founded in 2013, Hand Angel (手天使) is a Taiwanese non-profit organization that intervenes in this ableist cultural script by providing pro-bono, voluntary sex assistance to disabled people regardless of their sexual orientation. Grounded in the core value that sex is a human right, Hand Angel helps disabled individuals destigmatize sexual desire and co-creates a three-part infrastructure of support. Through the lens of performance art, global disability studies, and disability justice, I analyze the three-part (pre-session, assistance, post-session) sex assistance as a form of performative act where disabled intimate narratives and experiences are not only made visible but also structurally supported. I argue that Hand Angel constructs an infrastructure of support which helps us reimagine intimacy beyond sex itself and rehearses a kind of social intimacy based on crip-queer desires, embodiment, and lived experiences. Structurally, I first contextualize Hand Angel within the local cultural context in Taiwan. Secondly, I explain the three-part infrastructure of support. I focus especially on how intimacy is made social in the pre-session consultation and post-session reflection. Lastly, I examine two different case studies: one, I argue, represents a performance of refusal asserting the right to non-participation, the other re-scripts desire through access intimacy. Ultimately, these narratives demonstrate how the infrastructure sustains distinctive sexual desires and transforms intimacy into a curated social practice.

Keywords: crip-queer, Taiwan, voluntary sex assistance, staging intimacy, performance art, Hand Angel.

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HAND ANGEL IN TAIWAN

Founded in 2013, Hand Angel was created by a group of gay men in Taiwan, initially providing sexual assistance to gay men with severe disabilities. The non-profit organization soon expanded its scope recognizing the broader societal neglect of sexual rights for all disabled people. Since introducing female volunteers in 2015 and expanding sex assistance to disabled women the following year, Hand Angel further broadened its services in 2023 by assisting its first transgender woman ("Response"). As a direct translation of its Chinese name 手天使, the first character, 手 (Hand), reflects the practical, physical nature of the assistance, wherein volunteers provide manual, predominantly non-penetrative sexual stimulation to disabled applicants. The second character, 天使 (Angel), captures the affective dimension and emotional impact of the assistance ("The History of Hand Angel") to help disabled people destigmatize sexual desires.

Regarding the eligibility for such sex accessibility, disabled individuals of all genders who have a government-issued certificate of severe physical disabilities or visual impairment can apply for the sex assistance up to three times in their lifetime.[1] As of April 2023, the organization has provided fifty sessions: one for a transgender individual, four for bisexual individuals, nine for homosexual individuals, and thirty-six for heterosexual individuals. Among all the applicants, six per cent were female, and ninety-four per cent were male ("About Hand Angel"). The waiting list reflects a heteronormative bias, as applicants requesting a female volunteer face a wait time of over two years due to high demand, whereas female applicants or those open to a male volunteer are processed much faster. In contrast to the applicants, most of Hand Angel's volunteers identify as LGBTQA+ friendly. The organization consists of approximately thirty volunteers from a wide range of professions, including sex workers, social workers, long-term care professionals, office workers, university professors, parents, and students. In addition to providing sexual assistance through Hand Angel, volunteers are committed to public advocacy, hosting barrier-free events, developing inclusive sex and gender education courses, and promoting the integration of sexual care into long-term support systems ("Response").

Hand Angel's operational model functions as a distinct sociocultural adaptation that both engages with and diverges from global predecessors in sex accessibility. The organization explicitly situates its development within a lineage of international practice, referencing Japan's White Hands (Shiroi Te), which provides specialized sexual services for disabled men, and the Netherlands' Stichting Alternatieve Relatiebemiddeling (SAR), which

[1] The interval between each assistance is determined by the applicant.

offers state-subsidized programs that recognize intimacy as a fundamental component of well-being ("The History of Hand Angel"). However, Hand Angel differentiates itself in two ways. First, unlike the gender-restricted scope of White Hands, Hand Angel's mission is expansively inclusive of all genders and sexual orientations. Second, while European models in countries such as the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Denmark often operate through state-sanctioned or subsidized frameworks, Hand Angel remains a pro-bono, grassroots initiative. By rejecting the commercial and state-funded structures of its precedents, Hand Angel pivots the practice of sex assistance to a community initiative rooted in crip-queer community in Taiwan.

Culturally, Hand Angel's uniqueness is embedded in the values placed on disabled bodies dictated by Confucianism. Unlike most of the Anglo-North American disability models deriving from ontological individualism, the conceptualization of the body in East Asia is best understood through a familial lens. An individual body does not come with inherent autonomy and rights-bearing agency because it is not an individual possession but an embodied link in a familial, generational chain. Central to this is the concept of "Xiao" (孝, filial piety), which presumes that the body—including every hair and patch of skin—is a sacred gift from one's parents that must not be damaged. Scholars have illustrated how a disabled body is seen as a failure to preserve the integrity of the ancestral gift, and thus perceived as a disruption of familial inheritance (Kan; Tsay 15; Stone 78–79). On a social level, an individual's role within the state is often determined by his ancestral status, which includes prescribed responsibilities that ensure the continuity of the bureaucracy beyond the tenure of any single official. Within this framework, a disabled body is perceived as incapable of upholding the familial legacy or contributing to the state in the roles dictated by its lineage.

Sex and sexual desires are strictly regulated within the formation of family and subordinated to reproduction, as this is the primary way to fulfill filial duty and preserve the familial order under Confucianism. In a comparative study of adolescents and young adults' sexual values across East Asia, scholars find that sexual values informed by Confucianism in Taipei, Taiwan, lead to lower engagement in premarital sexual behavior (Gao et al. S12–17). Because sexuality is primarily understood through a heteronormative framework oriented toward reproduction, sexual activity occurring outside of a marital contract and serving no reproductive purpose is often regarded as unethical, and the expression of such desire is frequently cast as morally corrupt. Even more, Chou Yueh-Ching and her colleagues show that such cultural constraints are further magnified within the disability community. Their study shows that both men and women with intellectual disabilities have very limited opportunities to develop romantic relationships and sexual identity, with women especially internalizing negative views toward non-reproductive

sexuality (Chou et el. 663–78, 1125–136). Together, these studies underscore how sexual stigma, shadowed by Confucian moral frameworks, continues to shape attitudes towards sexual desires and behaviors in Taiwan.

In response to Confucianism, Hand Angel reclaims the disabled body as a site of autonomous sensory pleasure, questioning ableist heteronormativity through three interventions. First, the organization utilizes the Western farmwork "sex as a human right" to decouple sexual desire from the traditional mandates of reproduction. By organizing public demonstrations in 2018, 2019, and 2024 under the banner "Disabled People Need Sex" (殘障者需要性), Hand Angel transformed private desire into a public political claim, forcing a confrontation with the pervasive social stigma surrounding disabled bodies ("Response"). While the organization acknowledges the complex debates regarding whether sex constitutes a "basic need" ("Q&A"), it strategically prioritizes the immediate, lived realities of those for whom sexual access is a precursor to bodily agency.

Second, Hand Angel aligns its mission with broader Taiwanese LGBTQ+ discourses to further destabilize the Confucian emphasis on gender duality and patriarchal lineage. For example, in 2014 Taiwan LGBT+ Pride Parade, queer participants used slogan such as "Filial Piety Cannot Produce Heirs" (孝道不能生小孩) to satirize the pro-fertility expectations of Confucian masculinity (Chen Li-Chi 44). In 2025, Hand Angel launched the "Women's Masturbation Discussion Group" (Shuangshuang Sisterhood/爽爽姐妹會), offering a public space for female disabled applicants to share their sexual fantasies and masturbation practices ("Shuanghuang Sisterhood"). Sexual desire is, in this sense, recognized not as a tool for biological reproduction, but a discursive site of individual pleasure and a form of community-building.

Lastly, Hand Angel continues to contest the rigid gender norms in conventional sexual practices by extending its sex assistance to bisexual and/or transgender people. Crip-queer people, historically, have faced compounded stigma that often renders their sexual desires invisible because their distinctive understanding and practice of intimacy do not align with normative sexual expectations. By creating a social space where distinctive desires and narratives are heard, Hand Angel offers a form of social support for the crip-queer community.

INTIMACY MADE SOCIAL

Hand Angel's public presence is rooted in a culture of self-advocacy where disabled participants and volunteers take ownership of their own narratives. The online archive consists of testimonies from disabled participants and

sex volunteers ("Testimonies").[2] Scholars such as Chen Bo-Wei and Zhou Yueqing have curated eleven narratives of disabled participants from the testimonies under the title "Reclaiming Sex Right: Let Sex Empower the Disabled," which offers the first comprehensive overview of the stories of Hand Angel's crip-queer community ("Special Issue"). More recently, in 2025, the book *Ten Years Ago, Our Disabled Love Stories* by Yinghua Yi offers a different perspective, as Yi, a sex volunteer at Hand Angel, reflects on her experiences interacting with disabled participants and discusses how sex accessibility contributes to reclaiming the sex rights of disabled people in Taiwan.

Beyond self-narratives, researchers like Carmen Yau utilize thematic content analysis to transform raw testimonies into a structured framework for "intimate citizenship" ("Sexual Liberation"). Yau defines intimate citizenship as the intersection of private desire and public rights, arguing that for disabled people, the ability to access and navigate sexual experiences is a fundamental component of social inclusion and civic agency. She introduces a five-step framework to structure sex assistance: 1) application process; 2) pre-interviews with disabled liaison volunteers; 3) preparation for sex assistance; 4) provision of the assistance; and 5) post-session reflection. With this framework, Yau is able to provide suggestions and actionable items for social work with disabled people to reconstruct "the sexual identity of disabled people" in order to advocate for "intimate citizenship" (157).

My analysis of Hand Angel draws on Yau's five-step model. But I focus here only on the three distinct phases—pre-session, sex assistance, and post-session—of the sexual assistance to illuminate the shifting boundaries between the *social* and the *intimate*. I explain how the administrative preparation in the pre-session and collective reflection in the post-session, together, make space for intimate crip-queer desires and narratives in public. This tripartite structure shows that "intimate citizenship" Yau defines is facilitated through what I term "social intimacy," where the sexual act is not an isolated event but a curated and reflective process in which social labor and radical vulnerability converge to produce a unique form of relational belonging.

The practice of social intimacy is situated at the intersection of three historical and theoretical movements across performance art and disability activism: the body and performance art of the 1960s and 1970s, the "social turn" in the arts and humanities during the 1990s, and the contemporary framework of disability justice. These moments chart a progressive shift away from the myth of individual bodily autonomy and toward political actions of collective interdependency.

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[2] The archive is organized chronologically from February 2014 to the present.

Firstly, the practice of social intimacy draws on a deep lineage of artists and scholars who brought the private experience of the body into the public sphere. The 1960s and 70s saw a pivotal shift in body art and performance art where the artist's body became a site of socially engaged, often uncomfortable, intimacy. For instance, in *Cut Piece* (1964), Japanese artist Yoko Ono kneeled in the traditional *seiza* posture, motionless, on the stage of Carnegie Hall, New York City. She placed a pair of scissors at the edge of the stage, inviting audience members to ascend the platform and cut away her garments piece by piece. By rendering her body to the public, Ono transformed her vulnerability into a highly charged public indictment, exposing the voyeurism and gender violence embedded in the Western consumption of an East Asian female body. This public exposure of a private body is further exemplified by Taiwanese artist Tehching Hsieh's *One Year Performance* 1981–1982 (also known as *Outdoor Piece*). In this work, Hsieh lived outside for a full year without entering any interior space, including performing private acts of bodily maintenance in the streets of New York City. In doing so, Hsieh demonstrated that for bodies denied access to private infrastructure, the most basic biological necessities become a site of constant, fraught negotiation with the social.

Secondly, the practice of social intimacy found resonances in the "social turn" within the humanities and the arts in the 1990s, specifically through what Shannon Jackson terms "performing support." By this, Jackson means that a performance is made possible not only through the living body of the actor but also through a "series of supporting relations" (14) such as the material, structural, and legal support that enable a body to exist and perform in public. This shift—moving from the individual body to the invisible infrastructures—is vital for understanding Hand Angel's framework of social intimacy. In the pre-session and post-session of the sex assistance, Hand Angel provides the administrative and reflective mediation for individual desire to be recognized, enacted, and thus socially produced.

Lastly, disability justice radicalizes this trajectory by translating art-historical critiques of body autonomy and the lack of social support into a political stance. Articulated by the collective Sins Invalid, intimacy is understood not as a private interaction but a communal practice ("10 Principles"). Their model challenges the neoliberal, individualistic notion of the autonomous self and shows that interdependence is the bedrock of genuine connection. Similarly, disability activist Alice Wong sees intimacy as a generative quality for new social relationships. For example, her *Disability Visibility Project* creates a public sphere for marginalized disabled stories. By centering first-person narratives, she demonstrates how the act of sharing one's intimate embodied experience is a social and political act that builds collective access and forges a shared disability identity.

Hand Angel operationalizes this disability justice praxis, translating the politics of collective access into a concrete, three-part infrastructure that transcends the physical act of sex to cultivate a public space for rehearsing interpersonal relationships, which ultimately contribute to a form of social intimacy grounded in crip-queer desires, embodiment, and lived knowledge.

The first step, the pre-session consultation, functions as a long, in-depth dramaturgical process. Through ten-week self-evaluations and in-depth interviews, disabled applicants embark on a self-discovery journey, translating often-isolated sexual desires and past—frequently negative—experiences into a potential exploration for intimacy. The organization uses a "person-first" approach to understand the lived realities of disabled people. In the application form, disabled applicants are asked to specify their sex assigned at birth (女性/female, 男性/male, 其他/others) and sexual orientation (同性/homosexual, 異性/heterosexual, 雙性/ bisexual, 其他/others), followed by identifying the desired sex of the volunteer (女性/female, 男性/male, 其他/others) ("Application Form").[3] The choice of "others" for each category is significant because it creates a non-prescriptive invitation to contemplate sex and gender without the pressure to conform to fixed labels at this initial stage.

After the ten-week self-evaluations and interviews, a disabled applicant is paired with a designated volunteer for consultations. These consultations create a dedicated space for participants to openly discuss their past sexual experiences, including concerns and struggles, as well as expectations for the sex assistance. The process is mutually formative: as applicants articulate their needs and desires, Hand Angel also assesses how best to respond, determining the most suitable volunteer match, and managing complex logistics, such as scheduling, location, and the necessary assistance for the applicant to reach the designated site. Over months, a flexible script is co-created based on the applicant's past sex experiences and visions for ideal sexual scenarios. This is not a rigid script but a flexible performance score, open to change and improvisation. The pre-session self-evaluations and interviews are foundational for building the trust necessary for any meaningful intimate relationships later on. In other words, the pre-session consultations and interviews socialize intimacy by transforming it from a private fantasy into mutual conversations and collaborations.

[3] If an applicant is unable to complete the form independently due to their disability or other reasons, they can enlist a helper to assist them. In such cases, Hand Angel requests information about the helper, including their relationship to the applicant and their contact details. When it comes to the pre-session communication, Hand Angel will contact both the disabled individuals and their helpers.

The second step, the sex assistance, is usually a 90-to-120-minute staged encounter centered on the sexual desires and access needs of the disabled individuals. On the day of the session, a team of four to ten Hand Angel volunteers collaborates to ensure a smooth and safe process. Volunteers usually include an interviewer, a few liaisons who manage the logistics, and a sex volunteer who focuses mainly on providing/performing the sex assistance. The location of the assistance is determined by the applicant's circumstances: it may be their own home if their family or caregivers are supportive, or an accessible hotel room. If the assistance is held at a hotel, the liaison finds an accessible path to the room and provides physical assistance as needed. They may also assist in purchasing items like sex toys or outfits that the applicant cannot easily acquire independently. The space is carefully prepared with aromatic oils, clean towels, and the applicant's preferred music or videos. Once the environment is prepared, the interviewer, who has been in contact with the applicant for months during pre-session consultations, conducts a final check-in to ensure the applicant is ready. The sex assistance itself is highly personalized. Sexual interactions—undressing, caressing, massaging, hugging, kissing, touching, oral sex—are guided by the communication between the disabled applicant and the sex volunteer. The specific acts are less important than the process of communication and negotiation during the sex assistance. As the later examples—Neo and Xiao Xue—will demonstrate, a successful one-on-one performance can be an affirming, exploratory experience just as meaningfully as an empowered act of refusal.

Finally, the post-session reflection serves as a space for processing, analyzing, and archiving the experience. If the pre-session socializes the production of intimacy, the post-session reflection is the mechanism through which Hand Angel transforms the one-on-one, intimate experiences into a public archive. Typically, reflections are gathered from three to four sources: the disabled applicant, the sex volunteer, the volunteer(s) who conduct pre-session interviews, and the liaison. This multi-perspective narrative is crucial, as it offers a more comprehensive picture of the assistance, moving beyond the physical act to illuminate the nuanced decision-making and planning process.

In this tripartite support system, the pre- and post-session phases are particularly important because they unveil how crip-queer intimacy becomes social. By social, I mean that, first, the entire process is a collaborative effort, sustained by a team of interviewers, liaisons, and sex volunteers who make intimacy a distributed, communal achievement. Second, by consenting to make their reflections public, disabled applicants contribute to a shared repository of knowledge on crip-queer intimacy. Together, by staging intimacy through this tripartite infrastructure of support, the one-time sex assistance becomes a dedicated space where disabled

individuals navigate interpersonal communications and interactions. The confidence and social skills cultivated through the interactions, for instance, the ability to articulate a need, to set a boundary, and to negotiate an interaction, are essential skills that participants can carry into their everyday lives, empowering them to build and sustain intimate relationships long after the one-on-one performance concludes.

SOCIAL INTIMACY WORKS

To further explain how such social intimacy works in practice, I introduce the experiences of two disabled participants: Neo, a disabled heterosexual man, and Xiao Xue, a blind transgender woman. I conducted a close reading of Neo and Xiao Xue's testimonies to investigate their distinctive understandings of intimacy and how it is produced socially. I also draw on the reflections of Naiji, their sex volunteer, to better understand Neo and Xiao Xue's decision-making process.

The reason for choosing Neo and Xiao Xue's experiences is twofold. First, both cases successfully fail the ableist, heteronormative expectation of a sexual encounter. In conventional terms, a sex encounter is deemed successful only if it results in specific physical markers; however, in the cases of Neo and Xiao Xue, no conventional sex occurred. Neo chose to end his session midway because the sex volunteer, Naiji, did not align with his preferences. Xiao Xue requested hair-washing rather than conventional sexual acts. She re-scripted the performance of sex to facilitate a form of access intimacy that honored her unique sensory processing and transgender embodiment. Second, the cases of Neo and Xiao Xue illuminate the tension within social intimacy by demonstrating that agency is relational and co-constituted. By this I mean their choices required a direct, embodied response from the sex volunteer, Naiji. In terms of infrastructure, for such refusal or alternative choice to be executed, an entire volunteer team also needed to recalibrate in order to provide the necessary physical and psychological environment in the pre-, post- and sex assistance phases.

1. Neo: The Right to Not Participate

Neo, a person with a spinal cord injury who has lost sensory and motor function below the neck, shows how social intimacy functions as the right to non-participation in sex assistance. In his reflection, "The Long Wait," Neo notes that, as a disabled heterosexual man, he has struggled to identify and articulate his sexual desires. The pre-session interviews helped him find a language to articulate the nebulous longings he had previously felt, which were too confusing or shameful to acknowledge ("The Long Wait"). For

the sex assistance, Neo had envisioned a volunteer who was "skinny [with] long hair"—an image that aligned with mainstream, heteronormative beauty standards.

However, this soft-focus expectation was immediately disrupted by the physical presence of Naiji. Naiji chose to present her "Eternal Immortal" gothic aesthetic, appearing in sharp stiletto heels, metal studs, and a self-designed outfit that exuded a dark, assertive autonomy. As Naiji notes in her own reflective text ("Stop the Mission"), this decision to wear armor-like, avant-garde attire was a deliberate act of authentic self-presentation. By refusing to mold herself into Neo's pre-conceived ideal, she transformed the room from a site of predictable service into a space of unpredictability and negotiation.

Neo decided to terminate the session prematurely due to this aesthetic misalignment between his preference and Naiji's self-presentation. In his reflection, "The Long Wait," Neo unmasks the complex vulnerability of this pivot. After enduring the long wait, the immediate instinct could have been one of grateful compliance. However, the vocabulary of desire he had uncovered in his pre-session interviews was not a passive fantasy to be accommodated, but a boundary to be defended. When Neo decided to terminate the session, the volunteer team had a complex yet celebratory reaction. "I felt both guilty and excited," the liaison (Vincent) confessed, "I felt guilty because the sex volunteer bore the psychological pressure, but I was excited because a disabled person had exercised their veto power" ("Thank you for Pausing"). While the labor required to facilitate a single encounter spans years of coordination as the process was halted by the global COVID pandemic, Neo's refusal demonstrated that he was not just a passive recipient of care but an active agent capable of navigating the complex interpersonal dynamics. Naiji, who navigated her own history of isolation due to bipolar disorder and schizophrenia, felt "relief and pride" in Neo's refusal ("Stop the Mission"). His honesty validated her labor in a way a completed sexual act never could; it proved she had successfully performed her role as a facilitator of sex assistance rather than a mere object of desire.

By centering on Neo's right to refuse, Hand Angel was able to question the ableist script of the grateful disabled recipient and to replace it with the self-determining disabled individual. In this light, intimacy is not found in the sexual climax, but in the negotiated trust that allows two strangers to exist in a state of radical honesty. The infrastructure supports the vulnerability of autonomy, suggesting that a socially supported "failure" is more liberatory than a physically "successful" encounter that lacks agency. Social intimacy, in this case, is transformed from a private, result-oriented act into a socially supported rehearsal of autonomy, where the "success" of the encounter lies in the participant's reclaimed agency in saying "no."

2. Xiao Xue: An Affirmative Space for Access Intimacy

As a blind transgender woman, Xiao Xue's experience expands the infrastructure of support by moving beyond the right of refusal toward the cultivation of a complex, affirmative sexual experience grounded in access intimacy. Coined by Mia Mingus and championed by Alice Wong, access intimacy is the "elusive, hard-to-describe feeling when someone else 'gets' your access needs" (Mingus). I understand that access intimacy—the sensory shorthand of being understood without words—is the mechanical prerequisite for social intimacy. Xiao Xue's case demonstrates how the three-step infrastructure transforms non-normative sexual desire into a tangible, affirming, and liberatory reality.

Before applying to Hand Angel, Xiao Xue had been in intimate relationships. Her past experiences of providing unilateral pleasure to a girlfriend made her curious about the sensations of receiving pleasure herself. This desire was left unfulfilled when her girlfriend declined to reciprocate, resulting in what Xiao Xue calls a "faint sense of loss" ("Xiao Xue's First Experience"). Different from Neo's confusion and frustration, Xiao Xue understood her sexual desire as a form of experiential exploration. She sought a "princess-like" experience where she would be cared for, served, and respected. The sex volunteer, Naiji, was therefore dedicated to translating this abstract "princess-like feeling" into a tangible, caring encounter.

The sex assistance began with a months-long process of questionnaires and interviews, which created a space for Xiao Xue to further elaborate on the "princess-like" feeling. Hand Angel shifts the managerial role from the disabled people to the infrastructure of support. On the day of the session, this intimacy manifested immediately through the hotel's sensory environment. Upon arrival, Xiao Xue noticed a faint, elegant fragrance and discovered the room was furnished with an onsen-style bathtub and a bidet—details that aligned with her specific aesthetic and sensory preferences. These thoughtful touches allowed her to feel welcomed and understood without a single word of direction.

Regarding the sex assistance, for most of their time, Naiji focused on washing Xiao Xue's hair. It was only at the very end that their interaction progressed to other intimate actions. Xiao Xue described Naiji's touch as a sensory journey, moving from the feeling of a "smooth stone" to an "eagle's claw" and finally a "lover's hand" ("Xiao Xue's First Experience"). Instead of overtly sexual acts, the session was defined by the hair washing, an alternative sensory performance based on access intimacy. As Xiao Xue later reflected in "First Experience," the feeling of being understood and cherished created an affirmative space where her lived experiences and embodiment as a blind transgender woman were validated and celebrated.

The contrasting narratives of Neo and Xiao Xue serve as a powerful testament to the fact that Hand Angel's support infrastructure helps disabled individuals articulate their distinctive sexual desires, regardless of whether that agency manifests as an empowered "no" or an exploratory "yes." This flexibility is the infrastructure's core strength, allowing it to be tailored to the distinct needs of each individual. For Neo, the pre-session consultations provide a vocabulary to articulate desires long shrouded in confusion and shame. The infrastructure's validation occurred when it safeguarded his right to refuse. In contrast, Xiao Xue's experience demonstrates the infrastructure's capacity to translate abstract desire into a tangible, affirmative reality. The infrastructure responded through months of meticulous planning and creating a sensory environment that affirmed her access needs and sexual desires. The intimacy unfolded through the prolonged, caring act of Naiji washing her hair. By equally validating Neo's refusal and Xiao Xue's affirmation, these cases reveal that the infrastructure decenters the physical act of sex and recenters the disabled individual's right to choose their own path to social intimacy.

On a broader, social level, the transformations catalyzed by Hand Angel persist beyond the momentary encounter because they function as a rehearsal for social relationships. By *doing* intimacy in a safe, tripartite-structured way, participants like Neo and Xiao Xue practice the social skills of boundary-setting, desire-articulation, and self-advocacy. These rehearsed skills are what they carry back into their daily life as disabled social citizens and prepare them for future experiences. In addition, the public archive of Hand Angel makes these fleeting performances endure. Hand Angel's commitment to post-session archiving ensures that these crip-queer acts of world-making remain socially active. When a participant's *successful failure* or *alternative access intimacy* is transcribed and published, it is transformed from a private moment into a communal archive, allowing the ephemeral encounter of the past to provide illumination for future participants and the organization.

CONCLUSION

Hand Angel's performative infrastructure of support illustrates how intimacy is transformed from a private, one-on-one act into a relational, social practice. Through the lens of performance art, sex assistance is understood as a constitutive, tripartite social practice. Each phase—the pre-session dramaturgy, the performative act of sex assistance, and the post-session archiving—is a collaborative act of *doing* intimacy, where disabled participants generate new social skills and realities based on their unique

sensory needs, lived experiences, and disabled embodiment. This tripartite infrastructure is deeply informed by the principles of disability justice, which help us understand that intimacy is a collective responsibility and a generative quality that forges new social bonds. The significance of this support system is that it provides both a powerful counter-narrative to the Confucian ethics in Taiwan, which often places intimacy within an ableist heteronormative framework, and a tangible blueprint for crip-queer world-making. Looking forward, as Hand Angel's archive of testimonials continues to grow, it will serve as an invaluable resource for understanding the evolving knowledge of desire, gender, and disability within crip-queer communities in East Asia.

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