Shanghai Lalas

Female *Tongzhi* Communities and Politics in Urban China

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香港大學出版社
Hong Kong University Press

Hong Kong University Press
The University of Hong Kong
Pokfulam Road
Hong Kong
www.hkupress.org

ISBN 978-988-8139-45-3 *(Hardback)*
ISBN 978-988-8139-46-0 *(Paperback)*

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Cover photo: "Karaoke" by Shitou, 2006.

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Printed and bound by Goodrich Int'l Printing Co., Ltd. in Hong Kong, China

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Introduction: Reconnecting Selves and Communities

On 4 June 2005, I was invited to a private party at a karaoke lounge in downtown Shanghai. I was told it was a surprise proposal party between two women. I followed my new *lala*[1] friends to a splendidly decorated karaoke complex and entered one of the small rooms. More than ten women were already waiting inside. I saw candles and rose petals on the table. Without knowing who these women were or what was going to happen, I joined them in lighting up the candles and arranging them into two hearts, one big and one small. Rose petals were sprinkled around the candles and a bouquet of flowers was at the ready. Cameras were placed on standby. Not long after we finished decorating, the couple arrived. The one to be proposed to was stopped outside the door. The woman who was to propose entered the room. Lights switched off. We all stood in a circle around the candlelit hearts, expectant. Then the door was opened, and the woman knelt down and held out the bouquet to her lover. Her lover was totally caught by surprise. Everyone erupted into cheers of joy. This happened on the first day of my ethnographic research in Shanghai.

As an ignorant newcomer who had just learnt the term "*lala*", I did not expect to join such an intimate party with a group of *lala* women whom I had known for just a few hours. The two lovers in the party were both in heterosexual marriages. Looking back, this party directed me to a few themes that later became major areas of investigation in my research. These themes included the development of local *lala* communities, the institution of heterosexual family and marriage, the emerging *tongzhi* family and marriage, and *lala* women's everyday strategies in coping with family, marriage and society.

Begun in 2005, this ongoing research project is an ethnographic study of *lala* women in Shanghai and one of the first participatory investigations of emerging *tongzhi* politics and communities in China. It is being carried out at a time when individuals are being connected to form *tongzhi* communities, and when new identities are being created by previously stigmatized sexual subjects for self-empowerment. "*Lala*" has become a collective identity for women with same-sex desires and other non-normative gender and sexual identifications. "*Tongzhi*", as a term originated in communist China and re-invented in Hong

Kong, has returned to its place of origin as an entirely rejuvenated public identity for a community of people who had for decades been denied visibility in society. These newly invented public identities for non-normative sexualities and genders have created new selves and subjectivities. New understandings of self lead to new aspirations of life which also introduce challenges to the existing norms of the heterosexual institution. The formation of *tongzhi* communities in post-reform China (after 1979) has highlighted the discrepancy between a self-assertive *tongzhi* subjecthood and the denial and rejection many *tongzhi* encounter in their families. This has led me to consider the changing forms of challenges faced by *lala* women in China. New discourses of subjectivity, new forms of intimacy and new ways of social networking have been made available by the *tongzhi* communities. New opportunities, together with new modes of regulation, are being presented in post-reform China. Given all these emergent resources and restrictions, in what ways are the lives of *lala* women different from those in the past? How would they deal with their newly adopted *tongzhi* identity and in particular, with the pressure to marry?

This book aims to look at the negotiation between the new life aspirations of *lala* identified women and the existing heterosexual requirements imposed on them. In particular, when family and marriage are frequently reported as the major causes of stress in their everyday life, how do they reconcile their newly acquired understanding of the self with forces of heterosexual conformity? I intend to address the following questions: What impact do ongoing public discourses on homosexuality and *tongzhi* have on the everyday existence of *lala* women? How do public discourses inform and regulate the construction of a new *tongzhi* subjectivity and politics in China? In particular, how would this new *tongzhi* subjectivity affect *lala* women's struggle against a culture that dismisses women's sexual autonomy and subjectivity? In other words, what kind of *tongzhi* politics will be generated under the current social context of post-reform China? To individual *lala* women, what is the impact of the emergence of *lala* communities to their everyday lives, especially their coping strategies with the institution of heterosexuality? How can emerging forms of *tongzhi* intimacy, such as cooperative marriage (*hezuohunyin* or *xingshihunyin*),[2] lead to a critical re-examination of the dominant rules of heteronormativity, and open up new imaginations of family and marriage? Most importantly, what kind of future can we imagine with all of the lived practices of intimacy and *tongzhi* activism in China?

Project "*Tongzhi*"

Among the numerous ongoing social changes in post-reform China, "*tongzhi*"—as a rejuvenated identity—is the focus of attention that is often viewed in close

association with the transformation of China. It has been understood in the context of transnational LGBTQ movements and politics, and is often discussed in the context of the construction of new citizenship in post-reform China. As a newly introduced sexual subjectivity, "*tongzhi*" has emerged from a history of social and political stigmatization, and still remains a battlefield of discursive struggles among different actors in the public. Local *tongzhi* communities, the general public, experts, scholars, and the state are all eager to indoctrinate their own definitions of "*tongzhi*". The contents of "*tongzhi*" are yet to be filled up.

The year 2005 alone saw the formation of the first grassroots *lala* organization in Shanghai, the first meeting of female *tongzhi* groups from all over the country in Beijing and the birth of *les+* (www.lesplus.org), the first *lala* magazine in China. So much happened in a single year. The last decade has been an important formative period of the *tongzhi* community in China. The last five years, in particular, has witnessed a rapid development of local *lala* communities in different parts of China.

Communication technologies have played a vital role in connecting individuals and forming communities. When the Internet opened up to popular use in the late 1990s, discussions of homosexuality first appeared on forums with names understood only by insiders. Into the millennium, independent *lala* websites began to crop up. The three most popular *lala* websites for local women in Shanghai—*Aladao* (阿拉島), *Shenqiuxiaowu* (深秋小屋) and *Huakaidedifang* (花開的地方, also known as *Huakai*)—were all developed in the early 2000s. In 2005, *Huakai* had more than 40,000 registered members. The Internet also accelerated the interflow of *tongzhi* culture among Chinese societies. Due to linguistic, geographical and cultural affinities between the three societies, lesbian culture and activism in Hong Kong and Taiwan have always served as important reference points for *lala* women in China. With the organizing of regional activities, the interflow of information, texts and people intensified all the more. For instance, *Lala* Camp is a significant platform of cultural dialogue among lesbian communities in China, Hong Kong and Taiwan. It is an annual training camp held in China for Chinese-speaking lesbian organizers from China, Hong Kong, Macau, Taiwan and the overseas. Started in 2007, when organizers of local *lala* communities in participating regions gathered in a southern city in China, *Lala* Camp has since become an important breeding ground for *lala* organizing in China. It has also acted as an important discursive site for Chinese *tongzhi* politics.

To the general public, the latest popular use of "*tongzhi*" refers to "homosexual people". To the younger generation, the term has successfully departed from the older meaning of communist "comrades". More often, homosexual people are referred to as "*tongxinglian*" in public discussions. In mainland Chinese academia, "*tongxinglian*" is more widely used than "*tongzhi*".

Therefore, "*tongzhi*" is more often synonymous with "*tongxinglian*" in everyday usage. While there have been efforts in *tongzhi* communities to expand the term to include homosexual, bisexual, asexual, transgender and queer identified individuals, however public discussions still predominantly use the term "*tongxinglian*". The conflated use of the two terms is common.

Homosexuality, especially male homosexuality, has caught much public attention in recent years. In the economic reform era, in a context of changing attitudes towards sex and private life in China, public understanding of homosexuality was under constant reinterpretation and debate in academic studies, and by popular culture and everyday conversations. State-run bookstores sold books on homosexuality. Surveys on the social acceptance of homosexuality were conducted by state media.[3] Leading up to today, the growing amount of media coverage, the appearance of homosexual people on prime time television programmes, the heated debates on homosexuality on Internet forums, and the more recent popularity of "boy's love" comics (or BL comics) and gay stories on micro-blogs (*weibo*) among the younger generation demonstrate the curiosity of the general public about the previously silenced subject matter.

The new public interest in homosexuality has developed against a backdrop of changing social control in recent decades. Individual mobility, both geographical and social, had increased significantly during the reform period. Then, since the 1990s, increased geographical mobility of individuals has led to the emergence of urban *tongzhi* subcultures in many major cities in China. In addition, the opening up of the labour market has led to the weakening of direct state control through the *danwei*—the central job assignment system—over people's private lives.

On the ideological front, there has been a paradigmatic change in state control over homosexuality in China since the late 1990s. Two major changes have taken place at legal and medical establishments. Homosexuality was excluded from legal prosecution through the abolishment of "hooliganism" from Article 160 of the old Criminal Law in 1997, which was applied to male homosexual activities in the past. It was then further removed from the medical category of perverts by the Chinese Psychiatry Association in 2001. These two changes have been generally regarded as the decriminalization and depathologization of (male) homosexuality in China; however, legal, medical and other forms of state and social prohibition of homosexuality are still widely present. At the same time, social control of homosexuality has increasingly manifested through a rhetoric of public health and public security. Male homosexuality is particularly constructed by the state as a risk to public health and social stability. On the other hand, female homosexuality is marginalized in public discussion, and is rarely represented in mainstream media. This has generated two common observations made about the public discussion and representation of

homosexuality in China: namely, an over-representation of views from a heterosexual position and a disproportionate amount of attention given to male homosexuality.

Public discussions and academic studies on homosexuality and *tongzhi* overwhelmingly presume a heterosexual position. The fact that the *tongzhi* is always "talked about" and constructed as the "other"—as raised by Harriet Evans regarding earlier studies done by Chinese scholars—gives rise to "the potential of misinterpretation and distortion" (Evans 1997, p. 209). As an improvement, first-person accounts of same-sex relationships have entered the public spotlight in recent years. But the risk of othering and stereotypical representations still persist, with moralistic, heteronormative values underlying the majority of public voices. As for the under-exposure of female homosexuality in public discussions and academic studies, the reasons are multifold. Li Yinhe and Wang Xiaobo (1992), Ruan Fangfu (1991), Zhang Beichuan (1994) and Lisa Rofel (1997) mention the difficulty of locating "homosexual women" in China. Since these research studies were mostly conducted in the 1990s, one possible explanation is that *lala* communities with greater visibility have developed only after those of gay men. Another explanation is a prevalent cultural dismissal of female sexuality. In terms of legal control, female homosexual practices are generally considered to be a much lesser threat to public security than male homosexual practices. Therefore, it is comparatively rare for women to be penalized for same-sex sexual activities, though in the 1980s there were still cases of women being detained for homosexual "sex crimes", as documented by Ruan (1991). The lenient treatment of female homosexuals by the authorities reflects a history of cultural dismissal of erotic activities between women. Being a subordinate group in the gender hierarchy, women's "abnormal" sexual behaviour is considered less threatening to the dominant social order. This cultural prejudice against female sexuality provides a less regulated and less punitive social space for women with same-sex desires and practices. However, it also contributes to the symbolic erasure of female homosexuality in public imagination, and directly affects the development of local *lala* communities. It especially affects the funding sources of local *lala* groups. *Tongzhi* activism in China has largely originated and been carried out through the discourse of AIDS prevention and public health. Sources of funding within and outside the country have always been offered to sexual health projects for the homosexual population. *Lala* women are usually excluded from obtaining resources that are assigned to sexual health projects. As a result, they are not only disadvantaged in securing resources but are also marginalized from gaining public attention. In most cases, they have to rely on the material resources of gay men to carry out their projects and to develop communities. The "*Tongxin* Female *Tongzhi* Hotlines" and the more recent "800 *Lala* Hotline" in Shanghai are two typical

examples of how *lala* women rely on gay resources to offer support services for their own communities.

Compulsory Marriage

On the private front, one recurring theme that emerged over the course of my interviews was the conflict between *lala* women's desire to have same-sex relationships and the familial expectation for them to get married. For married informants, the pressure was expressed in the conflict between a heterosexual marriage and an extra-marital same-sex relationship. As mentioned earlier, family and personal lives, strictly controlled and monitored by the *danwei* system and the community surveillance system before the reform era, have been largely released from direct state control during China's economic transformation into a market economy. There has been a gradual shift from collective interests to individual rights and choices in the domain of private life. Direct state control of private lives has shifted to a more intimate form of daily scrutiny conducted by one's immediate family and social networks. Family members, especially the seniors, act as inspectors of the private life of younger ones. For non-normative sexual subjects, the heterosexual family is usually the biggest source of stress in their daily lives. The heterosexual family and marriage are as important as various public forms of social control in contemporary China as major sources of heterosexual policing. The nature of their control over non-normative sexual subjects, for example, through the rhetoric of love and familial harmony, is yet to be fully examined.

The compulsory nature of marriage puts *lala* women at a disadvantaged position. *Lala* women are denied recognition as autonomous sexual subjects in Chinese culture. While both unmarried women and men are considered as immature persons or not as autonomous beings, unmarried women are further rejected as autonomous sexual subjects. Women's sexuality is not recognized under the cultural belief of a male-active/female-passive sexual model. The monogamous heterosexual marriage further naturalizes a woman's receptive role in sexual relations with a man. In such a culture where women's sexual inactivity is treated as the very foundation of gender relationships and hierarchies, it is tremendously difficult for non-heterosexual women to be recognized as active sexual subjects. One consequence is that it makes coming out a tricky and doubly difficult task for *lala* women. A *lala* woman has to come out not only as a homosexual subject, but also as foremost as a legitimate and autonomous sexual subject. Moreover, the stigma against unmarried or divorced women is still widely present even in cosmopolitan cities like Shanghai. Marriage is culturally understood as *the* rite of passage to adulthood. This belief particularly affects women's autonomy in opting for alternative living arrangements. Many

native Shanghai women told me that the only way for them to move out of their parents' home would be to get married. Marriage is the only way for them to break away from parental control and be treated as autonomous individuals. For *lala* women married to heterosexual partners, divorce is not always a viable option. A divorce would involve families of both sides in a similar way as a marriage does, and consequently, a failed marriage would also be regarded as a failure to fulfil one's familial expectation. The compulsory nature of marriage, its role as the only endorsement of adulthood, and the conjugal union as the only recognized form of family form a persistent and primary source of stress for *tongzhi* in China. One primary focus of this book is to critically examine the pressures of marriage faced by *lala* women and their coping strategies in resisting heteronormative social demands.

Personal and Political Significance

This research is significant to me both personally and politically. I am a Shanghai native who migrated to Hong Kong at an early age. I am also an active member of the *tongzhi* community in Hong Kong, and who later became involved in *tongzhi* activism in China. This research allowed a number of (re)connections involving personal experiences, cultural and political identifications. It reconnected me with my birthplace and my fading memories of a happy childhood in Shanghai during the 1970s. It connected my participation within different *tongzhi* communities. It was through this research that I was able to engage myself in a dialogue between *tongzhi* communities in Hong Kong and China. I indeed found myself constantly cross-referencing experiences in both communities. The research created an intellectual space for me to contemplate *tongzhi* politics in both societies from a position other than an insider. The exercise of (re)connecting and disconnecting among multiple roles and perspectives enriched my understanding beyond the self and *tongzhi* communities. It allowed me to engage in an inner dialogue with my own positions on gender, sexuality, ethnicity, class, age and cultural identity. It also sharpened my insights into both societies. Hong Kong is politically a part of China, and is connected with the mainland geographically, culturally, economically and relationally through the people. However, doing ethnography in China, even as it was in a city where I spent my childhood and have extensive family ties, was still a cultural adventure into a *new* old world. I had to keep my eyes open to minute everyday norms such as rituals of interpersonal interaction, hierarchies of social relations, perceptions of personal boundaries, down to unspoken rules about avoiding bicycles while walking on the pavement. The learning of micro customs in daily life proved to be instructive in understanding the everyday challenges *tongzhi* face in China. In particular, as a woman who is

not in a heterosexual marriage, I understood more how unmarried women are marginalized or sometimes even harassed in social situations because of their gender, age and marital status, and how people (especially those who are married) in their families, workplace or even on the streets pay a smothering concern to their personal lives and future life plans.

My personal engagement in this research became even more pronounced after I became involved in *tongzhi* activism in China. Shortly after I started my research, I introduced a local Hong Kong oral history project of "women loving women", in which I was a committee member, to the *lala* community in Shanghai.[4] They later launched their own project documenting *lala* women's life stories in Shanghai. It resulted in an internally circulated book entitled *Talking about Their Love: An Oral History of Women Who Love Women in Shanghai I* (*Tamen de ai zaishuo: Aishang nüren de nüren. Shanghai. Koushulishi I*) (2008) by Shanghai *Nvai* Lesbian Group, the first grassroots *lala* organization in Shanghai. I participated as a trainer for oral-history interview and, up until now, remain as a consultant to the project. Later, I became a committee member of the Chinese *Lala* Alliance (CLA), a cross-regional alliance of Chinese-speaking lesbian, bisexual and transgender women, and am still a member of its advisory board.

The dual roles of a researcher and an activist generate concerns over research ethics. In my case, it required my constant effort in managing my roles in different contexts. As a researcher, the *tongzhi* community was a "field" to be studied, documented and analysed. As an activist, it was a community that I personally identified with. Tensions resulted at times when I needed to choose either role; while at other times, the two roles were smoothly combined. More reflections on role management are presented in "Notes on Methodology" on p. 12.

Through engaging in *tongzhi* activism in China, I learnt about the diversities of *lala* women across regions, ages, classes, marital statuses, ethnicities, religions, educational backgrounds as well as sexual and gender identifications in China. Women with bisexual identification and biological women with transgender identifications are two emerging groups whose voices are gaining in the *lala* community. The development of local *lala* communities is also highly varied in different cities and regions. There are well-developed and visible *lala* communities and organizations in metropolitan centres such as Shanghai and Beijing. There are also plenty of *lala* women in smaller cities or counties struggling to connect with each other through less sophisticated social networking tools such as QQ. The regional discrepancy of *tongzhi* community development is significant. Working together with *lala* women from other parts of China extended the physical boundary of my primary research field. Those experiences directed me to look into the specific situations of *lala* women in different regions, and more importantly, to see a bigger picture of the mechanism of public and private regulations at work on *lala* women in China. The participants

in my research can be further specified as women with the social and cultural backgrounds enabling their access to local *lala* communities. Their experiences can be referential to those who also live in cities of similar scale or those who are facing similar challenges from family and marriage. For detailed information on the major informants in this project, refer to the appendix "Profiles of Key Informants".

The political engagement of this research project started with an urge to document lesbian lives and emerging *lala* communities in China. Female homosexuality, bisexuality, FTM transgenderism and female *tongzhi* communities in China are persistently under-represented in both public discussions and academic studies. Full-length studies of the homosexual population in China first began in the 1990s. Early studies focused predominantly on the male homosexual groups in urban China (Zhang 1991; Li and Wang 1992; Chou 1996, 1997, 2000; Rofel 1999). There was only occasional or brief mention of female homosexuality in those publications or studies conducted in the 1990s (Ruan 1991; Liu 1992; Pan 1995; Evans 1997; Chou 1996, 2000; Li 2002a, 2002b). Ruan Fangfu, Zhang Beichuan, Li Yinhe and Lisa Rofel have mentioned the difficulties in accessing and interviewing women with same-sex relationships in China. It demonstrates that at least until the 1990s, female homosexuality was both invisible as a social issue and a distinctive social group. In her book published in 1997, Harriet Evans comments that having "very limited access to information, advice and support, few outlets for social activities, and living in constant fear of discovery, homosexuals are effectively denied a voice in public discourses about sexuality." They are merely subjects that are most often "talked to, or talked about" (Evans 1997, p. 209). Evans expresses her concern over the othering of homosexuals in China—where homosexuality is always viewed as deviant or as a form of illness. Homosexuals are most often positioned as objects of academic or scientific studies, and in other cases, as subjects in need of public sympathy (Zhang 1991; Liu 1992; Li and Wang 1992). In the last decade, we can see a growing body of works on sexuality produced by local Chinese scholars in China (Liu 2000; Pan and Zeng 2000; Ma 2003; Fang 2005a, 2005b; Liu and Lu 2004; Pan et al. 2004; Pan and Yang 2004; Ma and Yang 2005; Pan 2005; Sun, Farrer and Choi 2005; Zhou 2006, 2009; Pan et al. 2008; Guo 2009; Ma 2011). These studies on Chinese sexuality produced in China after 2000 can be divided into two groups: extensive quantitative or qualitative studies of sexual behaviour among different social groups, and specialized studies of previously silent or emerging sexual practices or groups in post-reform China. Among them, sociological and legal studies of marginal sexuality represent the two most rapidly growing areas in Chinese academic scholarship in the field. Emerging sexual groups, sexual practices, new cultural representations and legal issues have become popular academic subjects. However, with the

growing number of local sexuality studies, the risk of "misrepresentation and distortion" as pointed out by Evans is still present in publications after 2000. In most studies, the framework of analysis and the assumed positioning of researchers are predominantly heterosexual. Sexually marginal groups such as sex workers are still under the risk of being objectified in the name of academic investigations. Recent studies of *tongzhi* in China, published in either Chinese or English, have covered cultural representation of same-sex desires in literature, cinema, cyberspace and studies of local *tongzhi* communities and culture (He 2002, 2010; Sang 2003; Sun, Farrer and Choi 2005; Chen and Chen 2006; Kam 2006, 2010; Li 2006; Rofel 2007; Eng 2010; Engebretsen 2009; Kang 2009; Ho 2010; Kong 2010, 2011). The number of studies or articles of female homosexuality in China has increased in recent years. But it is still significantly fewer than those on male homosexuality. Understanding of the newly emerging *lala* communities in China is extremely limited. Geographically, current research studies on gays and lesbians in China tend to be restricted to Beijing, the capital city of China, and few studies extend research to other parts of the country. One of the first book-length studies of lesbian culture in China is Tze-lan D. Sang's *The Emerging Lesbian: Female Same-Sex Desire in Modern China*, published in 2003. The book traces female same-sex desire in Chinese literary texts that were produced from pre-modern to post-Mao China. It includes a brief field observation of "young cosmopolitan lesbian subjects" in Beijing in the late 1990s. According to Sang, the women she met were "spirited, confident lesbian-identified women in their early twenties who called themselves *tongzhi*", and they had just started to communicate via the newly available Internet (Sang 2003, p. 171). The term "*lala*" was not used at that time. Another more recently published book on gay and lesbian subculture in China also offers a glimpse into lesbian life in Beijing, as well as limited analysis of emerging *lala* communities and politics (Ho 2010). Anthropologist Elizabeth Engebretsen (2009) conducted a comprehensive field study on the *lala* communities in Beijing by documenting the everyday life strategies *lala* women used to cope with the pressure to marry. It appears that ethnographic studies of women with non-normative sexualities or gender identifications in contemporary China, and culturally sensitive analysis of emerging *tongzhi* politics are critical for the present stage of sexuality studies in China. They are also important for the production of grounded knowledge of local *tongzhi* communities and everyday life practices of individual actors.

Book Structure

The book consists of five chapters and a conclusion. The opening chapter maps out the current scene of local *lala* communities in Shanghai and the social

backdrop against which those communities and activities emerged. The following chapters examine the public discourses and popular understandings concerning *tongzhi* and homosexuality in post-reform China. In the past two decades, China has been characterized by a rapidly transforming social landscape and shifting paradigms of everyday surveillance of people's private lives. Understandings towards self and aspirations of life have also been undergoing rapid transformation, especially among a generation of people whose everyday existence is much more mobile in terms of both geographical distance and emotional attachment. This poses new opportunities and challenges to people who aspire to lifestyles that deviate from the social norm. In addition, the formation of *tongzhi* community in post-reform China has vastly transformed the lives of people with non-normative desires and gender identifications. The book discusses in detail the impacts of those current public discourses and the emerging *tongzhi* communities on individual *lala* women and how they respond to those new changes and the demands of social conformity. The book concludes with an analysis of a predominant politics in *tongzhi* communities in China. I have named it "the politics of public correctness". It is nurtured in the specific social and cultural context of post-reform China, and at the same time, is a response to the emerging challenges and opportunities presented to *tongzhi* individuals and community at this very historical juncture.

Chapter 1 maps out the growing terrain of *lala* communities in Shanghai. I discuss the possible social, political and cultural influences that have contributed to the rapid development of *tongzhi* communities in contemporary China. Specifically, I provide an overview of the local *lala* communities in Shanghai between the years 2005 and 2011.

Chapter 2 examines the changing public discourses of homosexuality during the economic reform period. They have profoundly transformed the ideological obligation governing public representation of homosexuality in previous decades. Homosexuals are increasingly constructed as a distinctive social group to be publicly scrutinized and regulated. Among the developments of this new public interest, we have seen the rapid growth of *tongzhi* communities both on cyberspace and offline spaces. Together with the general public and experts from different domains, the *tongzhi* community is keenly engaged in the formation of new public discourses on homosexuality.

Chapter 3 looks at *lala* women in their private lives at a time when *tongzhi* communities are becoming increasingly accessible and the public awareness of homosexuality is significantly increased as compared with the past decade. I specifically examine the pressures of marriage and the ways by which *lala* women negotiate their non-normative gender and sexuality under the powerful rhetoric of family harmony and filial piety and within a culture that ideologically rejects women as active and legitimate sexual subjects. I also look

into how "silence" and "tolerance", as culturally specific forms of homophobia, work to regulate *lala* women in family and marriage.

Chapter 4 discusses the various ways that *lala* women use to cope with the pressures from family and marriage in their everyday lives. In the first part, I focus on the interactions between *lala* women and their natal families; and in the second part, I focus on the situation of married *lala* women and how they accommodate their same-sex relationships and heterosexual marriages.

The last chapter examines dominant *tongzhi* politics in China. The formation of *tongzhi* communities has created a gap between an increased public awareness of homosexuality and the denial and silence of homosexuality in individual families. This existential rupture caused by the public/private divide has given rise to a culturally specific *tongzhi* politics in China, which I term "the politics of public correctness". It refers to a logic of normalization that seeks to promote a "healthy" and "proper" image of *tongzhi* in order to acquire social and familial recognition, developed as a response to the changing forms of oppression and opportunity of *tongzhi* during the reform era. The most articulate expression of this politics is the practice of "cooperative marriage". I look into the social and political context within which the politics of public correctness developed, and its impact on individual lives and the *tongzhi* communities in China.

This book is an extensive qualitative study of the *lala* communities in Shanghai. Through engaging in participatory ethnography as a Shanghai-native and *lala*-identified researcher, I provide an account of the formative stage of the local *lala* community in Shanghai and the everyday life struggles of its first-generation participants. Given the diversity in geography, culture, and in the social and economic fabric of China and the underlying unease these differences often embody, it is neither possible nor productive to deliver a macro analysis of *tongzhi* that addresses all internal differences within China and within local communities. Therefore, I specify my project as an ethnography of women with same-sex desires in urban China during the formative period of *tongzhi* community. It is also a research project that is informed by my participation in *tongzhi* communities outside Shanghai. The following part is a reflective discussion on methodology and my positioning as both a researcher/community member and an insider/outsider.

Notes on Methodology

This book is based on an ongoing research started in 2005. Between 2005 and 2010, I carried out a number of field visits to Shanghai and conducted face-to-face interviews and extensive participant observation. The duration of visits ranged from a few days to more than one month. I conducted formal recorded interviews with twenty-five self-identified *lalas* in Shanghai and a number

of informal, unrecorded exchanges with *lala* women whom I met in different occasions. I entered the *lala* community in Shanghai first through a local organizer. She introduced to me some of the research informants, and later through mutual referrals, I came into contact with other informants. A number of them were introduced to me through different community activities. I remained in contact with some of the major informants after the first interviews to document changes in their lives and in the local *lala* communities.

Most interviews were conducted in *putonghua* and a few were done in the Shanghai dialect or Cantonese, according to the language preference of individual informants. On average, a single interview lasted one to two hours. For some informants, a second interview was conducted to gather updated information about their lives and to follow up on topics that were unfinished in the first meeting. In a few cases, I interviewed couples together. This is usually because they expected to be interviewed together. Other times, I did couple interviews because I wanted interviewees to discuss their relationship. I carried out individual interviews of each partner before or after the couple interview to obtain personal insights and private information.

For participant observation, I attended major community events and social gatherings organized in Shanghai and other cities in China. These included lesbian parties, salon gatherings (*shalong*, topical seminars and sharing), work meetings of *lala* groups, a university lecture on homosexuality, a country-wide queer film festival, queer art exhibitions, *tongzhi* conferences, workshops, training camps and casual social gatherings. During one of my field trips to Shanghai, I shared an apartment with a group of *lala* women. I took part in their day-to-day lives and social gatherings with *lala* friends. I also participated in the oral history project of Shanghai *Nvai* Lesbian Group to document lives of *lala* women in Shanghai, acting as an academic consultant and instructor of workshops for volunteer helpers in the project.

Research Positions

It is both my political *and* academic motivation to contribute to ethnographic details and field-derived analyses of lesbian individuals and communities in urban China. In order to obtain in-depth ethnographical information, I needed to first build up mutually trustful rapport with informants. In this respect, my gender, ethnicity, community identifications with informants and my language ability proved to be productive in rapport building. These shared identities also allowed me a relatively easier entry into the field. It is common that in feminist ethnographies and participatory research on minority populations, a gatekeeper is usually a key source in opening doors to other leads. I got in contact with a major organizer of the *lala* community in Shanghai through

my personal network of Chinese lesbian communities in Hong Kong and the United States. Throughout my research, I relied on this key person in the local *lala* community as a significant source of information and as a trustworthy guide to the community.

In the early stage of my research, I introduced myself to informants as a graduate student from the Chinese University of Hong Kong and a member of the lesbian community in Hong Kong. The primary role I took up in the interaction with my informants was a researcher with a background in *tongzhi* activism. I also revealed to informants my native Shanghai background and my ability to speak the local dialect. The fact that we shared the same geo-cultural background proved to be productive in my interactions with local Shanghai informants.

On the other hand, I was aware of the differences between my informants and me. For example, the different accents of *putonghua* we spoke, the different terms and cultural references we used in conversations always reminded me of the fact that we came from different societies. Visible differences between a researcher and her informants such as gender, race, age, class, sexual identity, or in my case, cultural background, can be challenging to deal with during the early stage of rapport building. Being an insider and an outsider at the same time, my strategy was to avoid any false expectations from the informants about my knowledge of their society. I always made it clear during early meetings that I had left China as a child and therefore, even though I could speak the language quite fluently, I did not possess knowledge of the country as an insider. The outsider position allowed me to probe further into subject matters that would otherwise be taken for granted between insiders. For instance, the outsider position allowed me to invite informants to explain to me what was perceived to be "common sense" in their local society. By doing so, it also encouraged informants to look at notions of "common sense" in more reflexive ways.

The distinctive features of feminist methodology include an egalitarian research process that values the reciprocality and intersubjectivity between the researcher and the researched (Stacey 1988, p. 22). Yet the intimate knowledge produced from intensive participatory field research also triggers many methodological concerns. Among them, the insider and outsider roles of researchers are much discussed in the feminist research tradition. For an insider researcher, which means she studies a culture that is similar to her own, she has to engage in a constant effort to "defamiliarize" herself from cultural practices or values that are "common sensual" to her; while being an outsider, a researcher needs to deal with her ignorance at the beginning, and later, the careful keeping of a sense of strangeness that might wear off during the research process (Acker 2000, p. 194). It is more complicated when a researcher is both an insider and

outsider to her research informants, which was the case in my research. In order to generate more insights from this double position, I applied a method of cross-referencing. When sharing common everyday experiences, I would foreground the cultural differences between my informants and me by defamiliarizing their accounts through a productive comparison with similar experiences in Hong Kong. By cross-referencing the two Chinese societies, it sensitized my understanding of the cultural specificities in *lala* women's experiences. On the other hand, in order not to let the cultural gap between us become obstacles to our interactions, I made conscious efforts to study local norms. Taking advantage of my family connections in Shanghai, I took every possible chance of meeting local inhabitants to get insider's knowledge of Shanghai. For example, I learnt much about the marriage norms and culture of Shanghai by talking to local people in casual dinners and meetings. Also, writing field notes was another effective way to familiarize myself with local knowledge and to refresh my insights as an outsider. This technique is especially helpful for any long-term field study. Insights, comments and stories from sources other than my informants also enriched and triangulated my research findings.

Entering the Community

I conducted my first field visit to Shanghai in June 2005, during which I met Laoda (pseudonym), a major organizer of the *lala* community in Shanghai. Laoda was in her late twenties. She had moved to Shanghai from her hometown in another province a few years earlier. At the time I met her, she was running one of the most popular *lala* websites in China.

It was an evening in June 2005 when I met Laoda for the first time after corresponding with her through emails. She asked me to join her for dinner with a few other *lala* women in a restaurant in downtown Shanghai. I was uncertain if Laoda and her *lala* friends would feel comfortable meeting a stranger from Hong Kong. That evening, I wore a necklace bearing a female sex sign as a quiet declaration of my identification with them. Later, I discovered that the trick worked—one of the women later told me they had noticed my necklace, and were able to confirm more of where I stood. This made them feel more at ease with me and also more interested in me personally. When I got to the restaurant, Laoda and a small group of friends were already there waiting for me. She introduced me to her friends as a researcher from Hong Kong. All of us were a bit nervous and shy at the beginning, but very soon the atmosphere lightened up when I took out a book I edited, *Lunar Desire*,[5] which was published in 2001 in Hong Kong, comprising twenty-six love stories written by Chinese women from Hong Kong, Macau and overseas about their first same-sex romantic relationships. I had carried a few copies to Shanghai, intending them as gifts for

informants I would meet. They were very interested in the book, and some even began to read it during the dinner. By then, it was clear to all of them I was a member of their group. This made our interaction much easier. The fact that I could speak the Shanghai dialect was another ice-breaking revelation to those who were also Shanghai natives. My Shanghainese background further blurred the insider/outsider boundary. The moments when I opened my mouth and spoke in the dialect always caused a slight uproar in the group, and would significantly change the group dynamics. At other times in my field studies, I was the only person in the group who could speak the local dialect, as many of the participants in the *lala* community came from other parts of China. As a Hongkonger, I was a foreigner to them in most part, as there are manifest cultural differences across the border. Yet my ability to speak the local dialect made me more like an insider of the city than many of them. This hybrid cultural background, together with my lesbian identification, allowed me to merge much easier with *lalas* in Shanghai. The first time I was aware of this multi-directional ice-breaking effect was during that evening with Laoda and her friends.

Our dinner was followed by a "lesbian night" in a downtown bar and a gathering with Laoda's friends in a karaoke place till midnight. The weekly "lesbian night" was co-organized by Laoda's website, *Huakaidedifang* (or *Huakai* in short, 花開的地方), and the ex-owner of "Bar 1088", a once popular lesbian bar in the city, through a contractual deal with the private bar's owner. The "lesbian nights" ran every Friday and Saturday. On these two evenings, the bar would be named "*Huakai* 1088". The combination of "*Huakai*" and "1088" was a synonym of "lesbian bar" to insiders, and both were well-known "labels" in the community. Helpers from Laoda's website sold tickets at the entrance. Tickets were priced at RMB30 each and included a free drink. Certain parts of the bar were allocated as a women-only zone for lesbian night-goers. I met more *lalas* through Laoda at "*Huakai 1088*". The crowd there was mostly in their early twenties, with mixed regional backgrounds. There were women hailing from other cities, who were now working in Shanghai. A few of them worked and lived in nearby cities, and came to Shanghai only to spend weekends with *lala* friends. A few were local residents who would chat in the Shanghai dialect with each other. When we interacted in a group, we all talked in the national language, *putonghua*.

Informants

The key informants of my research were self-identified *lala* women active in the *lala* communities of Shanghai. For individual profiles of informants, read "Profiles of Key Informants". I focused my choice of informants on those who

were either employed or self-employed during the time of interview, and at the same time, attempted to stretch the age range as wide as possible. I did this with the view of recruiting informants with a certain degree of exposure in public at work. I wanted to investigate the aspect of social recognition and their existence in the so-called public domains. Therefore, I did not actively search for informants who had never been employed or who had never been involved in the labour market. As such, I did not include school-aged *lalas* in this research. Besides, the problems that young women face in primary, secondary or tertiary institutions concerning their same-sex desires are categorically different, given the different economic and social positions they occupy. Women in their twenties with post-secondary or university education and with a white-collar occupation proved to be the most visible group in the local offline *lala* communities. Those who were most active in community building—such as hotline workers or the organizing members of local working groups—were predominantly women from this age, educational and occupational group. Their regional affiliations varied, but all of them had urban residency. It was significantly much more difficult to find informants who were over thirty, and very unlikely to see any women over forty in public gatherings. One might catch glimpses of women from a senior age group in some lesbian parties in downtown Shanghai. I have met a group of women appeared to be over forty in one lesbian party held in an upscale bar in the downtown area. I was told by other informants that more private and invisible groups made up of affluent, mature *lalas* with professional backgrounds existed in Shanghai. They met each other in private gatherings, and hence, were harder to be seen publicly. Their class and professional backgrounds required a more discreet socializing style. I was unable to get in touch with any of them.

It is not difficult to find that women who were the most visible and accessible in the *lala* community in Shanghai shared some common demographic characteristics. This is also reflected in the profiles of informants in this research. They were mostly in their early to late twenties. They were economically independent, with a university or at least post-secondary education background. They either held a white-collar job, mostly in private corporations, or were self-employed. They were predominantly urban residents. Many of them were living away from their home cities and families, and were working in Shanghai. Most of them had an independent living space, or could afford one if there was a need. Most of them were unmarried. They were a group of women who had benefitted the most from the economic reform and social changes that had occurred in the recent two decades. The social, economic and sexual freedoms they were enjoying were privileged ones that could not be generalized to women from other social and economic groups. The predominance of women with these demographic characteristics in this research is reflective

of the most visible and accessible group in the *lala* communities in Shanghai. However, their voices, though dominant, should not be taken as the only one for the entire community.

Notes

Introduction

1. "*Lala*" has become a widely used term in the past five years, and its use can be traced back to the early 2000s. The term was adapted from the Taiwanese localization of "lesbian". It first appeared as "*lazi*" in Taiwan, as the transliteration of "les" from "lesbian". When it was borrowed and further localized in China, "*lala*" became the most widely used term. It is a community identity for women who have same-sex desires in China. It is used concurrently with "*tongzhi*", an older and Hong Kong-derived identity, in its full or gender-specific versions such as "*nütong*" (female *tongzhi*) and "*nantong*" (male *tongzhi*); and with "les", an abbreviation and a more informal term for "lesbian". There are contextual differences between various identity terms. "*Lala*" and "les" are always used in informal or everyday and lesbian-specific contexts, while "*tongzhi*" is used in more formal and political occasions where community solidarity is emphasized. All identities are generally recognized and adopted in local communities across the country. In this book, I use "*lala*" to refer to lesbian, bisexual and transgender identified women, and "*tongzhi*" when I refer to entire LGBTQ communities in China. I use "lesbian" and "gay" when I do not refer to any specific cultural or geographical context.
2. A cooperative marriage is a self-arranged marriage between a *lala* woman and a gay man. It is performed to deal with the marriage pressure imposed by families on both sides.
3. An Internet survey conducted by a local news website in China found that over 70% of respondents (3,977 in total) said they can accept if their children are homosexuals (quoted from www.cctv.com on 6 November 2007).
4. The oral history project mentioned is "Hong Kong Women-Love-Women Oral History Project" (2005), which resulted in the publication of a collection of life stories of women in Hong Kong who have same-sex desires.
5. Lucetta Y. L. Kam (editor and illustrator). *Lunar Desires: Her first same-sex love in her own words* (月亮的騷動——她她的初戀故事：我們的自述) (Hong Kong: Cultural Act Up, 2001).

Chapter 1

1. 「拉子一詞，傳到香港又傳到大陸中國後，演變成拉拉。在現在的大陸中國，就出現了一些拉拉網站、拉拉驛站、拉拉酒吧和拉拉社區等各種各樣的女同性戀的組織和

活動形式。因此，拉拉這個詞語的出現，不僅使女同性戀者得以去做身份認同，也使得她們能夠利用這一身份，去創建自己的社區，去團結和發現更多的拉拉們來開展活動和組織活動。」

2. Wang Hui (2003) argues that neoliberalism in China has its own context of development and relationship with the state. The force of market in China is less a resistance from the people than part of a state promoted displacement of social problems. "While neoliberalism takes every opportunity to cast itself in the image of 'resister', this does not prove that this ideology of the market is in actual opposition to the practical operations of the state: on the contrary, the state and neoliberalism exist in a complex relationship of codependence" (p. 60). Dai Jinua (2006) also argues that the economic restructuring of China uses the rhetoric of market to displace emerging social inequalities brought about by the changes. Gender inequality has been displaced by class discourse. Uneven distribution of wealth is justified by development. The state has engaged ideologically in the construction of the new discourse of market and neoliberalism.
3. Two of the novels that have been circulated widely in Shanghai *lala* communities are Zhang Haoying's *Shanghai Wangshi* (上海往事, *The Bygone Story of Shanghai*) published by Guangxi Renmin Chubanshe in 2003 and Hailan's *Wode Tianshi Wode Ai* (我的天使我的愛, *My Angel My Love*) published by Zhongguo Xijue Chubanshe in 2007.
4. *T* is the masculine identified lesbian gender in China. It is an adoption of the lesbian gender identity in Taiwan, where *T* is classified as the masculine role and *P* (or *Po*) is the feminine role.
5. 「國內除了上海這樣的大城市，一些小的城市，甚至是一些小的鄉鎮，就是一個紅綠燈也沒有的那種鄉鎮，更小的是在農村裡面，她們根本就沒有機會得到很多的資訊。我只有在這個網絡發達的時候，我才能夠……我沒有得到這個資訊的時候，我已經二十幾歲了，我要談男朋友了，我在讀書的時候我也跟我的……同學有過親密的接觸，我們都不覺得這是什麼，也沒有人……不可能有人告訴我們，我又不會去問別人，也沒有書籍，也沒有網絡，不知道是什麼。然後……我們就覺得這只不過是一個過程，那到了時候我就應該去談戀愛，然後去交男朋友，去準備結婚，就這樣了。一直到我……我覺得我很幸運的是我跟我男朋友分手，然後我知道了網絡。我一直是覺得很幸運的，不然我肯定要嫁給他了。你想想如果我嫁給他，到我上了網，到了網上才確認自己，我回想我以前跟我同學的事，那我不會覺得很苦嗎？所以我覺得這個資訊溝通很重要的。」
6. The "2005 China Internet Usage Survey Report" conducted by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in five cities in China (Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, Chengdu and Changsha), quoted from Liu Huaqing (2005) *Tianya Virtual Community: Text-based Social Interactions on the Internet* (天涯虛擬社區：互聯網上基於文本的社會互動研究) (Beijing: Minzu Chubanshe), pp. 33–34.
7. There are different views in the community regarding why the lesbian nights were cancelled in 2003. Some say it was due to their popularity and alarming attendance. On a typical weekend evening, Bar 1088 attracted more than three hundred customers. One woman even told me she was there at one of the crowded weekend parties when the police suddenly appeared and ended the party. Women were asked to line up for inspection. The police claimed illegal drug use in the party had been reported. But the woman said the police gave them no trouble, and had released the party-goers all at once. Others said there had not been any police crackdowns or

interventions, and that the lesbian party organizers had left because of a disagreement with the bar owner.

Chapter 2

1. 「同性戀是不是病呢？那可不能簡單地作結論。我們只能說同性戀者的性心理是不正常的。因為正常人的性心理活動的指向，總是異性，也就是所謂『窈窕淑女，君子好逑』。而同性戀者的性心理指向，所愛慕的對象卻是同一性別的，這是一種性心理方面的變態。但是，為什麼造成性心理的改變呢？這裡可能有生理、心理和社會三個方面的因素……如果發現同性戀患者的主要原因是生理改變，應作為『疾病』來對待，並給以適當的治療……從變態心理學角度分析，同性戀的戀人中，性心理反常者，主要是女性『丈夫』，和男性『妻子』……所以，他們可能是需要接受治療或心理指導的對象，因為他們心理學上的性定向是不正常的。」
2. 「同性戀是不符合生物本性的。從生物學的觀點來看，人類的性行為是與生殖聯繫在一起的。同性是不能生育的。同性戀在人群中的擴展，將導致種族繁衍上的嚴重問題。但是，也不能因為同性戀不生育而蔑視以至懲罰同性戀者。有相當一部份異性夫婦（其數量不少於同性戀者）是不育的，社會並不因此而責難他們；在計劃生育的時代，絕大部份性行為也是與生殖無關的，社會不僅不責難，反而要提倡這一點。為什麼同性戀就要因為不育而受罪責呢？」
3. 「當然，這裡並不是提倡同性戀。確實看不出同性戀有什麼好處。而且同性戀者面臨著一系列社會的、道德的、法律的、經濟的、疾病的壓力，有種種後果。因此，根本不值得提倡。事實上也提倡不了，沒有辦法把一個『絕對異性戀者』變為同性戀者。正像沒有辦法把一個『絕對同性戀者』變為異性戀者一樣。即使對同性戀者處以死刑的國家、民族或宗教裡，也沒有能夠根絕同性戀。這裡所要強調的只是：應該正視同性戀問題，並合理對待它。」
4. 「對於同性戀，也是『預防為主』。家庭的和諧；對兒童進行良好的教育，包括及時而適當的性教育；創造青少年之間異性交往的文明環境和條件等等，可能都有助於減少同性戀的出現。」
5. Evans also mentions this narrative incoherence in experts' writings on homosexuality in post-reform China, "Other observations about homosexuality reveal a similar tension, between sympathetic demands for tolerance and recognition on the one hand, and a persistent attachment to the view of homosexuality as a deviant or diseased state on the other. Liberal scholars working on sex education and other sex-related issues continue to present homosexuality as a sickness, despite their demands for recognition of homosexuals' rights" (Evans, 1997, p. 209).
6. 「切實認識它的起因和意義，透徹地明白它可能存有的危害，用科學的方法積極進行預防和處理。」
7. 「同性愛現象研究史」，「同性愛的定義、流行狀況和分型」，「同性愛的表現」，「同性愛的起因」，「同性愛與心理（精神）疾病的關係」，「同性愛的預防與治療」，「與同性愛（性行為）有關的性偏離」，「同性愛者與性有關的器質性疾病」，「同性愛與性道德」，「同性愛與性法律」。
8. 「同性愛是一個社會深層的性苦難和性悲劇。」
9. 「以期改變我國目前學術界，特別是醫學界對這一常見社會現象的知識匱乏、認識膚淺的現狀，並幫助廣大讀者澄清這一現代的性誤區；幫助異性愛大眾科學地認識與對待同性愛者，並幫助同性愛患者增強自我規範的力量。」
10. 「我在部隊因同同性睡覺，受過黨內警告處分，當時把我當做雞姦錯誤。1968至1978年間，也把我當做雞姦錯誤處理，直到判刑……我要求到醫院檢查，由於單位的態

度，不准我去檢查，後來我還是偷偷地到xx醫學院檢查，才知道是同性戀。然後又經北京三所醫院檢查，確診為同性戀。1980年省高等法院糾正錯判後，才恢復工作，但至今卡住黨籍和錯處期工資未補發。」

11. 「被告xxx因流氓罪一案，判處有期徒刑二年監外執行，後改判免予刑事處分。現經再次複查：原判認定事實不構成犯罪。因xxx患有『同性戀』病。為此，撤銷原判和複查改判的判決，予以糾正。」
12. 「在這場討論中，艾滋病的傳播本身就成了一種文化工具。國家用它來擴大對私人生活的干預；並且，對於宣傳冊的讀者來說，這個意義遠遠超過預防艾滋病。這是由警察和其他權力機構對同性戀者的騷擾和拘禁，以及執法機關和公共衛生機構對同性戀者根深蒂固的不信任所造成的。」
13. For example, Article 19 Section 4 of the "Regulations Governing Offences Against Public Order" issued in 1994 states that, "inciting gang activities or violence, behaving in a riotous or disorderly manner, or insults at women or other forms of hooliganism"（結伙鬥毆，尋釁滋事，侮辱婦女或者進行其他流氓活動的），the content of "hooliganism" can be open to arbitrary interpretations. [Information source: Jia Ping (2005) *Report of rights, legal problems and related issues of homosexual (bisexual) in China* (同（雙）性戀相關法律問題綜述)] (Beijing: Aizhixing Institute of Health Education), p. 12.
14. 「如杭州一市1988年一年左右，司法機關即拘捕男性同性愛者60人以上。拘捕須判刑的主要依據是刑法第160條。該條文規定：『聚眾鬥毆、破壞公共秩序，情節惡劣的，處7年以下有期徒刑、拘役或管制。流氓集團的首要分子，處7年以上有期徒刑。』」
15. 「我國司法機關1987年曾就同性愛的法律地位所做的申明：『由於同性愛違反社會公德，擾亂社會治安，影響青少年身心健康，確屬犯罪行為。』」
16. Quoted from *Huakaidedifang*, http://www.lescn.net/, on 15 December 2005.
17. 「什麼是同性戀，以及同性戀的責任問題在目前我國法律沒有明文規定的情況下，你們所反映的問題，原則上可不予受理，也不宜以流氓行爲給予治安處罰。本案具體如何處理，可與檢察院、法院等有關部門研究解決。」
18. Evans criticizes the research, asserting that "it represents homosexuality as a 'phenomenon' distanced from dominant heterosexual culture and objectified for the purposes of study" (Evans 1997, p. 209).
19. 「那個聊天室，當然是男同、女同都有，而且年紀比較小。進去了，剛開始的時候在看，看她們在聊，然後就很好奇，原來有這麼多人跟自己有類似的經歷。但是沒想到是這樣的，是同性戀，我就很排斥這樣，就不會……我跟她們是不一樣的。但事實上，你看到的越多，你就驗證的越多，你就知道你就是其中的一個人。再後來，慢慢的到語音的聊天室啊，然後到一些網站去看，然後你一邊看，一邊找自己身上跟她們相認證的東西。」
20. 「我在百度搜了『女同』兩個字，然後上了之後，跳出來了一個網站，和一些學術的報告，我沒有選擇看網站，而是看了些學術的報告，一些教授和一些很學術的文章，非常的寬泛的說了女同，在女同的世界裡，分為*T*、*P*和不分等等這些的概念。一下子就在我的腦海裡，於是我和她的關係就copy進去，也明確了許多的概念。隨後進了一些網站，我第一個進入的是叫『夢開始的地方』，是一個不是很成熟的網站，但是也聚集了許多的les，於是看了一篇女同文章，是關於女同之間做愛的，然後我就明白了女同之間是怎麼做愛的，什麼口交和手指，我也是很籠統的我也不懂。後來認識了一個女同，帶我進入了一個聊天室，她當時是某女同性網站的管理員，因為她我就進了那個房間。一進去就發現，哇噻，裡面全都是les，就覺得有那麼多，我並不孤單，原來我不是異類，原來有那麼那麼多！」

21.「我第一個感覺就是說，你會覺得你自己的戀愛的過程是獨一無二，你的經歷對你來說是最重要的。但是你到網上去看很多帖子的時候，忽然發現很多是類似的。因為暗戀一個人是每個人幾乎都有的過程，無法表白。哎呀，你會發現這麼火！你在網上你會發現很多人都是這樣子的。這就是說，第一個反應就是，你不是唯一的，你們是一體的；然後第二個就是，她們會發出一些她們想見面啊，徵友啊這樣的資訊。這種資訊發出來了後，你覺得很正常，覺得大家可以相互之間見面的。然後這個跟你平時看到的這個人沒有太大的區別啊，大家都這樣生活得不錯啊。第三個，你們一起聊共同的想法以及未來的時候啊，你覺得……像我去北京的話，我就覺得，哦，你十多歲也能這樣，那我的未來遠景是不錯的。她們讓我看到了希望。那你以前不會去想，因為你覺得不現實，你看不到這樣的例子，或者是怎麼樣。但是看到她們的時候，就是有未來。」

Chapter 3

1. 「打開一個衣櫃啊，一半是我的衣服，一半是她的，每個晚上她都在我的身邊，沒有一個晚上是我自己度過的。〔可現實是〕我一個人上網。遇到不開心的事，我會自己一個人哭。我希望我的生活裡都有她的氣息。這個家是兩個人的家，而不光只有我自己的東西。我希望她徹徹底底的成為我生活的一部分。」
2. Evans (1997) explains very well the effect of this discursive hegemony on Chinese women, "The priority the dominant discourse gives to maintaining monogamous marriage as the site and pivot of all sexual activity and experience is overriding. This leaves no discursive space for women—or men—to choose difference, whether this means simply not marrying, having a lover outside marriage, or rejecting heterosexuality. In fact, it leaves no alternatives for representations of a women's sexual fulfillment except in the subject positions identified by the status of wife and mother. The possibility that women may prefer to live separate lives, removed from the dominance of the male drive, cannot be contained within a discourse which naturalizes monogamous marriage as the only legitimate form of adult existence" (p. 212).
3. Comparing with other Chinese societies, the figure for the unmarried population aged 15 or over in Hong Kong was 31.5% in 1996 and 31.9% in 2001 (Census and Statistics Department, Hong Kong Special Administrative Region 2005), and 34.1% in Taiwan in 2004 (National Statistics 2005).
4. 「因為婚姻不是一場簡單的戀愛，你會考慮很多東西，家庭啊、社會啊。因為一個人的婚姻情況會關係到她的社會。因為有時候會因為你的婚姻關係會影響到其他本來看是不相干的事情，也可能這會是給了別人攻擊你的把柄，你的父母會擔心。」
5. 「沒有想過這是一條路，就是覺得每個人都應該結婚……沒有這樣參照的例子啊，覺得每個人都應該走這樣的路。可能那個時候想的最多的是自己比較特殊吧，你的特殊不能破壞社會正常的秩序，你還是要負責任的，對家人、對父母負責。包括自己的狀態，你都不見的有那樣的能力去挑戰，況且兩個人都沒有想過，好像就已經不是問題，就覺得這不應該是考慮的問題，根本沒有考慮的可能性。」
6. 「那時候很怕別人提到這三個字，因為我跟我那個女朋友在一起的時候有朋友會開玩笑說你們兩個好的像同性戀一樣，我們兩個就會一起反擊。因為首先對自己就是一種不認可，其實到現在看來就是對自己這種行為的不認可，所以才會去反擊。不過如果說我們兩個人從剛開始就接觸到了這樣一個環境，就說會有人給你一種方向吧。那個時候我們兩個在一起自己都不知道該怎樣辦，經常都會撥了電話以後就兩個人一起哭，說以後該怎麼辦，就是沒有什麼東西讓你參照。如果我想如果那個時

候我們上網可能會在一起，會在一起……衝破很多東西。你根本不會去想你可以過這樣的一種生活，覺得沒有將來，覺得沒有人走這樣一條路，沒有想過這是一條路，覺得每個人都應該結婚……我記得我在結婚前的一個晚上，是她陪我在外面，家裡去了很多的親戚，剛好就找了一個理由說，這樣休息不好，就她陪我去外面開房間住在那邊，第二天早上回去化妝啊，做一些準備，真的是……兩個人整整的一直在那裡哭，哭到零晨四點鐘，我結婚的前一天。」

7. 「你沒有婚姻吧，沒有婚姻的人不會知道把婚姻挑到肩膀上的時候，意味著什麼。我就是這樣簡單的跟你講，就是責任，你就會覺得說什麼是責任，你會覺得很抽象。實際上婚姻並不是兩個人的事情，會牽涉到兩個人之外很大的一群人，家族，甚至朋友，甚至同事，你不會懂，沒有婚姻的人你真的不會懂。你也許會理解我，或者是同情我，但是很多感覺，你也是感受不到。」

8. 「我不會去傷害人家，但我也不想去傷害自己，所以即使說找不到一份你很有感覺的感情，哪怕是單身也無所謂。但是我覺得這是比較有壓力，因為對家庭來說，或者對身邊人來說，他們是很不能夠接受的。他們當然覺得隨便怎樣你當然是應該有婚姻、有好的歸宿、有家庭這樣，但我跟他們說，像我也不太適合家庭生活，因為我覺得我是一個比較喜歡自由的人，不希望被人來束縛我這樣子。我曾經說過，當然我沒有對我父母說過我要單身，因為我覺得他們是絕對不能夠接受的。我曾經跟我同事跟朋友說過我要單身，他們就一下子都跳起來了，『那怎麼可以啊？！』，隨後他們就馬上說，『你不應該有這種想法』。」

9. 「一般獨身的女孩子給人的感覺蠻不幸的，為什麼？哪怕她是女強人，總是覺得她的感情生活不如意。否則的話，如果能找到一個疼愛她的男人，哪怕是女人也好，她肯定不會選擇一個人過。她獨身，是因為她沒有找到一段符合要求、很美好很和諧的感情。只要她有好的感情，為什麼會獨身？哪怕是女強人，再工作狂也不會這樣。還是輿論的力量，他們覺得他們的孩子自己一個人，外面人各種各樣的原因，承受的猜疑壓力還是受不了的……還有很多時候，你不結婚，永遠是被關心的對象。有人跟你說，你女兒還沒結婚？還是沒有男朋友嗎？或者是怎麼樣。只要你不結婚，你永遠是被關心的對象。如果你結婚了，出嫁了，就沒人理你。」

10. There is a park in downtown Shanghai where a Saturday matchmaking event is held once a month. It attracts many parents who are looking for suitable mates for their adult children. Regular participants of the event will hold a cardboard on which is written the information of the person who is seeking a partner. Parents will usually carry the cardboard bearing information about their child and also the kind of partner they expect for their children. Parents will exchange contact numbers if they are interested, and both sides will proceed to arrange meetings for their children if they are interested in seeing each other.

11. 「因為他們覺得沒有面子哦。如果你結婚就不是我家的常屬人員，不會被關心這麼多了，就是照顧一下他們的面子了。」

12. 「因為我覺得徹徹底底擺脫家裡，唯一的方法就是自己出來住，自己買房子。因為你出來租房子，父母肯定是不能接受，除非我自己出來買房子，這點沒有話可說。所以這兩個壓力結合在一起，如果我在家裡沒有任何的壓力的話，我買房子的欲望就沒有那麼的強烈，但是一定會的，因為不可能是想跟她一起就一直的租房子住，我覺得很缺乏安全感的，一定會自己買房子。但是對家裡的壓力，在自己的時間表裡就要求得更短了，本來我可以時間長一些，可能是五年或者是十年的時間。」

13. *Bufen* is a lesbian gender and sexual identification in local *lala* communities. It refers to *lalas* with an androgynous gender presentation or *lalas* who refuse to label themselves as either *T* or *P*. *Bufen* usually claims to have a more fluid desire that is not limited towards either *T* or *P*.

14. 「所以如果我一直不交男朋友，打扮過於中性的話，她會懷疑，甚至會直接了當的問我，你究竟是不是？〔問過？〕問過，但是我沒有正面回答，她也沒有正面追問下去。有時候人會有一種敏感度，很多東西不能過於執著。〔你從小都是比較中性的嗎？〕對，但是也有時候是非常女性化打扮的，並不是那種所謂的純*T*或者純*P*，我是不分這種。〔但你媽媽現在還是懷疑？〕有一點懷疑，但是我這兩年打扮得女性化比較多，也穿裙子，也留過長髮，拍過照片給她作為存檔証據給她看（笑）〔比較放心了？〕對，她心裡就安慰很多。真的很明顯，因為她也是一種很情緒化的很孩子氣的，很明顯的就能看得出我某一天穿襯衫剪短髮，她會很不高興，但是某一天如果我穿了裙子高跟鞋，昂首挺胸的走的話，留著長髮，她會樂不可支。她覺得『唔，這兩天比較正常，那個時候肯定是不正常的』。（笑）」

15. 「參加她們家的所有活動，這是不可能的呀！我可以到她的家吃飯，然後我可以睡在她的家裡，我可以陪她，甚至可以看看電視，有時候聊一下，就這樣吧，不可能參加公眾的活動，這是不可能的。如果看到了她媽媽的朋友的話，她會說是她姐姐的女兒，外甥女，等於是替我們來撒謊。我不能孤立在她們家之外，肯定不會，我會經常去她的家裡，我會經常被人看到，很不容易。」

Chapter 4

1. 「好像天天被兩種的力量不停的轉啊，轉啊，就是這樣一直轉下去。」

2. 「雖然說 come out 是一個非常值得欽佩的一種行爲嘛，但是必須去看具體情況而定的，不是說你去做勇士了。〔你接熱線的時候也會這樣說嗎？〕對，我會這樣跟她說，我不鼓勵出櫃，這是一個需要慎重而慎重考慮的事情，特別是……你的條件允不允許你出櫃，很現實的，我會非常的……就是赤裸裸的告訴她們的，你（長音）出櫃得起嗎？」

3. "Super Girls" (or "Super Voice Girls") is a televised singing contest for young women in China, produced and broadcast by the Hunan Satellite Television, following the style of American Idol. The show was launched in 2004, and soon became a nationwide hit. Super Girls finalists were followed by crowds of fans from all over the country. A few of them became lesbian icons for the younger generation. The most famous are Li Yuchun and Zhou Bichang. Their androgynous style resembles the *T* style in the *lala* community. They have attracted millions of *lala* and straight women fans from diverse age groups.

4. 「我媽媽也很喜歡她們兩個人，然後就傳她們是一對啊，我媽媽也知道。我也跟我媽媽說，而且其他的娛樂的新聞也說，李宇春跟一些女孩子接吻啊什麼的一些照片，我媽也看見了，我媽也就一直也很喜歡她。我突然就覺得這個契機快來了，我媽知道這麼多關於李宇春和何潔的同性戀啊，尤其是李宇春啊這些負面的報導，我媽沒有絲毫減少對她的喜歡，而且我媽還介紹那些阿姨、同事，介紹她們一起去喜歡李宇春。有一次，決賽的時候，是『超級女聲』，我媽看得很緊張，而且很開心很興奮，於是我就問媽，你這麼的喜歡李宇春啊，她滔滔不絕的說了大堆喜歡李宇春的原因，她還說她哭，就是李宇春哭，她也哭，『那你知不知道李宇春是喜歡女孩子的？』『這沒有關係的啦，她這麼的男孩子，我也想得到的啦！』然後，我就說，『你相不相信她喜歡過我？』我媽就看看我說，『你們是同一個大學的，而且同屆的，不可能的。』『是我拒絕了她。』，我媽很失望的說，『你幹什麼拒絕她？』然後我就笑笑說，『哎呀，你看電視吧！』〔……〕我說像李宇春的這些女孩子在這個城市，在這個國家，在這個世界，是非常非常得多的，嗯，也許很多人不理解，但是中國有幾千萬，而且我生活的城市有很多，我們的學校更多。」

5. Flora was a supplementary informant in addition to the twenty-five primary ones.

6. 「當時我看到我爸爸媽媽也蠻難受的。我記得最清楚的一次是，我在他們那邊養了一星期的病。每次他們要吃飯的時候，就把門輕輕推開，進來看看我是在睡覺還是怎麼樣，總問我要吃什麼怎麼樣。很難受，自己吃不下，可是為了他們又裝出來自己想吃什麼。後來實在受不了，這樣養下去也把我爸爸媽媽折磨，太操心了。有一天下午，我就突然從床上坐起來，說我要回家，那時候身體其實很虛弱，後來我爸媽就執意不肯。北方的十一月份已經很冷了，因為我去的時候也沒有穿很厚的衣服，那我就披了一件外套。就是我就講了一下我要回家，也沒有跟他們商量一下，也不會聽他們意見。我穿了外套，就拉開房門我就出去了。我媽媽就一直喊我說你這樣不能回去啊，回去也沒有人照顧到你。看我執意要走，就匆匆忙忙跑進去要幫我拿外套，但是我不知道，當時我就衝出去了。等我坐到一輛出租車裡，我走得很快，頂著風，有點像小跑那樣。我坐到出租車裡一扭頭，看到我媽媽拿著一件外套在那裡追我。那個情景可能我一輩子都忘不到。所以我就想之後我要選擇這樣的生活絕對不要在他們的面前……我可能永遠不會主動的去出櫃，不是說我不能去面對什麼，是我覺得如果這種東西，如果讓周圍愛你的人受到傷害，那大可不必。能避免的東西還是去避免，對嗎？別的人倒沒什麼，但父母……永遠不能對他們說為了你自己把他們置於一個不管不顧的地步。我想我曾經已經這樣做過了，以後會盡量避開。」
7. Huang was a supplementary informant in addition to the twenty-five primary ones.
8. 「其實爸爸媽媽總是希望你自己開心的，我覺得他們的問題是在面子上過不去。這裡很多親戚啊朋友啊什麼的，所以我覺得真的出去了也有好處，他們說起來她一個人在外面不想結婚。他們看不到你，就算你告訴了他們，他們沒有必要跟別人說。他們其實是……就好像有一次我爸爸跟我說，像你這樣子在中國是沒有辦法做的，他就這麼跟我說。他說這個國家還沒有這麼開放，你這樣做……你以後工作啊什麼的你沒有辦法抬起頭來。」
9. 「雖然有些人說我們之間的戀愛跟別人是沒有關係，但是至少不要給周遭的人帶來非常大的壓力，或者是非常大的影響。你的事情不要影響到別人的生活……我覺得他們沒辦法理解。家裡的話，能不講就不講。講出來還是會鬧，那就沒必要。等到有一天真的沒辦法，那麼，就公開了。但是我至少覺得……到現在為止，能藏就藏吧，不要去講，講了一定會是不好的狀況。」
10. 「那現在我既然走的是拉拉這條路，那我想這正好就是一個重合點啦。首先我是拉拉，第二我是獨身主義，那我肯定是雙重的否定不會去結婚。我會以各種各樣的方式來向父母證明我這樣活得很好，〔獨身？〕對。就是從我的事業，從我的朋友圈，從我的生活的質量，來告訴他們。我覺得事實勝於雄辯，至少不能說我這樣就好到一個什麼程度，但我至少不比我同齡的結婚的那些差，對吧？」
11. 「我想過這個問題，什麼樣的狀態對我來說比較的好。就是第一個，家裡的人覺得這個人對你很好，第二個就是家裡的人能夠接受她，因為作為你的女朋友絕對是對你好不會對你壞的，還有你們兩個必須要有一定物質的基礎，不會說兩個人在一起生活都成為問題了，那這樣的話家裡人也是很難接受，肯定是我們在一起過了很長的時間，過了兩至三年，甚至是更久了之後，她們是覺得你們在一起很正常，而且她非常的照顧你，家裡人看不到她覺得少了什麼東西，很重要的時候，那我覺得可以慢慢得跟他們說這些的狀況，而現在還是太早啦。」
12. 「我不知道兩個女人走下去最大的困難是什麼，但是我知道，如果要讓兩個女人一直走下去，最大的保障是什麼，是經濟，有足夠的經濟才能更大的保障你們可以走下去……跟一個女人在一起，即使你們的經濟基礎很有保障的話，也會有重重的困難；而跟一個男人在一起的話，即使你們的經濟不是很好，但是其他的都不成問題，就是只看兩個人的感情的問題啊。」

13. 「我記得我上網的認識的第一個朋友，她跟我說的一句話，她說，『這個世界上無論怎樣的一種的愛情，都需要物質基礎的，尤其是這樣的一種的愛情，因為你得不到任何的援助。你是孤立無援的，如果你再不能為自己支撐起來一些東西，那是很難在一起。』這話可能太現實了，其實是事實是這樣，有多少沒有條件的愛情，不太可能。」
14. 「我覺得雖然相親是件很可笑的事情，也很嫌他們很多事很雞婆。但是你換個角度去想，他們正因為是你的親人，是你的朋友，他們會關心你去做這個。假如你到了這個年紀，沒有任何人關心你是否有男朋友或女朋友在你身邊，沒有人在意你是一個人兩個人，沒有人去想過你是不是需要一個伴侶，那這個人真的是太可怕了。我覺得這反而是讓我恐慌的事情。」
15. 「但是因為當時我已經想到最最徹底的方法就是啊……不怪怎麼樣講至少人家蠻好的，結婚就結婚吧，即使不好就離婚囉。那麼對我來說，我已經沒壓力了，反正我已結過婚了，那麼離婚和之後的事情，就用不著再說了吧。」
16. 「開始了一年以內丈夫知道……我現在是覺得有婚姻的女人不要……去愛另一個女人，如果我是三年前知道是這個狀況，儘管我很愛她，我一定會控制的，因爲這樣的話你害的是三個人，三個人都痛苦的。如果我可以知道是今天這個場面的話，我寧可在當天小痛一下，真的是很害人的……現在她很痛苦，她一直覺得沒有安全感，我給不了她安全感，又不能給承諾。然後婚姻那邊先生他也很痛苦，因爲正常的男人可以擁有的一切我也給不了他。我自己也非常痛苦，有的時候就想過很簡單的生活，每天早上睜開眼睛感到沒有任何的壓力，簡簡單單的笑一下，工作、看看書。現在每天早上醒來一睜開眼睛覺得心裏很多東西壓著，很沉的……那個時候我很想離婚的，我跟他都談過離婚的，他的態度就是沒有關係，你不用擔心，你去做你想做的，沒有關係的，不用考慮我，我就在這邊，一直在，你願意回來就回來。他如果不是這種寬容的態度，也許我離婚的決心就更大了。當時他那種態度讓我沒辦法。」
17. For example, the divorced population (aged 15 or over) in China in 2004 was only 1.07% (China Statistics Press 2005), while it was 5.2% in Taiwan in 2004 (National Statistics 2005b) and 2.7% in Hong Kong in 2001 (Census and Statistics Department, Hong Kong Special Administrative Region 2005).
18. 「他的反應？就覺得出乎意料。然後就覺得他的人生可以寫個故事了，怎麼會有這樣的事情發生在他身上？但是既然已經發生了，再說對象也是個女的嘛，對他來說不是男性的話對他不會有那麼大的威脅，而且又隔得那麼遠，也就接受了。男的肯定不接受，她的丈夫也一樣，覺得你們兩個女的反正也做不成什麼事情嘛，(笑)。但是一開始她老公那邊也覺得很……很生氣，怎麼有外遇了，後來知道是個女的，就慢慢、慢慢的接受了。」
19. 「孩子是相當大的因素，因爲沒有孩子的話，兩個人離婚就離婚了，也就無所謂，經濟上大家分隔一下就好了。有了孩子的話，這對孩子的影響非常大，這絕對不能夠太自私爲了自己的幸福來把孩子將來的人生或幸福給破壞掉了。一部份是經濟，還有小孩子個人會受到打擊，會受到影響，所以說對孩子的成長、健康不是很有利，不能爲了自己的快樂而影響到孩子的未來嘛。這是一個很重要的考慮因素。還有當然還有經濟方面的因素，如果說經濟上面不成熟的話，兩個人待在一起將來很可能還是好不了的，因爲會有磨擦嘛，那磨擦了以後就會分手。如果說花了驚天動地的力量待在一起，結果還是分手的話，那就代價太高了，沒有意思了。」
20. 「其實，這個問題她的媽媽也跟我聊過，希望我勸勸她。她們雖然知道這個婚姻是假的，但不希望男方知道女方父母知道這個婚姻是假的。就是說，能够像多了半個兒子那樣，好好的和睦地生活，假裝不知道這個事情，或者是扮演這樣的一個角色，

不知道她的事情。如果大家都知道這是假的，她的媽媽會很尷尬，就假裝大家都不知道。」

21. 「他們最多想的就是輿論，和親戚的關係。他們就覺得這個事情妥善地解決掉，問題解決了，你們就出去吧。別人不關注你們了，父母就輕鬆了。」

Chapter 5

1. 「虛假的婚姻，其實是我們對彼此和家庭的承諾。維護著表面的微笑，需要付出的，比任何人能想像的都要多。」
2. Lisa Rofel, *Desiring China: Experiments in Neoliberalism, Sexuality, and Public Culture* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2007).
3. For informants born after the 1980s, the implementation of the one-child policy in cities has possibly put many in a further disadvantaged position when dealing with the joint pressure of marriage and childbearing. Yet it is also important to note that the one-child policy has profoundly transformed the relationship between parents and children. While the single-child generation is disadvantaged in some ways—for instance, they have to face the pressure of marriage and childbearing all alone—in other ways, they have more resources in terms of information and personal mobility to cope with the force of sexual conformity. It is an important area for further studies into how changing dynamics between parents and the single-child generation affect the lives of lesbians and gay men in China.
4. 「而中國正好文化很像很中庸的，畢竟它是以父系社會為主的國家，大家沒有明顯的感覺到這種女同志或男同志對社會的衝擊力，大家都是非常的很平穩的在生活。很多男同女同不管怎麼樣到了該結婚的年紀還去結婚了，他的痛苦他的絕望或他的怎麼樣都是在背後陰暗的角落裡的，沒有被那個拿到陽光下面來的，大家覺得看不見就是不存在的，所以也沒有人會過多去關注這個事情，只是很緩慢的偶爾可能會有冰山一角會露出來，說哪裡什麼酒吧同志的色情活動被衝擊啦，或者某兩個人特別的海枯石爛一定要去結婚啊這樣子，這只是作為新聞去報道，還不是那種經常會發生到我們身邊的事情。我覺得基本上還是很寬鬆的，只要你自己能夠調整好自己的心態，就是找到你今後想要找到的道路的話，問題不是很大，沒有到一種就是在國外有時候會擔心人身安全這種地步。」
5. 「同性愛者普遍希望與自己傾心並傾心於自己的人一同生活，但由於社會文明的相對落後，大量同性愛者在歧視的壓力下過著多性伴生活，難以建立良好、穩定、可靠的單一伴侶關係和尋找適合作伴侶的人，他們之中很多人無可奈何地只能與陌生同性發生性關係，以滿足自己的生理需要和深層次心理渴求。這一現狀使他們生活在極易被愛滋病毒和性病感染的高危因素。因此，在愛滋時代，改變歧視同性愛人群的社會環境，是相關學術界重大的義不容辭的責任和義務。」
6. 「另一方面則需要大力普及有關性取向的解放；北歐國家如丹麥，則是通過同性戀社團與學術界溝通，學術界再與政府溝通，政府再教育大眾的方式解決同性戀問題。中國目前走的是北歐的路子，因為這更適合中國國情。與政府保持良性合作關係，團結所有的人，包括不同觀點和態度的人，才能比較好地解決中國同性戀問題。取向的科學知識，使大眾理解、接納同性戀者，消除歧視，進而為同性戀者的良好交流創造空間。」
7. 「在黑夜之後，握著你的手，在陽光下驕傲地走，坦然happy地過我們的生活！」
8. 「中國同性戀人群中，有很多具有現代文化素質，追求著高質量的生活和努力體現生命的價值。一些『活得不錯』的同性戀朋友，都是首先以自己在社會上勤奮上進、有所成功，對父母家人作出貢獻後，終於有勇氣說明自己的性取向。有同性戀者認

為：『同性戀』的含義首先是作為人、擁有人的尊嚴；就尊嚴來說，與是否是同性戀沒有任何關係。

還有同性戀者說：作為同性戀者，我首先提倡行為自律。只有在行爲自律的前提下，才有資格向社會和政府提出寬容和善待的問題。如果沒有行為自律的前提，一切無從談起。一個國家、群體、公民都應有自律的行爲規範，否則很難得到大衆的認同。做爲尚未得到大衆認同的同性戀者來說，更應該注意自身形象問題，樹立一個高尚、健康、向上的良好社會形象尤爲重要。儘管有些規範不一定每個人都能做得很好，但我們可以努力去做。我們首先應該承擔起社會賦予的角色：遵紀守法，陶冶高尚的情操，行為自律。只有對自己負責，才可能對別人負責、對社會負責，才能得到大衆社會的認同。」

9. 「就是說不可能去這樣說你這樣是沒有錯的，完全正確的，你想怎麼樣就怎麼樣。而是就事論事，而且如果她自我介紹她還在上學的話，我們會告訴她最好把學上好一點，因為這個不是跟性取向的關係了，是人生很重要的一件事情，你自己都不能自己做好的話，不可能可以為別人帶來幸福。〔就是說唸完書再講？〕你可以在唸書的時候談朋友，但是你不能為了這個而放棄一切，你自己都沒有辦法認同自己，把自己的生活變得好一點，你不能帶給別人任何的安全感，和幸福感。」

10. John Cho (2009) observes that contract marriage in South Korea is uniquely a middle or upper-middle-class phenomenon. The number of informants I have in China who are in cooperative marriages is too small to reach any generalization of class background at the present moment.

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Note: Terms in italics indicate names of events, video works, institutions, organizations, commercial spaces, or Chinese *pinyin*.