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《同性恋亚文化》

Homosexual Subculture

李银河

*Li Yinhe*

A Senior Project Translation submitted to the Vassar College Chinese Department in  
Partial Fulfillment of the Bachelor of the Arts in Chinese Language and Literature

Advisor: Liu Haoming

Translator: Nicholas Gorman

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## Contents

<b>Acknowledgments</b> .....	3
<b>Translator's Foreword</b> by Nicholas Gorman (郭广利) .....	5
<b>Author Introduction</b> .....	10
<b>Preface</b> by Wang Xiaobo (王小波) .....	11
<b>Chapter 1: Introduction</b> .....	16
<b>Section 1: Why Study Homosexuality?</b> .....	16
<b>Section 2: The General Existence of the Phenomenon of Homosexuality</b> .....	28
<b>Section 3: Research Methods and Sample</b> .....	45
<b>Works Cited</b> .....	50

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I owe a lot of my ability to my teachers, mentors, and friends at Capital Normal University and to CET: Beijing for giving me so much encouragement and always correcting even my smallest grammar errors. I owe so much to 孟达礼, 艾嘉宁, 邓爱碧, 罗心悠, 周敏, 胡江, 周老师, 霍老师, 修老师 and 李老师, all for helping me to always go up just a little bit higher and become just a little bit better (更上一层楼).

Finally, thank you to all the people who have made my time in undergrad, be that in Beijing, Poughkeepsie, or Buffalo, so beautiful. The past few years have not been without trial, difficulties, and bitterness, but flaws do not obscure the brilliance of jade (瑕不掩瑜).



## Translator's Foreword by Nicholas Gorman (郭广利)

In deciding on a subject for a capstone to my studies so far at Vassar College in Poughkeepsie and at Capital Normal University in Beijing, I was firmly set on working in translation; my passion for translation began in high school while studying a series of 'Works in Translation' in partial fulfillment of my International Baccalaureate degree. I of course enjoyed reading engaging stories, like *Chronicle of a Death Foretold* by Gabriel Garcia Marquez, or any number of short stories by Franz Kafka, but I liked more the way that culture could be imparted through a detailed and accurate translation. There are so many nuances which language holds, nuance which is totally obliterated from a fast and dirty translation like those currently available using computer technology. In that way, there is no substitute for a detailed translation, produced on top of years of foundational study and work.

There is a further aspect of my studies which I hoped to engage with in a Senior Project, which is the forced invisibility which queer people experience through the daily politics of academia and history. I remember vividly my discussions with my professors and mentors at Capital Normal about the middle-ground which queer people are forced to exist within in Mainland China, such as no official legislature which forbids homosexual marriage in the Mainland, yet still having no legal right to same sex marriage. At the same time, my time in Beijing came with the backdrop of a marriage equality bill being passed in Taiwan, the first government in Asia to pass such a law, within the last two years (Hollingsworth, 2019). In some ways, the queer experience is necessarily one which falls outside of strict clean definitions, and my personal

experience in China as a queer person, as well as the experiences of other queer people I spoke with while there, certainly confirmed this.

Unfortunately, it is not as though the difficulties of being queer in Mainland China are strange or unknown. One manifestation of this is the phenomena of the *tongqi* (同妻), a slang term which is used to describe 'marriage fraud', in which gay and queer men decide to marry women who are unaware of their husband's sexuality. Even though many queers in the West do continue to live in a significantly heteronormative society, the pressure to conform to the traditional nuclear family structure is significantly greater in China than the West, which is symptomatic of more traditional moral values, but is also reflective of the pressure to reproduce caused by the One-Child Policy and other family planning initiatives of the 1980's. This practice is relatively prevalent, and some quantitative studies estimate that approximately 14 million gay men have entered heterosexual marriages in China in recent years (Liu et al, 2013). This phenomenon is not only secondary to a greater issue of a strict gender politic in China but represents much greater issues of a strict family structure reinforced by government policy. The rhetoric surrounding this phenomenon is often also detrimental to both women and homosexual men (Zhu, 2017).

It is also essential that I take a moment to problematize myself as a translator. I do believe that there are several things that uniquely prepare me to do this type of translation, among those being my twelve years of experience studying Chinese in the United States and in Beijing. I have also studied Queer Studies at one of the foremost colleges for sexuality and gender studies in the United States. It is also undeniable the volume of experience I have had as a queer person and with other queer Chinese

nationals and classmates while studying in Beijing. Li Yinhe was recommended to me as an author whom I would enjoy by a professor I had while at Capital Normal University, and she ended up being totally right that she was a great writer for me to study as a conclusion to my Chinese and Queer Studies at Vassar. That being said, my experience with queer theory and gender studies also uniquely makes it more difficult to avoid inserting my own biases of Western Queer Studies into a text which makes concerted efforts to comment specifically on the experience of queer people in China. Moreover, it can be very easy as a white Western queer theorist to insert my own assumptions about what is modern and what is backwards, what is acceptable and what is problematic, what is relevant and what can be cast aside or discarded. In this way, the colonial aspect of translation is undeniable, and while it is something I have hoped to avoid in my translation, the utter humanity of bias is unshakable for all of us, and so these points should be noted in this and any translation that claims to have a goal of broadening the field of Queer Studies in a culture that is not their own.

While many essays could be written discussing contemporary queer issues in China, the history of Queer Studies (a natural starting point in this discussion) is unfortunately not well understood because of historic suppression of queer voices and activism by the Chinese government. Texts which described queer characters, advocated for the rights of disadvantaged groups, or critiqued the government are still subject to heavy scrutiny and government censorship to this day. Wang Xiaobo, husband to Li Yinhe and fellow writer and activist, had an impressive writing career but was described as a “perennial irritant” because of his consistent critiques of the myth of the Chinese intellectual and of the Chinese government (Veg, 2017). In fact, many of

the critiques of his later writing career were Foucauldian in nature, most likely a perspective he was exposed to only by Li Yinhe.

Therefore, it made natural sense to undertake translation of a text which has not yet been translated into English. As Li Yinhe stated in a recent 2020 interview, before her publication of *Their World* with Wang Xiaobo in 1992, the only text available in Chinese that mentioned gays and lesbians was a 1946 translation of Havelock Ellis's *Psychology of Sex: A Manual for Students* (1933), which classified homosexuality as a mental disorder (Cochrane et al, 2020). Therefore, Li Yinhe's writing represents a significant break from the historical writing in Mainland China about homosexuality. Other works of hers, such as those which describe sadomasochism and female sexuality, were again some of the first instances of academic research to discuss these issues in a respectful way; a way that was not medicalized and pathologized. Despite the strides taken through her work, Li Yinhe remained an ardent advocate for marginalized people, arguing that, "the continued use of administrative sanctions denies homosexuals equality before the law, including the right to equal employment and opportunities for promotion." (Zheng, 2015) While much work needs to be done, I believe that Li Yinhe's writing on typically taboo topics help to improve the national and global understanding of what it means to be queer in China.

Li Yinhe is a prolific writer, influential activist, and one of the most famous sociologists to ever live and write in Mainland China. I feel honored to contribute to her incredible legacy by attempting to translate what is certainly one of the most texts in the history of Chinese Queer Studies. I hope that this translation at least helps to start conversations about how to consume queer theory outside of the Americas and Europe,

and even possibly helps to grow Li Yinhe's recognition by more American sexologists, sociologists, and queer theorists. Further translations of her work would certainly go a long way towards the bridges that we must build to understand what it means to be queer; a task I feel lucky to contribute to.

-Nicholas Gorman, 郭广利

## **Author Introduction**

Li Yinhe was born in Beijing, China, in 1952. She received her bachelor's degree in History from University of Shanxi, and she received her master's and doctorate degrees in Sociology from the University of Pittsburgh. She is currently serving as a researcher, professor, and doctoral student advisor at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.

Li Yinhe is one of the academics with the most abundant influence on Chinese society in the modern era, and her primary fields of study are women's sociology, family sociology, gender studies, and sexual sociology. Most of her theories about Chinese social development and Chinese social progress have promoted the function of sex in society. In 1999, she was named by *Asiaweek* as one of China's 50 Most Influential Figures, and in 2004 she was named by *Southern China People's Weekly Magazine* as of the "50 People Who Most Influenced China's Collective Knowledge". In 2008 she was selected as one of the "30 Most Famous People of the 30 Years of China's Reform and Openness".

## **Preface by Wang Xiaobo (王小波)**

When we research this country's phenomenon of homosexuality, oftentimes we are completely confused by this kind of question: why do we not research so many significant and urgent questions and instead go research homosexuality? If these condemnations come from colleagues in the field of Sociology, then this is not hard to answer. In the body of this text, there will be chapters dedicated to discussing the reasons to research homosexuality. The question becomes more difficult to answer when the condemnations come from the average person. Therefore, the question becomes, as a sociologist, why do you want to research homosexuality? The difficulty in responding to this question certainly does not depend on the fact that there is a lack of research about homosexuality, but instead depends on our lack of qualification to produce an answer to this question. It is common knowledge that only preeminent scholars in this field have the seniority and expertise to represent this discipline and demonstrate this to the public.

However, we have no choice but to resolve this question. In this research we are often perplexed and deal with many complications, not only condemnation, but also within those complications are a group of people in society who do not support the research of homosexuality. Mao Zedong once said, when playing the lute to the cow<sup>1</sup>, if you look down on the listener, then all you are doing is mocking them. Although, in this

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<sup>1</sup> 对牛弹琴 is a Chinese idiom meaning "to play lute for the cow". It describes the situation in which a writer or speaker overestimates the sophistication or understanding their consumer will have and is typically derogatory towards the reader. The closest English translation is another idiom; "to cast pearls before swine".

way, we still take a liberty, and do not fear being mocked by the reader; we want to assert the position of Sociology and Anthropology, as well as clarify why the study of homosexuality is necessary according to that perspective.

In the first half of the century, when the well-renowned scholar of Cultural Anthropology, Bronisław Malinowski, wrote the preface of Fei Xiaotong's work *Peasant Life in China*, he gave Fei Xiaotong's work an extremely high assessment. Malinowski thought that the greatest merit of the book was that it was the result of observing people in their home-grown, natural habitat. Just because of this special characteristic, the book is a true investigator's most valuable most precious achievement.

Fei Xiaotong's object of research was a community and included every aspect of life in that community. In depth and research methods, his research is significantly different from ours, but it has some precious experiences in it which are of merit to remember. That is, as home-grown people carefully observing a group of people we are familiar with, it is impossible to avoid every aspect of life. This careful style is represented in the following belief: "truth is enough to solve a problem, because truth is nothing but man's desire to seek out true fact and true power." Standing in opposition to this belief is the pretention of academia and, "using fact and conviction to welcome a unified and authoritative doctrine." So, as Malinowski said, "rationality has been sold out."<sup>2</sup>

We realized the basis of the social science has two opposing positions: one, in seeking truth, is that truth is in rationality and practicality; the other is that truth is

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<sup>2</sup> 费孝通 . 江村经济 . 南京 : 江苏人民出版社, 1986.

explained by doctrine, and scientific inquiry is this type of fact, a just and honorable encomium. One type should not yield to authoritative doctrine, while the other's problems cannot be sold out, and from birth are the buyer. One in science seeks to avoid the pretention of academia, while the other is nothing but science, and is precisely the pretention of academia. One could say that science is the drive to search for knowledge and is the never-ending process of study. On the other hand, some believe that the basic character of science is innate by nature, and acquired knowledge is brought up through overwhelming righteousness. Knowledge acquired through experience is one type that aids in righteousness; what is detrimental to righteousness is following and responding blindly, and the state of seeking, thinking, and attaining without guilt.

From the beginning of the study, we believed that the phenomenon of homosexuality was a real fact in China, and we cannot continue to ignore it when we see it. We must instead develop some evidence-based attitude towards it. The sole objective of this research was to understand the nature of the group of homosexuals in China. After the study, we realized that we are in fact the ones who have come down ill. This type of research is not sophisticated, which is something difficult to declare in an academic tone. In this study, we will primarily demonstrate to what extent our dominant social ideology is truly just and grand.

At the end of the study, we called this "ideological centrism". Based on our research, we sought to make a positive critique of this ideology. Therefore, it is from this perspective of a positive critique from which we developed the structure of our interviews and conclusions. For this type of research, since we can foresee the

outcome, it is somewhat like masturbating. When a man begins to masturbate, he can foresee that the outcome is his ejaculation. However, this does not hinder his ability to do it, and to imagine different sights and sounds all the while, because he has the support of his own pleasure. In research on ideological centrism, a positive critique of the ideology also has its own tangible flavors of pleasure and delight. However, this activity will not certainly produce any genuine or true results.

By explaining like this, we can explain to the public the initial reason for undertaking this research on homosexuality. We are true seekers of knowledge, and from extant knowledge, homosexuality is regardless worth studying. Using conservative estimates, homosexuals make up at least 1% of the total population, which definitely merits at least some necessary level of research. Homosexual behavior influences familial and social relationships in countless aspects, and because of this influence, the scope of homosexuality even exceeds this 1%. In China, many homosexual men seek to get married, and naturally this would have a profound impact on the married lives of women. Because of any of the above reasons, there is sufficient cause to study homosexuality.

Moreover, there is one other reason, which is Erich Fromm's position on humanism. Malinowski and Fromm both said that science is valuable in its service to the human race. We cannot guarantee that every single study will result in some direct valuable benefit, but we should instead guarantee that all studies come from a good and honest desire. As we research homosexuality now, we must maintain this honest desire, with hopes of helping them, and not harboring malice or seeing them as enemies.

Through the entire study, we kept goodwill, including in interactions with all participants. We call this position unconditional positive regard<sup>3</sup> in scientific research.

The information stated above can be summarized by pursuit of truth through scientific research, anti-ideological centrism, and the doctrine of unconditional positive regard. These doctrines are the starting point for our research into homosexuality and have remained our primary end goal. Before the beginning of the main text, in summary, we hope to gain the reader's sincere sympathy.

-Wang Xiaobo, 王小波

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<sup>3</sup> "Unconditional positive regard" is a psychological term and not a perfect translation for this term but describes an incredibly similar procedure of goodwill towards participants in all situations.

## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

### **Section 1: Why Study Homosexuality?**

Homosexuality is a sexual orientation in which individuals have sexual and inclinations and actions with those of the same gender, and homosexuals are individuals who choose those of the same sex as romantic and sexual partners (man or woman). Although homosexuality has been around since ancient times, the concept of homosexuality actually arose recently. Along with the development of human sexuality and the beginning of research into sexual intercourse in the nineteenth century, people began finally began to research the phenomenon of homosexuality, and the concept of homosexuality was created. In today's sociological research, the common word of *tongxinglian*<sup>4</sup> was adopted, written in English as "homosexuality", or "homo". The root of this word come from the Greek root meaning "same kind", and the non-Latin root meaning "people".

Homosexuality is a distinctive cultural phenomenon and is an ideal topic of study for sociological research. "Ideal", because homosexuality is a distinct denotation, with a unique connotation: homosexuality serves as a kind of *yawenhua*<sup>5</sup> (subculture). It has its own distinct dissociation from mainstream cultural characteristics; homosexuals are regarded as a subcultural group which possesses a unique code of conduct and way. Because of this, every country's sociologists thoroughly enjoy this topic, and have dedicated a large amount of research to it.

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<sup>4</sup> 同性恋 translates directly to "same sex love".

<sup>5</sup> 亚文化 translates to "sub-culture".

From about 1898 to 1908, the number of publications on the topic of homosexuality exceeded 1,000, and soon after the 1990's research on homosexuality became even more abundant. However, in this country<sup>6</sup>, aside from being seen periodically in random newspaper and magazine articles, to everyone's surprise, until the 90's there was actually no research texts dedicated to homosexuality written. As the first sociologists in China to research homosexuality, we can't help but feel a heavy responsibility.

When working in China, one must be particular about the "rectification of terms"<sup>7</sup>; if the words aren't right, then the message becomes adverse. So, before beginning this research, we should begin by explaining clearly why we should research the subculture of what is a very small portion of the population.

First, the differences between people are the greatest because of their differences in culture. Sociologists disagree with cultural centralism, and instead support the following perspective: every culture is produced by a different background. The humans among these cultures all experience birth and death, marriage and grief, and a whole process of development, which can completely explain them. One cannot think that there are some higher and some lower cultures; it is better to say that every person has their own way of life. As for this homosexual subculture, we should look upon it in this same way.

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<sup>6</sup> "This country" or "my country" is commonly used in writings by Chinese authors to indicate China.

<sup>7</sup> The "rectification of terms" is an important tenant in Confucianism. Confucius believed that social disorder may stem from not calling things by their proper names, or more generally by a failure to use precise language to describe the world around us.

Secondly, if homosexual patterns of behavior are certainly not a normal phenomenon, this behavior does not exist in animals, and in humanity this only an extremely specific capacity of man, then researching its significance can only degrade it. "But, if we can prove that not only is it a foundational compositional part of humanity, but also a pattern of behavior that commonly exists in all mammals of the world, then things would be completely different."<sup>8</sup>

According to zoology, many primates, such as the macaque, baboon, and chimpanzee, etc., all exhibit homosexual behavior. Some people use this as the basis to put forward that human homosexual behavior cannot be considered unnatural. But one thing which needs further clarification is that homosexual behavior in many mammals is not primarily in sex, but instead in using this kind of behavior on certain other partners to control their own position, or to improve an animal's own position with others in order to achieve certain goals.

Although a large amount of previous research indicates that homosexuals make up a small portion of the population, their sheer number is by no means small; the particularly more important thing is that it is a transcultural and commonly occurring phenomenon. Whitmer in America, Guatemala, Brazil, and the Philippines, came to the following important conclusions in their comparative research: (1) the phenomenon of homosexuality exists in all of these societies; (2) in all of these societies, homosexuals make up about one-tenth of the total population, and this proportion remains stable; (3) social norms cannot block or encourage homosexual orientation; in other words,

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<sup>8</sup> 金西 . 人类男性性行为 . 北京 : 光明日报出版社, 1989.199 ~ 20

homosexual orientation cannot be reduced because of some society's strict maintenance of a negative attitude towards it, and it also cannot be increased because of some society's standards of tolerance towards it; (4) there only needs to be one sufficiently large group to generate a homosexual subculture; (5) although every society is different, homosexuals in actions, interests, and occupation all tend toward the same direction; (6) all societies produce a similar continuum of sexual relationships, from male homosexuals to female homosexuals, and everything in between. Whitmer thought that homosexuality is not produced by some particular social structure, but instead a foundational shape of human sexuality under many different cultural backgrounds.

In *Fundamentals of Human Sexuality*, Herant Katchadourian conveyed a similar perspective; he pointed out, "among homosexuals there are poor people and rich people, educated and ignorant, those with rights and those without, smart and dumb. Homosexuals exist in all groups, all levels, all nationalities, and all religions."<sup>9</sup>

Regardless of if a person is a homosexual or part of the general public, they are all very much concerned with the issue of the rate of occurrence of homosexuality, because this is related to the state of homosexuals and is one of the basic facts of its importance. As for this fact, the homosexual group is especially sensitive. A typical example: a random sample survey in America in 1994 showed that when homosexuals in America comprised only 2-3% of the population, it immediately lead to homosexual social groups being called into question and protested, such that the results of the study

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<sup>9</sup> 凯查多利 . 人类性行为基础 . CBS 学院出版社, 1985.329

seem unbelievable; although the above study had a clear result, in big cities, the proportion of homosexuals was as up to 10%.

Early in sociology, before probability and statistics were widely used for research, sociologists and sexologists had various estimates of the rate of occurrence of homosexual behavior, and even of what proportion of the population was homosexuals.

Germany's famous founder of sexology, the originator of the "Third Sex" Theory and the earliest research into the phenomenon of homosexuality, Magnus Hirschfield, estimated that 1-5% of the population is either homosexual or bisexual. In 1936, Havelock Ellis estimated that in England homosexuals composed 2-5% of the population. The same year, Hartman and Mills estimated that 4% of college students were homosexuals. In 1947, McFarland that the occurrence rate of homosexuality in America is 6%. According to Hyde, 80% of men and 90% of women are strictly heterosexual, 2% of men and 1% of women are strictly homosexual, and the rest experience varying degrees of homosexuality and heterosexuality. Laumann's survey in 1994 revealed that 2.8% of men considered themselves to be homosexual, and 1.4% of women considered themselves to be homosexual; 5.3% of men and 3.5% of women had same sex sexual relationships after puberty; 7.7% of men and 7.5% of women admit to having same-sex sexual desire; and 10.1% of men and 8.6% of women have had same-sex desire and experiences.<sup>10</sup> In 1995 one report stated homosexuals made up 10-12% of the American population.<sup>11</sup> In England, about 10% of people in the total

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<sup>10</sup> 赫兹菲尔德等 . 爱与性, 跨文化透视 . 波士顿 : 艾林与培根出版社, 1996.115

<sup>11</sup> 谢荣镇 . 同性恋在美国 . 广角镜月刊, 1995, 1

population self-identified as homosexuals, and the actual proportion of homosexuals is likely an even higher number, including within it people who are bisexual in practice.<sup>12</sup> In addition, according to some military psychologists' estimates, the occurrence rate of homosexuality in soldiers is as high as 10%, maybe even higher. A survey done by Peck<sup>13</sup> revealed that 10% of university professors are homosexuals.

Since so many surveys discovered that homosexuals were 10% of the population, the "Ten Percent Society" was established in the United States, meaning that 1/10 of the entire population were mainly homosexually oriented, although within that is people who have had heterosexual experiences. At the moment, the general perspective of the academic world is that the real proportion is probably a little higher than 1/10, but not much higher.<sup>14</sup>

On the other hand, some scholars' research reports a much higher occurrence rate. In 1929, Hamilton reported that in those over the age of 18, the homosexual occurrence rate was 17%; in 1943 Ramsey's research argued that the homosexual occurrence rate in high schoolers was 30%; and in 1947, Singh put forward that the rate was 27% for college students. We have some doubts, because it is unclear if these proportions are the number of people who have engaged in homosexual sex, or if the earlier lower statistics were because they were only absolute lifelong homosexuals factored in as the proportion. Some researchers really use this difference to create an explicit definition: for example, Bell's investigation results states that within the group of people who, "have engaged in homosexual behavior before", 2/3 of survey respondents

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<sup>12</sup> 奥斯丁等 . 人类性行为 . 剑桥 : 剑桥大学出版社, 1980.148

<sup>13</sup> Most likely a lesser known sociologist or sexologist, but this figure lacks citation.

<sup>14</sup> 海德 . 理解人类的性 . 纽约 . 麦格劳—希尔出版集团, 1994.438

report having a homosexual experience before the age of 19. Another obvious example: in some Arabic countries, because females are inaccessible, most men's first sexual experience is with a prostitute or a young boy. Some studies say that 40% of adolescent males have their first sexual experience with another boy.<sup>15</sup>

A significant number of studies have brought us closer to accumulating a homosexual behavior occurrence rate and differentiating this rate from the previous year. A 1989 study in America showed that at least 20% of men reached an orgasm through some homosexual act; 7% of men have had homosexual intercourse; in the previous year, this number was 2%. These proportions are the lower limit, because it is easy for people to refuse to disclose homosexual behavior and instead to cover it up. One study in France in 1992 found that only 1.1% of men and 0.3% of female engaged in homosexual behavior in the previous year.<sup>16</sup>

Surveys in recent years conducted in China have shown that 16.6% of male college students have engaged in homosexual intercourse, 8.4% have had some internal orientation towards it, and only 4.2% are in both groups.<sup>17</sup> Another stated that 7.0-8.3% of male college students have had homosexual intercourse.<sup>18</sup>

The well-known Kinsey Scale test is a relatively reliable and authoritative way to make estimated. Kinsey pointed out, "estimates of the occurrence rate can be as different as night and day. Many people think that homosexuals are few, and that aside from in a hospital, they would not encounter one in their whole life. But many people

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<sup>15</sup> 赫兹菲尔德等. 爱与性, 跨文化透视. 波士顿: 艾林与培根出版社, 1996.120

<sup>16</sup> 海德. 理解人类的性. 纽约: 麦格劳-希尔出版集团, 1994.436 ~ 437

<sup>17</sup> 潘绥铭. 中国性现状. 北京: 光明日报出版社, 1995.411

<sup>18</sup> 刘达临. 中国当代性文化. 上海: 上海三联书店, 1995.113

who engage in same sex intercourse would say that 50-100% of people are like them.”<sup>19</sup> Our survey also had respondents who made estimates like the later, and according to them, 60-70% of men have had a same sex sexual encounter. Of course, these types of estimates only reflect the feeling of the individual respondents, and in no way is proof.

Kinsey’s investigation made a clear differentiation between those who have had homosexual intercourse before and those who are strictly homosexual and provided a reliable estimate of what proportion of the population each made up. He stated that of white men after the start of adolescence, 37% of had had same sex intercourse at least once (otherwise somewhere between 37-50%); 4% by the end of their life had only had same sex intercourse (those who are strictly homosexual). Moreover, 60% of juvenile men and 48% of young men participated in homosexual activities in their adolescence.<sup>20</sup> After excluding elements of bias caused by individuals with low levels of education and former prisoners from Kinsey’s sample, “estimates state that approximately 3-4% of young adult men are completely homosexual. Perhaps in the long-run, we may sufficiently reach an optimal estimate.”<sup>21</sup>

According to Kinsey’s statistics about homosexuality in America and Whitmer’s proportions of population occupied by homosexuals, we come close to and maintained a stable, authoritative theory, and we speculate that homosexuals also occupy between 3-4% of the population in our society; if it can be established that the

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<sup>19</sup> 金西 . 人类男性性行为 . 北京 : 光明日报出版社, 1989.203

<sup>20</sup> 金西 . 人类男性性行为 . 北京 : 光明日报出版社, 1989.211 ~ 213, 304

<sup>21</sup> 盖格农 . 人类性行为 . 伊利诺伊 : 斯科特和弗里斯曼公司, 197

cause of homosexuality is an innate factor, then the underage population's latent homosexuality will also someday reach this proportion.

As for these relatively sparse yet gigantic numbers (in my country between 36 million and 48 million) of this group, with regards to the specific lifestyle of this group with specific sexual orientation, to this day almost nothing is known. Should we really not have any degree of curiosity or inquisition towards them?

Third, if people want to make judgements about any issue, they must know the most basic facts about that issue. Taking delight in forming their own judgements about people is one of the unique characteristics of the modern person. In the Middle Ages, people could not take joy in or take part in this delight— their own judgements were informed by others, such as an emperor or The Church. Individuals would not dare stir up any trouble by having their own judgements on issues. Fromm's discusses this in his book, *Escape from Freedom*, which refers to this situation. He describes that in order for one to have the privilege of sharing their judgement, first they must fully understand the reality of that which they are judging. One of the goals of this research is to provide a basis of fact to those in society who wish to judge the phenomenon of homosexuality, that is, the actual situation and behavior of behavior of homosexuals in China.

Some say that we don't need to understand anything about homosexuality, we simply know that it is immoral. These types of people believe that they should maintain an attitude of complete ignorance toward anything that involves homosexuality. Or, that the more ignorant they are to it, the better they can protect their purity of spirit, and maintain their moral principle of hatred towards homosexuality. From the

perspective of the modern individual, this is obviously a timid attitude, like an ostrich putting its head in the sand— if you are completely ignorant towards something, will it cease to exist?

Some say that we don't need to understand anything about homosexuality, we just know that homosexuals are crazy<sup>22</sup> and need to be saved. This type of person's line of reasoning belongs in the category of the Middle Ages. Even if homosexuals need assistance, we still must first get to the bottom of who they are, where they are, how they behave, whether or not they want our help, etc. It is similar to the once popular and quite culture-centric saying: we want to go save two-thirds of the suffering people in the world. This saying used to be taken extremely seriously by people, and now it has already become a joke. The funny parts are that; first of all, we have certainly not met two-thirds of those suffering; secondly, we do not know what kind of suffering they are experiencing; thirdly, we do not know if these people are currently waiting for us to save them. By this same reasoning, when we want to go "rescue" homosexuals, if we first do not know who they are; second, do not understand their situation; and third, do not understand if whether they want our rescue, then we may find ourselves trapped in laughable circumstances.

In talking about the reason for the emergence of homosexuality, one type of theory is usually the definition of one type of homosexuality. If it is inherited, then it could be said to be a hereditary phenomenon; if you receive psychological evaluation, then it could be said to be some mental perversion. These theories may be correct, or

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<sup>22</sup> Here, she uses 有病, which directly translated to "have a disease", but is colloquially used to describe someone who is crazy or insane.

could be mistaken, yet people continue to ignore one most important problem, which is that if homosexuality is a type of existence, then this exact existence is most important and most fundamental.

In saying that homosexuality exists, we are alluding to the definite number of men and women who frequently experience attraction to others of the same gender. This attraction is both spiritual and physical, and they will experience love and sexual behavior between each other. We know this to be fact. As for concrete reasons why or how they should be treated, these are a separate issue. If we want to research homosexuals, we must face this fact head on.

Former research into homosexuality, before getting in touch with research participants, would establish a firm belief that homosexuality is a crime or a sin, a corruption of morals, an abnormal perversion, etc. By starting by seeing homosexuality as a perversion, whatever research these past studies did always necessarily concluded that homosexuality is perverted. Of course, it cannot be said that this type of study completely lacks meaning, because they can have some discoveries. The pitiful part is that their all their discoveries were limited within the range of perversion; if there are non-perverted aspects to homosexuality, they were definitely not researched and found.

In social science research, some researchers have this tendency, where in before starting research, they first want to say what is right and wrong. This causes researchers to fall into a dilemma: before starting all research, there should always be some type of preface, explaining that we have no knowledge of the subject of the research. They should explain what actual facts will be discovered by conducting the

research, as well as their objectives. Since it is unknown, how can we form conclusions in advance of the research, that something is wrong or bad? If the research already knows this, then what is there to research?

From the angle of scientific research, there is no need and you should not make value judgements. However, of all homosexual research that already exists in the world, many bring a tint of value judgement with them to the research. Looking back on past documentation, it is not hard to realize that the judgements in homosexual research have always benefitted the researcher. In the capacity of a homosexual doing research, the research always benefits homosexuals (like Hirschfield's "Third Sex" theory); heterosexuals' research is always detrimental to homosexuals (by calling them perverts or criminals, etc.). In my opinion, a study with meaning does not get its value from the component which passes judgement, but from the discovery it makes. This is the primary reason we are pursuing this research, and it is our goal and objective.

## Section 2: The General Existence of the Phenomenon of Homosexuality

The phenomenon of homosexuality in human history exists commonly in foundational modes of behavior for various different cultures, regardless if it is a highly developed industrial society or in the most primitive and savage tribes; regardless of if it is today's 1990's or in the far past of an ancient era. In many uncivilized and semicivilized ethnic groups, homosexuality is an obvious phenomenon; sometimes in modern culture, even those holding superior positions, homosexuals precisely because of this receive admiration and respect.

In the past 4,000 years, ancient Egyptians took romantic and sexual behavior between men to be something divine. According to folklore, the Egyptian gods Horace and Seth engaged in this type of homosexual behavior.<sup>23</sup> In the harems of ancient Egypt, every single woman had an intimate same sex partner. There was a similar situation in ancient India.

The Carthaginians in ancient Northern Africa; the Dorians, ancestors of the Greeks; the Caucasians, from northwest of the Black Sea; even the Normans of Northern Europe all have some written history of the phenomenon of homosexuality. According to these written records, in ancient Mesopotamia, there are numerous instances of the existence of homosexuality; there were even many male prostitutes who specialized in serving homosexuals. In the temples of Babylon, male prostitutes would gather in a special brothel to be supervised and managed by the bishop.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> 霭理士 . 性心理学 . 上海 : 三联书店, 1988.283

<sup>24</sup> 同上

In some Islamic countries, since women are isolated from the rest of the world and not easy to access, in addition to not receiving much education, they have no position in society, which leads to homosexual behavior between men becoming popular. In some countries where it is custom for adults to have fond relationships with pre-pubescent children, they believe that young children have a beautiful appearance on par with that of a beautiful woman.

The Mayan civilization, one the three great civilizations of Latin America, had records of the phenomenon of homosexuality during puberty. Some specialists believe that the Mayan civilization to be a civilization which loved homosexually more than heterosexuality. Before a Mayan man was married, it was normal for his parent to arrange a male play partner (male slave) for him, who fulfilled his desires. In addition, among Mayan adults, it was believed that homosexuality was natural, and was difficult to change. Because of this, they adopted a tolerant perspective towards homosexuals.

The most attention-grabbing thing in the history of homosexuality was the situation of the ancient Greek civilization. In ancient Greece, adult men would often become passionately in love with other men who had passed through puberty but not yet reached maturity, specifically with those between the ages of 12 and 16. In the 200 years between the 6<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE, Greeks considered homosexuals to be a “high education” subdivision, and after receiving their traditional basic education as a young adult, they are placed under the wing of an older man, and this man is called his “lover”, and the boy is called the “beloved”. The adult man is usually over 30 years old, and is responsible for the development and education of the boy’s wisdom and ethics, using kindness, understanding, warmth, and treating the youth with pure love. The only

goal of the man is to accompany the youth to moral perfection. During wars, they fight side-by-side; if the youth makes a mistake, the man receives punishment in place of him. When the youth grows up and becomes a man, he will either marry or will become the “lover” of another youth.

On the battlefield, same sex love is also admired. During many military campaigns, Spartan armies have been victorious in war because of this “same sex love”. Plato once said the following about this: “a small group of soldiers who love each other and fights shoulder-to-shoulder can smash a huge army. No soldier wants to be seen breaking ranks or abandoning weapons by his lover; they would rather die than receive that humiliation... In this situation, even the most no-good coward would be heartened by the god of love and would be able to demonstrate the innate male gift of bravery.” Even the famous holy army of Thebes, the Sacred Band, was composed only of soldiers who were lovers. They fought in many places over 33 years, and established many glorious victories, and were finally defeated by Macedonian imperial forces. At their final military campaign, 300 members of the Sacred Band either died a glorious death in battle or sustained a mortal injury.<sup>25</sup>

Homosexual love was also prevalent in Athens. Historical records of the Athenian statesman, General Alcibiades, was one of these kinds of legendary characters. When he was 17 or 18, he was the most beautiful and handsome youth in the city of Athens. Wherever he went, he always had a large group of men following him. These men would flirt with him as though her were a beautiful young lady and try to

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<sup>25</sup> 唐纳希尔 . 人类性爱史话 . 北京 : 中国文联出版社, 1988, 41 ~ 44

woo him. He played the part of the floozy perfectly in behavior—he teased his admirers, flirted with them, and fooled with them until they were completely embarrassed. If he was in a good mood or if it is profitable, he would sometimes give these homosexual followers a small favor. Because of this he came to be seen as an idol to the youth of Athens.<sup>26</sup>

In conclusion, the Greeks saw men to be close to perfect creations, so they made an even more perfect relationship partner. From the point of view of those men who had cultural accomplishments and an interest in the arts it was especially true, because they took congeniality between souls to be a part of the pursuit of love. Handsome young men who had not yet reached maturity could ignite the fiercely burning flames of men's love even more than lovers of the opposite sex. The youth possessed the bashfulness of a young girl, exuberant vigor, were full of youthful energy, and their masculine traits were just budding. This type of love well exceeded just the physiological, and became some elegant appeal, possessing aesthetic meaning. Even Plato said, "divine love" only exists between two men, and only love between men can genuinely be deemed the noble and chivalric form of love. His writings contained this kind of praise for love between two men: "By loving a boy in the night, a man sees the true essence of beauty when he rises from the bed."<sup>27</sup> Stratton then said: "A 12-year-old boy attracts fondness; at 13 he becomes even more beautiful; at 14 the flower of his love is fragrant; at 15 his charms greatly increase; at the age of 16 he is perfection."<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> 亨特·情爱自然史·北京：作家出版社，1988.19~20

<sup>27</sup> 拉里亚等，人类性心理学·北京：光明日报出版社，1989.128

<sup>28</sup> 坦娜希尔·历史中的性·北京：光明日报出版社，1989.89

Moreover, ancient Greece permitted the existence of male prostitutes, especially in Athens, where foreigners could rent male prostitutes for extended periods of time. Despite parents being penalized for youth being involved in prostitution, these matters being escalated to a court of law was exceedingly rare. In the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE, Roman men would also often pay for a beautiful youth. At that time there was also a custom among free men, that the young master of a house would be provided with a youth of the same age as a slave, to fulfill his earliest sexual desired. In conclusion, from the early 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE to the early 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE, pederasty was prevalent for two entire centuries.

In ancient Greece, not only were there male homosexuals, but female homosexuality was also prevalent, and some lesbians<sup>29</sup> would dress up in the appearance of a man, go to war, go hunting, and marry other women, acting just like a husband and wife. It is said that the female poet, Sappho, established a girls' school on the island of Lesbos. Her poetry enjoyed great fame, and she was known as "The Tenth Muse". Although she had a husband and children, she fell in love with her students one after another, until she suffered a rejection from one of her female lovers and drowned herself. Furthermore, it is said that lesbianism was even more prevalent in Rome than ancient Greece at that time.

In feudal Japan in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, Japanese Buddhists had a tradition of anal sex similar to that of ancient Greece; they liked the master-and-disciple relationship

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<sup>29</sup> Frequently in this text when Li uses the term "homosexuality" (同性恋), she is only referring to male homosexuals. Here, she uses the term "女同性恋", indicating homosexuality between women (literally "female homosexuality"). In places where she uses "女同性恋", I have substituted the term "lesbian" or "lesbianism" for clarity.

type of relationship on the Greeks. One older monk serves as master and protector, and one young monk devotes himself<sup>30</sup> to the older monk in return. Oftentimes, Buddhist monks will live together with a beautiful youth. Every samurai also brought with them some youth, and samurai would frequently fight over the youths, leading to duels. Mishima Yukio once wrote: “a beautiful youth embodies an ideal form—he has achieved an untold ideal love.”<sup>31</sup> By the 17<sup>th</sup> century, adult homosexuals had completely replaced the classical form of anal sex completely by instead acting in Japanese theater becoming universal. Until the mid-nineteenth century, Japan still provided male prostitutes in tea houses.

Japanese author Ihara Saikaku’s 1687 work, *The Great Mirror of Male Love*, describes a man’s feelings towards the two sexes and weighs the pros and cons between the two. In a poem, he wrote, “in choosing one of the two: either the girl of eleven or twelve who adores herself in the mirror, or the boy of the same age brushing his teeth? Lie down next to a prostitute who has rejected you, or tenderly have sex with a boy who has experienced the bitter pain of hemorrhoids? Take care of a wife who suffers from a lung disease, or look after a youth who constantly wants money from you? Make use of a boy paid to be an actor<sup>32</sup> in a glittering room or take a razor from the strange girl prostitute who wants you to die with her?”<sup>33</sup> This poem indicates that at

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<sup>30</sup> In this sentence Li uses “献身” which can translate to “to devote oneself to” or “to sacrifice one’s life for”. However, this term can also mean “to give one’s virginity to” when talking about a woman. This instance could also therefore refer to a practice of the younger monk giving his virginity to the older monk.

<sup>31</sup> 布鲁玛 . 日本文化中的性角色 . 北京 : 光明日报出版社, 1989.131

<sup>32</sup> Here, actor is used in a disrespectful and derogatory context.

<sup>33</sup> 桑顿 . 性话语, 从亚里士多德到艾滋病 . 安娜堡 : 密歇根大学出版社, 1992.257

that time in Japan, homosexuality and heterosexuality were looked on the same way, and homosexuality was only one type of love, with absolutely no discrimination.

In 18th century France, under Louis XIV, women in all aspects occupied prominent positions. Perhaps stemming from disgust at this situation, the upper layer of society took the form of a group of male homosexuals. This group's members opposed any type of relationship between women. Much of the group was nobles, including the prince, which alarmed Louis XIV. This gave him no choice but to get personally involved in this matter.

One distinctive feature of the phenomenon of prostitution in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was the inclusion of homosexuals into the trade, especially in England and France. French male prostitutes started out relatively early; after abandoning the ugly custom of burning witches, there was a long period of time where this custom turned into burning homosexuals. However, by 1725, people's sentiments had already changed significantly. Napoleon's legal code took considerably more relaxed measures as punishment for homosexuals. By 1806, even though male and female homosexuals were still not commonly seen, they were at least tolerated. At that time Paris had several hundred male prostitutes, among them was one particularly famous individual named Andre. His nightly income was more than 1,800 francs, while the average skilled worker's daily pay at that time was only between 2 and 4 francs.<sup>34</sup>

In England, laws about homosexuality were relatively strict. The famous case of Oscar Wilde gave rise to huge controversy, and because of Wilde's homosexual

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<sup>34</sup> 唐纳希尔 . 人类性爱史话 . 北京 : 中国文联出版社, 1988.224 ~ 225

orientation he was sentenced to two years in prison. In 1900, after his death, his books and plays were banned, which led to the publishing and literary arts worlds to become quiet fear. In the strict environment of that era, even the scientist Havelock Ellis' writings met with suppression.

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, under the German Emperor Wilhelm II, the number of homosexuals was figured to be high. According to Hertzfeld's theories, Berlin was estimated to have 20,000 male prostitutes at that time (some said 6,000, some 2,000), and because of this the French began to call homosexuality "the German illness". Although Germany's legislation towards homosexuals was incredibly strict, they were only used in instances involving the luring of children or those which attracted much attention and public opinion, or only against obscure common people. At the same time, the populace had rumors that there were those in the military, administration, and foreign diplomacy departments, who were higher level administrators that were homosexuals, which made things go from bad to worse. One publication in Berlin even claimed that there was some elite group of homosexuals which made up a secondary government which was deceiving the emperor. Accordingly, revealing this group became a nationalist operation. The Hatton publishing company issued an essay attacking homosexuals, which brought about attacks on homosexuals on all sides from the entire German society. Some people claimed to have found proof that the prince was involved in this homosexual conspiracy group, which led to the prince's resignation, and many years of comments from all levels of society. At that time, the public was able to discern if someone is a homosexual; they sneered and said that they

were the “Section 175 people”. This was in reference to Germany’s legal code’s 175th section, which forbade homosexual sexual acts between men.

In some of the world’s extant tribal cultures, there is a certain portion which permits homosexual activities. This is a phenomenon of utmost importance, because it indicates that the suppression of homosexuality has absolutely no natural basis and is only a product of the era and the culture.

Among the primitive tribes of the northwest region of the United States, such as the Klondike region, young boys were raised like young girls, wore young girls’ clothes, did activities that young girls did, and only played with young girls. Then, between the ages of 10-15, they were made to marry other wealthy young men.

In the Kimberley region of Western Australia, if a young adult man has not yet found a woman by adulthood, they live with a “young wife”. In southern Australia, elders without wives usually have one or two young people accompany them each day. The elder enviously monitors them and use them as partners for anal sex.

Among the Aswan people of Northern Africa homosexual intercourse was common, and eminent men in Aswan would borrow each other’s sons, publicly discuss sexual encounters with them the same as they would sex with women with no sign of taboo or stigma. Married and unmarried all participated in and followed in the custom of engaging in homosexual activities. If a man of Aswan disagreed with his son engaging in homosexual behavior, he was seen as a strange or eccentric person.

In the aboriginal people of the Western Pacific Malaysian islands, young people were encouraged to use masturbation as a replacement for heterosexual sexual

intercourse. To the men, homosexual relationships were endorsed by society. During some periods of one's life, nearly every man engaged in some degree of homosexual activity. These types of activities could be discussed openly in society and were regarded as normal as intramarital sex or masturbation. Homosexual activities generally began with foreplay, including mutual or single masturbation, and ending up as pleasurable anal sex.<sup>35</sup>

In the culture of Sambia, Papua New Guinea, men experience three stages of sex. First, he engages in mouth-to-penis activity, this is the mouth area, and the boy advances to manhood by way of obtaining semen. Then, after he has accumulated enough semen, he becomes the one who uses his penis in the oral sex. At development to the final stage, all homosexual activity stops, and he is seen by his society as a full-grown adult man, marries a woman, and enters into the completely heterosexual phase. This cultural ceremonializing of homosexual activity is not the only of its kind; in Malaysia, there were over 50 of these types of ceremonial activities, used to guarantee that children have suitable gender education.<sup>36</sup>

Among some tribes in Northern Siberia, it was common for boys to serve as the concubine to other adult men. It is speculated that this originated from an unequal sex ratio of men to women. Among the people of some Hawaiian Island nations, the phenomenon of homosexuality is also common. Some Inuit women refused to marry men, and instead expressed themselves in a more masculine manner.

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<sup>35</sup> 比什 . 性和行为 . 纽约 : 约翰威利出版公司, 1965.119

<sup>36</sup> 艾布拉姆森等 . 与欢愉相伴, 对人类性本质的思考 . 纽约, 牛津 : 牛津大学出版社, 1995.13

During the investigation into homosexuality, in addition to research on individual countries and societies, there was also a large amount of synthesis of research. According to the investigation of 120 cultures of 135 societies, 48% of societies disagreed with homosexuality, 8% ignored homosexuality, 27% accepted homosexuality, and the remaining 17% homosexuality was practiced normally in accordance with tradition. As for the proportions of the population of these societies which participate in homosexual activities: for 83% of these societies, 20% partook in homosexual activities; for 15% of these societies, 20%-50% participated in homosexual intercourse; and 3% of societies had more than 50% of people participating in homosexual activities.<sup>37</sup> In Ford and Beach's research on existing anthropology documents, they realized that out of 76 primitive tribes, 49 of the tribes homosexuality was seen as normal behavior, and two-thirds considered adolescent homosexuality as normal and acceptable. In the Amazon River Basin's Cooper, Mojave, Chuni<sup>38</sup>, and even in some other North American places, homosexuality still exists as the usual type of behavior. In the 20th century world, two-thirds of societies seem to tacitly approve of homosexuality. In reality, it is almost impossible to find a society which has absolutely no instances of homosexuality.

In the incredibly long history of my country, the written records of true history and legend both contain a large number of instances of homosexuality. When did homosexuality first emerge in China's history? According to legend, it began under the Yellow Emperor. In the 12th volume of *Notes of the Thatched Abode of Close*

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<sup>37</sup> 赫兹菲尔德等 . 爱与性, 跨文化透视 . 波士顿: 艾林与培根出版社, 1996.120

<sup>38</sup> These are rough translations of the terms, as the locations and groups referenced here bear no reference in the original text.

*Observations*, Qing Dynasty scholar Ji Yun writes, “scattered essays naming kept boys<sup>39</sup> started under the Yellow Emperor.” However, according to Pan Guangdan’s textual critique, this record is believed to not be completely reliable, because whether the Yellow Emperor himself had this custom is still being investigated.

According to other textual analysis, as early as the Shang Dynasty, there existed records of characters and stories about things such as “urchins”, and claiming that “beautiful men cause bankruptcies, beautiful women destroy homes”, as well as more universally appealing “sharing of excess peaches” (from the *Spring and Autumn Annals*), “cut sleeves” (Han Dynasty), Lord Longyang (Warring States Period), and An Lingjun (Warring States Period). Historically, Lord Longyang was “pillow assistant”<sup>40</sup> of the Wei emperor. Mi Zixia and Wei Linggong “shared a peach for eating”. When Emperor Ai of Han and Dong Xian shared their bed, Dong Xian was laying on the emperor’s sleeve and the emperor did not want to disturb him, so he “cut his sleeve”. As a result, “Longyang”, “sharing a peach” and “cut sleeve” are used to indicate homosexuality.

In Pan Guangdan’s investigation into written history, he discovered that, “within one generation during the Western Han dynasty, nearly every single emperor had a same sex partner”. Emperor Wen of Han showed special favor towards an official, Deng Tong, and the emperor gave him the right to mint his own money from ore mined from the Tong Mountains. Because of this, Deng Tong became richer than the

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<sup>39</sup> The term 变童 is used here, which can mean “kept man” or “gigolo”, but in English most closely translates to “catamite”, a term used to describe the practice of keeping a prepubescent boy for homosexual practices. However, this term is used mostly to describe this practice in ancient Greece and Rome, and is culturally and socially different from the described 变童 in Ji Yun’s writings.

<sup>40</sup> 拂枕席 roughly translates to “to assist the pillow or mat”.

aristocracy, and known in Chinese history as the man who made the most profit out of “sex”.

There also were some instances of lesbianism among imperial concubines. They would dress up in disguises, looking like married people, and sleep and eat together. The Chen emperor of the time had no heir, so he ordered a concubine to dress up as a man and take the appearance of a young man, who he then would sleep with. A future Wei Dynasty emperor must have known of this, and after indignantly abolishing it, he reproached it as “women acting as wanton men”.

Before the Han Dynasty, the sovereign king’s obsession was the “intimate kept boy”, which was only revealed from historical writings. However, by the Wei, Jin, and North-South Dynasties, this practice gradually became more widespread among scholarly officials and the public, in addition to being publicly discussed in various forms of song. “The Jin Dynasty and Six Dynasties are eras of which we incredibly carefully consider specific characteristics... In every single part of their nature, the most abundantly recorded is appearances, presentation, men paying close attention to their appearance; in all of history, there are only two eras like this: in the West, Greece, and in China, the Wei, Jin, and North-South Dynasties.”<sup>41</sup> Men scrutinizing their own appearance is a common and piece of evidence of homosexuality.

Records of homosexuality during the Tang Dynasty and the Five Dynasties are scarce. This is because at the time, people believed the custom of homosexuality was gradually declining. However, by the Song Dynasty, it began to flourish again. Men

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<sup>41</sup> 霭理士 . 性心理学 . 上海 : 三联书店, 1988.531

would openly work as prostitutes and assemble into romantic workshops as a means of advertisement. By Emperor Song Huizong's time, there no option but to institute laws for the reporting and seizure of homosexuals: "male prostitutes will be flogged 100 times, and the reporter will be given a reward of 50 *guàn*". Therefore, it is easy to see why until that point the Song Dynasty was a golden age for male prostitutes.

Homosexuality again declined during the Yuan Dynasty and did not bounce back until the Ming Dynasty. In the early Ming, there was the Zhengde Emperor's court servant, Sayyid Husain, whom he lavished with love and affection; the middle Ming there was a saying about officials: "No money in the day, then one cannot eat, no money in the evening, then one may not lie in bed (with a male prostitute)<sup>42</sup>"; finally, the late Ming had a Confucian saying, "if a boy is spoiled and pampered, he will not ask any type of woman"<sup>43</sup>.

After the Qing Dynasty ended the extensive prominence of male homosexuality of the Ming Dynasty, the circumstances for homosexuals certainly did not appear inferior. The Qing and Ming Dynasties laws completely forbade government bureaucrats from visiting prostitutes; this may be one of the reasons that they saw no other option but to find an "alternate route"<sup>44</sup>. At that time, government officials were all only intimate with men, and more than half of those they were intimate with were actors in the Pear Garden Performing Arts Academy. Many of these men sought pleasure in

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<sup>42</sup> The term 男戏子 is used here, which is a derogatory term that directly translates to "male opera singer/actor". This term can also mean "entertainer" and has negative sexual connotations.

<sup>43</sup> Presumably for her hand or her bed.

<sup>44</sup> The phrase "替代性出路" is used here, which roughly means "substitute sexual exit".

the “Molly House”<sup>45</sup> of the school. The Molly House was the late Qing Dynasty Beijing’s organization for the theater industry. However, since many high officials and nobles were frequently intimate with male prostitutes there, and many of the men dressing as women for the Chinese opera were seen as engaging in a homosexual act, it was such that the Molly House was already seen as a male prostitute house. Therefore, the it was already practically seen in the same light as a brothel.<sup>46</sup>

It was also popular during the Qing Dynasty to make use of the “private residence” policy, which allowed the custom of many bureaucrats and wealthy merchants to raise<sup>47</sup> male prostitutes. Some of these wealthy households purchased boys with pretty and delicate features for the master of the house to play with. This act was termed “*nan feng*”, and the boy was called “*xiang gong*” or “*xiang gu*”<sup>48</sup>. According to Pan Guangdan’s research, the term “*xiang gong*” was originally only used for male actors and men who performed as women on stage in Chinese opera, and later became both a term for male actors and also a term which homosexual men called their partners. Even later, busybodies and socialites began to feel that the name “*xiang gong*” was vulgar and indecent, and switched to “*xiang gu*”, because the sound and meaning were fairly similar. At that time in Beijing, a local nature guidebook titled “Collected Writings of the Imperial City” (also called “The Songs of Xiang Guche”) described,

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<sup>45</sup> The Molly House described here is different from the Molly Houses of Britain, yet this is the closest translation for the term 相公堂子, more directly meaning “male prostitute room”.

<sup>46</sup> 唐纳希尔 . 人类性爱史话 . 北京 : 中国文联出版社, 1988.105 ~ 106

<sup>47</sup> The word “raised” used here is actually the word 养, often used to describe animal husbandry and raising animals.

<sup>48</sup> All of these terms generally refer either to homosexuality (*nan feng* 男风) or to male prostitutes (*xiang gong* 相公). However, each of these terms is specifically used in Ancient and Classical China to refer to these things and have no clear English translation.

“hastening down slanted streets and crooked alleys to a fragrant chariot, a young actor who appears like a flower, responding to passerby’s with fear and seen as a killer, hanging a string of muslin like from a shop sign.” By the end of the Qing Dynasty and the beginning of the Republic of China, a group of actors suggested that the so-called “private residence” system be repealed.<sup>49</sup> Pan Guangdan pointed out that, under the rules of sharing the stage between actors and actresses, men were required to perform as women, and women as men. Because of this, the acting industry became the best outlet for homosexuals and transvestites.

Many novels in Chinese history also contain descriptions of homosexuality, such as *Dreams of the Red Mansion*, *The Golden Lotus*, and others. *Treasured Mirror for the Flower Connoisseur* depicted this the most so, as it focused on describing homosexuality in the world of the Pear Garden Performing Arts Academy. In the recent past, my country called the custom of homosexuality “*nan feng*”, as well as “*nan feng*”<sup>50</sup>, because this custom is, “especially common in Fujian and Guangzhou”. Male homosexuals called each other sworn brothers; female homosexuals called each other the same type of term, sworn sisters. R. H. van Gulik also noticed tolerant perspectives towards homosexuals at the end of the Qing Dynasty, as well as strict attitudes for heterosexuals: “the current social standards towards these types of open, public relationships (men holding hands while walking down the street, male homosexuals

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<sup>49</sup> 霭理士 . 性心理学 . 上海 : 三联书店, 1988.322 ~ 323

<sup>50</sup> The first *nan feng* is 男风, meaning homosexuality. The second is 南风, meaning Southern custom or Southern wind. The subsequent provinces referenced are in the South of China.

being depicted in theater) are considerably tolerant. However, heterosexuals strictly limit their relations to their private lives.”<sup>51</sup> His observations drew the attention of many.

Some people disagree with the long history of the rises and falls of homosexuality in each and every dynasty of my country’s long history as described above. They believe that the existence of homosexuals was all the same from beginning to end, completely without peaks and valleys. They claim that we cannot use only ancient texts to speculate the written record of the homosexual phenomenon in each dynasty, including any highs and lows. We believe that using this perspective to critique speculation about homosexuality before the Ming and Qing Dynasties is not totally wrong; however, the Ming and Qing prohibitions on female prostitutes and using the homosexual activities of socially upper-class figures lead to some conclusions which are in accordance with logic and reason. Because of this, it is very likely that the situation was like this: in the past few thousand years, homosexual behavior was relatively stable, until the Ming and Qing Dynasties, which had a small peak. This peak was brought about by the government’s institution of laws that forbade prostitution.

Based on the large number of aforementioned facts, it is fair to conclude the following: homosexuality is universally present throughout all types of extant human society, generally absent from none, from ancient times to today.

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<sup>51</sup> 高罗佩 . 中国古代房内考 . 上海 : 上海人民出版社, 1990.73

### Section 3: Research Methods and Sample

Since homosexuality is such a complex pattern of human behavior, its classifications are necessarily diverse. Some people consider themselves to be homosexuals, but also lack any homosexual behavior; some people exhibit homosexual behavior but have not yet realized or thought of themselves as homosexuals. Some people find same sex partners only because their surroundings and environment lack any people of the opposite sex to associate with; some people even with the option to choose people of the opposite sex still search for same sex partners. Some men identify themselves as women when associating with same sex partners; some men continue to present as men and internally identify as male even when associating with same sex partners. Some homosexuals are open about their identity (mostly in societies where homosexuality is legal); some people keep this identity a secret; still others are only partially open about this identity (such as homosexual scapegoats in China, who have been subjected to criminal or administrative penalty by the government). Some homosexuals have long term romantic and sexual partners, and live the life of a “*de facto* marriage”; some have never had a regular, long term partner, and change sexual partners non-stop. Some homosexuals constantly associate with many different strangers when going out into society; some never venture out into society, and only connect with a few close acquaintances.

According to sociological statistics, among gay men who openly identify as homosexual, 10% have some intimate partner with whom they have lived for several years and from whom they do not seek other partners, such that they live a life similar to

homosexual couples. This lot has the fewest personal psychological and social problems, and they have the most cheerful self-perception. 18% belong to an open, sexual relationship, but although they have a regular partner, they still continually search for new partners. These folks are not quite as fulfilled as the first group. 15% are “wandering singles”, with the most active lifestyle; they enjoy not just one, but many, partners. This type considers their sex life to be the center of life, move from partner to partner, and have the most abundant energy. Of the three groups, they have the clearest conscience considering themselves as homosexual. They have a friendly temperament, strong self-confidence, and their ability to adapt socially and psychologically is second only to the first group. Homosexuals of the fourth class also have many partners, but have psychological and sexual problems, and cannot establish successful emotional relationships with their partners. This group makes up about 20% of all openly homosexual men. The fifth group are non-sexual homosexuals, with an inactive sex life, few partners, do not have intimate relationships, and rarely associate with others. This lot is generally older in age and makes up 16% of openly homosexual men. The remaining 21% cannot be classified in any of the aforementioned groups.<sup>52</sup>

According to different criteria, this classification model can be extended limitlessly, and our objective is to explain the complexity of the phenomenon of homosexuality, and complexity of researching this phenomenon. Considering the phenomenon of homosexuality itself and my country’s laws and policies, as well as social attitudes towards the phenomenon of homosexuality, this research can only be conducted in secret, and because of this we cannot use large-scale random sampling

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<sup>52</sup> 凯查多利 . 人类性行为基础 . CBS 学院出版社, 1985.344

methods. So, we adopted a “snowball” sampling technique in this research, meaning that we first found different homosexuals who wished to be surveyed, and then asked them to introduce us to any of their friends and acquaintances, and then repeated this method to find friends of friends of friends. In using this type of non-probability sampling there is obviously a grave inherent weakness in this study, which is that it is standard at the outset of any most basic sociological statistical study, any statistical data about the population cannot be known or inferred. However, aside from this type of sampling, there exists no other good established method. We had no choice during the investigation but to dedicate all of our effort towards being as thorough and complete as possible, making great efforts in discriminating false samples from genuine ones. Fortunately, in these phenomena, only one genuine example is needed for the study to have a definite valuable discovery. Comparing to contemporary cultural anthropology research, investigators is permitted to use a single historical case to describe a broad social setting. This investigation is still seemingly a cut above that—after all, we accumulate a relatively large number of cases.

The specific investigation used two methods, including a deep interview and questionnaire to establish a case history. This investigation began in 1989 and ran until it was compiled now, in 1997. In total, the study’s sample size was approximately 120 individuals. During the case interview, discussions mostly lasted for one to two hours, yet there were also some participants with which we had multiple in-depth conversations. We discussed recent developing intimate love and relationships, and interviews were recorded. Some participants, after seeing the first edition of the book reported in the media, took the initiative to send in letters they wrote describing their life

history and filling out the questionnaires to contribute to the study. They would introduce their personal situation and any sexual partners, followed by their perspectives and evaluations towards homosexuality. The questionnaire was designed to have a total of 70 questions, and there were two major groups of respondents to this questionnaire. One group were those who were relatively lively in society and had an attitude towards their own sexual orientation that is accepting or optimistic; on the other hand, there were those seeking out some psychological method or structure they could use to change or 'cure' their sexual orientation and had a pessimistic and negative attitude towards their own sexual orientation. Because of this, this sample comparison group of homosexuals who were reached by our sampling method may be more representative of the group of all homosexuals and their situation. In the comparative analysis of the two above groups of participants, a few important differences can be show.

This study was conducted for three years, running from its beginning in 1989 to 1991. After the first version of this text was published in Hong Kong and Mainland China, many homosexuals wrote in anonymously to contribute to the study and fill out the questionnaire, then making appointments to meet in person for interview or writing in to answer the questions. These budding new participants were one of the reasons we decided to publish this supplement to the original study. Any text researching the phenomenon of homosexuality should on a basic level embrace both male and female homosexuals, however due to limitations of space, this text only analyzes the situation

of male homosexuals. Female homosexuality is discussed additionally in another book, titled *Sexuality and Love of Chinese Women*.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> This is a text written by Li Yinhe and published in 1998.

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