LIVING WITH AMBIGUITY: THE STRATEGIES OF TONGZHI'S NEGOTIATION

WITH THEIR SEXUAL IDENTITY IN GLOBALIZING CHINA

LIVING WITH AMBIGUITY: THE STRATEGIES OF TONGZHI'S NEGOTIATION

WITH THEIR SEXUAL IDENTITY IN GLOBALIZING CHINA

BY   LIYA NIU

BACHELOR DEGREE OF SOCIAL WORK

A Thesis submitted to the School of Graduate Studies in Partial Fulfilment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Social Work

McMaster University

MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK   McMaster University

2017   Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: Living with Ambiguity: The Strategies of Tongzhi's Negotiation with

Their Sexual Identities in Globalizing China

AUTHOR: Liya Niu, M.S.W. (Macmaster University)

SUPERVISOR: Dr. Y. Rachel Zhou

NUMBER OF PAGES: x, 78.

Abstract

Transnational forces in the processes of globalization have determined the identities of the Chinese queer population. This thesis aims to explore how global capitalism, information and communication technology, and international collaboration in dealing with HIV and AIDS have facilitated the spread of western queer discourses and ideologies to China, and how these forces have influenced the construction of Chinese *Tongzhi/queer* identities. I use the discourse analysis to argue that the western norms of queer "coming out" and "declaring identity" can be an action accompanied by risk in the Chinese social, cultural, and political contexts, given that homosexual desires have challenged the institutions--not just sexuality but also marriage and family-- of heteronormativity. Chinese *Tongzhi* have to deal with the tension between Chinese traditional norms and western queer culture by negotiating some complex and dynamic strategies for defining their sexual identities. These strategies include "keeping silent about one's sexual identity, or not coming out" and "having *xinghun* (contract and fake marriages with opposite-sex individuals.)" as a compromise between their traditional family obligations and homosexual desires in order to be able to live a "tolerable" queer life. I conclude that the strategies of the Chinese *Tongzhi* illustrate the agency of Chinese queers in creating a feasible space in which to live with their sexual identities and the process of globalized queer culture in a specifically Chinese context.

Key words: Chinese *Tongzhi*; globalized queer culture; family kinship system; negotiation strategies.

Acknowledgements

One year ago I arrived at Canada for the first time, thinking I would study western social sciences in graduate school and experience western culture in this land. My personal values and way of thinking have been shaped by the study process. Behind this change there are many people I want to thank for their help and support.

I'm grateful to my supervisor, Y. Rachel Zhou. She is an invaluable mentor in my research process. She has helped me learn and understand western social contractures from an eastern perspective. She has always inspired me to think differently from my accustomed ways, which was useful because I didn't have a western education background or living experience. The elicitation method of discussion in my research process has promoted my critical thinking capacity. Her constructive comments and feedback, as well as questions challenging my work were indispensable. I was also touched by her generosity in helping me, a non-native speaker, with the tedious work of reorganizing my research. In this one year, she has given me warm support, encouragement.

I'm also grateful to Kayla April Tessier and Nan Ma, students of the critical analysis of social work over the past year. They have helped me understand western society, and involved me in a number of social events. Sometimes they gave me advice and suggestions for my assignments and research, which was a big favour to me.

I m also grateful to Meng Li, Sarah Nangle Smith, M Hossam Zaher and Shubham Banik, who have had the patience to communicate with me and help me to improve my spoken English. Outdoor activities like hiking, traveling, skating, dancing and food exploring with them are really helpful in relieving my academic pressures and anxieties. It

would have been difficult for me to get through my first year in a totally unknown country

without their support.

List of key concepts

Tongzhi: *Tongzhi* took on the subversive meaning of (a gender neutral) "queer" or "gay" in 1990s Hong Kong and Taiwan, and was appropriated in the PRC at that time, too (Lixian & holly Hou, 2016; Chou Wah-shan, 2001). *Tongzhi* means "like-minded", or "the same will" or "comrade". Originally from the ancient text "*Zhi tong dao he*", which means the same spirit and same goal. It was a form of address for members of the Chinese Communist Party.

LGBTQ: It is the term representing Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer.

China: In my study, China specifically refers to mainland China or the People's Republic of China (RPC): excluding Hongkong, Macau and Taiwan because of their different historical, economic, political and cultural contexts.

Pink market: This term is used to describe the purchasing power of the LGBTQ community, which is a thriving industry in the western world such as the United States and the United Kingdom (Morris, 1999). The Pink market is also called Pink money or Pink dollars, and regarded as an important economic power by queers to announce their financial self-identification. (Sheila & Maire,1997)

Pian hun: (Fake marriage): Homosexual individuals get married to heterosexual individuals without realizing the truth of their sexual orientations.

***Xing Hun* (contract marriage):** This term is interchangeable with "cooperative marriage", "marriage of convenience", and "marriage without sex" (also "sham marriage" in western media), and refers to when gays and lesbians form a support group to help each other realize their family obligations and social expectations. The more common

explanation is that a [*xing hun*] "couple" maintains a friendship without living together most of time. They show up only for special occasions, such as holiday gatherings or special family events that require them to be "on camera" together. Some of them live like normal couples, under the same roof, where bringing their respective partner(s) home is allowed.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1   Introduction

My thesis will start with the storyline of Lan Yu, a gay-themed Hong Kong-Chinese film that was never officially screened in mainland China. *Lan Yu* was introduced to *Han Dong* by a mutual friend in Beijing. Their first meeting was a simple flesh trade. *Lan Yu*, a 17-year-old boy, wanted to earn tuition fees for his further education in the United States. He came from a small village to the big city, where he was alone; he was simple and sweet. *Han Dong*, a 27-year-old businessman, just wanted to satisfy his own same-sex needs; the modernized city shaped his mind, he played with people's affections, and regarded money as a means to many possible ends; he knew how society works, and could not come out to his own family or, even, his friends, but only relieved his anxiety in dark corners. *Han Dong* always lied to himself that he didn't love *Lan Yu*; he always denied his true feelings or his inner self. He told himself that he had to get married to a woman to be a "normal" person in order to maintain his reputation and, further, his resources. Sentimental *Lan Yu*, on the other hand, was dedicated to loving *Han Dong*. Social expectations were much stronger than these individuals' love, so *Han Dong* chose to get married to a shrewd woman, who helped his business prosper. Fate, however, kept the two men together in that turbulent year. *Lan Yu'*s participation in the political protest at Tiananmen Square, and *Han Dong*'s bankruptcy and divorce, in the context of the failure of his business as a result of western economic sanctions towards China, convinced these two men of true love between them. They visited each other's families like a normal couple and gained their acquiescence. Their lives were filled with trivial little things, plain and happy. I thought those two men would have a happy life after all those difficulties and obstacles; however, *Lan Yu* died when he

went to his work early one morning. *Han Dong* emigrated to Vancouver and spent the rest of his life remembering his love for *Lan Yu*, the love of his whole life.

The story, *"Beijing Tongzhi"*, is an example of *Tongzhi wenxue* (queer literature), and was based on the real story of two Chinese gays in the 1980s to 1990s. The novel was made into a well-known movie, *Lan Yu* released in 2001. It is filled with the characteristics of that era: The "Reform and opening-up policy" changed China, which began to be influenced by western ideology. *Lan Yu* had a dream of American education, and *Han Dong* had the chance to work for a Sino-US joint venture company. However, national culture and society could not be reshaped so easily, the homosexuality continued to be rejected, traditional cultural and social normalizations were still rooted in people's minds. The lives of ordinary people are largely shaped, or even controlled, by big, macro-structural forces.

People like *Lan Yu* and *Han Dong* were not alone, but their struggle to "come out" can be described as a typical *Tongzhi* story in China. Movies like *Dong Gong, Xi Gong (East Place, West Place)*, *The Wedding Banquet*, and *Paper Marriage* also describe the gays' stories and struggles in China when its society was being moulded by the globalization processes. In addition to the stories in films and novels, I have had quite a few gays and lesbian friends since I was in high school. Two of my gay friends chose to come out to me and the other close friends in search of social support. They were sometimes angry when those people betrayed their gay identity. They expressed their anxiety and stress about future choices: such as should they come out to their family; Should they take their same-sex partner back home and meet the parents? Should they avoid traditional heterosexual marriage? The two of them just dated never mentioning their queer identities

to others. Their mutual friends all knew their stories, but we chose to help them keep their "open secret". Whenever we talked about the future, they said simply that they would try their best to get married to men. One couple was lucky enough to gain their parents' support because, as the only children in their families, their parents wanted them to have all that they wanted and to live happy lives. The other gay friend, however, was not lucky; when he tried to come out to his family, his parents disowned him.

The People's Republic of China (PRC) has experienced enormous social, economic, and cultural changes in recent decades. One of those changes is the emergence of the LGBTQ community and a small-scaled, rather quiet, but continuing, queer movement. They want to pursue their sexual identities and have the desire to come out, which could be defined as "making individuals' sexual orientation known to the public" (Chen, 2009; Kus tritz,2007). However, the spread of western queer culture to China is in conflict with the normative Confucian cultural values that emphasize heterosexual marriage, blood family, and moral obligations. "*Shen gui* (staying deep in the closet)", translatable as "concealing one's sexual orientation from others" and staying in the current environment in order to survive (Plummer,2001; Eve,1990), was the approach taken by Chinese *Tongzhi*. Successive social problems, such as the AIDS crisis, and the growing number of mental health problems, were factors. The debate over "coming out" in the Chinese context has gradually entered the realm of pubic discourse.

Nowadays, most of the Chinese literature focuses on the living conditions of homosexual groups and their legal status. Li Yin He (1998/2003) argued that the *Tongzhi* in China are the targets not of serious persecution and extreme hatred, but of neglect and

contempt on the part of mainstream society. Wang (2011) argued that the dynamic changes in Chinese *Tongzhi* discourses are the consequence of modernity, which means the "tolerance—suppression- retolerance" process. Wei Wei (2012) maintained that the construction of and changes in the *Tongzhi* subculture are in the context of globalization and localization. Legalization of same-sex marriage is also hotly debated by scholars (Zhong, Zhang & Ye, 2017; Jia, 2017). Western scholars have produced a wide range of studies on homosexuality in China. Sang (2003) asserted that the Chinese lesbian practice was an indispensable part of romantic love and eroticism in ancient China, but was banned and marginalized because of the indirect threat to patriarchy. Engebretsens (2008) argued that Lesbianism is the result of socio-economic development, but that the gender norms of Chinese society, not Westernization, have led to a "Chinese-specific anchoring of *lala* (Lesbianism)". Kang (2009), and Martin (2008), posited the collision between Chinese local cultural and western homosexual discourses. However, fewer scholars have paid attention to the struggles and negotiation strategies of *Tongzhi* in the Chinese context. In this thesis, therefore, I'm interested in exploring how globalized homosexual discourse influences the identity construction of Chinese *Tongzhi*. I pay close attention to the relationship (contradictions, tensions, and conflicts) between Chinese cultural norms (e.g., family obligations) and Western normative discourses on LGBTQ, both of which have played important roles in *Tongzhi*'s construction and presentations of their sexual identities in China. I'm also interested in exploring what strategies Chinese *Tongzhi* are employing in the hybrid situation.

In a different discourse and cultural context, scholars have employed different terms in their research to reflect shades of meaning. The terms "homosexuality", "LGBTQ", and "queer" have been used in both local and global research. Considering the specific cultural consciousness and political meanings associated with different concepts (Huang, 2016), in this thesis I will refer to the concept of "*Tongzhi*", a term that is commonly used by and among individuals with same-sex desire in the Chinese context; I will use words such as "LGBTQ" and "queer" to discuss the global or western discursive counterparts. At times, "homosexuality" is used in both Chinese and western discourses. In the next section I will discuss my reasons for choosing different words in different contexts.

Since the 1990s, "*Tongzhi*" has been the most popular Chinese word when referring to Gays, Lesbians and bisexuals (Huang, 2012; Wong, D,2007). It means the people who are like-minded, and have common goals, spirits, or orientations; it was a translation by the PRC of a Soviet communist term, ''comrades'' meaning revolutionaries with shared purposes. (Brennan, 2013; Wong. D, 2007). The word is desexualized in Chinese public discourses and cultural contexts. It indicates social responsibility and individuals' emotional connection (Bao, 2011). Wah-Shan, C. (2001) argued that Chinese culture never divides people according to their erotic desires, so "*Tongzhi*" avoids the "homo-hetero binarism" and considers the local traditional culture. "*Tongzhi* harmonizes social relationships by taking the most sacred title from the mainstream culture (Jackson, P. A. 2001; P, 28)". It indicates the desire of homosexuals to integrate their sexuality into the social and cultural milieu, and opens up the possibility of non-normative identities, political discourses, and sociopolitical ideals in contemporary China (Leng, 2012; Bao, 2011;).

"Queer" is the umbrella term for gender minority people who are not heterosexual. Originally, it meant "strange", "peculiar", "not quite right", and "sick" (Oxford English Dictionary). In western culture, it was a term indicating pathology, and applied to non-normative identities and politics, and was used a term of abuse in reference to lesbians and gays (Leng, 2012;). In 1988, "*LGBT*", which is an initialism or lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender, began to be used by activists in the United States (Initialisms & Abbreviations Dictionary). It was adopted by the majority of sexuality and gender identity-based communities, and the media in English-speaking countries (Centerlink report); some queer scholars have reclaimed this term to represent gender minority groups. It is intended to emphasize the diversity of sexuality, and is regarded as a positive symbol of inclusion (Shankle, 2006). Furthermore, to recognize this inclusion, a popular variant adds the letter Q for those who identify as queer or are questioning their sexual identities (Santa Cruz county). People who reject traditional gender identities and seek a broader and deliberately ambiguous alternative to the label LGBT may describe themselves as queer. These two terms are confined to western/Anglo academic circles. Although some scholars argue that queer/ LGBTQ not only reflects the western discourses on queer identities, but also reproduces or reconstructs the knowledge and understanding of global queer discourses, others emphasize the hegemony of the English language in queer studies, and the inevitable ethnocentric categorizations of sexuality (Wilson, 2004).

The idiosyncrasies of Chinese culture mean that people are rarely divided by erotic orientation, and "sex" is also a sensitive topic in the public sphere. Based on his interviews with some *Tongzhi*, in his study, Bao (2011) pointed out that LGBTQ was regarded as a

foreign term by his research participants. Although it represents the transnational influences of queer culture or the success of China's opening-up to global capitalism, it often conjures up the image of "promiscuous" Westerners who are sexually aggressive and emotionally unstable; and it is more used in some places as an exclusively economic and social environment terms. However, *Tongzhi* can reflect morality and social responsibility. It also fosters a group of young, well-educated, rights-conscious and urban youth.

In the following sections I will introduce the context of my study and review the literatures that are necessary for me to understand my research subjects. First, I will discuss how homosexual identities appear in a western context; and how the western discourses transferred to China through globalization flows.

As reflected by the concepts of *Tongzhi* and LGBTQ, sexual identities and related discourses are always multiple, fluid and constantly contested. To develop a contextualized understanding of Chinese *Tongzhi*'s sexual identities and strategies for living in a changing China, therefore, it is important to introduce the context of my study.

Research context

Sexuality is always a controversial topic, and has always been a fluid category in Euro-American society. Sexual identity is the product of a particular cultural and historical period. Foucault (1978) demonstrated that the awareness and consciousness of the "truth of sex" is the peculiar product of modern western society. In the nineteenth century the development of politics, the economy, technology in western countries produced mature institutions through which society could assess, classify, evaluate, and categorize personal

sexual orientation. The capitalist social system promotes the industrialization and urbanization process, which leads to individualism, rights-consciousness, self-awareness, and self-expression. Family and kinship are not important social units, and they are not necessarily binding on individuals. The role of traditional marriage, which was an important influence on individuals' economic and social status, collapsed. When "sex" was divided from "reproduction" by science and technology, it became a tool for self-pleasure. Romantic love subsequently become widespread in the society. Individuals are encouraged to express themselves and choose their own life styles. Halperin (1990) indicates that "the differentiation of homosexual desire from 'deviant' gender behavior at the turn of the century reflects a major reconceptualization of the nature of human sexuality, its relation to gender, and its role in one's social definition" (p,15). Sexual identity is becoming a politicized notion with the development of the homosexual movement. It develops new ways of relating, new types of exchanges between individuals and new types of existence (Elliot, 2004)

The LGBTQ normative cultures in the Euro-American context often emphasizes the importance of "coming out" from "the closet" to show personal identity. Some typical slogans include: "We're here, we're queer, get used to it" (Chávez,2017, P,17), "Silence=Death" (Waite, S. 2017), and "Out of the closet and into the street" (Schildcrout, 2014). The notion of coming out means encouraging individuals to become economically, socially and geographically independent units segregated from their original family and kinship network, and having honest conversations with parents to show and pursue their genuine selves (Huang, 2016; Wong, 2007; Wah-Shan, 2001).

The globalizing queer cultures

Homosexual discourse has become a world-wide hot topic due to the process of globalization. From the perspective of the global-local dichotomy, some scholars have said that the emergence of the LGBTQ or queer movement in different areas stimulates the need to explore global links exploration, which results in the interregional communication, integration of queer activisms, and the homogenization of homosexual practices and values around the world. They consider that queer culture and practices exist not only in western societies, but also in the other parts of the world, which have also had their own same-sex cultures, practices, and lifestyles before the internet era (Jackson, 2001). For example, Asian queer movements arose within specific cultural and historical periods, with social backgrounds different from those in western metropolitan cities. To be specific, the lady-boy industry in Thailand and Bukla groups in Philippines have displayed the queer culture since the 1960s (Jackson, 2001). China also has records of homosexual behaviours traceable to the Qing dynasty (1636-1912) (Wei, 2013; Wong, 2007; Van Gulik 2003). At the same time, the economic reforms in some countries has promoted the development of the global market and technologies that lead to interaction and communication among western and non-western countries, as well as inter-regional blending (Yue, 2012; Wu, J.2003). For instance, Cho (2009) demonstrates that queer lifestyles and identity constructions in Korean and Thailand have similarities. Above all, the internal needs of queers in Asian countries promote interregional communication and the globalized queer movement.

However, some scholars have argued that the emergence of a global queer movement results from the rapid diffusion of Euro-American sexual ideologies from western countries to non-western areas (Altman, 1996) through the cognitive, economic, social and technological transformations of the global market, tourism, and migration (Brennan, 2013; Chiang & Heinrich, 2013; Hildebrandt, 2012). In non-western countries, especially in Asia, the opening-up policies, industrialization and urbanization processes have led to changes producing a to western-like society. The mushrooming of commercial places has generated activity spaces for queers (Altman, 1996; Engebretsen, 2008). The concepts of homo/heterosexual binarism, sexual orientation and homophobia were introduced from the "west" but not from local, traditional cultures (Lee, 2016; Wah-Shan, C.2001). World-wide queers started to believe the same things and act the same way; as in western culture, they wished to express their sexual identity openly, mix with other homosexuals, and to have long-term relationships with their partners. (Brennan, 2013). Even the discourses of "coming out" and "same-sex marriage" in western contexts were used as the standard by which to assess the "progress" of democratic politics (Huang, 2016; Chiang & Heinrich, 2013). Through this lens, the peculiar Chinese cultural phenomenon of the "contract marriage" (which means homosexual individuals entering into heterosexual marriage) becomes the "evidence" or social oppression, often reported by the Western mainstream mass media like BBC and CNN, and for the need to be liberated by Euro-American sexual politics (Moreno-Tabarez, 2014). Western queer norms are always regarded as strategies or "models" for resisting local traditional heterosexual systems and for forging new paths for Asian countries (Jackson, 2001).

Lee (2016) indicated that the all cultural values should have equal status, and upholding one culture over the others is a kind of prejudice. There are many different perspectives from which to analyse queer discourses within local and global, western and non-western dichotomies. But all different paths lead to the same destination. Scholars suggest that local cultures in Asia still contribute greatly to indigenous queer movements, and that the western queer model or identity politics should be one of the forms but is not the universally desirable mode. The extent to which western queer cultures influence non-western societies is a complex result of negotiation and strategization of local queers in these societies. Asia or China should selectively or strategically absorb the other queer cultures around the world.

Homosexuality in China.

China had a specific queer culture in ancient times, traceable back to the 13th century. The same-sex form of expression differed from one dynasty to the other, and was always rooted in the specific period. (Wei, 2013; Wong, 2007; Chou, 2000). Homosexuality was widespread, recognized and fairly tolerated in Chinese history (Wu, J.2003). At present same-sex subjectivity and desire are constructed by contemporary globalization processes. Since the implementation of the "reform and opening-up policy", collectivism has gradually weakened; family and the kinship system are being undermined by the capitalist economy (Wei, 2013; Engebretsen, 2008; Jackson, 2001). Society becomes open and inclusive, as new technologies and entertainment venues in metropolitan cities provide

spaces for queers to come out and pronounce their identity, but the prejudice and stigma towards queers continues in China (Huang,2016; Wei, 2013; Leng, 2012).

Nowadays, research into *Tongzhi* in the PRC is still based on gender binarism, which is about gay man and lesbian women, but not the other sexual identities. Sang (2003) and Engebretsen (2008) demonstrate that in China lesbian women's identities were constructed by both their sexual orientation and other social factors, such as traditional gender roles, marital status, social-economic background and residency. Lin (2016) discussed how the social expectations towards men, family obligations, and the gender roles of men in the mainstream culture are still important in their lives, in ways that are not necessarily weakened by their sexual orientation.

In the PRC, the social environment for queers is somewhat ambiguous and relatively tolerant: the attitude at the governmental level is "Not Encouraging, Not Discouraging, Not Promoting" (Leng, 2012, p. 13) and "No enquiring, No mentioning, No talking and No responding" at the societal level (Zhou,2006; p.488). The ambiguity related public policy and the silence in society also mean that Chinese *Tongzhi* are not treated as a special group or given special rights. Some scholars argue that this situation has created a homophobic environment because of the lack of institutional, including legal, recognition and protection (Poon, 2017). It's hard for individuals to predict the risk of exposing their identities, and fear losing employment and career, being discriminated against, being marginalized, and being despised as immoral and abnormal (Leng, 2012). Others argue that this ambiguous attitude toward homosexuality actually gives more space to civic forces to create their own queer culture and enrich their lives (Lee, 2016). These forces include the

widespread *Tongzhi wenxue* (Queer Literature) on the social media platforms, the open discussion of queer life in arts and entertainment programs on TV shows, and the creation of a popular gay online data app "Blued".

In this chapter, I discussed the western social conditions of constructing queer identity, and the core value of western queer culture. In the context of globalization, some scholars have argued that the indigenous queer movement has promoted interregional communication and globalized links. Other scholars have said that queer globalization is dominate and influenced mainly by western countries. Nowadays, the open economic background and relatively vague political attitudes of the PRC government permit *Tongzhi* a wide space for activities. Western queer values continue to interact discursively with Chinese traditional culture in the process of globalization. The dynamic political, economic, and cultural environments in China make "whether or not come out as western queer" a complicated problem. *Tongzhi*/ Queers are worthy of a better realization of their identity. In the Chinese context, however, the question of whether or not to "come out" should perhaps be replaced by one of whether or not to "come home" should be reconsidered. Western countries have been the location of many empirical studies of "coming out", which show that it may not be suitable in the Chinese context. Existing research about factors influencing Chinese queer/*Tongzhi* identity construction and their strategies, which could be used as references, are limited.

Research questions

      I situated my study in contemporary mainland China given that visible homosexuality identities, communities, and movements have been emerging since the 1990s (Martinez, J, 2011). Against the backdrop of globalization, I explore the following **central research question**: How do Chinese *Tongzhi*/queers negotiate the tensions among their same-sex desires, their moral obligations to family (not limited to the nuclear family), and gender norms in a globalizing China? To answer this question, several sub-questions are addressed, including a) What are the influences of Western queer culture on China in the context of globalization; and b) How have *Tongzhi* in China strategically responded to traditional social and cultural norms in the context of globalizing queer culture?

Chapter 2   Theoretical and methodological considerations

In this chapter, I first discuss the theoretical framework that guides my exploration of the research. I introduce theories that have contributed to the development of my conceptual framework, including queer of colour critique, intercultural communication theory, and intersectionality theory. These theories provide the theoretical foundations on which my research question and sub-questions are developed. Second, I present my methodological considerations, which help me understand knowledge production. Guided by the theoretical framework, I describe the existing phenomena and current situations. I apply the qualitative research method, review the existing literature, use public-accessed websites to understand the factors important for constructing Chinese Queer/*Tongzhi* identity, and to understand individuals' strategies when they are in the intersecting social locations.

Theoretical considerations

Queer of colour critique

Since my research topic is about queers, LGBTQ or *Tongzhi*, the queer of colour critique will be employed in my study. The Queer of colour critique is derived largely from queer theory. It extends queer studies to ethnic studies; they thus also constitute each other. It is a critical response to racism in queer theory and to heteronormativity in ethnic studies Queer theory is grounded in gender and sexuality, and focuses on mismatches between sex, gender and desire (Jagose, 1996). It was based on postmodernist and poststructuralist theoretical perspectives (Cohen.c,1997). The debate is mainly about whether sexual

orientation is a naturally oriented personal practice or a social construction. It is an intellectual tool for understanding the correlation between power distribution and sexual identification, analysing the multilayers of power, oppression and privilege towards marginalized or non-normative groups, deconstructing the existing social norms and asking how and why these norms came into being (Cohen, 1997). Through this lens, queer theory is not only about discussing sexual "deviance" or identity, but also about other issues relating to social hegemonies (Giffney, 2004). In the ongoing process of globalization, the fields of race, class, gender and nationalized formations are gradually being considered by scholars. (Wong, 2012).

A queer of colour critique emerged in "Aberrations in Black" (Ferguson,2004) and describes the life a "black drag queen prostitute" who gave into the dominant white practices in a capitalist institution. It was employed as a method for challenging the covert intersections of race, class, gender, sexuality, and national culture. A queer of colour critique focuses on the social formation of capitalism, and emphasizes the role of historical materialism, and class-consciousness, and the function of the socio-economy in the process of sexual identity constructions (Martinez. 2011). Furthermore, this theory discussed the necessity of decolonizing queer people of colour (Driskill, 2010). Roderick Ferguson (2004) writes;

> *"Queer of color analysis can build on the idea that capital produces*
>
> *emergent social formations that exceed the racialized boundaries of gender*
>
> *and sexual ideals…At the same time, queer of color critique can and must*

challenge the idea that those social formations represent the pathologies of

modern society." (p.11)

By critiquing capitalist formations, a queer of colour critique also provokes the thoughts that the emergence of LGBTQ identities is shaped by broader sets of power such as capitalism-oriented discourses on identity politics, including the practice of "coming out".

Although China's context is different from that of the West, a queer of colour critique is still useful for this study because the formations of Chinese *Tongzhi* /queer's sexual identities is also influenced by various forces, including both Chinese traditional sociocultural norms and western queer culture (Martinez. 2016).

Intersectionality theory

Intersectionality theory is rooted in and evaluated by African/American black women's experiences and Black feminist and antiracist scholars. (Collins,2002; King, 1988). The term "intersectionality" was coined by American critical legal race scholar Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw (1991), and was employed to study the relationship between social identities and inequality structures. Afterwards, in the 1990s, it was developed by Patricia Hill Collins. Her argument that all people experience matrices of domination and oppression was influenced by the intersectional systems of society. She concentrated not only on what intersectionality is, but also how it works.

Intersectionality theory is a specific way of understanding the relationship between multidimensional social locations and systemic inequality. First, it emphasizes that the

social characteristics of individuals are not constructed by a single category, but overlap a number of categories, such as race, class, gender, sexuality, age, status in terms of different social locations, relative sociocultural power, socioeconomic status and privilege. (Krumer,2015; Hankivsky,2008; Collins, 2000). Categories or social locations are not only clarified, but also osmosed or changed by the other categories. There is an interdependent relationship between the intertwined identities of individuals and the systematic power, which will shape the life experiences of individuals in different contexts and lead to political, structural and power inequalities. (Cho, Crenshaw, & MaCall, 2013).

Intersectionality means analysising the multiple backgrounds, issues, and conflicts of subjects. The development of research questions informed by intersectionality theory attends to what makes up individuals' identities and how these identities function together (Simien,2007). In a western context, intersectionality focuses on race, gender, class and sexuality. However, in the Chinese context, individuals' identities are framed by their generation and by traditional culture. Those categories are embedded in systemic, historical, and fundamental reasons, and lead to negative impacts on the marginalized people who are *Tongzhi*. In the meantime, the social institutions and individuals' multiple identities influence each other. Individuals' identities are not simply additive, but reinforce, complicate and intertwine with each other. The social locations and contexts of these identities would may produce new forms of oppression or, even, power. (Little, 2014; Lee, 2013).

Collins (2000) divides social systems into four domains to analyse and understand the dynamic systemic oppression process. (1). The structural domain. The current social,

economic and other social structure set up the social power and marginalize the minority group by policy, laws and social service (Crenshaw;1991). (2). The disciplinary domain. The bureaucratic organization sets up protocols, routines, and surveillance to constrain human behaviour and hide inequality in inconspicuous and euphemistical ways. The insider resistance of the bureaucratic organization could be employed to deconstruct this domain. (3). The hegemonic domain. Humans' language, values, ideas, and consciousness are influenced by their culture, which is a function of the authority hierarchy and belief in it. The impact of the domain will decrease if we don't believe in it. (4) The interpersonal domain. The unique and changeable social locations of individuals will lead to different feelings, and the complex identities of each person will result in the pursuit of coalitions.

The intersectionality theory will help me understand how Chinese *Tongzhi*'s identities are constructed by intertwining indigenous factors, such as Chinese social structure, bureaucratic organization, culture, and even individuals' subjective feelings.

Co-cultural communication theory

Co-cultural communication theory (CCT) was built upon muted group theory (MGT) and standpoint theory (Ramirez, 2008). Standpoint theory suggests that marginalized groups have different understandings of the world than dominant groups. The subordinated groups have to understand the rules of living practices that were framed by the dominant groups. The muted group theory suggests that marginalized group are silenced in several ways by the dominant culture. Because dominant groups create the cultural basis of their own reality, however, the marginalized groups are rejected when they try to

integrate into the dominant culture. They therefore have to create their own communication forms against the dominant culture (Kramarae, 1981). The theory of co-cultural communication was introduced in 1996 by Mark Orber to describe the communication of a disadvantaged or marginalized group in a society such as ethnic or religious, disabled, and sexual minority groups, also called non-dominant groups, subordinate groups and co-cultural group, when they face the dominant group (Orber, 1998).

This theory maintains that co-cultural groups use different strategies when they try to talk with dominate group because the social hierarchy dominates the communication system of the whole society to a great extent (Ober, 1998). Certain outcomes of the communications strategies are expected. For example, they may: try to eliminate stereotypes by strategically fitting into the dominant group (Assimilation); try to build up connections with the dominant group, and insist that they will change the rules and incorporate with each other (Accommodation); or try to get rid of the dominant group, or reject to form a common bond with dominate group (Separation). Since the individuals are looking forward to the expect results, CT is suitable for studying the phenomenological process, such as what strategies the minority groups are using, and how the minority groups interact with dominant groups. (Bie & Tang 2016). Six factors influence the strategies they use: preferred outcomes, abilities, field of experience, situational context, perceived costs and rewards, and communication approaches. Additionally, Manning (2014, 2015) mentions that the social relationship management according to specific cultural manner is another factor to orient co-cultural groups. Furthermore, Orber (1998) discussed three communications approaches. The "non-assertive" approach means that individuals always

put the other people's needs above their own, and this way of communication is non-confrontational. The "assertive" approach means that individuals combine the others' needs with their own. The "aggressive" approach means that individuals always concentrate their own desire without considering the other's opinions.

The initials CCT are used in queer studies specifically to discuss LGBTQ individuals' strategic communication styles when interacting with heterosexual individuals. (Bie & Tang 2016). Camara, Katznelson, Hildebrandt& Paker (2012) and Anderson & Giovanini(2009) indicated that non-assertive assimilation and non-assertive separation are only secondary to assertive accommodation when it comes to the most frequently used strategies to queer of color.

Bie and Tang (2016) discussed how Chinese gay men's coming out process and strategies are influenced by Chinese traditional cultural values such as family obligation and social expectations. This theory will help me understand the strategies employed by Chinese *Tongzhi*, who are still a minority group in Chinese society, in communicating with the mainstream culture or heterosexual society to balance their intersectional identity.

The theories I have discussed will be helpful in the development and exploration of my research questions. Although Chinese society is influenced by western culture through the stream of globalization, Chinese *Tongzhi* are compelled to locate themselves in a specific context without copying western queer culture. I assume that Chinese *Tongzhi* are likely to have multidimensional identities in the complex social context, so I will include research into gender, sexuality, Chinese traditional culture and western queer ideology and analyse how these intertwining factors influence the living strategies of *Tongzhi* in China.

These three different theories will assist me in addressing the different layers of my research questions, and be mutually complementary. The queer of colour critique provides the critical framework in which to reconsider whether Eurocentric, white centred queer culture and practices are suitable models for a globalized China. The intersectionality theory offers a lens through which to address the intertwined social, familial, and sexuality factors that construct the Chinese *Tongzhi* identity in a globalized context. In order to understand the negotiation strategies of Chinese *Tongzhi*, I apply the co-cultural communication theory, which discusses the methods of communication used by minority groups in a society. Three of these theories constitute the different structural and contextual lenses through which to consider the conflicts and struggles facing Chinese *Tongzhi* and what strategies they can employ.

Methodological considerations

In order to investigate how Chinese *Tongzhi*/ queers negotiate the tensions among their same-sex desires, moral obligations to family (not limited to the nuclear family), and gender norms in a globalizing China, I comprehensively and critically reviewed the existing, related secondary sources in both language, English and Chinese, Including scholarly literature, news reports, public accessible websites and blog posts, and movies. I got myself familiarized with the latest academic papers, related to my research topic and selected the most popular themes, argued by the majority of researchers. In most cases, scholars argue the same point with different evidences. If some researches cited the same articles to argue a similar topic or a common point, then I went back to the original paper to critically analyze

the argument. After that, I searched the websites, newspaper, and reports to select the data

and evidence to support my argument. For example, when I read the influence of western

ideology on identity construction, majority of the scholars argued that the globalized market

is an important platform to transmit the western ideology. I followed that up with the

Gay/Lesbian websites and searched the kind of information they have shared. I also went

through the online dating websites and some official websites of business giants to read

their information, specially related to the western activities, and discussed how the

globalized market transmit the ideology and construct the Chinese queer's identity.

Because the same-sex marriage is an controversial topic around the world and that

contract marriage is heated discussed among Chinese society, so I debated on why the

contract marriage is becoming the moral argument during those years. Based on the existing

academic research, I found that the awareness of LGBTQ identity among Chinese society

on the globalization process is the prime reason. And the Western identity awareness lead

to the contradiction between tradition Chinese culture and western ideology. In order to

solve this contradiction, Chinese Queer/LGBTQ came up with a certain strategy, leading

into the heterosexual marriage.

I combined the inductive and deductive ways to analysis the existing scholar

literature and related secondary materials. I read and reread the materials to become

immersed and intimately familiar with the content of Chinese Tongzhi, especially on their

identification construction and negotiation strategies. After that, I coded and developed the

theme under the direction of existing concepts and ideas. I generate labels that identify

important features from the materials that might relevant to answer the research questions,

which include the influences of Western queer cultures in globalizing China, and *Tongzhi*'s negotiation with Chinese social norms. By splitting, combining, and discarding the materials, I develop a detailed analysis of each theme. In the writing process, I contextualise the analysis in relation to existing literature to discuss my research question. At the same time, there are some different perspectives presented by Western and Chinese authors. I elaborate on their main point of view in the research background because it is important for me to understand the whole pictures of the research questions. Being conscious of the existences of diverse perspectives and counter arguments on the issues under discussion. however, in this thesis, I mainly focus on contents, materials, and "evidences" that support the exploration of my research questions. In this process, the three theories assist me in critically evaluating and reviewing data and addressing different layers of my research questions. The queer of colour critique theory guides me to collect the critical arguments about Eurocentric, white centered queer culture, as well as the practice of *Tongzhi* in globalized China. The intersectionality theories assist me in collecting the intertwined factors which influenced the identity construction of Chinese *Tongzhi*. While, under the guidance of co-cultural communication theory, I collect the materials about different strategies which Chinese *Tongzhi* employed. Mason (2002) indicated that:

> *The analysis of documentary sources is a major method of social research, and one which many qualitative researchers see as meaningful and appropriate in the context of their research strategy (p. 103).*

Specifically, I reviewed the research literature of the past 20 years (1997-2017) in search of a more comprehensive understanding of my research questions. This is because

western discourses on sexuality indeed massively "entered" China during that period as a result of HIV international collaboration (Zhou, 2006), and the impacts of globalization on China has been significant in the past two decades. I used "LGBTQ", "Queer", "*Tongzhi*", "*Tongxinglian* (homosexuals in Chinese)", "China", "Asian", "Culture", "Globalization", "*Chugui* (Come out form closet)", "*Xinghun* (contract marriage)"as key words to search scholar literature from different academic Journals. I expect the existing literatures to also help me understand the historical and macro-structural contexts of the related issues, as well as the academic debate about Chinese queers, in order to form a background understanding of the research questions. At the same time, I also analysed the latest related secondary materials, including popular articles published in the mass media, popular websites relating to *Tongzhi*/queers, such as "Ai bai", and "Mi boys", and movies about *Tongzhi* such as "Lan Yu" mentioned earlier. These secondary materials, such as the websites, the blog posts, the movies, the popular articles, are meaningful constituents of my understanding of my research question, because these data reflect certain dialogue, and scenes from, and comments about *Tongzhi'*s life. On the other hand, while the *Tongzhi* discourse in China is repressed by the Chinese government in its official discourse (Huang, 2016), the internet provides the most active and the broadest platform for individuals to express their personal ideas and share their personal life.

Marson (2012) also writes: "Documents, whether visual or textual, are constructed in particular contexts, by particular people, with particular purposes, and with consequences – intended and unintended (p,110)". I therefore reviewed the literature in both Mandarin and English because scholars have different ontological positions in

different social contexts. The different literatures will help me understand the issues from Chinese and western perspective. Huang (2016) demonstrate that "the critical rhetoric scholars regard 'texts' as sites of ideological contestation, which need critical disclosure" (p.55). Since my research is about "Chinese *Tongzhi*", the Chinese literature focuses more on the local context and situation, and dilemmas with which Chinese *Tongzhi* are faced. These Chinese scholars have an oriental perspective on the phenomenon and on appropriate strategies. However, talking about globalization, which is dominated by the western world, requires the English literatures. To a certain extent, the English and Chinese literatures are complementary, and should help me avoid personal bias and to state or analyse the research questions as objectively as possible.

This study not only reviews the literature but also analyse the online texts. In Chapter 1, I discussed global and Chinese queer culture. In the following chapters I will explore how Chinese *Tongzhi*'s identities are constructed and shaped by the global context. Guided by queer of color critique and intersectionality theory, I mainly analyse how Western discourses affect the construction of homosexual identity in China (chapter 3), and how Chinese culture and western sexual identity interact (chapter 4). Chinese *Tongzhi* identity is shaped by gender, generation, nationality, local culture, and western ideology. In the other words, the domestic and overseas factors are all important. I was able to understand how the western discourses influenced Chinese *Tongzhi* culture through such public websites as "Aibai", and "Miboys" with their variety of columns. I was able to understand how the global pink market promotes the *Tongzhi* movement and activism in China by understanding such the commercial events as "Alibaba's 'we-do' wedding" and

"9th Shanghai Pride 2017". Under the guidance of the co-cultural communication theory, I explored the existing literature and online websites like "Bluded", "Chinagayles.com", and some news websites such as "China Daily" to understand the specific strategies employed by Chinese *Tongzhi*.

Chapter 3   The influence of Western queer culture on globalizing China

Globalization processes are integral to our lives nowadays. The Cross-border economic, political and social interactions have connected the world together (Huang, 2016) through the market exchanges, and the long-distance flows of capital, products, service, the diffusion of government policies, and spread of information, images, ideas and values (Dreher, 2006). Some scholars are delighted by the shrinking of distances in the world, while some others argue that globalization is the movement of western models to non-western societies, as described by Scholte (2008):

"Globalization is regarded as a particular type of universalization, one in which social structures of Western modernity (capitalism, industrialism, rationalism, urbanism, etc.) are spread across all of humanity, in the process of destroying pre-existent cultures and local self-determination. Globalization understood in this way is often interpreted as colonisation, Americanisation and (in the vocabulary of the Iranian intellectual, Ale Ahmad) 'westoxification'" (p.13)

The description echoes Altman's (1996) observation that "globalization is capitalist imperialism writ large", dominated by the firms of the first world seeking to expand their market and interests. At the same time, global markets, transnational capital flows, technological advances, electronic media, international migration, and global tourism have increasingly permeated political and cultural boundaries and promoted the global spread of

western modernity, and ideologies, as well as rationalist knowledge (Scholte, 2008; Jackson, 2001).

In recent years, the issue of queer identity has become a global one. Western-oriented queer life styles have spread to the rest of world (Martin, 1996). Bailey (2017) pointed out that queer identity is the outcome of capitalism, and Altman (1997) also echoed the view that the notion of queer identity originates in Euro-American areas, and has been disseminated to the other parts of the world. The global flow of the queer identity discourses presages the homogenization of sexual practices (Huang,2016). It reveals the western sexual subjectivities and erosion forces of global capitalism (Bao, 2011). In many Asian countries, the queer social networks, lifestyles, and business models that are similar to those in western metropolitan cities are easily found, because the queer movements and communities have been connecting to the world (Jackson, 2001). Chinese queer discourses have been co-constructed by various globalizing political, social, economic, and cultural forces and technological transformations (Tang, 2012; Hildebrandt, T. 2012; Jackson 2001). The flow of globalizing queer discourses and western idea of homosexuality have travelled from Europe, and America to China (Huang, 2016; H.Chiang, 2013;), facilitating the emergence of Chinese queer activism and westernizing identity constructions.

Global capitalist economy: The Pink Market.

The connections between growing queer movements across places, global queer identity recognition, and the expansion of a consumerist society around the world have become very clear (Hidebrandt,T. 2012;). The global spread of consumer capitalism and

construction of identity are influencing the market relating to queer identities (Jackson, 2001). Altman (2001) comments on how Western categories relating to homosexuality have spread globally:

> *"The construction of a new category, or more accurately the expansion of an existing Western category, that is part of the rapid globalization of lifestyle and identity politics, the simultaneous disappearance of old concepts and invention of new ones…… (both economic and cultural) can be said to produce a common consciousness and identity based on homosexuality. (p.20)*

In order to adapt to the development trend of globalization, many governments around the world have shown great support for opening up their national economies to global market forces, and are making the orthodox structural adjustment programs to promote international trade, investment and capital flows (Simmons, 2004). China is no exception. The economic reforms and open-door policy since the late 1970s have sped up the economic liberalization of mainland China, which has also led to the emergence of consumerism, the process of urbanization, and the socioeconomic mobility of ordinary people. Young people were attracted by the prosperous economic and job opportunities in liberalized urban areas, which are often more inclusive and have more conditions for homosexual activities, establishment of queer communities, and construction of queer identity (Wei, 2013; Hildebrandt, 2012;).

The "pink money/market/dollar" is an industry thriving in western countries, such as the United States and the United Kingdom, with the rise of the queer rights movement

(Morris, 1999). This term was coined to describe the business models of the gay community, which aims to satisfy the living and purchasing demands of the queer community with the rise of the gay movement. As the Chinese economy continues to flourish, and gay consumer groups continue to expand, the exclusive consumption space that was tailor-made is increasing with the needs of sexual identity recognition. According to the published report of "Zank" (on-line dating APP for gays in China) in 2015, China has becoming the world's third largest queer market, worth $300 billion per year, behind only to the $870 billion of Europe and $750 billion of the USA. This economic form covers multiple industries including off-line industries and online social platforms.

In recent years, *Tongzhi* oriented industries such as stock market, gyms, bars, restaurants, discos dance halls, consulting firms for surrogacy, and *Tongzhi* friendly travel agencies have steadily appeared in mainland China. This development of commercial space is aimed at catering to the *Tongzhi* clients and providing the important opportunities for them to meet and develop their social network no matter in western countries or in China (Altman, 1996). The construction of the Chinese *Tongzhi* identity, and life style is gradually being by these globalized commercial activities. Wei (2013) argues that it is an important aspect content of Chinese contemporary gay space politics to challenge the heteronormative society, to achieve the production of "gay" space, realize personal value, and to construct new social identity. He systematically analysed the different gay consumption spaces in Cheng Du, China, such as "*cha guan* (teahouses) are for gathering, chatting, making friends and developing the social network"; "*yu shi* (public bathrooms) are for releasing libido"; "*Jiu ba* (bars) are the new western fashion similar to teahouses"; and "*jian shen fang* (gyms)

are the space in which to construct a masculine appearance based on the westerner's resistance to sex bias" in Cheng Du, with different applications for gays reflecting the trajectory of gays' daily life, with their special cultural and western influences. Similarly, Fu (2016) also analyzed the influence of the development of the market economy based on the practice of homosexuality in Shenyang from 1980 to 2010. He concluded that the form of homosexual culture and practice differs from one period to other, mainly influenced by the globalized economic situations and western ideology. Those differences have shaped the recognition of gay identity, sexual orientation and social relationships. Dancing halls, karaoke, video game rooms, coffee shops, bars, and clubs have mushroomed since the opening policy, which provide great space for gays. He argues that under in the capitalist market, spaces for gays are created continuously. Some websites, such as "58boy.com" and "Tianya", have summarized the top 10 best known gay clubs in various Chinese cities Eddy's (Shanghai), ICON (Shanghai), Shanghai Studio (Shanghai), Destination (Beijing), Funky (Beijing), PAPA Club (Guangzhou), Romantic Life Bar (Wuhan), C2 Club (Hangzhou), No,1 Party (Nanning), and the Why Not Club (Shenzhen). Obviously, all the names of these clubs or bars are in English, judging by the images on their official pages, they all have "white, masculine-looking" actors and DJs to attract customers and create a western atmosphere (Anonymous, 2015;).

At the same time, the Chinese commercial giant Alibaba, which was listed on the New York Stock Exchange, did not neglect to take advantage of the huge commercial opportunities presented by the consumer groups of the global pink market, and elevate its commercial status in the world. The illegality of homosexual marriage in mainland China

failed to hinder this giant world-influencing company. In 2015 Alibaba organized *Tongzhi*

mass tours and marriages during the western festival Valentine's Day, called "We-Do".

This event caused great repercussions, because it required the public to vote for seven

Tongzhi couples, representing the entire Chinese *Tongzhi* community, to go for seven-day,

all-expenses-paid weddings in California. Alibaba announced that it "hopes to raise

awareness and respect and understanding of gay people", and that "we want to show case

to the community back in China what it can really be like" (Huang; 2016). Although this

business activity was regarded as an expression of the equal-rights movement for the

Tongzhi community in PRC, the timing and lotion of the events were full of western

elements. Alibaba also use this opportunity to promote the same-sex tour packages to five

countries (the U.S., the Netherlands, Canada, France, and New Zealand, which recognize

same-sex marriage).

Alibaba is not the only or even the first company to target gays as groups; travel

agencies like China Star have also done so. Similarly, the Shanghai PRIDE from 12th May

to 9th June in 2017, which was sponsored by international and western business giants like

IBM, and NIKE, show much western influence. The primary participants, organizers, and

speakers were western. The logo, banners, advertising and even websites are in both

English and Chinese both; some are exclusively in English. The films listed at this festival

are predominantly western ones.

The continuation of the trend of the westernization of Chinese *Tongzhi* seems

inevitable in as much as it means their ability to engage in global capitalism tailored to their

sexual identities. Through the globalizing pink economy, they have started to recognize their own sexual identities in relation to western queer or LGBTQ culture.

Globalizing Technology: The Internet and The Virtual *Tongzhi* Community

With the opening up of China, the internet has becoming an important medium for connecting the entire world (H, Chiang. 2013, Wei, 2013). The US-based *Time* magazine commented that the impact of the Internet on Asia is comparable to the "Stone-wall riots" in the United States. The Internet community plays an important role in this process, paralleling the expansion of culture, community and citizen activism, to create space for *Tongzhi* in China. (Wei, 2013; Brennan, 2013; Leng, 2012;). If cross-regional and cross-cultural communication can be achieved, shared culture, values, language, and life styles may be spread through the Internet without personal connection. Jackson (2001) argued that in Asia, homosexuals with superior financial resources could be exposed more to the influence of the queer cultures in the USA and Europe. Since the 1990s the development of the internet has promoted the establishment of virtual networks within China.

In mainland China, web-based LGBTQ communities started appearing in1990. By 2015, there were more than 500 LGBTQ websites offering information and establishing communities. In 2016 there were more than 3,000 LGBT websites in the form of personal web pages or blogs (Bao, 2011; Leng, 2012). Some famous websites, such as "Aibai", "Danlan", "QueerComrades", "Miboys", "Pybk" basically consist of a variety of columns with news, health, information, entertainment, free novels, films, images, forums, blogs, and social platforms globally and locally. "Aibai" focuses on reporting western countries'

queer movement, mental health information or LGBTQ, and education information. This website is the most representative and controversial one in China. Its managers are both northe American. it was influenced by American values, and advocates "coming out" (Martinez, 2011). "Pybk" focuses on the creation of indigenous queer culture. In addition, online dating platforms have become popular in China in recent years. According to the official report of a famous Chinese *Tongzhi* online dating apps, "Blued" has over 27 million registered users in total and six million registered overseas users, and "lesPark" has over one million registered users.

The anonymity and convenience of the internet allow *Tongzhi* to communicate with each other rapidly and safely. They find a comfortable and warm communication space (Wei, 2013), with different websites offering a variety of information and providing different functions. In their studies Liu &Choi (2006) and Brennan (2013) indicated multiple significances of the internet for *Tongzhi* in mainland China: (1) searching for and acquiring knowledge/information/answers to help them understand what their sexuality means, and their social and identity crisis; (2) creating, disseminating information and sharing their own ideas and values. (3) establishing networks of sites, discovering Chinese communities and organizations, organizing social events, and communicating with like-minded friends to feel a sense of belonging and avoiding isolation, to ease their anxiety and stress; (4) learning about global LGBTQ activities, issues, and movements. This kind of cultural production and dissemination promote LGBTQ identity development and constructions by the virtual platform.

In addition, television has also been important in *Tongzhi* identity construction. Some Chinese celebrities have chosen to come out to the public and announce their identity. For example, Jin Xing, the most famous transgender modern dancer and talk show host, lived in Europe and the United Stated for almost 10 years. She has avoided sharing her experience as a transgender, going from a man to women since she was 28 years old. She said: "I don't care about other people's idea about me, I live a life with clear purpose. As for how society judges me, how it discovers me, how it recognizes me, that is a matter for society". Her comments are controversial because they evoke western liberalism. But the spread of her statements on the screen has enhanced the community's understanding and tolerance of homosexuality. She has also been regarded as a model for many Chinese *Tongzhi*.

Global collaboration on HIV and AIDS interventions.

Globalization includes global health risks and international health collaboration. Hildebrandt (2012) and Liu & Choi (2006) argued that the rapid spread of AIDS has contributed to the development of the *Tongzhi* movement in main land China. Since the first Chinese AIDS cases was diagnosed in 1985, the number of AIDS cases has grown rapidly. The Chinese government has started to acknowledge the importance of HIV prevention. Transnational collaboration on HIV and AIDS interventions has also facilitated the spread of western queer discourses (Jackson, 2001). As of June 30th, 2015, mainland China has already reported 715,051 HIV cases; by the time 16,930 individuals had died of AIDS. Sexually transmitted diseases have gradually become the main route of AIDS

infection, with MSM (men who have sex with men) group has become the highest risky group.

From 1985 to 2014, Chinese HIV infections cases through MSM transmission rose from 0.3% to 25.8%. Increased public awareness of HIV and AIDS issues in China has contributed to the establishment of more and more LGBT non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Although the Chinese government is funding some of them, most are funded by international sources, such as Ford foundation, and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (Bao, 2012;). Hildebrandt (2012) noted that in China, most LGBT organizations enjoy high levels of international funding. Nearly 17% of queer NGOS reported that at least 65% of their budget came from western governments, multinational corporations, or private foundations. The visions and missions the organizations are oriented by the source of funding, and the opportunities created by the international links will shape the local NGOs' activities. The literature on the transnational advocacy network explains that it will help marginalized groups develop queer identity construction and promote activities in some non-western countries, because outside pressure brings the social change (Keck & Saraceno, 2013). In China, HIV related issues of the *Tongzhi* groups are hard to reach and tackle, because of the ambiguous policy on and social stigma toward homosexuality, so global and regional meetings are always hosted to promote transnational communication and promote the western knowledge.

Global Information Transformation

Apart from the economic and technological transformation and global health collaboration, the increasingly open cultural and political context of China has also facilitated transformation by western ideologies and by importing the concept of queer into China (Wong, 2017). During the Republican period China was in the midst of revolution, and on the edge of breaking from its imperial past (Brennan, 2013). The May Fourth new cultural movement in the 1920s, a new generation of Chinese intellectuals traveled and studied in prestigious universities in the West and introduced the European and American knowledge into China, including western languages, sexology, biology, sociology, and so on. The western paradigms were upheld as desirable, modern, and advanced, and able to help China break away from the "backward" (Leng, 2012; Rocha, 2010; Engebretsen,2008). In the last century, Chinese society didn't segregate people based on their erotic orientation, and "Xing(sex)", "free-love", and "free-choice marriage" were key term employed against feudalism and the oppression of human nature that were remnants of the "old China" (Brennan, 2013; Rocha, 2010). "Homosexuality", as both a practice and a word, was regarded as an aberration, gender perversity, abnormal, anti-biological, and a mental disease in western countries in the 1920s, and the Chinese adopted that attitude. (Wah-Shan, 2001). However, westerners began to accept individual differences from heterogeneity in the 1950s. under the influence of globalization and the political pressure of "human rights", the charge of "hooliganism" that had been applied to male same-sex activities since Mao's era became exempt from legal prosecution, and in 2011 homosexuality was officially removed from the list of mental illnesses by the Chinese Psychiatry Association (Liu, 2010;

Huang, 2016; Neilands, 2008). Those two political acts realized the "decriminalization" and "de-pathologization" of homosexuality in Chinese society under the influence of western countries. In the meantime, western romantic love also influenced the thoughts of the younger generations. Marriage is not arranged by family anymore; it became the personal pursuit of sexual happiness, a result of the individualism, freedom from care, and liberation of capitalism. (Brennan,2013; Qi, 2013; Wah-Shan, 2001). Jackson, (2001) demonstrated that: "Current histories, ethnographies, and sociologies of gay and lesbian identities are overwhelmingly from the West…Although the influence of Western ideas and cultures on these new imaginings of Asian homoeroticism is complex, Western gay/lesbian styles and terminology have often been appropriated as strategies to resist local heteronormative structures and carve out new local spaces" (p.26).

As discussed above, ideas about homosexuals or *Tongzhi* in China have been influenced by Western cultures in the context of globalization, in the forms of global capitalism, technological transformation, HIV related international collaboration, and the hybridization of local and western cultures. The expansion of the capitalist market facilitates the spread of western queer value and culture through commercial activities. The internet and mass media are important platforms for spreading western queer knowledge, behaviours, entertainment, and life-styles to Chinese *Tongzhi*. International cooperation on HIV issues and the strong desire of Chinese scholars to communicate with western countries enhances the discursive power of western ideologies. At the same time, the continuing opening-up, in social, cultural, and economic contexts, of China, which results from the globalization process, creates the socioeconomic conditions, platforms, and

opportunities for *Tongzhi* to recognize and practice their westernized identities. China is a heterosexual and patriarchal country, and traditional familial obligations seemingly conflict with western queer culture. In the next section, I will introduce traditional Chinese culture, and analyse why the inherent Chinese identity conflicts with western queer identity, and how *Tongzhi* in China have strategically responded to social and cultural norms.

Chapter 4   *Tongzhi's* **negotiation with Chinese social norms.**

I have discussed the globalizing of queer/ identities and culture that has spread from western countries to China. Under the influence of individualism, sexual equity and human rights in a western context, LGBTQ are encouraged to express themselves to define their identity, to pursue their queer life, to communicate honestly with family, and to be independent. In other words, western cultures encourage them to "come out" from the closet (Chou, 2001). At first glance, the Western Queer culture is to encourage individuals to express their identity. However, it deconstructed the China's local cultures continuously during the globalization process. At the same time, the western cultures encourage individuals to live in western ways of life, or they have a fear of being condemned. As Chinese *Tongzhi*, however, their identities are constructed by their intersecting identities of being both both Chinese and a queer. In this chapter, I then first introduce the historical changes in family and in filial piety in China, and talk about the negotiation strategies that are applied by Chinese *Tongzhi* to encourage tolerance for themselves.

Family, Filial piety and marriage in China

Chinese Confucian culture is shaped by the nature of China as an agricultural society historically, hereditary rules were the central value. People are a part of the lifeblood of their family, who cannot be discrete or isolated. Family was the primary and indispensable site, and not only meant the network of biological affinity, but was also the site of economic, social and political exchanges. (Huang, 2016). People place the family

unit at the centre of social relations. In the meantime, the prosperity of the family is an important issue for everyone, to be passed down and realized by their successive heirs (Chou; 2006). Seniors in a family are highly respected. The dynamic process of family operation is realized by filial piety, which sets out the obligations and responsibilities of the individuals to organize the parent-child relationship and corresponding performance. Everyone only becomes a full person in the context of family-social relationships. A daughter or a son has a certain role, and the younger generation in the social- familial system is previous than the other social roles and they need to provide material and financially support to older parents and other kinsfolk (Huang,2016; Wah-Shan,C. 2001). Younger generations are educated to respect, and obey, and are obliged to care for elderly parents and respond to their needs. They are also educated to place the interests, needs and desires of the family kinship system above others and those of individuals'. (Bijie & Lu, 2016; Chou, 2011).

Furthermore, until now the Chinese have believed the assertion of the ancient Confucian philosopher Mencius that "there are three ways of being an unfilial son, the most serious is to have no heir". The traditional philosophy, means that individuals in Chinese society are born with a mission to continue and carry forward the family (Huang, 1988). Marriage and the birth of a child are basic natural family duties, and regarded as the most important way to show the respect and gratitude for one's domestic parents and other senior people (Neilands, Steward & Choi, 2008). In ancient times, marriage was regarded as a way to ensure the family's stability, because marriage while it is about family affection, reproduction, and, ultimately, family prosperity, is not about romantic love. "Get married

first, then fall in love with each other" is the best description of the principle of traditional

marriage. Sex is not the most important part of marriage. This form of marriage was highly

moralized and had a high degree of stability (Wong, 2012). In heterosexual society，it

was an important vehicle for normative familial relationships and regime stability.

(Engebretsen, 2009). With the historical evolution, marriage has becoming a cultural

obligation dictated by social regulations in China (Huang, 2016). The People's Republic of

China has undergone tremendous economic, and political changes since the 1980s. The

opening--up policy has led to the processes of urbanization and modernization, which, in

turn, have significantly improved living conditions and social welfare, in particular, in

urban China. The emergence of individualism, accompanied by the development of the

capitalist market, makes individuals less reliant on family and more independent. Jobs in

cities have driven people to migrate from rural to urban areas, and to thus live far away

from their original family, and to ensure less bondage. They live on their own, pursuing

their own ambitions, and sometimes challenging their parents' preferences (Lee, 2016).

However, this change still cannot replace the core position of family and parents for

individuals. With all the changes in society, family has been reconstructed as a "center of

private life and a refuge" in mainland China (Huang, 2016). It's an institution to produce

not goods, but emotional satisfaction and happiness (Huang,2016). Since the

implementation of the one-child policy in the 1980s, which actually ended in late 2015.

Children have become the centre of the family, and receive more parental attention and

financial support from their parents. Although this policy is controversial, children might

actually be more likely to internalize parental values, and they also now shoulder the entire

responsibility for their parents' welfare, because filial piety and good manners are still emphasized by the parents and the traditional familial system (Cheng ,2016). Marriage is still regarded as a parental obligation. Although it is becoming more of a companionate relationship, with more on free choice of marital partners, and enjoyment of sex less emphasis on obedience and extended kin obligations in the child-parents' dynamics, heterosexual marriage is still firmly rooted in society, and it still causes individuals much moral pressure (Wong, 2012; Engebretsen, 2008). At the same time, marriage is considered an important ritual adulthood. People who enter the heterosexual marriage were considered normal and integral; otherwise individuals will be discussed as "abnormal", and "deviant", and risk being excluded from social resources and other social and political activities (Huang, 2016; Engebretsen, 2008).

Western capitalism has brought social change, but the ancient culture cannot be disintegrated in a short time.Therefire, it's necessary to pursue normativity and solidarity because in Chinese society the primacy of social order is sacrosanct (Lee, 2016).

Tongzhi's strategies to negotiate their sexual identities

In China, marriage is a stressful struggle that many Chinese *Tongzhi* have to face in their everyday life. The western queer way of expressing themselves proudly, coming out of the closet bravely, facing their real identity calmly, and communicating with family frankly, is something to be approached with caution (Wong, 2014; Kam, 2012; Chen, 2009; Engebretsen, 2009; Rofel, 2012), because it conflicts with traditional Chinese family values. In China, individuals' identities are not determined by sexuality but by corresponding

obligation, responsibility and duties to family, combined with social expectations (Huang, 2016; Wah-Shan, 2001). As I discussed above, in modern China the family is a safe place that generates emotional links. It is regarded as a root for individuals, where a person belongs because of the existence of the parents. Home, hence, is an indispensable network for Chinese *Tongzhi*. They don't want to be driven far away from their original family by their sexual desire, so they try to integrate both familial belonging and their own sexual identification (Huang, 2016), because the consequences of violating social norms are unpredictable. Based on the survey of 20 LGBTQ organizations in mainland China that was reported by Community Marketing & Insights (CIM,2015), Only 3% of gay men and 5% of lesbians are totally out; 30% of gay men and 9% of lesbians were never out to anyone; 80% of participants indicated that their stress and struggle are mainly caused by family, followed by social recognition (54% gay males & 48% lesbian females) and legal protection (48% gay males and 56% lesbian females); and 22% of gay men and 32% lesbian women said that they had come out to some family members. This survey indicates that family is still the most difficult terrain to navigate. Another survey of 2600 LGBTQ by the Chi-Heng Foundation shows that 57.3% of homosexuals have been or will be in a heterosexual marriage (Fan, 2006). This means it is possible for queers in China to continue both their family relationships and their same-sex desires by engaging in heterosexual marriage.

　　Recent research estimates that there are over 33 million *Tongzhi* in China was involved into the conflicts between Confucian cultural and western queer culture. There are over 13.6 million gay men's wives and 10 million lesbians' husbands involved in fake

heterosexual marriage without anyone noticing (Fung, 2016). Widespread homosexuality and heterosexuality behind the *Tongzhi* life has aroused great concern in mainland China. At first glance, both *Tongzhi* and heterosexuals are "victims" of traditional Confucian culture. However, there are many other reasons individuals make, or are forced to make, such a decision.

In the intersectionality theory Collins (2002) determined that the social characteristics of individuals are constructed by overlapped categories or social locations, which are osmosed or changed by each other. The dynamic function of intersecting identity is influenced by the political, social and economic structure. As we discussed above, the Chinese *Tongzhi* identity has combined "Chinese" with "queer". Individuals have to be Chinese and play the traditional roles to shoulder family duties and obligations. At the same time, they also want to be queer, because of their increasing sexual awareness in the context of globalizing queer culture. Chinese *Tongzhi* want to live a free life as western queers do, but the power of Chinese culture traditions is impossible to ignore. The queer of colour critical theory emphasizes that every group has its own culture and norms, which should challenge and decolonize white dominant practices (Driskill, 2011). It is thus possible to forge one's own path in dealing with seemingly contradictory identity. In the Chinese context, the *Tongzhi* group is still a minority group in heterosexual society.

Based on co-cultural communication theory, minority groups use multiple strategies when they try to talk with the dominant group because the social hierarchy dominates the communication system of the whole society (Orber, 1998). In the next section, I will analyse different non-confrontational negotiation strategies that are applied by Chinese

Tongzhi for combining their family's needs with their own: in particular, *Xing Hun* (contract marriage) and coming-out with Chinese characteristics.

Xing hun (Contract marriage)

In recent years contract marriage has appeared, and became more popular among *Tongzhi* in mainland China. It is also regarded as formal marriage/ mutually assisted marriage, which is a transacted union without any love-based foundation. (Fung; 2016; Cheng,2016;). The contract is a mutual support group consisting of a gay and a lesbian. On the surface, it is a normal family consisting of a man and woman. In fact, the "husband and wife" in this marriage are both physically and mentally independent. They use the form of marriage to resist the pressure of the outside world, and to pursue the freedom of love under the umbrella of marriage. In 2008 a questionnaire survey, conducted by "GaySpot" magazine, of 100 *Tongzhi* indicated that 91% of respondents knew the contract marriage worked. Of them 24.0% have considered it, and 2.0% have chosen it. Among the people considering contract marriage, 92.6% were forced by family pressure, followed by social pressure, which accounted for 74.1%. Hoping to have children accounted for 55.6%.

The earliest and biggest website in China dedicated to contract marriage, Chinagayles.com, had more than 39 million registered users by 26th July, 2017. Based on the official statistics provided by the web, more than 49,889 couples successfully formed contract marriage on this platform. Huang (2016) systematically analysed the 150 advertisements for contract marriage on Tianya.ca. The author summarized that the contract marriage included elements similar to those of normal marriage, such as "relationship form

(from a "fake" marriage to a legal and registered marriage), plans for child-bearing, financial arrangement, and living arrangement". This research also indicated a gender binary system, which could reflect the traditional Chinese culture now that men have more social and family pressure than women to continue the family line. Men are expected to achieve financial stability and women are expected to have a good personality and family-related skills. Compatibility in income, education level, and physical attributes are still important in the advertisements. Filial piety and compatible personality are still required. The two individuals in a contract marriage have a clear understanding that they do not have any marital responsibilities to each other besides appearing as a couple in front of each other's parents and family members on holidays and special occasions (Bijie & Lu ;2016).

The contract marriage is regarded as a highly instrumental approach for individuals, because the heterosexual marriage is regarded as an adult ceremony in Chinese society, which indicates that individuals can enter the stable and mature personal world and receive recognition from elders and peers. In this support group, individuals less emphasize the material interests that are obtained through marriage, but their married status helps them resist external pressures because heterosexual marriage enable them to escape intensive control and surveillance by their originating family, and to obtain relative autonomy and free personal space, and to realize their individual desires. Therefore, contract marriage offers a way to balance the contradictory discourses of family and sexuality, allowing queer subjects to perform filial piety without cutting off their queer relationship (Huang,2016).

However, Chen (2009) argues that this transacted union is established on the basis of the traditional formal marriage, and individuals still need to perform the social normative

roles corresponding to their gender. Women still need to take care of their children, and their husbands and to do housework. Men need to provide economic support. Both spouses can be recognized by mainstream society and gain social, economic, and emotional resources through heterosexual marriage. Since the traditional culture has a great psychological impact on individuals, their mentality will be eroded by the mainstream culture. The whole performance will impose a huge moral constraint on them and make them adhere to the path prescribed by monolithic culture. Their simple feelings and love towards their homosexual partner will be eclipsed by the other factors the will lead to the break down of the whole homosexual relationship.

In addition, Martinez, J. (2011) demonstrates that although contract marriage is the same as heterosexual marriage on the surface, in some respects "the same-sex relationship is outside of, yet closely related to the hetero-marital relationship" that is an essential part of the contract marriage that participants strive to maintain. The author explains the different forms of contract marriage. The first is the form similar to heterosexual marriage, with or without children. The second is the ideal marriage that two gays and support two lesbians in some specific issues and cooperate the needed performance. The third one is where one individual gets support from both his or her contract marriage partner and his or her homosexual partner. The four of them could make a big family. For Martinez, at this stage in the Chinese context, contract marriage is feasible. Additionally, he remains the optimistic about it as a way to "evade the patriarchal surveillance from one's biogenetic family through a careful manipulation of the conjugal family space" and become a tool to create a liveable life for *Tongzhi* individuals.

Moreno-Tabarez (2014) demonstrated that contract marriage is hopeless choice for Chinese *Tongzhi*/queers, who need the Euro-American model to liberate them; and it is a compromise with the traditional culture. From my point of view, individuals choose to compromise with family and fulfill filial piety because family is still regarded as an important unit for individuals from which to get resources and support. It is completely up to the individual if they want to be involved into a heterosexual marriage and realize their homosexual desire without hurting other people because the political discourse about this group in mainland China is vague. At the same time, filial piety as a social norm is still a strong constraining force on individuals. Family obligation is prioritized over sexual freedom. Contract marriage, which is seemingly a convincing heterosexual marriage on the surface, is becoming a technique to balance personal desire, family obligation and social expectations. In the other words, contract marriage is a feasible way of helping individuals to protect their status and prestige in society, and avoid shame for the family (Huang, 2016;; Wong, 2014; Knapp,2009).

"Coming out" with Chinese Characteristics

In the western world, coming out not only affirms the personal identity, desire, and rights of queer subjects; it also reflects the pursuit of romantic love, individualism and being independent from the original family. (Huang, 2016; Wei, 2012). Wah-Shan, C (2001) argued that "coming out" and "being out and proud" to the public can be culturally problematic for Chinese. The result of the survey of almost two thousand participants, by Community Marketing Inc (2015), indicate that 80% of subjects feel pressure from their

original family to come out. There are 3% of gay men and 5% of lesbian who are totally

out; 30% of gay men and 9% of the lesbians surveyed were never out to anyone.

Asserting queers' sexual orientation, negotiating their identity, and maintaining

their familial/social relationship always run in parallel in the Chinese context. *Tongzhi*

always observe other people's reactions, anticipate risks, and measure the pros and cons of

coming out (Wei, 2016). As we discussed, neglect of family obligation is regarded as selfish,

inconsiderate, and even morally wrong causing disgrace and shame to the family, However,

the family will protect their members against outsider pressure even when they make some

mistakes (Bijie & Lu, 2016; Lin, 2016; Tan, 2001;). If individuals choose to come out and

live a life as a *Tongzhi*, choosing their same-sex partner, their parents will face more social

pressure and have fewer resources and strategies to handle it. In Chinese society, people

show concern about the others' private lives, and subtly deviant behaviour will result in

judgement or even hostile treatment, and discrimination by friends, neighbours, and others

(Huang,2016; Neilands, Steward &Choi, 2008). When *Tongzhi* reach a certain age, the

long-term stress of maintaining lies and pretenses, and failure to handle the cultural

pressure, will push *Tongzhi* into making a decision, whether it involves into heterosexual

marriage or coming out, which is a decision of moral judgements. (Bijie & Lu, 2016; Wei,

2016). Some *Tongzhi* take a subtle approach to coming out in order to gain understanding

and emotional and finical support from family to feel less isolated. Such as *Tongzhi* would

introduce their partner as a best friend to their family to gain their acceptance and build an

intimate relationship through their everyday lives, avoiding discussion of homosexuality

and conflicts within their originating family (Wah-Shan, 2001). They prefer to come out to

their family with subtle and euphemistic actions rather than direct words or argument (Wong, 2007). Leaving the issue of sexuality unspoken and keeping salient is considered appropriate in Chinese context (Huang, 2016). This strategy relates to traditional Chinese modes of communication, which highly value indirectness, in such forms as giving subtle signs or hints instead of direct arguments and declarations (Fong, 1998). For this reason, many queer subjects have taken a long time to come out. It is difficult for them to know the attitudes of their parents. Coming out might mean "leaving" their originating family and losing the strong support given to individual members, so such people take few risks and only indirectly come out to their family or parents. Through daily practice family members come to understand their children's sexuality, absorbing hints, and on the basis of feelings.

Based on the Confucian principle that "family problems" should be solved internally, most families choose to "tolerate" a gay or lesbian member who chooses to come out (Wah-Shan, C.2001). Although every individual has the responsibility to bring honour to their families, families won't abandon a member who brings "disgrace". Coming out is thus a covert action to conceal themselves from people outside of family. Coming out also refers to another problem relating to class. In Chinese culture, coming out is still widely believed to be an option only for middle or upper-class individuals; it is difficult for the underclass to gain liberation of identity through this strategy (Huang, 2016; Wei, 2012). Financial independence and success is not only a way to free themselves from familial and societal pressure; it also makes up for their parents' loss of a normal life surrounded by grandchildren. The most representative examples are the celebrities who choose to come out through the media. such as the talk show host "Cai kang yong", the model "Ai ke Lili"

and so on. Some ordinary people will also apply the assertive approach to coming out, but the majority of them still express guilt about their parents. For example, there is a public access discussion group in China called "Zhihu". Individuals post questions, such as "how did you come out to your family?" It has 1114 users answering the question and sharing their experiences, most of whom post that they chose to talk with their parents by phone, and to be honest about their sexual identity. Some of their parents choose to learn more knowledge *Tongzhi* and try to accept their children's identity; others suggest their children to go to hospital for psychotherapy. Some blame their children for failing to fulfill family obligations and regard their *Tongzhi* identity as a humiliation. Another question is "How did you feel after you come out to your family?", which have only 189 answers. Some shared experiences have more than 1000 hits and pageviews. Their answers show that not all of the "coming out" processes are tragedies. As ordinary individuals, they can still try the direct approach to coming out and receive understanding and acceptance from their parents and family. I was unable, however, to discover the official resources that report on successful "coming out" processes.

In this section I discussed the familial system, filial piety, and marriage in China. Although the social, economic, and political contexts keep changing, traditional values are deeply rooted in individuals' minds. Seniors in a family are highly respected. Family and the kinship system need to be maintained. Marriage and reproduction are still regarded as obligations to repay the kindness and love of parents. At the same time, in the Chinese context, one may never succeed in explaining to other why someone hasn't got married and had children. (Huang, 2016). Western ideology continues to enter China, and western queer

culture and values seem to conflict with the traditional Chinese ones. To balance family obligations and personal sexual desires, *Tongzhi* in China have to find and use appropriate methods of communicating with the mainstream culture and ideology in order to minimize risk and loss; these methods are *Xing Hun* and "coming out" with Chinese characteristics. In other words, these two approaches are taken by Chinese *Tongzhi* in response to the current unchanging social and cultural norms.

Since China has not legalized same-sex marriage, the rights of *Tongzhi* are not protected by political institutions. In the next chapter, I summarize my central argument and talk about the implications of my study for social justice and social policy, as well as the contributions of my study to current knowledge. At the end of this article I will talk about the limitations of my study and questions that merit further research in the future.

Chapter 5   Conclusions

This thesis discussed how discourses about and identity construction of Chinese *Tongzhi* has been influenced by the global capitalist market, technological transformation, HIV-related international collaboration, and China's historical cultural indoctrination. Euro-American queer discourses have penetrated the Chinese *Tongzhi* group gradually. In her study Rofel (2007) argued that "desiring subjects" is the core contingent for Chinese queers. Engaging in public and global discourses through different methods could produce a number of material, sexual, and affective desires. Undoubtedly, the westernized queer identity of Chinese *Tongzhi*'s continues to be constructed and reinforced undoubtedly by globalization. The young generation has access to ever greater information about and explanations for their same-sex identity; they witness western people coming out and announcing their identity, living their own, free lives, and having a long-term, same-sex partners. Under impact of new culture, they inevitable yearn for freed queer life. Individual biographies, local social institutions and movements, and broader global/transnational processes (Chiang & Wang, 2017) such as tourism and study abroad, are all also crucial in Chinese queer identity construction.

I also discussed the inclusive historical Chinese homosexual context and the core values of traditional Confucian culture that emphasizes family obligation and duties, engaging in heterosexual marriage, and continuing family lines. The ever stronger Euro-American queer identity is seemingly contradicted by traditional Chinese culture, resulting in a dilemma for Chinese *Tongzhi*. whether to come out like western people to declare their identity frankly or to enter a heterosexual marriage to make family obligation and filial

piety priorities is increasingly a conundrum. Negotiation strategies are important for this group. In the last section, I discussed two particular strategies: the "contract marriage", and "coming out with Chinese characteristics", which are applied by Chinese *Tongzhi* to coordinate romantic intimacy, filial kin ties, and social pressures.

At the beginning of conducting this research I was wondering a couple of questions: "Do *Tongzhi* compromise with traditional culture if they enter heterosexual marriage as a queer? Are they accepting Euro-American queer cultural hegemonism if they choose to come out as a Chinese?" My detailed discussion noted that while Chinese queers cannot avoid family obligations which are deeply rooted in the Chinese culture, they are inevitably received the globalized queer identity. Lee (2016) argued that Chinese culture has its own defect, which is that it always emphasizes the homogeneity and harmony at the expense of diversity; *Tongzhi* are thus oppressed by the traditional culture and cannot realize their homosexual desire, and are taking a risk if they practise the western queer life. Because "visibility is dangerous, public spaces are 'not the place for pride', but for shame and degradation" (Hildebrandt, 2012, p. 15). Some scholars, however, such as Wah-Shan, (2001), argue that Chinese culture is more inclusive, and that it accepts homosexual behaviour as a practice, but do not use it as a criterion with which to categorize people. At the same time, in traditional Chinese history there is no religious persecution of homosexuals. Unlike China, western society has always stressed giving a specific "identity" to queers because their society is based on "rights", "individual freedom" and "equality of opportunities". China is different; "individualism" is regarded as selfish, and anyone who weakens the hierarchy, does not obey, and disregard filial piety would not be viewed as a

"good" person. The western models of identity politics and formal equality are not universally desirable. I refuse to say which culture is good, or better than the other, because historical factors have created the current differences. Every culture has its own distinguishing characteristics. Globalized interaction has also strengthened cultural blending and complementarity. China is developing its own "*Tongzhi*" liberation, which is not a reproduction of the dominate Euro-American model.

The "contract marriage" and "coming out with Chinese characteristics" are negotiation strategies that can help *Tongzhi* resist pressures from outside the family, and enable them to maintain a respected standing in the heteronormative society. These two strategies are specifically Chinese social and historical products. Queers in western countries also struggled to achieve the status they have today, which is consistent with the development of their own society. The Chinese *Tongzhi* discourse are constructed by the global context, and shaped by the local culture and society. At the same time, it is worth noting that the western queer "coming out" model cannot be regarded as perfect or as a better one for Chinese *Tongzhi*, because the social foundations are different. Perhaps from a western perspective, "contract marriage" and "coming out with Chinese characteristics" still reflect oppression by traditional heterosexual culture, but it can also be regarded as progress under the influence of globalization.

Since the global human rights discourses keep challenging Chinese culture, it seems inappropriate to refuse to give a specific identity to Chinese *Tongzhi*. Legalization of same-sex marriage has become a topic of intense discussion, which is necessary because the policy makers cannot estimate how acceptable it would be to society in China. From the

perspective of cultural relativism, China may regard western queer culture and queer politics as worth examining, but not as a model to imitate. The Chinese government does not persecute or punish homosexuality. Although Leng (2012) argued that the lack of official attitude hasn't protected *Tongzhi*'s rights, the neutral official attitudes and relative free media space stimulate the civil powers to seek an appropriate path for *Tongzhi* to a liveable life. Also, the globalized queer movement and transnational communication offer a practical platform for Chinese *Tongzhi.*

Furthermore, the specific strategies of Chinese queers mean that western queer cultural has already shaped local institution. Kong (2010) asserts that "Chinese Male Homosexualities is an original study of what happens when the translation of global gayness 'fails.'(p.368) From my point of view, the choice of Chinese *Tongzhi* are between western and non-western, global and local. It shows the hydridization status. Although Chinese *Tongzhi* are pursuing a western life-style, they are creating their own sense of belonging.

The prospect of legalizing of same-sex marriage in China

Today, the pursuit of emotional connection and fulfilment of needs, of a sense of belonging, comfort in one's self-identification, opportunities for intimacy, an open social environment; and protection through human rights policies have shaped the Chinese *Tongzhi* movement (Gorman, 2009;). In western countries, same-sex marriage is regarded by LGBTQ people as their top priority, and a significant milestone toward achieving full equality and citizenship. However, the government of the PRC still takes a wait-and-see

approach and has not put the legislation of same-sex marriage, which would affect the rights of LGBTQ as citizens on its agenda. Legalization would validate the homosexual relationship in the eyes not only of family and friends, but of the nations. It is inseparable from ideal of egalitarian democracy.

Traditionally, civil marriage aims to organize society by encouraging stable relationships instead of transient ones. It serves public purposes, such as categorizing the public order by "gender order" (Cott,1995), realizing the social division of labour and maintaining social stability. Furthermore, it relates to family values, intimacy, immigration, abortion rights, adoption rights, property distribution, inheritance rights, health insurance, welfare reform, tax benefits, and so on. (Brandzel,2005). As a public institution, civil marriage has the function of reinforcing an individual's legal, economic, political and social privileges. (Josephson,2005). For the policy-maker, marriage is thus a tool for managing the society. For individuals, matrimony means they can enjoy more welfare benefits. The main purposes and functions of the law are to establish standards, maintain order, resolve disputes, and protect liberties and rights. (Pierceson, 2014). Enforcing the law guides the behaviour and thinking of citizens.

From my point of view, legalization of same-sex marriage could protect the benefits and rights of LGBTQ, alleviate their plight, and diminish discrimination against them. It could also create a comprehensive and harmonious society. Same-sex marriage is a controversial topic, with some critics arguing that (1) it is assimilationist, because it encourages LGBTQ people to behave like the heterosexual population (Josephson,2005); (2) it is a dichotomy, in as much as validation of some types of relationship will renew the

distinction between moral and immoral (Gaines & Garand; 2010), excluding singles, and those who don't want to get married (Phelan,1997); (3) It repudiates some religious commands. Same-sex marriage opposes the will of God, and reveals the decadence of a nation. (Josephson & Burack,1998). Although there are contentious viewpoints about same-sex marriage, supporters also argue that same-sex marriage could help organize antidiscrimination laws and restructure the economy. (Brandzel, 2005), that it will disrupt the inherently patriarchal attitudes, gender subordination and oppression in marriage (Polikoff,2008), paving the way to the full equality. Same-sex marriage could lead to a mature LGBTQ culture, that connects love, sex, and responsibility. It would encourage LGBTQ to access economic and many other benefits otherwise exclusive to heterosexual marriage. (U.S. General Accounting Office, GAO, 1997).

Some western countries such as Canada and USA, have enacted laws to protect the rights of LGBTQ, and recognize same-sex marriage. Hong Kong, as a jurisdiction of the People's Republic of China, has been handing out special "relationship visas" for partners of gay professionals coming from overseas. (Bate, 1999). Nevertheless, mainland China has not passed same-sex marriage laws although *Tongzhi* and *Tongzhi* scholars have argued for their needs through various social movements.

In my opinion, China should legalize same-sex marriage. Based on the North American social movement and social change, there are two different frames that argue in support. The rights frames argue that same-sex marriage opposes discrimination based on the sexual orientation and that LGBTQ groups deserve civil rights protection and social/political equality (Scheingold,2010) because homosexuality is a deep-rooted identity,

and not an improper conduct or status. (Smith, 2008.) The queer culture frames argue that the important differences between *Tongzhi* and heterosexuality should be recognized and sustained, and that *Tongzhi* should defend their own rights and culture. Furthermore, unlike in western countries, there are fewer cases of serious homophobia in Chinese culture.

Meanwhile, the famous Chinese sociologist, Li Yin He, also advocates legalization. She demonstrated that it would not conflict with current law. It will guarantee the rights of citizens; the committed relationship will be conducive to lowing the spread of transmitted diseases; it will decrease the pressure of continuing the family line for individuals, which might prevent *Tongzhi* marrying straight people, thus decreasing emotional trauma in China. Although she submitted the draft legislation to the National People's congress in 2003, 2005, 2006, 2008, and 2013, lack of sponsors hindered the legislative agenda.

Looking back on the history of legalization of same-sex marriage in western countries such as Canada, it is apparent that the transitioned was slowly. from the repeal of a criminal law to anti-discrimination legislation, to the recognition of spousal benefits, and on to the extension of marriage. Every step was difficult. For the People's Republic of China, it is understandable that same-sex marriage is a deliberative political process, and might involve policy adjustments in public institutions, such as social welfare, individual benefits, financial support, property distribution and legal protection. Furthermore, same-sex marriage will influence the population, the labour force, and taxes. It therefore needs specific frames in which to advance.

On May 24th, 2017, Taiwan's constitutional court ruled that same-sex couples have the right to legally marry, becoming the first place to do so in Asia. The ruling was an

encouraging sign for LGBTQ communities in the region. The legalization of same sex marriage in Taiwan is a long-awaited milestone for Asia. The legalization in Taiwan is not solely about sexual equity but, more importantly, about Taiwan's distinctive political identity in relation to PRC. In a sense, it's part of their constructions of different identities in the context of " One China" policy/politics. In other words, sexuality politics is not only about sex, but also about a wide range of political actors.

Tongzhi is a special community in society and their rights should be protected. The developed countries with the most advanced human rights have already promoted social justice and equality, although their social contexts are different from those of China and western countries, same-sex marriage should be on the agenda to create a more harmonious society.

I argue that *Xing hun* (Contract marriage)" and "Coming out with Chinese characteristics" are creative and feasible approaches for Chinese Tongzhi (queer) from the perspective of vertical historical development. My study is a critical intercultural examination of the western-centric in dominant queer discourse. I discussed the non-confrontational communication practices which are different from the western confrontational practices (visibility & sexuality identity). In addition to its availability in the university's electronic library, I will try to translate this thesis into mandarin and publish it if it's possible. I also want to establish the connection with Chinese *Tongzhi*(queer) NGOs such as Beijing LGBTQ center and make some contributions to their programs design, hope to deepen Chinese people's understanding of *Tongzhi*(queer) and weaken the discrimination. social work in China is different from western countries which is still new

and in the initial stage. It is unrealistic to realize the sexual equality by the power of social work. In China, social work could only provide a platform for homosexual groups to improve the community's awareness of them. But with the improvement of public awareness and acceptance, the sexuality equality will be realized.

The limitations of This Study

As a preliminary study of Chinese *Tongzhi*/ queers' negotiation strategies of the tensions among their same-sex desires, moral obligations for family (not limited to the nuclear family), and gender norms in a globalizing China. It has some limitations. Considering the research methods, I only reviewed existing literatures and online websites to describe and analyse the phenomenon, and thus only penetrated the shallowest layers. This study did not interview individuals and collect their living experiences. The lack of empirical research inevitably resulted in an incomplete understanding lead to the incomprehensive understanding in this study. As a heterosexual individual, my research questions, the theoretical basis for the establishment of hypotheses and their extraction and analysis of social facts, might be influenced by my value tendencies and bias. At the same time, the online texts I gathered produced an incomplete and non-representative sample.

Additionally, this research only discusses limited factors that influences the sexual identity construction; other factors, such as mass tourism, migration and the global human rights of queer, may also contribute to the Chinese *Tongzhi*'s identity constructions. In addition, the discussion of this thesis largely builds on the homo/hetero-sexual binary and may not adequate attention to the fluidity of sexuality which also would influence marriage

practice. Last but not least, negotiation strategies are not limited to *Xing hun*, and coming out with Chinese characteristics. Queer migration is a way to escape the motherland and maintaining one's single status without coming out to confront familial and social expectations are two more ways for Chinese *Tongzhi* to negotiate with traditional culture. Unfortunately, I was unable to fully explore such a rich phenomenon in my thesis due to the space constraints.

Based on what I have discussed, I think that future research could consider further and more broadly about how the globalization process influences the sexuality identity construction of Chinese *Tongzhi*. Other strategies applied by Chinese *Tongzhi* to negotiate with tradition culture are also worthy of exploration.

Reference

Anderson, K., & Giovanini, H. (2009, November). The influence of instructor's sexual orientation on identity formation in the college classroom. Paper presented at the 95th annual meeting of the National Communication Association, Chicago

Allen, D. W. (2005). An economic assessment of same-sex marriage laws. Harv. JL & Pub. Pol'y, 29, 949.

Altman, D. (1996). Rupture or continuity? The internationalization of gay identities. Social text, (48), 77-94.

Ardener, E. (1978). Some outstanding problems in the analysis of events. In. G. Schwinner, (Ed.), The yearbook of symbolic anthropology. pp. 103–121. London: Hurst.

Bailey, R. A. (2017). Puritanical Passions? Trying Sexual Misconduct in Early New England. The William and Mary Quarterly, 74(2), 339-343

Bie, B., & Tang, L. (2016). Chinese gay men's coming out narratives: Connecting social relationship to co-cultural theory. Journal of International and Intercultural Communication, 9(4), 351-367.

Brennan, C. A. (2013). Queer Comrades, Queer China: Hybrid Lesbian Identities in an Age of Social Media (Doctoral dissertation, University of Kansas).

Bao, H. (2012). Queering/querying cosmopolitanism: queer spaces in Shanghai. Culture Unbound: Journal of Current Cultural Research, 4(1), 97-120.

Brandzel, A. L. (2005). Queering citizenship? Same-sex marriage and the state. GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies, 11(2), 171-204.

Brandzel, A. L. (2005). Queering citizenship? Same-sex marriage and the state. GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies, 11(2), 171-204.

Bates, F. (1999). Same-Sex Marriages, Conflict of Laws and Public Policy--a Modern Commentary. Liverpool Law Review, 21(1), 49-76.

Chiang, H., & Wong, A. K. (2017). Asia is burning: Queer Asia as critique.

Chávez, K. R. (2017). From Sanctuary to a Queer Politics of Fugitivity. QED: A Journal in GLBTQ Worldmaking, 4(2), 63-70.

Chiang, H., & Wong, A. K. (2017). Asia is burning: Queer Asia as critique.

Cheng, F. K. (2016). I want to come forward: Voices from Chinese tongqi. Cogent Social Sciences, 2(1), 1158343.

Chiang, H., & Heinrich, A. L. (Eds.). (2013). Queer sinophone cultures (Vol. 107). Routledge.

Cho, S., Crenshaw, K. W., & McCall, L. (2013). Toward a field of intersectionality studies: Theory, applications, and praxis. Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 38(4), 785-810.

Camara, S.K., Katznelson, A., Hildebrandt-Sterling, J., & Parker, T. (2012). Heterosexism in context: Qualitative interaction effects of co-cultural responses. Howard Journal of Communications, 23(4), 312–331.

Cho, J. (2009). The wedding banquet revisited:" contract marriages" between Korean gays and lesbians. Anthropological Quarterly, 401-422.

Chen, Y. (2009). Tongxinglianzhe de hunyin he jiating gei chuantong hunyin zhidu dailai de tiaozhan [Lesbian women's marriage and families: A challenge to the traditional marriage system]. Society, 29 (4), 107-129.

Centerlink. "2008 Community Center Survey Report" (PDF). LGBT Movement Advancement Project. Retrieved August 29, 2008.

Canaday, M. (2003). "Who Is a Homosexual?": The Consolidation of Sexual Identities in Mid-Twentieth-Century American Immigration Law. Law & Social Inquiry, 28(2), 351-386.

Collins, P. H. (2002). Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment. Routledge.

Cohen, C. (1997). Punks, bulldaggers and welfare queens: The radical potential of queer politics? Feminist Theory , 4(3), 359-364

Cott, N. F. (1995). Giving character to our whole civil polity: Marriage and the public order in the late nineteenth century. na.

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. Stanford Law Review, 43(6), 1241-1241.

Driskill, Q. L. (2010). DOUBLEWEAVING TWO-SPIRIT CRITIQUES Building Alliances between Native and Queer Studies. GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies, 16(1-2), 69-92.

Dreher, A. (2006). Does globalization affect growth? Evidence from a new index of globalization. Applied Economics, 38(10), 1091-1110.

Engebretsen, E. L. (2009). Intimate practices, conjugal ideals: Affective ties and relationship strategies among lala (lesbian) women in contemporary Beijing. Sexuality Research and Social Policy, 6(3), 3-14.

Engebretsen, E. L. (2008). Love in a big city: Sexuality, kinship, and citizenship amongst lala ('lesbian') women in Beijing. London School of Economics and Political Science (United Kingdom).

Elliot, A. (2004). Concepts of the self (2nd ed.). Cambridge: Polity Press.

Eve, K. S. (1990). Epistemology of the Closet.

Ettelbrick, P. (1989). Since when is marriage a path to liberation. OUT/LOOK National Gay and Lesbian Quarterly, 6(9).

Fu, XiaoXing (2012) Market Economy, Spatial Evolution and Sex: Anthropological Observation of the Northeast Gay Men Group (1980 ~ 2010)

Ferguson, R. A. (2004). Aberrations in black: Toward a queer of color critique. U of Minnesota Press.

Fong, M. (1998). Chinese immigrants' perceptions of semantic dimensions of direct/indirect communication in intercultural compliment interactions with North Americans. Howard Journal of Communications, 9(3),

Foucault M. (1978). The History of Sexuality, Volume I: An Introduction. New York: Vin- tage Books

Gaines, N. S., & Garand, J. C. (2010). Morality, equality, or locality: Analyzing the determinants of support for same-sex marriage. Political Research Quarterly, 63(3), 553-567.

Gorman-Murray, A., and G. Waitt. 2009. "Queer-Friendly Neighbourhoods: Interrogating Social Cohesion Across Sexual Difference in Two Australian Neighbourhoods." Environment and Planning A 41 (12): 2855–2873.

Giffney, N. (2004). Denormatizing queer theory: More than (simply) lesbian and gay studies. Feminist Theory, 5(1), 73-78.

Huang, S. (2016). Post-Oppositional Queer Politics and the Non-confrontational Negotiation of Queer Desires in Contemporary China. Arizona State University.

Hildebrandt, T. (2012). Development and Division: the effect of transnational linkages and local politics on LGBT activism in China. Journal of Contemporary China, 21(77), 845-862.

Hu, Y. Y. (2011). Gender, transnational culture, and new media: Enacting female queer sexuality in Taiwan (Doctoral dissertation, Indiana University).

Halperin, D. (1990). One Hundred Years of Homosexuality. New York: Routledge

Hankivsky, O., & Christoffersen, A. (2008). Intersectionality and the determinants of health: a Canadian perspective. Critical Public Health, 18(3), 271-283.

Lee, P. H. (2016). LGBT rights versus Asian values: de/re-constructing the universality of human rights. The International Journal of Human Rights, 20(7), 978-992.

Lin, C. (2016). The Dominant Value System of Chinese Gay Males in Family, Couple, and Community Relationships: A Qualitative Study. Journal of Family Psychotherapy, 27(4), 288-301.

Lee, P. H. (2016). LGBT rights versus Asian values: de/re-constructing the universality of human rights. The International Journal of Human Rights, 20(7), 978-992.

Little, B. (2014). Supporting LGBTQ youth in the foster care system: A grant proposal to develop a curriculum for foster care parents and foster care workers. California State University, Long Beach.

Lee, Edward & Brotman, Shari. (2013). SPEAK OUT! Structural Intersectionality and Anti-Oppressive Practice with LGBTQ Refugees in Canada. Canadian social work review = Revue canadienne de service social. 30. 157 - 183.

Leng, R. (2012). Chinese Comrade Literature, Queer Political Reality, and the Tongzhi Movement in Mainland China.

Liu, P., & Rofel, L. (2010). Beyond the strai(gh)ts: Transnationalism and queer Chinese politics. Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique, 18(2), 282-289.

Liu, J. X., & Choi, K. (2006). Experiences of social discrimination among men who have sex with men in Shanghai, China. AIDS and Behavior, 10(1), 25-33.

Josephson, J. (2005). Citizenship, same-sex marriage, and feminist critiques of marriage. Perspectives on Politics, 3(2), 269-284.

Jackson, P. A. (2001). Pre-gay, post-queer: Thai perspectives on proliferating gender/sex diversity in Asia. Journal of homosexuality, 40(3-4), 1-25.

Josephson, J. J., & Burack, C. (1998). The political ideology of the neo-traditional family. Journal of Political Ideologies, 3(2), 213-231.

Jagose A (1997) Queer Theory: An Introduction. New York: New York University Press

Kreutzmann, H. (2013). The tragedy of responsibility in high Asia: modernizing traditional pastoral practices and preserving modernist worldviews. Pastoralism: Research, Policy and Practice, 3(1), 7.

Keck, W., & Saraceno, C. (2013). The Impact of Different Social-Policy Frameworks on Social Inequalities among Women in the European Union: The Labour-Market Participation of Mothers 1. Social Politics, 20(3), 297-328.

Kam, L.Y.L. (2012). Shanghai lalas: Female tongzhi communities and politics in urban China. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Kong, T. S. (2010). Chinese male homosexualities: memba, tongzhi and golden boy. Routledge.

Kang, W. (2009). Obsession: Male Same-Sex Relations in China, 1900-1950. Hong Kong University Press.

Knapp, K. (2009). Filial piety. In Berkshire encyclopedia of China: Modern and historic views of the world's newest and oldest global power. Great Barrington, MA: Berkshire Publishing Group. Retrieved from

Kustritz, A. M. (2007). Productive (cyber) public space: Slash fan fiction's multiple imaginary. Doctor of Philosophy, University of Michigan.

Keating, A., & McLoughlin, D. (2005). Understanding the emergence of markets: A social constructionist perspective on gay economy. Consumption, Markets and Culture, 8(2), 131-152.

Keck, M., & Sikkink, K. (1998). Activist beyond borders. Advocacy networks in international politics.

King, D. K. (1988). Multiple jeopardy, multiple consciousness: The context of a Black feminist ideology. Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 14(1), 42-72.

Kramarae, C. (1981). Women and Men Speaking. Rowley, MA: Newberry House.

Manning, J. (2015). Communicating sexual identities: A typology of coming out. Sexuality & Culture, 19(1), 122-138. doi:10.1007/s12119-014-9251-4

Manning, J. (2014). Coming out conversations and gay/bisexual men's sexual health: A constitutive model study. In V.L. Harvey & T.H. Housel (Eds.), Health care disparities and the LGBT popu- lation (pp. 27–54). Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Moreno-Tabarez, (2014). Queer politics in China: A conversation with "Western" activists working in Beijing. QED: A Journal in GLBTQ Working, 1(3), 109-132

Martinez, J. M. (2011). Communicative sexualities: A communicology of sexual experience. Maryland: Lexington Books.

Miège, P. (2009). In my Opinion, most Tongzhi are Dutiful Sons!China Perspectives, (1), 40.

Michal Krumer-Nevo, Michal Komem; Intersectionality and Critical Social Work with Girls: Theory and Practice, The British Journal of Social Work, Volume 45, Issue 4, 1 June 2015, Pages 1190–1206,

Mason, J. (2002). Qualitative Researching, 2nd Edition. London: Sage Publications

Morris, Chris. (1999). "Now meet the real gay mafia". New Statesman. pp. 22–23.

Neilands, T. B., Steward, W. T., & Choi, K. H. (2008). Assessment of stigma towards homosexuality in China: a study of men who have sex with men. Archives of sexual behavior, 37(5), 838-844.

Nancy F. Cott, Giving Character to Our Whole Civil Polity: Marriage and the Public Order in the Late Nineteenth Century, in U.S. HISTORY AS WOMEN'S HISTORY 107,109 (Linda Kerber & Alice Kessler-Harris eds., 1995).

Oswin, N. (2006). Decentering queer globalization: Diffusion and the 'global gay'. Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 24(5), 777-790.

Orbe, M. P. (1998). Constructing co-cultural theory: An explication of culture, power, and communication. Sage.

Orbe, M. (1997). A Co-cultural communication approach to intergroup relations. Journal of Intergroup Relations. 24, 36–49

Orbe, M. (1996). Laying the foundation for co-cultural communication theory: An inductive approach to studying "non-dominant" communication strategies and the factors that influence them. Communication Studies. 47 (3), 157–176.

Poon, M. K. L., Li, A. T. W., Wong, J. P. H., & Wong, C. (2017). Queer-friendly nation? The experience of Chinese gay immigrants in Canada. China Journal of Social Work, 10(1), 23-38.

Pierceson, J. (2014). Same-sex marriage in Canada and the United States: The role of political and legal culture. American Review of Canadian Studies, 44(3), 321-333.

Pierceson, J. (2014). Same-sex marriage in Canada and the United States: The role of political and legal culture. American Review of Canadian Studies, 44(3), 321-333.

Polikoff, N. D. (2008). Beyond straight and gay marriage: Valuing all families under the law. Beacon Press.

Plummer, K. (2002). Telling Sexual Stories: Power, Change and Social Worlds. Routledge.

Plummer, K. (2001). Documents of life 2: An invitation to a critical humanism (Vol. 2). Sage.

Polikoff, N. D. (2000). Why lesbians and gay men should read Martha Fineman. Am. UJ Gender Soc. Pol'y & L., 8, 167.

Phelan, S. (1997). Lesbians and Mestizas: Appropriation and equivalence. In Playing with fire: Queer politics, queer theories (pp. 75-95). New York: Routledge

Polikoff. Nancy D.," We Will Get What We Ask For: Why Legalizing Gay And Lesbian Marriage Will Not'Dismantle The Legal Structure Of Gender In Every Marriage'", in [1993]. Virginia Law Review, 79, 1535.

Qi, Y. (2013). Identity Terms and Organizing For Women in Same-sex Relations in Mainland China (Doctoral dissertation, Thesis submitted to Central European University).

Rofel, L. (2012). Queer positions, Queering Asian Studies. positions, 20(1), 183-193.

Rocha, L. A. (2010). Xing: The discourse of sex and human nature in modern China. Gender & History, 22(3), 603-628.

Ramirez-Sanchez, R. (2008). Marginalization from Within: Expanding Co-cultural Theory Through the Experience of the Afro Punk. Howard Journal of Communication. 19(2), 89–104.

Ramirez Jr, A. (2008). An examination of the tripartite approach to commitment: An actor-partner interdependence model analysis of the effect of relational maintenance behavior. Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 25(6), 943-965.

Szulc, L. (2017). Globalization of LGBT Identities and Politics. In Transnational Homosexuals in Communist Poland (pp. 25-59). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

Sinnott, M. (2012). Korean-Pop, Tom Gay Kings, Les Queens and the Capitalist Transformation of Sex/Gender Categories in Thailand. Asian Studies Review, 36(4), 453-474.

Simmons, R. (2011) Odd Girl Out: The Hidden Culture of Aggression in Girls, New York, NY, Mariner Books

Scheingold, S. A. (2010). The politics of rights: Lawyers, public policy, and political change. University of Michigan Press.

Smith, M. (2008). Political institutions and lesbian and gay rights in the United States and Canada. Routledge.

Scholte, J. A. (2008). Defining globalisation. The World Economy, 31(11), 1471-1502.

Smith, M. (2007). Framing same-sex marriage in Canada and the United States: Goodridge, Halpern and the national boundaries of political discourse. Social & Legal Studies, 16(1), 5-26.

Simien, E. M. (2007). Doing intersectionality research: from conceptual issues to practical examples. Politics & Gender, 3(02), 264–272.

Shankle, Michael D. (2006). The Handbook of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Public Health: A Practitioner's Guide To Service. Haworth Press. ISBN 1-56023-496-2.

Smith, M. (2005). The politics of same-sex marriage in Canada and the United States. PS: Political Science & Politics, 38(2), 225-228.

Simmons, B. A., & Elkins, Z. (2004). The globalization of liberalization: Policy diffusion in the international political economy. American political science review, 98(1), 171-189.

Sang, T. L. D. (2003). The emerging lesbian: Female same-sex desire in modern China. University of Chicago Press.

Stanback, M. H. and Pearce, W. B. (1981). Talking to "the man": Some communication strategies used by members of "subordinate" social groups. Quarterly Journal of Speech. 67, 21–30.

Sedgwick, E. K. (1990). Epistemology of the Closet. University of California Press.

Tan, C.K. 2001. Transcending sexual nationalism and colonialism: Cultural hybridization as process of sexual politics in '90s Taiwan. In Post-colonial queer: Theoretical intersections (ed.) J.C. Hawley. New York: State University of New York Press.

Tang, D. (2011). Queering Asian Cultures. Sociology Compass, 5(8), 688-695.

UNDP. (2016). Being LGBTI in China – a national survey on social attitudes towards sexual orientation, gender identity and gender expression. Retrieved from http://www.cn.undp.org/ content/china/en/home/library/democratic_governance/being-lgbt-in-china/

U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO). 1997. Letter to Committee on the Judiciary Chairman Henry Hyde from Barry R. Bedrick regarding the Defense of Mar- riage Act, January 31

Van Gulik, Robert Hans (2003/1961) Sexual Life in Ancient China: A Preliminary Survey of Chinese Sex and Society from Ca. 1500 B.C. Till 1644 A.D. (Sinica Leidensia), Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers.

Waite, S. (2017). Teaching Queer: Radical Possibilities for Writing and Knowing. University of Pittsburgh Press.

Wong, C. C. L., & Tolkach, D. (2017). Travel preferences of Asian gay men. Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research, 22(6), 579-591.

Wong, A. K. H. (2012). Queerness and Chinese modernity: the politics of reading between East and East.

Wong, D. (2007). Rethinking the coming home alternative: hybridization and coming out politics in Hong Kong's anti-homophobia parades. Inter-Asia Cultural Studies, 8(4), 600-616.

Wilson, A. 2004. The intimate economies o f Bangkok: Tomboys, tycoons, and avon ladies in the global city. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Wu, J. (2003). From "long yang" and "dui shi" to *tongzhi*: Homosexuality in China. Journal of Gay & Lesbian Psychotherapy, 7(1-2), 117-143.

Wah-Shan, C. (2001). Homosexuality and the cultural politics of *Tongzhi* in Chinese societies. Journal of Homosexuality, 40(3-4), 27-46.

Yue, A. (2012). Mobile intimacies in the queer Sinophone films of Cui Zi'en. Journal of Chinese Cinemas, 6(1), 95–108

Zhou, Y. R. (2006). Homosexuality, seropositivity, and family obligations: Perspectives of HIV-infected men who have sex with men in China. Culture, Health & Sexuality, 8(6), 487-500.

魏伟. (2012). 公开: 当代成都 "同志" 空间的形成和变迁. 上海: 上海三联书店.Going public: the production and transformation of queer spaces in contemporary Chengdu, China.

郭晓飞. (2009). 中国同性恋者的婚姻困境——一个法社会学的视角. 法制与社会发展, 15(4), 139-150. Marriage dilemma of Chinese queer- from a legal sociological perspective. Legal and social development.

杨柳青. (2009). 中国式的 "完美"——同性恋群体形式婚姻初探 (长沙: 湖南师范大学). China's "perfect" ---an exploring study of contract marriage.

李希光, 周敏 (2005), 爱滋病媒体读本. 清华大学出版社有限公司, 2005. AIDS media handbook.

钟诗雨, 张国婧, & 叶苏葶. (2017). 同性婚姻合法化: 接受还是否定?——成都地区已婚人士视角下的 "同婚". 改革与开放, (9), 50-51. Zhong, Zhang & Ye (2017). Is homosexual marriage legalized: accepted or denied? - "married" in the perspective of married people in Chengdu area. (9), 50-51