

研究論文

內外有別：《中國日報》(*China Daily*)對性少數群體的另類呈現(1991-2019)

焦霖

摘要

本文從媒介再現史的角度，運用「同性戀民族主義」的理論框架，分析中國最主要的英文報紙《中國日報》自1991年以降對性少數人群的呈現。本研究將這一呈現分為四個階段，即少量呈現(1991-2003)、急速增長(2004-2008)、高光時刻(2009-2014)和酷兒失語(2015-2019)。本文認為，中國的官方媒體並非是具有高度同質性的統一體，在面向不同的受眾時，其生產的內容呈現出高度差異化的「內外有別」。作為中國最重要的國際傳播媒體之一，《中國日報》既要迎合英語讀者的閱讀習慣，又要顧及其國際傳播的目標。因此，相較於《人民日報》，《中國日報》對性少數群體的報導相當另類，建構出了一個追求自由、開放、包容的國家形象。這種另類呈現是國際思潮變化、國內政策變遷、性少數平權運動的發展和記者能動性的合力而促成的，其合法性建立在以「同性戀民族主義」為內在邏輯的「去他者化」敘事的基礎之上。

關鍵詞：《中國日報》、性少數群體、同性戀民族主義、酷兒現代性、再現政治

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Research Article

Distinguishing Insiders and Outsiders: Alternative Representations of LGBT in the *China Daily* (1991–2019)

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Abstract

This paper explores the history of the representations of LGBT in the Chinese national English-language newspaper the *China Daily*, from 1991 to 2019. It divides the representations into four phases: the initial phase (1991–2003), the rapid growth phase (2004–2008), the peak phase (2009–2014) and the silent phase (2015–2019). The findings show that official Chinese media do not constitute a homogeneous entity; in contrast, they produce highly heterogeneous content while targeting domestic and international audiences. As one of the most important media in China that is responsible for international communication, *China Daily*, has to balance its readers' interests and its goal of "telling China's story." Compared with the *People's Daily* (Chinese edition), the *China Daily's* representation of the LGBT group is unconventional in its construction of a country that values freedom, openness, and tolerance. This representation has been made possible by changes in domestic and international contexts, LGBT activism in China, and journalist agency, which are justified in de-othering narratives that follow the logic of homonationalism.

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Distinguishing Insiders and Outsiders

Keywords: *China Daily*, LGBT, homonationalism, queer modernity, politics of representation

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20世紀90年代後，隨著中國經濟崛起，其參與改變國際傳播體系的需求日趨強烈，國家形象的倡導者認為，西方媒體一邊倒地「妖魔化中國」，因此中國需要逐漸改變對外宣傳的觀念，用西方人能夠理解的方式「講好中國故事」(劉海龍，2013：356-360)。做到這一點，要求媒體從業者採取與國內報導不同的方法，譬如不排斥負面報導、平衡官方和民間的態度、平衡贊成和反對的觀點(陸地、高菲，2005)。在實踐中，性別議題是對外傳播媒體的關注重心之一，其一是因為文化和社會議題對於建構國家形象的作用優於說教型的政治宣傳。其二是由於國際輿論環境的導引，西方主要媒體近年來對性少數人群去污名化的努力變成了一種新的政治正確。作為中國最重要的國際傳播媒體之一，《中國日報》對性少數人群進行了大量有鮮明特色的報導。本文將這些報導放置在歷史的時空背景下進行考察，從媒介的「再現政治」視角出發，探討過去30年中國對外傳播媒體的傳播策略及其發展變化。

在現有的中國國際傳播實體中，《中國日報》是影響力最大的文字媒體。其報紙全球發行量期均達30萬份，覆蓋「63個國家和地區的高端讀者」，是「國家外宣的重要輿論陣地和境外媒體轉載率最高的中國信息源之一」(《中國日報》中文網)。《中國日報》的媒體目標是「向世界講述中國故事」、「有針對性地開展輿論引導」和提升「國際話語權」。報紙將目標讀者定位為「各界高端人士、駐華使節、國際組織駐華代表、跨國公司在華高層、媒體從業人員以及來華訪問旅遊的各國人士等」(《中國日報》中文網)。由於自身定位和目標讀者的特殊性，該報在報導策略上與其他中文官方報紙有所不同，需要以英文受眾能接受的方式傳播中國形象，其中即包括對性少數人群進行廣泛而有同理心的報導。本文通過梳理1991至2019年《中國日報》對性少數人群的再現，試圖回答以下三個核心問題：自1990年代以來，《中國日報》中性少數人群的報導策略經歷了怎樣的變化？為什麼會有這樣的變化？《中國日報》的報導策略和《人民日報》有怎樣的不同之處？

文獻回顧

《中國日報》與國際傳播中的中國形象

改革開放以來，《中國日報》是中國歷史最長、最重要的官方英文報紙，國內外學界對其都有大量研究。其中有兩類比較重要的研究路徑：一為探討其構建的中國形象，及其在爭奪國際傳媒話語權中的作用；二為以具體案例為切入點，對比《中國日報》和國際媒體不同的報導傾向和意見表達。在案例分析中，學者多將關注點聚焦於重大的政治、經濟事件，如昆明暴恐事件、美軍軍事行動、中國城市的國際形象、災難、領導人活動、環境問題等。學者認為由於不同的利益訴求、意識形態和文化傳統，在一些具有爭議性的國際事件中，《中國日報》採取和西方重要媒體迥然相異的報導方式（胡美馨、黃銀菊，2014；趙虹、李川，2013；趙雅文、王澤帥，2016；鄧斯佳，2015；薛可、欒萌飛，2017；鍾玉蓉，2015；Liu, Zhang, & Qian, 2018）。經對比《中國日報》和西方媒體在對阿拉伯之春和2014年香港遊行的報導，學者發現《中國日報》通過側重報導官方立場、邊緣化運動參與者等方式，來展現中國官方的政治立場（Ha & Shin, 2019; Veneti, Karadimitriou, & Poulakidakos, 2016）。

對比研究可以看到媒體的差異性。然而，已有研究忽略了《中國日報》在社會性議題上，發佈了大量符合英文讀者習慣的報導，為國際化作出了努力。本文沿用對比研究路徑，試圖更加深入地理解《中國日報》的報導策略，但將對比的參照系換為中國主流官方媒體《人民日報》。相較於《人民日報》，《中國日報》對性少數人群議題持有不同的態度，進行了大量頗為先鋒的報導。

性少數人群的「再現政治」

在女權主義媒介研究中，「再現政治」自20世紀60年代以來受到了學者的廣泛關注。媒介對於不同性別群體的再現，往往表面上看來是「自然」和「真實」的，實質上卻是基於父權制意識形態與社會結構的文

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化生產(Marshment, 1997)。性少數人群在媒體上的再現頻率、內容和傾向都受「再現政治」的影響。

多位學者通過考察中國性少數群體的媒介再現，發現性少數群體在中國官方媒體或大眾文化中長期處於「缺席」狀態。Evans (1997)認為文本的意義通過其為對象創造出來的位置而顯現出來，因而「沉默」的話語力量不亞於「在場」，都是性和性別話語生產和再生產的重要工具。魏偉(2010)在關於中國同性戀題材電影的研究中指出，由於嚴格的電影審查制度，中國大陸電影在1980至2010年間由對同性戀的「符號性滅絕」，演變為以《非誠勿擾》為代表的「受審查的公開」。陸新蕾(2014)和Huang (2018)發現，自1980年代至2011年間，《人民日報》對同性戀的態度發生了較大的轉變，從初期的獵奇和否定，到後期的多元報導。但王鏡茹(2017)發現，《人民日報》對同性戀群體的報導中，長年來有73%-92%的報導對象是外國同性戀群體，該報幾乎未曾正面直接報導或肯定中國同性戀群體。魏偉(2010)認為同性戀與正統的儒家倫理相悖，受到主流文化的壓制，因此導致了它的文化「缺席」。

性少數群體以獨特的方式「在場」於主流媒體，已有研究發現官方媒體對國內外同性戀議題採取「內外有別」的態度。在數量上，官方媒體側重報導外國同性戀問題，例如新華社關於外國同性戀議題的報導數量是中國議題的兩倍。在態度上實行雙重標準，在客觀公正地評價國外同性戀問題的同時，對國內同性戀問題或是諱莫如深、或是譁眾取寵、或是貶低取笑(管筱璞，2011；楊倩，2011；周羽佳，2015)。本文所闡釋的「內外有別」與已有研究不同，是指中國媒體在面對不同受眾時採取不同策略，具體以《中國日報》和《人民日報》為例。

由於中國官方媒體對國內性少數群體的迴避，學者更多地關注電影、紀錄片、流行音樂和網絡媒體，考察性少數群體作為參與者或社會活動者如何使用多種媒介實現自我賦權。例如，網友通過對中央電視台春節聯歡晚會中曖昧的性別呈現進行「酷兒」化闡釋，建構出一個想像的酷兒世界，從而加強自我的身份認同(沈清、魏偉，2014)。社交媒體近年來成為性少數群體與國家意志進行協商的重要工具(Yang, 2019)。同性戀紀錄片創作者在有限的社會和政策空間內進行電影創作和流動放

映，提高了同性戀人群的公共能見度，促進了社群建立以及自我賦權 (Bao, 2018)，也挑戰了官方對同性戀題材的審查 (Fan, 2015)。自 2005 年超級女生李宇春走紅後，中國的音樂領域出現了多位酷兒人物，學者認為政府有限度地允許酷兒音樂人的存在，原因之一就是酷兒文化在全球的重要性 (Wang, 2015)。這些文化現象是過去 20 年性少數群體社會運動的一個縮影，反映了社會行動的多樣性、靈活性和活躍性。

上述研究顯示，性少數人群在媒介中的「缺席」或「在場」，可以展現出廣闊的社會文化結構及變遷。在這個意義上，「在場」並不必然意味著解放，因為「文化可見度……並非一條通向解放的直途；事實上，它很容易被引向其他地方」(Gamson, 1998, 引自魏偉, 2010: 96)。金擘路 (2014: 3) 敏銳地指出，社會各界樂於為「同志」賦予各種定義，使得同志成為了「各方人士在公共領域中爭奪話語權的戰場」。相較中國同性戀群體在主流媒體中的缺席，他們在《中國日報》中的「在場」就格外引人注目。

同性戀民族主義和酷兒現代性

自 20 世紀 70 年代以來，酷兒理論批判地分析了西方社會中的「異性戀正常主義」(heteronormativity)，認為性少數人群被社會邊緣化是特定歷史和社會的產物。福柯 (Foucault, 1978) 指出，西方社會廣泛存在的同性戀恐懼，是幾個世紀以來科學家、精神分析學家、精神病醫生通過生物權力 (biopower) 建構而成的。同性戀者因不能滿足社會對其繁衍後代的要求，而被排斥、管理和治療。巴特勒 (Butler, 1990) 通過考察「異性戀矩陣」(heterosexual matrix)，指出社會通過教化和懲罰，延續並強化異性戀正常化的社會結構。

Puar (2017) 提出的「同性戀民族主義」(homonationalism) 挑戰了上述酷兒理論，為本文提供了理論框架。Puar 認為上述理論主要論證了同性戀在主流社會中「不被接受」，這某種程度上成為了酷兒研究的霸權敘事。但她提出，「被接受」和「被包容」也有其背後的「接受政治」。Puar 通過討論後 911 時代美國社會「同性戀友好」話語的建構，分析了

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酷兒、種族、現代性、民族主義交織的權力運作機制。Puar認為911後，美國白人同性戀群體逐漸主流化，成為了美國政府、媒體，和酷兒團體的話語工具。媒體塑造了美國白人「同性戀友好」的形象和伊斯蘭文化「恐同」的形象，不但遮蔽了美國強大的反同性戀宗教和文化保守勢力，而且將伊斯蘭社會他者化，強化了種族主義、種族仇恨，以及社會分裂。這種基於「同性戀友好」的文化認同感和排他感被Puar稱為「同性戀民族主義」。值得注意的是，Puar強調同性戀民族主義並不該被視作身份認同、立場或指責。同性戀民族主義這一理論並無意於區分好的或壞的酷兒，恰恰相反，Puar認為沒有人能免疫於同性戀民族主義，它是政府行為、酷兒經濟、文化產業共同運作的聚合點。「同性戀民族主義」更應該被視為一個研究工具和方法，用以分析現代性、社會結構、權力關係以及歷史變遷。

同性戀民族主義之所以成立，根源在於「酷兒現代性」(queer modernity)的建構。Rofel (2007)在對中國城市同性戀身份認同的研究中指出，全球化帶來了「同性戀現代性」(gay modernity)的想像，但這一想像忽視了地域和文化的複雜影響，具有西方中心主義的危險。儘管如此，這一概念對批判性地認識媒介建構卻有重要的意義。Puar (2017)提出，美國媒體通過展現同性戀權益來渲染美國文化的先進性，從而實現民族主義的情感認同。Morgensen (2010)從後殖民主義的角度分析了「酷兒現代性」，發現歷史上美國白人一貫以「現代性」作為標榜，說明自身支配地位的合法性。

Puar的研究被譽為酷兒研究的里程碑，這個概念被廣泛地應用在不同地域的研究中。例如，英國人在面對政治避難者時表現出了「英國以外不可能有性少數者」的態度(Raboin, 2017)；荷蘭和瑞典的媒體將土耳其和非洲塑造成恐同的他者(Yildiz, 2017; Jungar & Peltonen, 2017)；中國大陸、香港和台灣三地的年輕人發展出了三種不同形式的「同性戀民族主義」，其中中國大陸的同性戀者強調和諧社會、家庭觀念以及愛國精神(Kong, 2019)。另外，「同性戀民族主義」不僅存在於當代，也存在於歷史語境中。美國五六十年代的同性戀期刊大力宣傳蘇聯及東歐國家的恐同文化，強化了對美國「自由民主」的認同感(Serykh, 2017)。

Hartal 和 Sasson-Levy (2018) 修正了「同性戀民族主義」的應用，認為「同性戀民族主義」不是單一固化的，而是多面向和多範疇的，在特定語境中，研究者需要考慮文化和政治因素起到的獨特作用，動態地思考和使用這個工具。「同性戀民族主義」也被批評為沒有實踐意義的批判。Schotten (2016) 認為 Puar 忽略了酷兒行動者們的現實困境，在很多地區，行動者不得不利用民族主義話語為酷兒爭取權利。正因如此，「同性戀民族主義」並不能被僵化地移植到對中國社會的分析之中。正如 Puar 強調的，本文將「同性戀民族主義」視為研究工具，幫助研究者理解在中國語境下，現代性和歷史變遷如何塑造了性少數群體的再現，性少數議題如何被用作「中國形象」的話語資源，以及記者如何將其作為一種行動策略。

研究方法

本研究綜合運用了多種質性研究方法，在分析文字和視覺文本的基礎上，將文本與其所在的多重語境相關聯。歷史研究方法為本文提供了基礎的方法論指導。儘管歷史研究常常認為新近過去的30年不能作為歷史研究的對象，但隨著當代史的發展，這一禁忌在逐漸被挑戰 (Catterall, 1997)。報刊研究 (periodical studies) 作為一個正在興起的歷史研究領域，主張以報刊為研究對象，探討城市文化、流行文化和社會運動。Judge、Mittler 和 Hockx (2018, pp. 8–10) 在對民國婦女報刊的研究中總結出四種閱讀報刊的方式：橫向閱讀 (horizontal reading)、縱向閱讀 (vertical reading)、一體式閱讀 (integrated reading) 和語境式閱讀 (situated reading)。本文主要採取後三種閱讀方式。「縱向閱讀」追蹤同一本期刊中同一主題的發展變化。「一體式閱讀」將一份特定報刊作為研究對象，並關注其與同時期報刊的相互關係，考察同一主題在不同期刊中如何被呈現。「語境式閱讀」將特定期刊放置於歷史語境中考察，探索媒介話語和社會文化的關聯。

具體操作層面，作者以 gay (gays)、lesbian (lesbians)、homosexual、bisexual、transgender、LGBT、cross-dress 為標題關鍵詞搜索《中國日報 (旗艦版)》，排除了不相關和重複樣本外，共獲得從1991至2019年329

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篇有效樣本。作者選取過去30年作為研究對象，最重要的原因是《中國日報》從1991年始才有文章大篇幅地關注性少數群體。總的說來，這些文章非常多樣，內容包括宗教、科學、體育、犯罪、戀愛、婚姻、性、疾病衛生、政策制定和社會偏見等，體裁包括短新聞、特稿、評論及讀者來信，長度從100字至3,000字不等。本研究無意對這些維度進行量化分析，而更注重對內容和版面設計進行文字和視覺的質性分析。

作者採用主題分析法來分析文字內容，通過反覆通讀329篇文章，篩選出重要的主題。主題的篩選有以下標準：反覆出現的主題、反覆出現的敘事方式、與時空語境相關的主題、對性少數人群重要的主題(反污名化、艾滋病、女同性戀、跨性別、雙性戀等)。作者並未通過NVIVO等研究軟件進行輔助分析，所有閱讀和編碼在打印的文章上完成，然後進行歸類分析。但作者仍須承認，這些分析是建立在閱讀的主觀性基礎之上的。

運用軟件分析報刊內容的一個缺陷在於忽略了報刊的物質性和視覺性。近年來歷史學界逐漸開始重視視覺文本與文字之間的互動關係，報刊的視覺呈現反映了潛在的價值觀念(Sun, 2011)。研究者翻閱329篇文章的版面，分析了在視覺上具有敘事效果的版面。對《中國日報》報導內容的分析主要解決本文的核心問題一：自1990年代以來，《中國日報》中性少數人群的報導策略經歷了怎樣的變化？

主題分析法可以幫助作者分析報導的內容變化，而回答「為什麼會發生這些變化」這一核心問題則需參照歷史研究方法。歷史方法主張將材料放置於文字產生的政治、社會與文化語境中，從而揭示歷史發展鏈條(孫秀蕙、陳儀芬，2016：70-71)。一份報刊呈現的內容與其主編、執筆陣容與讀者有直接關係，文字背後的社會脈絡與人際關係往往決定了一本期刊的價值傾向(陳延湏，2004)。因此本文希望透過考察《中國日報》所處的不同時代語境，來解釋其不同階段的再現。筆者主要考察了五重語境：《中國日報》的內部變動、中國國內的媒體語境、政策語境、社會運動語境，以及國際性少數平權運動的語境。

對期刊的「語境式閱讀」依賴於官方檔案、回憶錄、電影、文學、藝術等多種類型史料的交互運用，但這種方法在研究新近30年的內容時有很大局限性。限於官方檔案30年的保密期限，本研究運用社會學的「三角交叉法」(triangulation)，來獲得過去30年的多重語境資料。三角交叉法將多種材料和方法結合使用，以期補充單一研究方法的不足，更加全面和準確地認識某一現象(Flick, 2018)。研究者通過搜集官方文件、新聞、學術研究、調查報告等文獻來獲得基本語境信息。在考察中國國內媒體語境的過程中，研究者主要搜索並瀏覽了《人民日報》、《環球時報(英文版)》、*Sixth Tones* 三家媒體。

此外，研究者通過訪談法補充以上方法的不足。研究者通過介紹，聯繫到四位被訪者(被訪者信息見附錄二)。被訪者1和2曾在《中國日報》供職。研究者試圖通過介紹和郵件聯繫更多該報離職或在職人員，但或因採訪主題被婉拒，或未收到答覆。被訪者3為商業媒體從業人員，其所在的媒體嚴格管控性少數人群的相關選題。被訪者4在另一家官方英文媒體工作，負責性少數人群相關新聞。其中三個訪談通過電話進行，時長在半小時到一小時之間，訪談錄音由轉錄員轉錄，研究者校對。另一個訪談通過社交媒體進行。由於訪談數量的限制，訪談資料只能起到補充作用，但本文的分析表明，這些補充對於理解《中國日報》的內部變動、記者能動性，以及中國媒體語境都有關鍵的作用。通過對不同層次語境的解讀，作者希望回答研究問題二：為什麼《中國日報》的報導策略發生了巨大變化？

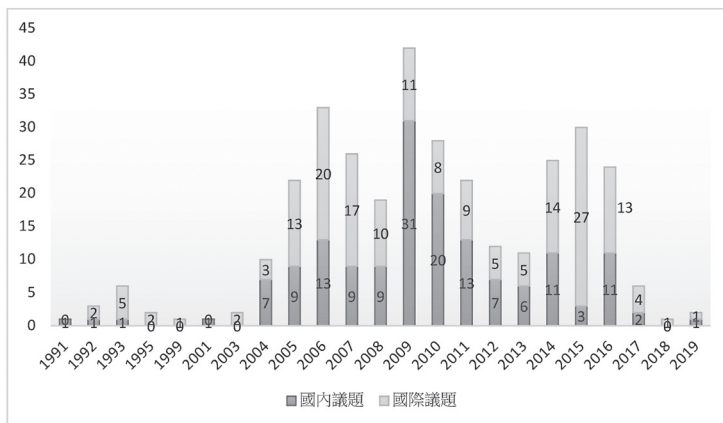
此外，本研究將中國最權威的主流中文報紙《人民日報》作為《中國日報》的參照物，反觀二者的異同。作者以「同性戀」為標題關鍵詞搜索1991到2019年的《人民日報》，得到零篇文章。進行全文搜索後，共得到155篇文章，其中大部分文章僅僅提及「同性戀」，與《中國日報》形成了強烈反差。作者以《中國日報》的分期作為標準，選擇《人民日報》的文章進行比較。通過對比，作者希望回答研究問題三：《中國日報》和《人民日報》的報導策略如何體現了中英文媒體的「內外有別」？

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1991–2003：溫和地呈現「他者」

本研究結合不同時期《中國日報》性少數人群報導的數量、關注重心、報導取向的變化，將其分為四個階段(表一)。第一階段為1991至2003年，在此階段中，性少數人群僅有少量呈現，報導側重於國際議題，及強調同性戀人群對艾滋病防治的作用。第二階段為2004至2008年，以性少數人群為題的文章急速增長，在報導取向上更注重強調該群體的生存困境與平等權益。第三階段(2009–2014)是性少數人群的高光時刻，文章數量激增，關注重心發生顯著變化——即從國際議題轉移到了國內議題。其中2009年關注國內議題的文章數量是國際議題的三倍。報導內容更加多元，強調性少數群體平權取得的成就和存在的問題。2015年至今關注國內議題的文章數量顯著下降，關注重心又轉回國際議題。內容除了同性戀群體的生存困境外，也偏重於艾滋病防治及粉紅經濟。值得說明的是，《中國日報》對性少數人群的報導也體現了男性中心主義的傾向，其關於女同性戀的報導僅有男同性戀的十分之一，雙性戀和跨性別的群體得到的關注更加有限，然而這一發現不是本研究的中心問題，因此不會深入討論。

表一 1991–2019年間《中國日報》性少數人群報導的數量



1979年《刑法》規定雞姦是「流氓罪」的一種，男男性行為面臨被拘留、監禁、失業的風險(陸新蕾，2014：69–71)。1997年，《刑法》將雞姦非罪化。然而同性戀仍被認作是「性變態」，需要按照精神疾病進行治療。2001年頒布的第三版《中國精神障礙分類與診斷標準》根據世界衛生組織的政策和中華醫學會精神科分會調研的結果，將同性戀剔除在精神疾病範圍之外(中華醫學會精神科分會，2001)。¹90年代末至21世紀初，國際上同性戀生存狀況發生了緩慢變化，以比爾·克林頓(Bill Clinton)政府推進的同性戀平權政策最有爭議性。

1991到2003年間，《中國日報》關於國內性少數人群一共僅有四篇文章，除去一篇女同性戀被審判的犯罪類短新聞，另外三篇以艾滋病防治為主題。1991年12月10日的報導指出男男性行為是傳播艾滋病的主要途徑(Wen, 1991, December 10)。1993年的一篇文章以「Gays can play role in AIDS education」為題，認為同性戀應該勇敢地出櫃，為艾滋病教育和宣傳起到更重要的作用(Zhu, 1993, February 10)。2001年同性戀去病理化後，《中國日報》第一次發文呼籲中國社會寬容對待同性戀(Feng, 2001, April 20)。

這一階段《中國日報》的國際報導關注同性戀在歐美政治、軍事和宗教界產生的割裂效應。報導主要集中於克林頓推動同性戀人群在軍中服役的政策，及推動同性戀婚姻合法化，強調美國在這一問題上的撕裂，和兩黨因此問題而出現的分歧和對抗(*China Daily*, 1992, August 11)。

《中國日報》這一階段的報導並未把同性戀友好看作是「開放」、「自由」的體現。但引人注目的是，這些報導也並未如《人民日報》一樣將同性戀污名化。《人民日報》此階段涉及同性戀的文章僅有一篇講述了同性戀人群的地下生活和身心痛苦(趙蓓蓓，1993年1月16日)，其他文章將同性戀描述為西方社會病(張懋澤、安啟念，1993年1月8日)、艾滋病患者、西方人權戰的砝碼、西方價值觀的體現(楊躍華，1991年10月9日)。由此可見，《中國日報》在價值觀念的取捨上，採用了更加溫和的策略。

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2004–2008：艾滋病與現代性纏繞的話語空間

2004年是《中國日報》性少數人群再現的一個轉折點。這一階段報導的數量、內容和態度都與前時期有巨大差異，也與《人民日報》大相徑庭。《中國日報》2004年改版，由12版擴充至16版，增加了本土新聞的數量，並新增了兩個特稿版面。自2005年始，《中國日報》刊登了一批報導同性戀人群的文章(見表一)。除了持續關注國際議題外，國內議題的報導數量也有顯著上升。儘管報導的主題仍然和艾滋病與性犯罪緊密相連，但也有相當多的報導描述這個群體在日常生活中遭遇的歧視和不公，進而呼籲性少數平權。

這個轉變，是由世界局勢變遷、中國國家政策變化，以及《中國日報》內部變動共同形塑的。21世紀初是同性婚姻合法化的世界性的轉折點。除卻丹麥在1989年將同性婚姻合法化外，荷蘭、比利時、西班牙、加拿大、美國部分州都在2001至2005年間實現了同性婚姻合法化。同性婚姻已儼然成為國際人權事務的晴雨表，在全球左翼思潮的影響下，性少數議題成為了可以被動員的政治及話語資源。

21世紀初，中國大陸的性少數平權運動開始加速發展。中國政府從1996年起為艾滋病治理提供資金，並於2006年正式提出艾滋病治理五年計劃，性少數非政府組織在防艾政策支持下大量湧現(Hildebrandt, 2013, p. 29)。在斯坦福大學圖書館搜集的30個與性少數人群相關的非政府組織中，有9個成立於2004至2008年間，包括影響力較大的北京同志中心、北京女同志中心、同性戀親友會、同語等(Chinese NGO web archiving project)。

1990年代末期，互聯網在中國大陸開始普及，性少數人群的公共領域能見度迅速提高。同性戀者在互聯網上尋找信息和建立社群，至2008年，中國有數百個男女同志網站在運行。線上的社群連結促進了線下活動的發展，以上海為例，線下的女同性戀活動在2000年後逐漸成形，組織女同性戀熱線、志願工作、沙龍聚會；女同性戀咖啡館、酒吧的開張也為群體線下活動提供了更多空間(金擘路，2014：19–30)。

這一階段《中國日報》的文章講述了同性戀在日常生活中遇到的困境，如中國人將同性戀等同於艾滋病，同性戀者在職場、家庭和社會

中被歧視，有很多人存在自殺傾向等 (*China Daily*, 2005, August 17)。除卻生存困境，這些文章還納入了寬容、進步和現代性的敘事模式。刊登於2005年8月17日四版的一篇評論文章，以復旦大學高燕寧教授開設的「同性戀健康社會科學」課程為例，開宗明義地指出「這門課程的熱門程度是一個積極的訊號，中國社會正變得更加包容」(*China Daily*, 2005, August 17)。《中國日報》的文章強調中國取得了長足的進步，例如同性戀人群建立了網站、酒吧、教育諮詢熱線等。報導還多次提及性學家李銀河在兩會中提出的同性戀婚姻合法化提案，因為它「在全國範圍內都引起了注意」(*China Daily*, 2005, August 17; Liang & Xiao, 2006, May 11; Narasimhan, 2006, March 15)。

《中國日報》通過性少數人群議題，彰顯出中國寬容與開放的發展趨勢。相較之下，此階段《人民日報》僅有一篇文章表達了對同性戀的寬容，認為中國同性戀人群正邁向更加幸福和文明的生活，但同時也指出，這些生活方式考驗著人們的理解力和承受力(許立群，2008年12月25日)。《人民日報》中更多文章仍然將同性戀與艾滋病緊密相連(徐蓮芝，2003年11月28日)，認為互聯網行業為同性戀色情提供了平台(吳兢，2002年4月10日)。此外，《人民日報》從未提及復旦大學高燕寧教授的課程和李銀河的同性婚姻合法化提案，相反卻有一篇文章用強硬的口吻指出，國家應「禁止同性結婚」(潘躍，2003年8月20日)。因此，《人民日報》對同性戀人群的呈現遠未如《中國日報》一般，展現出寬容、進步與現代性。

2009–2014：「同志之年」開啟的高光時刻

2009年年底，《中國日報》整版刊登一年來同性戀群體的大事，並稱是年為「中國的同志之年」(Year of gay China)(圖一，Laskowski, 2009, December 28)。在這個階段，《中國日報》報導了形形色色的中國性少數人群議題，包括男同性戀選美(Laskowski, 2010, January 11, 2010, January 16; Shan, 2010, January 15)、同性戀婚禮(Huang & Zhang, 2010, January 13)、同性戀情侶參與接吻比賽(Balazovic & Li, 2011, February 14)、同志電台(*China Daily*, 2011, March 22)、同妻(Shan,

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2012, February 3)、同性戀主題戲劇(Mei, 2012, February 17)、同性戀親友會(*China Daily*, 2013, July 2)、跨性別(Xu & Cheng, 2012, July 4)、對性少數人群的校園霸凌(Xu, 2013, January 6)、職場歧視(Yu, 2013, December 30)、同性戀「治療」(Shan, 2014, August 1)等。在視覺呈現上，報紙刊登了相當多有衝擊力和創意的圖片，性少數議題多次整版或在頭版醒目出現。這些報導不斷地強調，對性少數人群的態度的轉變凸顯了中國社會的進步，從而塑造了中國的「酷兒現代性」，形成了「同性戀民族主義」的敘事模式。

這一階段的中國日報社為性少數議題的撰寫提供了較多內部空間。2010年3月，《中國日報》做了創刊以來的最大改版，目標是使報紙「更易讀」、「更有趣」，增加了報導內容的深度(戴長征，2014：69)。據被訪者1講述，這一時期中國日報社聚集了一群關注性少數人群話題的記者，他們提出相關選題，進行操作，成稿後一般都能比較順利地發表。被訪者1認為這和報社的採編團隊普遍都熟悉英文報刊、有過深入的外語或國際教育經歷相關。另一方面，這些報導根本上離不開活躍的性少數平權運動，被訪者2與性少數活動者有著密切的聯繫，能夠及時地獲得一手消息來源。但被訪者1和2也指出，報社並未有性少數人群跑口記者，這類議題在日常工作中只佔非常邊緣的位置。

去宣傳化的敘事

在講述性少數群體的故事時，《中國日報》摒棄了宣傳式的說教，採用「不排斥負面報導」、「平衡官方與民間的態度」、「平衡贊成和反對的觀點」等方式，呈現了多層次立體化的政府形象和社會圖景。例如，針對雲南大理的一個同志酒吧的開辦，《中國日報》批評了地方政府錯誤估計了媒體環境和社會環境，導致好心辦壞事。2009年，由雲南大理防艾促進會負責人張建波主導，大理計劃開辦一家同志酒吧。這個酒吧的獨特之處在於被稱為「中國政府支持的第一家同志酒吧」。以往，中國政府在性少數問題上，一般採取「不支持、不鼓勵、不反對」的策略，僅高調支持與艾滋病相關的活動(高文謙，2016：18；Hilderbrandt, 2018)。因而這家酒吧驟然激起了媒體的熱情，大量記者蜂擁而至，同性戀者因

懼怕曝光而銷聲匿跡，導致酒吧推遲營業 (Guo & Shan, 2009, December 2)。《中國日報》事後進一步反思道，政府應該採取更加自由主義的態度，事必躬親也許會適得其反 (Zhang, 2009, December 3)。大理酒吧最終在12月的第三個週末秘密開業了，這條新聞登上了《中國日報》2009年12月21日的頭版 (圖二)。當日頭條是胡錦濤評價澳門經濟發展，二條是聯合國世界氣候峰會。在向英語讀者展現中國形象時，《中國日報》力圖將政治經濟等「硬新聞」，與英文讀者喜愛的社會性「軟新聞」並置，平衡官方和民間的故事。

此外，《中國日報》著力展現了一群敢於打破中國傳統和禁忌的普通人，這些人的存在即是現代性的標誌。例如，中國傳統有「不孝有三，無後為大」的觀念，認為養育後代是每個人——尤其是每個男性——的責任。據統計，中國有90%以上的男同性戀者或已結婚，或與女同性戀者「假結婚」，或認為自己無可避免地會結婚 (劉達臨、魯龍光，2005)。然而，也有一些同性戀者認為假結婚是不道德和沒有社會責任感的，同性戀者「應該創造一個能夠接受同性戀的大環境」，報紙也報導了公開支持同性戀子女的父母，稱讚他們勇敢地挑戰社會的性與生育禁忌 (Shi, 2009, November 6)。

在同性戀相關活動受到壓制時，《中國日報》傾向於關注能作出行動的社會組織。例如2009年年末，有近十家同性戀網站被勒令關閉。報紙將視線放在了為同性戀提供法律援助的非政府組織上 (Yang, 2009, December 25)。通過這些報導，《中國日報》塑造了一個活躍的中國社會，在這裡個體具有反抗意識，社會力量可以對官方行為進行制衡。

線性進步的敘事及其視覺呈現

《中國日報》這一時期的報導，建立起了一個有優劣秩序的全球性少數文化地圖。在這個序列中，同性戀等同於現代性和西方化，而恐同則是東方和傳統文化的標誌 (*China Daily*, 2009, July 3)。儘管相較於基督教國家，中國在歷史上對同性戀更加寬容，但在近幾十年來，中國對於同性戀的態度已經落後於西方了 (Han, Gan, Shi, & Xu, 2013, January 6; Gibson, 2010, June 18)。

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落後帶來的壓力，使報紙從「中國在不斷進步」這個角度來描述性少數群體的發展狀態，這種「線性進步」式的描述即是「同性戀民族主義」的體現。這裡以「世界同志運動會」(World Outgames)的報導為例進行說明。第一屆世界同志運動會於2006年加拿大蒙特利爾舉辦，只有兩名中國人參與了相關的文化活動。參與者之一 Xu Bin 回憶到，蒙特利爾的經歷讓他/她感到非常難堪，因為那意味著「我的國家那時並不能開放地面對同性戀人群」。在2009年哥本哈根第二屆世界同志運動會中，中國共有十五名同性戀者參與。雖然參賽並未受到官方背書，但 Xu Bin 認為，十幾位中國人在開幕式上走過哥本哈根市政廳前，「表現出中國正在變得更加開放，我們對我們的性取向更加有自信了」(Mei, 2009, August 27)。因此，《中國日報》通過世界同志運動會的參與者之口，描述了中國社會正在不斷取得進步，也表達了對國際認同的期待。

視覺語言也是表達進步敘事的重要工具。2010年一篇以「Nothing's same now, Comrade」為題的評論及其配圖在文字和視覺上都非常大膽(圖三)。2010年6月初，北京公交集團發佈了一份新的服務指南，告知服務人員用「先生」和「女士」稱呼乘客，取代「同志」這一稱呼。文章以這一事件為引子，評述「同志」一詞如何喪失了革命的光暈，變成了同性戀的代稱，稱北京公交集團的舉措是對「已死的理想主義的最後一擊」(Zhou, 2010, June 4)。文章的漫畫配圖幾乎佔據了半個版面(圖三)。圖左是一對身穿長袍馬褂的革命同志，作為青年知識分子，他們受到革命思想的鼓舞和紅星的照耀，萌生了革命友誼。圖右是一對當代「同志」，一位長髮披肩肌肉健碩，穿著背心和闊腿褲，一位戴著項鍊，穿著花短褲和匡威球鞋。兩位外表時髦的年輕人在一顆閃閃發光的紅心前牽手，紐帶為超越性別的愛情。革命者的紅星被同性戀者的紅心所替代，象徵著一個全民革命的社會正在接受世俗化的價值。

另一篇題為〈中國的同性戀權利：通向尊重之路〉的特稿利用整版空間，將個人經歷融入到家國歷史中，講述中國同性戀者境遇的變化。文中的主角之一為72歲化名為 Ba Li 的男性，他曾在七八十年代因同性戀前後入獄七年，受盡歧視和凌辱。1986年出獄後，他發現人們對待同性戀的態度開始轉變，老年的他有了一位穩定的伴侶。Ba Li 感

慨道：「如今大家終於不再認為我是壞人，我也終於可以抬起頭做人了」（Cao, 2010, February 24）。在版面安排上，Ba Li在生日宴會上激動流淚的照片位於標題之下，雖然佔據視覺的中心點，但卻是一幅小圖，象徵著那些不得不去回顧的過去。版面題圖為同性戀情侶在前門拍攝婚紗照的照片，象徵自由與開放的當下和未來（圖四）。語言和視覺敘事相互映照，建構了一個不斷進步的歷史進程，在這個進程裡，雖然有人經歷了苦難，但最終結果是光明的。

《中國日報》對這對女同性戀婚紗照的使用，可以看出其對性少數人群的關注和中國性少數平權活動密切相關。這張照片是2009年情人節在前門附近拍攝的，當時一同拍攝的還有一對男同性戀情侶。這兩對情侶的照片，反覆出現在《中國日報》醒目的位置上（圖一、圖四、圖五），圖片說明解釋道，照片內容是同性戀情侶在拍攝象徵性的婚紗照。但實際上，這幾張照片是同志導演、活動家范坡坡拍攝紀錄片《新前門大街》的劇照。圖片中的兩對情侶並非是真正的情侶，而是紀錄片邀請的演員。

雖然性少數組織在2004年後快速發展，但他們的活動仍面臨很多意想不到的困難，使得「線性進步」的敘事常常失效。Hildebrandt (2018, p. 5) 指出，儘管民間組織在21世紀的中國非常活躍，但研究者不能將其浪漫化為「黃金時代」。2010年1月，一場同性戀選美大賽即將在北京舉辦，來自不同省份的八位同性戀者角逐去奧斯陸參加世界同性戀選美大賽的候選人資格。組織者Ben Zhang希望讓中國公眾看到男性同性戀者是「健康、性感、時尚」的 (Laskowski, 2010, January 11)。幾篇預告性的報導對中國的性少數問題都持樂觀的態度，然而一天後，選美比賽在開場前一小時被執法部門勒令停止。記者詢問該賽事的國際代表Sebastian：「你認為這是中國的一個巨大退步嗎？」Sebastian回答：「類似事件也發生過。不是退步，但也絕對不是進步」 (Laskowski, 2010, January 16)。此類事件的出現，使得「同性戀民族主義」式的敘事受到了限制。

相比之下，這一時期的《人民日報》仍將同性戀點綴在艾滋病防治的敘事中。〈清除艾滋病的道德歧視〉一文號召停止歧視同性戀者，但文章的出發點是防治艾滋病，因為消除歧視有利於降低艾滋病的傳播

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(李曉宏，2009年12月2日)。更多文章直接將同性戀者納入艾滋病患者的範疇，將媒體中的「同性戀」等同於暴力低俗、淫穢色情(璩靜，2013年9月24日；隋笑飛、白瀛、徐璿，2014年1月2日)。

2015–2019：酷兒失語

2015年以降，《中國日報》性少數人群報導的數量呈下滑趨勢，2017年後數量銳減，關注的重心向國際性少數人群傾斜(表一)，本文稱這個現象為「酷兒失語」。在版面安排上，相關議題不再出現在頭版，也極少以整版的形式出現。內容上，一部分文章仍關注性少數人群權益，如同妻權益、同性戀婚姻權、工作權、醫療權(*China Daily*, 2016, August 11; Shan, 2016, April 14, 2017, July 11)。另一部分文章關注性少數群體的經濟潛力及艾滋病防治問題(Shan, 2016, April 21; Zhu, 2016, June 2)。在敘事方式上，仍然採用「寬容」和「進步」的模式，但也會經常遇到上文提出的敘事困境。

這一階段世界範圍內性少數群體面臨日趨複雜的生存語境。唐納德·特朗普(Donald Trump)自2015年下半年參加總統競選以來，以其種族主義和性別歧視的言論贏得了部分民眾的支持。特朗普上任後，又接連任用了多位公開歧視性少數人群的官員(Moreau, 2018)。儘管亞洲部分地區的性少數權益有了較大進展，例如台灣地區於2017年實現了同性婚姻合法化，印度於2018年實現了同性性行為合法化，這些地區並未能夠成為「現代性」的參照物。

近年來，中國主流媒體回歸於傳統性別角色的建構(Wei, 2018, p. 9)。從2015年開始，關於同性戀議題媒介再現的規定相繼出台。2015年12月31日，中廣聯合會電視製片委員會和中國電視劇製作產業協會聯合制定了《電視劇內容製作通則》，規定不得製作「渲染淫穢色情和庸俗低級趣味」的內容，其中包括「展現和展示非正常的性關係、性行為，如亂倫、同性戀、性變態、性侵犯、性虐待及性暴力等」(中國電視劇製作產業協會，2019年8月20日)。2017年6月30日，中國網絡視聽節目服務協會發布了《網絡視聽節目內容審核通則》，禁止「表現和

展示非正常的性關係、性行為，如亂倫、同性戀、性變態、性侵犯、性虐待及性暴力」等（央視網，2017年6月30日）。兩個通則都將同性戀和性變態、性侵犯、性虐待和性暴力相提並論。通則下達後，很多同性戀網站和網絡社群都受到了影響（Wei, 2018, p. 9）。被訪者3在訪談中透露，近幾年其所在的商業視頻網站不製作、不發佈負面的信息，因此也嚴格把關、不能發佈涉及性少數人群的內容。

儘管同性戀禁令的對象是電視劇和網絡視聽節目，紙媒和官方媒體中性少數人群的呈現也出現了下降的趨勢。《中國青年報》中的性少數人群議題在2016年開始有了較大的回落（趙宇，2018：59）。《環球時報（英文版）》自2009年創刊至2019年為止，刊登了大量性少數主題的新聞和特稿。但經筆者統計，以性少數為標題的文章數量在2015年後也出現了下滑的趨勢（附錄三）。《人民日報》在數量上有類似趨勢，內容上也不再號召停止歧視同性戀。2015年後僅有的幾篇提及同性戀的文章，分別提及了中國歷史上的女同性戀（孫超，2015年10月6日）、媒體通過同性戀問題渲染社會陰暗面並賺取點擊量（王比學，2016年11月2日）、無保護的同性戀性行為為乙型肝炎傳染的主要途徑（王宇，2018年6月1日）。

這一階段中，中國大陸的性少數平權運動呈現出更加複雜的圖景。一方面，性少數人群爭取婚姻權的努力獲得了官方的關注。2019年，中國人民代表大會通過網絡向社會徵集同性婚姻合法化的意見（王姝，2019年12月20日），各地公證部門陸續開放了性少數人群意定監護公證，使得同性伴侶成為法定監護人（新浪網，2019年8月3日）。但另一方面，民間性少數群體的活動面臨著更多的不確定性，公共影響力的發展面臨著挑戰（Chen, 2018, June 1），性少數群體開始減少公開活動和大張旗鼓的宣傳（AFP, 2018, June 2）。「同語」的調查報告指出，儘管國家希望大力支持非政府組織，但現實中性少數非政府組織面臨的形勢十分嚴峻（高文謙，2016：23），因為2016年出台的《中華人民共和國慈善法》，並未明確將性少數群體組織納入慈善組織的範疇（中國政府網，2016年3月19日）。也有報導指出，2017年後，「NGO的發展空間極大地壓縮，前路越來越艱難」（江佳明、婁佳璐、張雯一、宋汶瑾，2020

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年3月17日)。Hildebrandt (2018)認為，中國性少數群體在很大程度完成了防控艾滋病的工作後，其繼續被寬容的合法性降低了。

但是，國內國際環境的變化並不能完全解釋《中國日報》中性少數議題銳減的原因。在相同語境下，《環球時報》英文版對性少數人群的報導數量雖然在2015年後有所下滑，但總數仍然不少。澎湃新聞旗下的*Sixth Tone*，也還開有LGBT專欄。被訪者4在中國大陸的英文媒體從業多年，一直關注性少數議題，認為儘管這類議題會受到環境影響，但其所在的媒體仍希望透過相關報導來呈現一個多元的中國社會。

因此，《中國日報》的性少數議題再現的變化也要從其自身變化來考察。據研究顯示，2014年至2016年間，《中國日報》每年離職的人數大幅度攀升。2016年，《中國日報》有12%的採編人員轉向了其他行業，離職的原因包括報社改革轉型、薪資待遇、晉升瓶頸、競爭管理機制等等(王凱，2018：27-28)。活躍於「高光時刻」的記者和評論員，如Raymond Zhou和Christine Laskowski等，2017年後都未在《中國日報》發稿，可以推斷其中大部分人已經離職或不再從事一線採編工作。被訪者1在《中國日報》供職後期常常疲於完成任務稿，無暇關注自己感興趣的話題，因此選擇了離開。據記者的經驗來看，性少數話題的採寫一般由感興趣的記者主動提出，而非部門安排(被訪者1和2)。因此當對此類議題感興趣的記者紛紛離職後，相關話題也就無人問津了。

結論與討論

本文運用多種研究方法，分析了《中國日報》過去30年性少數人群再現的變遷及其原因，並將其與《人民日報》相比較，探討中國主流媒體的再現政治。本文在理論上豐富了「同性戀民族主義」的討論，同時希望在實踐上幫助中國主流媒體的讀者更加深入地理解媒介呈現的內容，並給予媒體從業者和性少數平權運動者一個反思的視角，從而更有策略地爭取性少數權益。

本文縱向追蹤了《中國日報》性少數群體報導的歷史變遷，發現在報導數量上經歷了由少到多，再由高度關注到失語的過程；在報導取

向上,《中國日報》一直秉持著對性少數人群的包容態度,其中2009–2014年間的報導尤為特殊,全面深入且具有批判性。這一變化進程是由諸多因素合力促成的。20世紀90年代間,大多數歐美國家尚未肯定性少數權利的合法性,但這一話題已在國家和社會層面進行了廣泛討論。這一時期的中國,由於艾滋病問題日趨凸顯,《中國日報》將同性戀與艾滋病緊密相連,但也主張寬容對待同性戀人群。21世紀初期,歐美多國實現了同性戀婚姻合法化,同時期的中國已實現了同性戀去罪化和去病理化,性少數人群非政府組織紛紛成立並迅速擴大影響力。這一時期《中國日報》增加了對性少數人群的報導,呼籲性少數人的平等權益。2009至2014年間,中國性少數平權運動高度活躍,《中國日報》對性少數議題展開了先鋒且大膽的報導。2015年後,隨著國際環境趨於保守,國內出台了限制媒體表現性少數人群的規定,加之《中國日報》中關注此問題的記者相繼離職,其對性少數人群的報導銳減。

通過《中國日報》與《人民日報》的橫向比較,本文發現中英文主流媒體因目標受眾不同,建構出了高度「內外有別」的自我形象。由於中西方意識形態的根本差異,《中國日報》對「現代性」的關注集中於社會層面。儘管西方社會對性少數群體的態度遠非高度統一,但西方媒體成功地突出了其同性戀平權的一面(Puar, 2017),這種對性少數群體的寬容態度被《中國日報》認為「現代性」的表現之一。反之,對性少數人群的敵意則被視為落後與封閉。同時,其著力於建構一個「同性戀友好」的中國形象,以迎合英文讀者的喜好。運用性少數群體作為話語資源,報紙講述了開放自由的中國故事,建構了以「酷兒現代性」為基礎的「同性戀民族主義」的敘事模式。與之相較,《人民日報》對同性戀人群的報導集中在艾滋病防治的敘事框架中。由此可見,中國主流媒體並非鐵板一塊,但其多樣性需要被批判地理解。

本文豐富和發展了「同性戀民族主義」的理論探討,認為被西方媒體「他者化」了的中國媒體通過內化和運用「同性戀民族主義」的敘事方式,試圖將自身「主體化」、「去他者化」。在歐美語境下,「同性戀民族主義」表現為對自身「先進」文化的認同及對其他地區的「他者化」,這些「他者」既包括嚴酷對待性少數群體的一些伊斯蘭國家,也包括並未

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實現性少數平權的中國。但已有研究從未從「他者」的角度出發，考查「他者」在「去他者化」進程中作出的敘事努力。本文正是認識到這一理論盲點，並試以中國主流媒體的報導為例對其進行討論。作為西方媒體敘述中的「他者」，《中國日報》試圖運用性少數群體報導爭取「主體化」以及「去他者化」。記者認為西方民眾和媒體普遍對中國性少數人群的生存狀況了解甚少、具有偏見，這也是他們對書寫這一議題充滿熱情的一個重要原因(被訪者1、2、4)。以「向世界說明中國」為目標的敘事，根本上是一種「去他者化」的表達。然而有趣的是，這些「去他者化」背後的敘事邏輯，是西方媒體所建構出的「同性戀民族主義」。相較之下，對外宣傳並不是《人民日報》中文版的主要任務，作為中國主流媒體的絕對主體之一，《人民日報》不需要通過講述性少數群體的故事來「去他者化」，相反，其報導卻不時將同性戀群體置於「他者」的地位。

本研究尚有諸多不足，有待日後研究繼續探討。首先由於方法所限，本文偏重關注報紙的內容分析，而對內容生產過程只能管窺一二。記者如何提出選題、如何接觸被訪對象並篩選報導內容、編輯如何整合文字和圖片、各級人員如何溝通及協商等問題，本文只能通過少數訪談來得知。訪談法的局限在於無法最直接地觀察到人際互動以及背後的權力關係，陳陽(2006)在分析中國主流媒體中的婦女再現一書中寫到，報社內部的人際關係與部門互動一定程度上決定了報紙最後的內容呈現。因而在日後研究中，對媒體的參與式觀察能夠更直接地揭示報紙的內容生產與呈現之間的聯繫。

其次由於研究範圍及可行性所限，本文結論是否能推廣到其他主流媒體還有待後續考察。本文僅對比了《中國日報》與《人民日報》，未來研究若能嘗試在更廣範圍內進行分析和比較，其意義當能超越本文的個案研究。從時間線上來看，本文選取的時間段為中國加大改革開放後的30年，而若將目光關注於年鑑學派所主張的「長時段」(*longue durée*)，則能更好地理解中國媒體性少數人群再現的規律及意義。另外，隨著全球化的發展，同一國家或地區存在多語種媒體的現象日趨普遍，這種「內外有別」的現象是否存在於其他地區？在面對不同受眾群體時，媒體如何形塑「主體」與「他者」？這些是值得日後關注的研究議題。

最後，本文認為「酷兒現代性」和「同性戀民族主義」的理論工具不僅有助於研究媒介文本，也能為中國的酷兒研究帶來更多的可能性。在其關於中國大陸慾望表達的重要著作中，Rofel (2007) 發現中國的同性戀群體中有鮮明的階層和地域區隔，城市精英同性戀樂於彰顯其優越感，以區隔於農村同性戀。這種身份區隔與社會對現代性的認知之間有怎樣的聯繫？同性戀群體如何處理群體與國家間的關係？性少數平權行動者如何利用「同性戀民族主義」爭取活動空間？探討這些問題有助於理解中國酷兒的生活經驗及行動策略，也將在性別理論上實現更多的突破。

註釋

- 1 值得注意的是，此版標準將性少數群體因社會偏見產生的痛苦定義為精神障礙，導致「去病理化」並未得到社會各界的徹底接受（陸新蕾，2014：72-75）。

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附錄一 圖片

圖一 同志之年



M4 MONDAY, DECEMBER 28, 2009 METRO 中國日報 CHINA DAILY

Year of Gay China

By Christine Lauwawan

As the year 2009 comes to a close, it does so having been an emotional year for China's LGBT community. Beijing and numerous other cities across China experienced the successful completion of 12 anniversary and public events that expose LGBT culture and related issues like never before.

China's LGBT community, which is an acronym that refers to lesbian, gays, bisexuals and transgender people, has adapted the terms long to refer to gays, but for lesbians, gay or queer – an umbrella term for those who do not identify as heterosexual with regard to sexuality, sexual orientation or gender identity.

The community is young. Most are in their 20s and 30s, are educated, working professionals with experience. Many are new highly active and public organizers, authors, editors, designers, film directors, curators, activists and artists.

One catalyst was the Olympic Games in 2008, a landmark event that many in the LGBT community have interpreted as a "coming out" event. LGBT websites

have allowed for communities to build, to advertise events, and to allow contact and information to be exchanged between LGBT members from big cities and small towns in China with those from around the world.

As one of the organizers of China's first gay pride event and editor for Shanghai-based, Kenneth Tan, puts it: "Gay people and gays are now coming out on mass. These people are all what I call '1st generation queers'."

Politics, too, has been slowly changing. At a national level, 1997 saw the removal of sodomy from the country's list of crimes; homosexuality was removed from the list of mental disorders in 2001; and since 2003 prominent sociologist and activist, Li Yuhua, has been proposing same-sex marriage legislation at the annual Two Sessions.

In China, where LGBT-themed films are prohibited and gay-themed exhibitions, novels and magazines are taboo, the success of many

Feb 14: Gitanes Valentine's Day Photo Shoot, Beijing

Organizers within the LGBT community wanted media attention for their cause, and that is exactly what they got, starting 2007 with one gay and one lesbian couple dressed in wedding attire posing for photos among the crowd at Gitanes Valentine's Day events for LGBT groups have become part of annual campaigns since 2007. The day is significant for couples

as it is closer to March when the annual National People's Congress Standing Committee meeting is held where prominent sociologist and activist Li Yuhua proposed her landmark same-sex marriage bill the year before. Li has proposed a bill three times (2005, 2006, and 2008). "We wanted to spark public debate and awareness," said Liang Hui of Ahal, who came up with the idea. "It gave people a chance to visualize it. So it's

encouragement for LGBT people because they can stand out to express themselves. The couples who participated were not, in fact, real couples, although they all identify as gay and lesbian." Xu Bin, who helped organize the first LaLa Camp held in Zhuhai in 2007, explained that the volunteers were in relationships with partners, but were not willing to announce this cause.



Participants and organizers smile for Shanghai Pride.

May 17: Rainbow in Motion Bike Ride, Beijing

Cycling through seven colleges in Beijing, students and supporters wore T-shirts and signs with that said "Love Knows No Boundaries". At each campus was an activity to raise awareness either through raising the distribution of education materials. Rainbow in Motion, organized by Ahal and Tingting, marked the first public campaign in China on the international Day Against Biphobia. Finding awareness in best was not easy, however. "Some business-people supported it and some didn't give their approval so it's a bumpy, but students did it anyway," Tang said. "The normal universities are conservative, and more willing to allow for events like this on their campuses. I think it's because they are too high profile," he acknowledged. "Schools like Beida and Tsinghua chose not to participate."

June 12: Difference Gender Art Exhibition, Beijing

Beyond the fact local authorities allowed the first and removed several pieces from the exhibition that were considered "pornographic", the first public queer art exhibition in China survived to embrace 500 visitors on its opening day. "It was the first one that really worked," Tang Ziqiang who co-organized the exhibition, told METRO. "We suffered from the confusion of individuals and communication with the public," said Tan, founder and editor of Love Magazine, one of the exhibition's sponsors.

June 28: PFLAG China's 2nd Anniversary, Guangzhou

Wu Yujian, founder of PFLAG China, is the member of the first gay man to come out on Chinese television in 2004. After appearing on a television show the following year in support of her son, Zhang Yuxian told METRO that it was then she really started paying attention to issues involving China's LGBT community. "I set up PFLAG because I wanted to establish a social network to help them, especially their parents, and to increase the understanding and communication between gays and their parents and relatives," he explained.

Aug 20: Chengde by Xiao Lin

The gay-themed novel, Chengde, was published in the Chinese mainland by China Northern Publishing House. "In terms of content, I thought it was no problem to get it published," said Zhang Yuxian, owner of the publishing house. "It depends, sometimes certain topics get approved." For a publishing house, often they were afraid of creating problems for themselves, said Xiao Lin (a self-report of his most recent novel, Chengde). "There's not a government regulation that says no, but there's not much of a precedent for it."

Aug 20: Chengde by Xiao Lin

China's LGBT community, which is an acronym that refers to lesbian, gays, bisexuals and transgender people, has adapted the terms long to refer to gays, but for lesbians, gay or queer – an umbrella term for those who do not identify as heterosexual with regard to sexuality, sexual orientation or gender identity.

Nov 20: 3rd Annual LaLa Camp, Guilin, Guangxi

For Xu Bin, who helped organize the first LaLa Camp held in Dalian in 2007, the camp was an able to get the most appreciation of young lesbian activists to share the same experience and to make connections for their parents. "In so many ways, the first camp was so successful that the next year had the main camp in Shanghai, with four mini-camps in Beijing, Chengde, Kunming, and Anshan. It culminated in the establishment of the Chinese LaLa Alliance, which organized this year's LaLa Camp in Guilin.

July 27: The World Outdoors, Copenhagen

2009 marked the first time a Chinese organizer attends the World Outdoors held in Copenhagen, Denmark's largest outdoor festival. In Wu, who attended the first Outdoors conference in Helsinki in 2006, said she immediately felt the need to form a Chinese delegation for the event. "I'm a gay man and I'm interested in an outdoor sport," said METRO. "I was not and willing to accept the media attention that would be part

July 27: The World Outdoors, Copenhagen

of going to the Outdoors. I decided to compete in the marathon competition. With financial support local organizations, the Outdoors committee in Denmark, I was able to attend the Outdoors. It was a life-changing experience for me."

Nov 20: 3rd Annual LaLa Camp, Guilin, Guangxi

The first camp was so successful that the next year had the main camp in Shanghai, with four mini-camps in Beijing, Chengde, Kunming, and Anshan. It culminated in the establishment of the Chinese LaLa Alliance, which organized this year's LaLa Camp in Guilin.

Nov 20: 3rd Annual LaLa Camp, Guilin, Guangxi

The camp, which spanned two and half days of intensive music and dance, gathered over 100 lesbian, bisexual and transgender youth organizers across the Guilin, Hong Kong, and the US. According to Xu, finding for the camp received most of funding from overseas Chinese women's organizations.

Nov 20: 3rd Annual LaLa Camp, Guilin, Guangxi

We have three major overseas women's organizations: the US and the UK and one in Europe, she explained. "They have a history of supporting LGBT activists, and I think like they are happy to support a fourth."

Dec 19: Gay opening sponsored by the government, Hainan

For the first time, the government of the city of Dan, Hainan province, helped provide funding for a gay bar. Scheduled to open on Dec. 1, World AIDS day, Zhang Baobao and local officials decided to popularize the bar for volunteers serving HIV/AIDS prevention and health centers. The bar received partial funding from the Hainan province and two local NGOs. "The main function is to reach out to gay men, who are among the most at risk for HIV/AIDS."

Lesbian couple views an exhibit at the Gender Difference Art Exhibition. Courtesy of Ziqiang

圖二 大理政府支持同性戀酒吧開業的報導

CHINA DAILY
THE NATIONAL ENGLISH LANGUAGE NEWSPAPER

China seeks to clear up summit deal
Climate Change

Hu urges diverse growth
Macao casino boom has lifted region's economy but has led to income inequality

Govt-backed gay bar opens

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資料來源：China Daily，2009年12月21日，頭版

《傳播與社會學刊》(總)第57期(2021)

圖三 評論《同志,現在一切都不同了》

Tomorrow
Bring on the brinjal
While this humble vegetable is known
to cuisines across the world, it is in
China that it comes into its own.

CHINA DAILY 中國日報 CHINDAILY.COM.CN/LIFE FRIDAY, JUNE 4, 2010 PAGE 1

Pity the poor word 'longzhi', once the great equalizer it now has the connotation of official pomposity or a wink-wink reference to gay-friendly community

Nothing's same now, Comrade

Early this week, it was reported that the Beijing Public Transport Group was introducing some changes to its rules on how its service people should address passengers.

Except for men, such as senior citizens, the term "Comrade" would no longer be used. Instead men and women would be addressed as "Mr" and "Miss", and children would receive the less formal, gender-neutral salutation "Little Friend".

Yet another nail in the coffin of conformism and official idealism. The evolution of "Comrade" reflects the mass psychology and the psychological transition from the past century. Deriving from a Latin word for women, it was adopted by the European military as a way of addressing people who shared the same barracks. The political use of the word "Comrade" originated during the French Revolution and was adopted by the socialist movement of the mid-19th century.

This usage was adopted in turn by Sun Yat-sen and the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party) which frequently used "Comrade" as a means of address to its members. The Communists followed suit, actively promoting the use as a unification idea to its purpose.

"Comrade" (longzhi) means someone who has the same aspirations and goals. So for the early revolutionaries, it was a word that implicitly invoked a shared cause. I can only imagine how the word was used and received when it was still fresh. Say, I was a Shanghai-based underground worker for the Communist Party. If I opened my door or I might to someone whooping "Comrade", he would be entrusting his life with me and vice versa. It was not a word to be taken lightly.

The widespread adoption of "Comrade" as a form of address took off in the early 1950s, as Communists was the mandated ideology and theoretically every citizen was a "Comrade". Unlike the underground use of the word "Comrade", which must have involved a great deal of risks, the early phase of nationwide usage seemed to equate the promise of equality. The term served to encapsulate the Confucian tradition of strict hierarchy. No more superior and subordinate. Everyone was equal. Chairman Mao would call you "Comrade", and you would call him "Comrade". OK, maybe not. Actually, you still had to call him "Chairman Mao", even using his name "Mao Zedong" sounded like blasphemy.

In 1959, Chairman Mao made the pronouncement that the public address among all the people should be "Comrade" and in 1965, the Central Committee of the Communist Party ordered every member to address each other as "Comrade".

This was reiterated in 1978, as an encouragement not to use official titles such as "Minister", "Bureau Chief" or one of the endless

various "Director".

In my own early memories of the 1970s, the use of "Comrade" was a fact of life and it did not really come as a thing, certainly no respect or sense of bonding. Unless you were dressed in a class uniform, which would turn you into a pariah, you were by default a "Comrade".

I would wonder strange for someone close to you to call you "Comrade". It meant one of several things. If he said "Comrade Zhou Liming", it meant I was in trouble. Contrary to the bonding it was supposed to evoke, "Comrade" in my experience had the instant effect of distancing. If someone called the "Comrade", it meant one of several things. He did not know me personally, he was not likely to develop a personal friendship with me, he was more likely somebody in a position to solid me.

Actually, some had a way of getting around it — at least in the Shang-hai vicinity — we called strangers "Master" (daifu), as in master and apprentice, not master and servant. Over the last two decades, "Comrade" has been increasingly consigned to official occasions, such as taking on an air of pomposity. Moreover, it is exclusively used in a one-size-fits-all title rather than a one-size-fits-all title other than a one-size-fits-all title and so-called titles that Comrade also used to call him

"Comrade" in person.

In the nation's capital, "Comrade" has received a larger shelf life. Most places, that people harbor of using it yet avoiding prominence. On a bus, the conductor asks "Can this comrade give you seat this passenger with his hand?" It is different from addressing someone as "Comrade". Then there is the new term first used in Hong Kong and Taiwan and now widely accepted among the young in the rest of the coast. "Comrade" has been the adopted name for gays and lesbians, first a euphemism and now the most generic term (that rarely is added). This poses a big headache. Not many who have their hand on eradicating every trace of the sexuality from the Web. If they homosexuality with pornography. If every webpage with "longzhi" blocked, that essentially opens the history of the Communist Party.

But I digress.

"Comrade" was once cool. But anything so ubiquitous will eventually lose its original meaning. How can one have one billion-plus comrades?

Harvest includes a novel by Yu Jingming, one of China's most commercially successful writers in its spring-summer issue.

Readers in a flap over new issue of revered magazine

By GAN TIAN CHINA DAILY

The country's most established literary magazine, Harvest, has caused quite a stir with its spring-summer issue, for carrying a novel by Yu Jingming in its Novels Special.

Readers say the magazine has betrayed its standards by including the work of the 27-year-old, who has been called an "image-obsessed" pop star by the New York Times, yet is one of China's most commercially successful writers.

The Harvest Literary Monthly, founded by Chinese writer Ba Jin (1894-2005) in 1957, has previously carried works by such literary heavyweights as Lu Xun, Lao She, Guo Moran and Wang Shuo.

It was the first time in China's New Century Writing Competition in 2001 and 2002, has a huge fan base in the 90s generation. In 2006, he launched his fiction book, *Imaginary Book*. His novel, which sold 500,000 copies or more on average, with the highest print run of 200,000.

Harvest, on the other hand, sells 100,000 copies per issue.

Local media have described the inclusion of Guo's novel as "pure literature bowing to commercialized objectives".

The novel of the *Castle*, like *Yu Fantasy* published in 2003, is a dramatic work of fiction filled with mythological stories, Chinese martial arts, photo comment in Japanese translation works.

One review of Guo's novel by literary critic Guo Yaobao of Peking University says the young writer uses too many fancy but unclear sentences, and his selection of words is primarily intended to show off.

But critic Fu Yaobin from Shanghai Literature says, "The story is more about growing up rather than fantasy. Readers can find themselves in the characters and that is who Guo's story is successful".

Three days before the magazine came out on Monday, deputy chief editor Zhong Hongming explained why Guo's work was chosen on Harvest's official blog.

"Harvest mission and standards will never change. Personally, I feel the magazine can accommodate all kinds of literature. Our extended reading section is aimed at inspiring more discussion about text content, and words so it is not limited to what is usually called 'serious literature'." he wrote.

Editor-in-chief Cheng Yong says, "Literature should be tolerant of all genres. Its borders are always changing. Guo's novel is unique in its use of fancy expressions and unusual experiences, which is necessary for the magazine".

Guo updated his works (Chinese-written) on Mar. 26, expressing happiness that his work was appearing in Harvest.

"Harvest is the most important literature magazine in the market. It is a big recognition for me that my work is being published in it. I received a lot of letters to congratulate it and I am very happy."

This is not the first time his works have appeared in recent magazines. In 2004, his *Yu Fantasy* 2.0 was published in People's Literature, which also carried his first story among readers. The issue also had within a month.

By LIU WEI CHINA DAILY

Gong Li is to star in a Chinese remake of *Mad Gibson*. What Women Want, marking her first performance in a local production since she has not in the past in Zhang Yimou's *Golden Flower* in 2006.

However, cinema goes will be able to see her on the big screen before then, playing opposite John Casella and Chow Yun-fat in Shanghai, a film set in the city during the chaotic 1940s, in which she plays a singer in a night club who is the lover of Chow's character.

In *What Women Want*, Gong will play the creative director of a Beijing-based advertising company, and Andy Lau, a charismatic, single father who also works in the company.

Gong's manager Christopher Tseung told the Hollywood Reporter that the contract would be signed in a few days, and Chen Daming, the film's director, confirmed the news.

Rumors say that Gong is replacing Fan Bingbing, a much younger mainland actress in the role.

Chen says that Gong is the best choice.

"The woman is facing problems in marriage and family and worried about the future," Chen tells *China Daily*. "Tan is too young, Gong is closer to the role. And Gong is the best actress in China. I would even change the script for her."

Another factor in the decision was that Lu and Fan co-starred in *Fateless*, a copy and pasted of their pairing is not that from their previous.

The plot of the remake will stay fairly faithful to the original. Lu, in *Gibson* role, gets the ability to read women's minds after an accident.

"To remake that film into a Chinese one is very interesting, because in China male chauvinism is more prevalent than in the US," Chen says.

But Chen says the Chinese film will add some content to Lu's role to make him more reasonable, such as the death of the mother during his childhood, which makes him eager to know women and win their affection.

Chen has also invited Gibson to be a guest star and is waiting for his response.

An actor turned director, Chen most recently directed *One Foot Off the Ground* in 2006, a black comedy about grassroots folk opera actors.

According to Yang Ding, CEO of Polybona, the mainland production and distribution company handling the film, the filming has started, but he declined to reveal any more details about the project.

Chen says he expects the film to be released on Valentine's Day next year.

The original film, starring Gibson and Helen Hunt, grossed more than \$300 million globally in 2000.

Gong has kept a low profile in China after becoming a Singaporean citizen in 2006, showing up at a few fashion shows and celebrity parties.

RAYMOND ZHOU X-HAY

"Comrade" was once cool. But anything so ubiquitous will eventually lose its original meaning. How can one have one billion-plus comrades?

Raymond Zhou X-Hay is a writer and editor based in Hong Kong.

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資料來源：China Daily，2010年6月4日，18版

圖四 〈中國的同性戀權利：通往尊重之路〉

04

INSIGHT

WEDNESDAY FEBRUARY 24, 2010



Gay rights in China: ROAD TO RESPECT

► Pensioner's life shows the shift in attitudes towards homosexuality in China but experts say challenges still lay ahead. **Cao Li** reports

TWO MALE gay men and women, Ba Li is an instructor. At the age of 72, he has endured decades of humiliation because of his sexuality, including being sent to a total of seven years hard labor. Yet it is his message of hope that resonates most with young homosexuals.

His extraordinary life charts the slow but sure transformation in Chinese attitudes towards the gay and lesbian community, and although difficulties still exist, he believes people now enjoy more freedom than ever to express their sexuality.

The pensioner, who asked to be called Ba Li — the same Chinese characters for Paris — to protect his family, invited China Daily to his birthday celebration at a small restaurant not far from Tianan, the commercial heart of Beijing.

“I have lived through sorrows and joys,” he said after blowing out the candles on his birthday cake, surrounded by several gay friends. “I am no longer considered a wrecker and I can finally live my life with my head held high.”

At his birthday party Ba Li sang, read poems and posed for numerous photographs with friends, stopping only to look at a picture of his boyfriend he kept in his shirt pocket. Many of his guests said how much they admired him for his courage in his earlier times.

“I knew I was a woman's soul in many bodies at very early age,” he said, his round face breaking into a broad smile. He was 16 when he started his first relationship, which lasted four years. “At the time, homosexuals were called ‘trablar’ or other more derogatory names, and they met in secret at parks, bathhouses or public restrooms.”

His mother refused to accept his sexuality. “One night she sneaked into my bedroom when she thought I was sleeping and checked my body for abnormalities,” he said. His parents eventually forced him into a marriage that lasted less than six months. The marriage produced a daughter but he has no contact with her.

Unemployed, Ba Li sold goods on the street as a volunteer to distribute pamphlets as AIDS prevention among the gay community. “This used to take us back to the station and confiscate the pamphlets because they said they contained evil and pornographic content,” he said.

Since the early 1990s, the Chinese government has become increasingly tolerant about homosexuality. By 1997, the law that outlawed sodomy was repealed, while homosexuality was officially removed from the nation's list of mental illnesses in 2001.

In 1997, Ba Li, a renowned sociologist with the sociology institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Science, proposed including same-sex marriage during the annual session of the National People's Congress in 2000. However, the suggestion was not publicly discussed until 2003 when policymakers met to talk about introducing Law on Marriage. They decided not to approve same-sex marriage.

He was also interviewed in 1982 and 1994, each time for two years.

“It even suffered discrimination from other inmates in prison,” he said. “Once I gave a young boy a stuffed toy out of sympathy and I was beaten like a dog. It was so bad I contemplated jumping off the top of one of the labor camp buildings.” When he walked free from the camp in 1986, he said attitudes were already starting to change. “I began to see more gay people being active within their circle and law enforcement was being used more for the media,” he said.

Discrimination has led to a large proportion of the nation's estimated 10 million gay men and women being forced to keep their sexuality a secret, said Zhang. However, this has impacted the Ministry of Health's attempts to prevent the spread of HIV and AIDS, with homosexual men having over a 100 times more risk of HIV and AIDS, according to the World Health Organization. In 2009, the ministry said that 42 percent of new infections were through homosexual sex.

In recent government plans, the infected rate among gay men in Beijing has increased to 4.0 percent, 10 times that of their peers, according to Focus Magazine.

But many are still unaware of HIV and AIDS, especially those who were infected through homosexual sex, said Li. The Ministry of Health said on Dec 1 that the health experts say the virus is being spread by the gay community, too.

More than 60 percent of the men polled by Professor Zhang agreed a more tolerant society and a law banning discrimination would help control the rate of infection. In a 2008 survey by sociologist Li Yuhai, also director-general of the country's largest gay community center, 80 percent of respondents admitted they had complained outside, while 33 percent had attempted to “completely wrong” China's HIV and AIDS policies to be more tolerant.

Lu Huiqing, a psychiatrist at the Beijing Helianggan Hospital said to receive many patients suffering depression due to “correct” their sexual orientation. “Some are also caused fear,” according to Wei Jiangang, a gay rights activist and co-founder of *queercommunity.com*.

China's HIV and AIDS policies have in the main obtained the public to be more tolerant, but “thinking homosexuality as a dirty word, the virus has also caused fear,” according to Wei Jiangang, a gay rights activist and co-founder of *queercommunity.com*.

One night my mother sneaked into my bedroom when she thought I was sleeping and checked my body for abnormalities.

BA LI
Gay Beijing resident, 72

Teaching tolerance

A survey of 1,295 gay men in Chengqing, Harbin, Changchun, Shenyang, Lanzhou and Anshan found:

- Hide their homosexuality
- Revealed their sexuality and were fired or forced to quit a job
- Feel their sexuality has affected their promotion
- Have been discriminated by other bosses

WANT TO GET A JOB?

- Privacy protection: 64%
- Same-sex workplace: 46%
- Equal pay: 40%

Source: China Daily

Above: A lesbian couple pose for photos during a gay rights festival in Qianmen, Beijing.

Left: An emotional Ba Li during his 72nd birthday party in Beijing.

BA LI
Gay Beijing resident, 72

When it comes to the homosexual population, the central government is focused solely on HIV and AIDS prevention, “they are still cautious on the other aspect,” said Zhang.

Mr Cao China, the country's first beauty pageant for homosexual men, was called off just an hour before opening in January. Organizers later picked contestant Xiao Dai, 25, from the Liaoning Upper metropolitan region, as their representative for Mr Gay World 2010 in Cuba. Norway this month. He finished fourth in the competition.

The nation lacks a consistent policy towards homosexuality, according to Wan Yushan, an AIDS prevention activist and director of the Liaoning Institute of Health Education in Beijing. “The authorities ignore most of activities but intervene when events cause too much attention,” he said.

Gay rights websites were also being affected by China's ongoing war on porn, with several closed in 2008 as part of the crackdown.

To help prevent the spread of HIV and AIDS among gay men, the government in 2007 introduced NGOs to get involved and called on the public to promote tolerance.

Li Yuhai said this will again promote legalizing same-sex marriage during the two sessions of the National People's Congress, the nation's legislature, next month, while Zhang called for the government to introduce firm laws to ban discrimination. A spokesman for the Ministry of Civil Affairs denied the comment.

However, many experts and gay people agree that changing attitudes is a slow process. “It took me years to come to see why my homosexuality, so I don't expect you to accept me quickly,” said lawyer Pu Jun, former consultant Xiao Dai.

On the situation based on the entrance of the Mr Gay China event in January, gay rights activists said Beijing's 1995 quote by revolutionary leader Mao Zedong: “Prohibition has not yet succeeded, our conclusions need to pass on.”

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圖五 同志婚禮照

CHINA DAILY
THE NATIONAL ENGLISH LANGUAGE NEWSPAPER

Rich club expands
China has 825,000 people with wealth of more than 10 million yuan each, a survey shows
Page 14

Monkey mountain
Sichuan's sacred Emei Mountain offers spiritual as well as corporeal comfort
Page 19

Navy chief sets key objectives
Large combat warships, advanced part of effort to modernize

Talent scheme attracts first group of foreigners

French electrical firm pays \$23m for IPR violation

Gay couples say 'I do' in symbolic marriages

Satellite launched

Zhang Yi (left) and his partner pose for "wedding" pictures at Qianmen Gate south of Tian'anmen Square on Valentine's Day.
Courtesy of Beijing Tongyu Group

資料來源：China Daily，2009年4月16日，頭版

附錄二 被訪者信息

序號	年齡	媒體工作年限	所在媒體類型	是否關注性少數人群議題
1	30-40	八年	官方英文媒體，現已離職	是
2	30-35	九年	官方英文媒體，現已離職	是
3	30-35	十三年	市場化媒體	否
4	30-35	八年	官方英文媒體	是

附錄三 *Global Times* 中性少數人群議題數量

