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中国人的男男性行为 性与自我认同状态调查

童 戈

北京纪安德咨询中心
中国 北京 2005年12月



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学术顾问（以姓氏笔画为序）：

二 言、丛 中、刘伯红、刘华清、孙中欣、李银河、李文晶、
李 楯、张孔来、张北川、张建新、陆言灵、邱仁宗、金德初、
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项目负责人：郭雅琦

课题主持人：童 戈

研究人员：毛燕凌、王 浩

工作人员：李敬炎、莫秀清、梧 桐、黄 伟

编 辑：李国荣

翻 译：甘泉、Tony SU

校 译：Jason

校 对：莫秀清、梧 桐

设 计：黄 伟

内 容 摘 要

这部长达 65 万字的调查报告，站在中国大陆“同志”（“对男人存在着性欲求的男人”）为主体的审视立场，通过“同志”社群志愿者广泛深入的动员和组织，采集到相关男男性行为、性活动的个人生活史访谈调查个案将近 400 例；相关小群体内男男性行为的调查个案将近 60 例，并以体现中国“同志”人群主体建构的研究思想，进行社会学视角的分析研究。

因为这部调查报告突出了中国“同志”人群主体建构的立场和诉求，因而承载了中国国内男男性行为研究领域的“第一个”的突破，为国内男男性行为研究话语体系的多层面建构弥补了原有的欠缺。

这是以性社会学的视角，比较全面、深入、具体、真实反映出中国社会男男性行为及其活动动态、自我文化认同动态表现的调查报告。大量生动真实的调查个案，揭示了中国“同志”人群没有浮出社会生活水面的存在状态和鲜为人知的文化心态。

这又是一个揭示了中国“同志”人群的同性的性感审美欲求、性行为方式、情感方式和性际关系和社会人际关系多样存在状态的调查报告。这样以人的欲求角度，以“性的人”的角度，揭示男男性行为的发生、性行为价值自我评价的调查报告，在国内的同类研究中还没有见到过。

这更是一个体现了中国社会“同志”人群自我阐释的调查报告。这里面，不论是调查对象的反馈，还是研究者的说明和分析，虽然文化认同的角度和态度不同，但研究者尊重了国内“同志”人群的人权利益诉求，尊重了他们的自我阐释权，并由此体现出这个调查报告有别于国内同类研究的特点。

这部调查报告，还首次吸收国内外男男性行为研究的现代人文主义文化认同的理论，凭借对中国社会的社会文化、中国“同志”人群的文化心态的客观审视，为中国社会建构起对男男性行为本土化的现代人文主义社会文化认同、自我文化

认同，并力图架构起尊重人权的理论框架的调查报告。

我们相信，这部调查报告的诞生，将和其他社会学者对中国男男性行为形成的研究结果一样，对于丰富国内男男性行为研究的话语体系，推动中国社会形成尊重人权的、社会人际关系和谐的性文明、性秩序、性伦理的现代人文主义社会文化认同，进而促使人际和谐，社会和谐，将会产生主动积极的影响。

Abstract

This findings report of substantial length is from the perspective of 'tong zhi' (men possessing sexual desire for other men) in mainland China. With the motivation and extensive organization of volunteers from the male homosexual community, close to 400 surveys related to homosexual behaviour and personal sex-life histories were collected, along with almost 60 surveys related to sexual behaviour among small homosexual groups. By giving expression to the views of the Chinese homosexual community, an analytical study from a sociological viewpoint was conducted.

As this findings report gives prominence to the views and needs of the homosexual community itself, it becomes 'a first', a breakthrough in research on homosexuals in China, making up for the previous inadequacies of the communication system of homosexuals.

Looked at from a sociological view on sexuality, the report is a real, comprehensive, profound and detailed reflection of homosexuality in China, the trends of activities in the homosexual community, and the trends of self-acceptance by homosexual individuals. Interviews from a large number of individuals reveal the largely unknown state of the sub-cultural existence of the homosexual community in China.

This report is one that also brings to light the state of numerous aspects of the Chinese homosexual community, such as sexual and aesthetic desire, means of sexual intercourse, along with emotional, sexual and social relationships within society.

Even more so, this report has allowed for self-explanation by the homosexual community. Despite differences in the acceptance of and attitudes toward homosexuality, whether these differences lie within the responses of individuals surveyed or the explanations and analyses given by the researchers, the researchers have respected the basic human right and needs of homosexuals, respecting the right of self-explanation. In this way, the report embodies novel characteristics not present in other similar research done in the field.

This report has furthermore incorporated international principles of modern humanistic social acceptance of homosexuality research. It has taken an objective perspective of both the culture of Chinese society and the culture of the homosexual community. It has initiated the social acceptance of the homosexual condition locally by the Chinese society, self-

acceptance by homosexual individuals, and strived to construct a theoretical framework that shows great respect for human rights.

... ..

We believe that the issue of this report will, as will results from other research by sociologists on homosexuality in China, enhance the communication on this topic. We hope it to further promote the development of a Chinese society respectful of human rights, a civilization of harmonious relationships and sexual order. We hope it to have a positive influence, making advances toward and promoting a peaceful society and people.

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自己领悟自己的路

中国人民大学性社会学研究所所长 潘绥铭

1. MSM, 显化还是被显化?

21 世纪的中国, MSM 的存在开始显化, 其实大概不是他们自己要显化, 而是被社会所显化。我从 1985 年开始, 就在中国人民大学讲《性社会学》课程。那时候, “同性恋问题” 只有一节课, 学生还老说: 跳过去吧, 我们又不是“同性恋”。可是到了最近两年, 一有人请我讲课, 我就问: “是讲同性恋吧?” 他们奇怪: “你怎么知道?” 我说: “我正想问你呢, 为什么一定要讲同性恋而不是别的?” 就连学术研究中也有这种趋势。我们每年一次的研讨会论文中, 讨论“同性恋问题”的越来越多, 今年这次占到了将近一半。

这是一个必经的过程, 全世界都有这样一个过程, 主要是因为 MSM 遇到了艾滋病的挑战, 尤其是艾滋病被某些人当作反对 MSM 的思想武器。例如在美国, 艾滋病最先发现在“同性恋者”当中, 结果保守势力马上就出来了: 你看, 你们“同性恋”还是坏蛋吧。这成为他们反对 MSM 的一个重要的理由。可是这么一来, 反而激发了 MSM 的斗志。他们正面迎接了艾滋病的挑战, 才使他们的运动得以进一步发展。

中国也一样, 对某些人来说, 艾滋病的到来真是太“恰到好处”了, 简直就是“久旱逢春雨”——必须要有艾滋病! 因为中国的“性”现在已经控制不住了! 艾滋病来了, 看你们还敢再搞什么“性革命”、“同性恋”! 这是政治需要, 是一种新的“性问题的政治化”。也就是说, 在中国, 尽管 MSM 作为人类生活的一种形式一直存在着, 但是它之所以恰恰在 21 世纪之初才开始被作为一个“社会问题”而显化, 却是因为艾滋病的到来, 而整个的所谓“艾滋病问题”则是被中国国内外的政治博弈所建构的。^①

^①这方面的详细论述, 请参见潘绥铭、黄盈盈、李楠:《中国艾滋病“问题”解析》, 《中国社会科学》2006 年第一期及其英文版。