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Space, Sexuality and Power: Producing a Gay KTV in China

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It has been more than two years since I started this piece of work. I heard that writing a master thesis is difficult, but I have never expected that much for me. This is a painful but fruitful process, especially for me, who has no social science background before and uses English as the second language. I hated it, but enjoyed more. No matter how, I think now is the time to make it an end.

This is the third version of my thesis, which has changed a lot from previous two, not to mention how much from my first idea. However, what I want to express in the thesis has never changed: to reflect some sides of homosexual life in China. I do not mean that I think I am striving for their rights because the Chinese homosexuals are still under a lot suppression now; on the contrary, what I have experienced since I have identified myself as gay for more than ten years is such a diversified and colourful world in which we live our lives and pursue our desires, even though the social and moral pressure will always be there to challenge us. I am glad that I have this opportunity to present a small scene of our real life to those who are interested in it. I know I have tried my best, thus no regrets. But I hope I have done an enough job for my readers.

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SUMMARY

This thesis looks at how KTV as same-sex erotic space has emerged, is regulated and consumed in contemporary China due to its significance in demonstrating the complex process of Chinese development of acknowledgement towards homosexuality, homosexual politics in contemporary Chinese society and diversity of sexuality in leisure spaces. A theoretical framework that applies social constructionist, performative and fluid characteristics of sexuality is established to examine three main spatial actors in a gay KTV. Research methods include literature reviews, participation and observation, and in-depth interviews. This thesis finds out that gay KTVs are continually shaped and reshaped by public opinions towards sexuality, regulations towards sexualized spaces and performances of foremen, *Xiaodis* and customers inside. Meanwhile, the presence of KTVs also challenges the politics of sexuality, and destabilize sexual identities. It reveals the relationship between space, sexuality and power as that authoritative dominance constructs social-historical discourses of sexuality and its corresponding spaces; spatial formations and sexual performance interact with each other constantly, and produce heteronormativity and homonormativity, inclusion and exclusion; various intersectionalities of actors emerge and thus challenge the production of spatialized sexuality and sexualized space. Power, in this process, functions through consent, productive performance and instant interaction.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Geography of sexuality is a discipline that explores the relationship between space and sexuality, and questions the ways in which sexualities are spatialized or spaces are sexualized (G. Brown, Browne, & Lim, 2007). It has been increasingly appealing to both geographers and sociologists to interrogate concepts such as space and sexuality and how these are socially intertwined. Space has shifted from a static geometrical terminology to a diversified idea that looks at the human and social sides of the concept, which not only deconstructs social mechanisms but also explores power relationships that underpin the production of spaces. Meanwhile, sexuality, as a major constitution of one's identity and self-worth, has been interpreted as a nexus that lies between social exercises of power and individuated experiences of desire (M. Brown & Knopp, 2003), with real and imagined implications on how life is performed and space is experienced. The combination of these two concepts has provided a living stage for not only demonstrating the diversification of the concept of space and the complexity of sexuality but also revealing how power functions in society.

Leisure spaces have been a major subject in this interdisciplinary domain. Leisure has played a significant role in contemporary homosexual lifestyles, and the experiences and spaces of leisure activities have produced symbolic meanings and a common identity of 'being themselves' for homosexuals (Hughes, 1997). Rojek (1989) has pointed out that leisure sites can be viewed as spaces for social and sexual emancipation, resistance and transgression through their abilities to destabilize gender, sexual and power relations. As Aitchison (1999, p. 35) has suggested, the incorporation of sexuality and space has provided "alternative 'ways of seeing' leisure" and enhanced the "geographical imagination". However, despite emerging works on this subject, most have focused on Western case studies and ideologies, which limit their interpretations within certain geographical and cultural scope; and scholars are now calling for more researches that look at global-scale transmission, translation and transgression of sexuality under local discourses and spaces (G. Brown et al., 2007; M. Brown & Knopp, 2003). Thus, this thesis is devoted to understanding the relationship of space, sexuality and power within the Chinese context, particularly as this pertains to the case of karaoke television rooms, or KTVs, that at the same time also provide same-sex erotic services, or as I call them in this thesis, gay KTV¹.

In spite of that going to KTV has been a popular leisure activity nowadays around the world, the prevalence and practice of KTV varies among countries, and tends to be incorporated "into their existing cultural traditions or ways of living" (Zhou & Tarocco, 2013, p. 10). In China, KTV is not only a place where individuals enjoy the fun of singing with their friends. Influenced by the Chinese modes of 'doing business' and its attendant 'accompany culture', the consumption of karaoke is often subsumed under drinking, gambling, chatting, entertaining clients, negotiating a business deal, receiving sex services, and etc. (Fung, 2009), KTV has also earned itself the notoriety as a 'modern brothel' (Pan, Bai, Wang, & Lau, 2004; Zheng, 2009). Having said that, this thesis looks at those KTVs where male-to-male erotic services are provided. How this kind of KTV has emerged, and is regulated and consumed as a leisure place for same-sex erotic services are the main questions it seeks to answer. The significance of this attempt is based on some specific social contexts of contemporary China, as explained in the paragraphs below.

¹ Though neither are these KTVs exclusive spaces for gay men, nor all the actors inside are gay, this kind of KTVs are built aiming for gay men to consume same-sex erotic services. To illustrate their sexual intentions, and for the convenience of writing, they are referred as gay KTVs in this thesis.

The first is that a huge transformation of sexual norms in the world's largest developing country, China, remains relatively unexplored. The development of the Chinese homosexual² movement, which refers to the awareness of sexual identity and pursuit of sexual desires, is a unique process, especially compared to those in Western countries. It has only been 38 years since China integrated into the global economy as the country carried out its 'Reform and Opening-up' policies and opened its doors to the world in 1978³. In these 38 years, Chinese people have not only witnessed a booming increase in economic development and improvement in living standards, but also have experienced intensive culture shocks from conflicts between traditional Chinese values and Western ideologies. One of them relates to the notion of sexuality, and especially issues around homosexuality (Van de Werff, 2010). On the one hand, the idea of homosexuality as a crime emerged with the establishment of socialist China; more recently the fear of AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) as the 'gay disease' has been an influential discourse, while traditional Chinese ancestral values of keeping a marriage and having a child continues to impact upon expressions of sexuality. On the other hand, influenced by Western ideologies, there has also been a remarkable liberation and proliferation of sexual desires after long periods of oppression, accompanied by the worship of consumerism, and concepts of freedom and equality. Moreover, the authoritative will of promoting a free economy but keeping strict regulations on every aspect of civil lives, including allowing or prohibiting what can be done in respect to sexuality, has complicated the presence of these sexual desires. As a consequence, the production of KTV as spatialized sexuality and sexualized space that this thesis looks at is a representative convergence of such a complex process.

The existence of KTV as a place where erotic services are provided is also argued to be indicative of deeply oppressed sexual desires under the Chinese emphasis on market economy (Zheng, 2009). In contemporary Chinese society, there is still stigma and moral pressure on expressions of sex due to Chinese orthodox conservative culture and Communist antagonism which sees sex as 'Capitalist poison' (Y. Li, 2104). Even though it has witnessed a rapid growth and openness in economy and culture, sex remains something not for the public eye and space. However, privately, there is an explosion of pursuits of various sexual desires after long oppression: people want to know about sex, talk about it and practise it. Prostitution is one of the controversies among sexual contradictions in contemporary China. It has had various significance to Chinese society in different historical periods, but has gradually turned to a category of defilement against social moral norms (Wang, 1934). Under the Communist regime of China, prostitution is regarded as imperialistic persecution that should not be permitted. Nonetheless, the opening to Western countries and economic growth inevitably has changed people's minds about sex. Sex as a product has been gradually and 'secretly' accepted under the development of the market

² Throughout this article, 'homosexuality' or 'homosexual community' refers to, if not specifically pointed out, gay men in China. This thesis focuses on gay community (vis-à-vis the lesbian, bisexual and transgender communities) in China for certain reasons. Firstly, it is because the Chinese homosexual movement has mainly focused on gay men (Ma, 2003). What I found from reviewing the history of Chinese homosexual movement is that in most circumstances when people talk about homosexuality, they refer to gay men; and the idea of a lesbian identities or a woman loving a woman came later. This might be due to the traditional patriarchal Chinese social structure, however not the topic of this thesis. Second, from the aspect of studies on sexuality, the topic of lesbian, or other sexual identities, mixes another set of conceptual framework and leads to distinctive interpretations of sexual performances (Beasley, 2005). Third, regarding leisure activities, studies also find gay men and lesbians, or other sexual identities, have different patterns of preferences and performances (Van de Werff, 2010). Using 'homosexual' and 'gay' as synonyms is thus to reflect a specific living circumstance of Chinese sexual environment, but not to generalize other sexual identities.

³ After the Third Plenary Session of the CPC 11th Central Committee held at the end of 1978, China has pursued a policy of 'Reform and Opening-up' to the outside world, which was initiated by Deng Xiaoping. Major efforts have been made to readjust the economic structure, and reform the economic and political systems. A major step is that Chinese people are allowed to have more communications with the outside world. Source from: http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/cpc2011/2011-05/10/content_12480513.htm

economy and consumerism, and the considerable profits the industry makes. While prostitution has re-emerged all over the country, KTVs have been found to be a good cover for this kind of activities. Different from their Western counterparts, Chinese KTVs are combinations of public and private spaces. It is a public place in the sense of that everyone is allowed to enter a KTV for consumption; but it is also private in a way that the space is divided into many closed rooms for various groups of people to sing and have fun only in front of those who are in the same room. As a successful commercial invention, the emergence of KTVs has not only enriched urban leisure activities but also benefitted the development of local service industries and the increase of governmental tax income. With such a design of space and characteristics of relaxing, entertaining while still being commercial profitable, prostitution has found the KTV as ideal places for the realization of its business under the disguises of 'service'. Studies on Chinese KTVs' related prostitution issues have revealed a series of meaningful phenomena regarding public regulations, social class and female migrant workers in fast-developing Communist China (Fung, 2009; Jeffreys, 1997; Liu, 2012; Zheng, 2009). Thus, KTV became a space through which social researchers are able to understand the function of sex and prostitution in social development. Built further on this basis, due to the regulations by social discourses of 'homosexuality' on KTVs where same-sex erotic services are provided, a study on it will also further demonstrate homosexual politics in contemporary China, besides those social dimensions just mentioned.

A Chinese gay KTV at last exemplifies a good annotation in two ways to the argument of Aitchison (1999, p. 29) that spaces, including leisure sites, have been "in a constant state of transition as a result of continuous, dialectical struggles of power and resistance among and between the diversity of landscape providers, users and mediators". The money exchange relationship between those who provide erotic services, or *Xiaodi*⁴ as they are called, and those who consume them in gay KTV constructs an extraordinary social scene of Chinese homosexuality, which provides a uniquely sexualized space for leisure study. The enormous diversity in living experiences of sexuality has been increasingly acknowledged and analysed as a key cultural structure that contains struggle and resistance in the construction of leisure space. In this case, *Xiaodis*, customers and foremen are providers, users and mediators of the landscape; their sexual experiences in KTV, and their different backgrounds and motivations together with gaps in terms of age, education or social class, formulate the space both in a constant state of transition and a dynamic environment in which power and conflicts are played out between individuals as the varieties of themselves.

The above three significances hence lead the research questions of this thesis to present: a) the complicated process of the emergence of homosexual leisure space in China; b) homosexual politics in contemporary China; c) the diversified relationships of sexuality in leisure space; and thus furthering our understanding of space, sexuality and power under Chinese discourses. They ultimately aim to investigate the multiplicity of sexual behaviours, meanings, consumption trends and identities constructed in and through leisure activities; to reveal the difference and diversity in the nuanced micro and marginal cultural phenomena and spatial transformations; to identify and explain the spatial dimensions of power relations between sexualities, and to embrace the complexity of spatiality.

⁴ '*Xiaodi*' means 'little brother' in Chinese. Usually customers are senior to those who provide erotic services, the social appellation for them in Chinese culture is '*Dage*', which means 'big brother'. '*Xiaodi*' and '*Dage*' not only show the age gap between the serving and the served, but also the hierarchy in a way that '*Xiaodi*' immediately makes customers feel superior and assures the obedience, and the friendly tone of '*Dage*' narrows the distance between two sides. Another reason they become the appellations to the two sides in gay KTV is because they desexualize what they do. Other appellations, such as 'money boy', which directly show the money-exchanged sexual relationship between them, are hard to be accepted by either actor in gay KTV; '*Xiaodi*' and '*Dage*', in contrast, are neutral and have no implications of sexual relationship.

The research questions are:

1. What are the formal and popular opinions about homosexuality in contemporary China and how have they formed gay leisure space in the country and city of Shanghai?
2. How has gay leisure space (KTV) been managed and operated in Shanghai, China?
3. How have homosexual communities perceived this emergent homosexual leisure space (KTV) in Shanghai, China?

This thesis has chosen Shanghai as its specific site for study due to its hybridization of Chinese traditions and Western ideologies, mix of urban middle class and rural migrated working class, and position as country's economy centre that cultivates its unique consumerist leisure life and gay culture. Shanghai is the largest city in China with a population of 24.15 million, among which 9.9 million are migrant residents⁵. It lies at the mouth of the Yangtze River and in the centre of China's coastline, faces the Pacific Ocean, which makes it the perfect location for trade and transportation. The advantage earns the city as the economic centre of the country, and one of them in the world. Shanghai is also one of the most international cities in China now as evidenced by its renowned leisure activities, and you can find various ways to enjoy recreational time at night. Thus, Shanghai is also regarded as the most open city in Mainland China. One way in which this may be seen is through its wider acceptance of homosexuality especially as compared to other parts of China. For example, Shanghai witnessed the opening of the first gay bar in Mainland China in 1995: the Eddy's Bar, which still operates nowadays (Bassi, 2012). Nevertheless, Shanghai is still Chinese Shanghai, which means people in this city are still deeply influenced by most Chinese traditional ideologies and under the strict controls of socialist political regime. The paradox has created a living and conflicting scene that largely reflects the real situation of contemporary China when it comes to issues of homosexuality, which will be introduced in latter chapters.

In the following chapter, to answer research questions, I will look at how sexuality is perceived from different perspectives, and how they are applied in the studies of geographies of sexualities - thereby establishing a theoretical framework. In the empirical research, the data was mainly collected via literatures review, on-site experiences and observations, and in-depth interviews. I will explain why and how they were conducted in detail and some issues brought up by them in Chapter Three. Chapter Four and Five present the data, while the former focuses on general environment of homosexuality in China and the later zooms in on practices in gay KTVs. Chapter Six discusses my findings, concludes my research questions, and brings forward future research recommendations.

⁵ Reported by China Daily, according to the figure of population at the end of 2013 released by the Shanghai Statistic Bureau. Resource from: http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2014-02/27/content_17311272.htm

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW & THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In order to establish a theoretical framework that is capable of answering how gay KTVs have emerged, and are regulated and consumed in contemporary China, in this chapter different perspectives on perceiving sexuality and how they have been applied within the domains of geographies of sexualities are introduced.

2.1 SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF SEXUALITY

Attention paid to issues and politics of sexuality is not new within the social sciences. Influenced by feminist ideas, studies on sexuality at first aimed to liberate homosexual people from deemed fate of suppression in heterosexual-dominating society. In addition to promoting the demedicalization of homosexuality, social researchers and homosexual movement activists attempted to utilize sexuality as one of resistance against the hierarchy. Their arguments focus on a liberal view that takes sexuality as a means for individualistic and humanistic approaches, and a liberationist view that takes sexuality as a collective identity in pursuit of social equality (Beasley, 2005). The homosexuals are interpreted as a marginalized underclass, whose position assimilates to the working class in a Capitalist society, that is revolutionary and capable of disarming institutions and struggling for a better society according to Marxism. Power here is regarded as belonging to heterosexuals and operates as a negative repression that needs to be overthrown by homosexuals so as to produce social transformation and to achieve freedom (Altman, 1993). One of the symbolic events of this movement was the 'Stonewall Riots' in 1969 where people started demonstrations against police raids in gay bars first in New York before this spread to other parts of the United States. The homosexual community counted their legitimate presence in public spaces and leisure activities as the first step towards achieving equal citizenship (Skeggs, 1999). However, it was not until the late 1970s, when homosexual leisure places such as bars, bookshops, hair salons, bathhouses etc. gradually clustered and attracted homosexual people to inhabit nearby and developed into certain neighbourhoods that sociologists and geographers started to look at the ways in which homosexual uses of space have influenced society at large. Castells (1983), in his book *'The City and the Grassroots: a Cross-cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements'*, has a specific chapter on the gay neighbourhood in San Francisco. He draws spatial boundaries of the gay community in San Francisco on maps and divides the city into two spatial categories: gay areas and non-gay areas, and then further studies its social, economic and political impact on the city. Castells' way of marking dots on the map to define the boundaries of specific gay neighbourhoods and commercial districts, just like the guide maps for gay facilities such as bars and other businesses, leads to his argument that the geographies of gay men and lesbians reflect their gender roles and behaviour and they live lives distinctly from each other and from straight society. His arguments have been critiqued for the essentialist idea of sexuality implied in his article and the suggestion that sexual identity categories have a set of characters does not reveal why such spaces emerged and their consequent politics within the gay community and in the city.

Social constructivist perspective on sexuality revolts against the essentialism as implied above. It opposes to the idea that sexuality is a social category with certain essential characters, instead it argues that sexuality is a social construction by outlining "the changing historical forms of sexual identities and their links to wider social and 'material' process" (Beasley, 2005, p. 125). Foucault's serial books *Histories of Sexuality Volume I, II & III* (1980a,

1985, 1986) and other works of, or that associate, assimilate and expand, his theories, have developed frameworks to understand the concept. According to Foucault, sexuality is invented as a discourse and means of regulation in modern society. It started by serving as a sovereign enforcement to control the social body so as to enable large-scale management of life and death in benefit of the state. For instance, sexual life used to be regulated as only legitimate between married opposite-sex couples for the purpose of reproduction. While same-sex activities are recorded in almost all pre-modern cultures, the idea of a homosexual person is a relatively new one: it was not until the mid-nineteenth century that 'the homosexual' was increasingly seen as belonging to a particular species of being. Since then erotic preferences and sexual practices were seen as integral to one's subjective identity, which can simply differentiate people into two opposite categories (Cass, 1984). As Foucault (1980a) argues, homosexuality under this paradigm is a category established to indicate what we 'belong to' rather than who we really are; and it was just used as a kind of knowledge to distinguish who needed to be controlled and disciplined. Power, in this perspective, is regarded as dominating and oppressive in producing this kind of discourse and knowledge; or in other words, "identities are made and made different by the social structuring effects of power" (Beasley, 2005, p. 23). Following this line of thought, some scholars analyze the social-historical frameworks and economic-material class relations of specific sexual identities to testify theories as discussed above (Herdt, 1997; Plummer, 2002); some examine how deployments of sexual citizenship are rooted in government regulations and laws to reveal the power relationship as argued above (Weeks, 1998).

Furthermore, Foucault (1973, 1977) interprets the interaction between knowledge, space and power as that knowledge is socially and culturally constructed by the effects of power, provides the legitimacy for power to operate in space, and serves to regulate the social order and morality of the masses; space is where a functional order is established and maintained through power and discipline, and knowledge can be observed and presented. Therefore, understanding how concepts of sexuality have been transformed within specific regions and cultures is fundamental to understand the relationship of space, sexuality and power. Empirical researches on gay leisure territory in the city of Berlin (Prickett, 2011), the area of Marais in Paris (Sibalis, 2004), and the Stanley Park in Vancouver (Catungal & McCann, 2010) have more or less shown how homosexual identities and communities have been manipulated by authoritative ideas in the production of leisure spaces, though with further investigation on how these spaces are reproduced by the communities. They alert us social constructivist perspective of sexuality only attends to macro social structures and the stability of identities but overlooks the micro process of power's functioning on people's performance in space, and fails to offer an account of differences and openness.

2.2 PERFORMATIVITY OF SEXUALITY

Modern society has witnessed the emergence of a new mechanism in which power functions with "highly specific procedural techniques, completely novel instruments, quite different apparatuses, and which is also, ... absolutely incompatible with the relations of sovereignty" (Foucault, 1980b, p. 104). This leads to a further discussion about how this new and efficient mechanism is established to ensure that power is consolidated into the administration of life in modern society, especially when class-based struggle is no longer that of the bourgeoisie against working class but 'other' struggles such as those of blacks, women and gays (Ibid.). This process of dominating power is in a way understood as cultural hegemony. "In Gramsci hegemony means the supremacy of one group or class over other classes or groups; it is established by means other than reliance on violence or coercion" (Fontana, 2006, p. 27).

What needs to be elaborated here is that in today's modern society hegemony is no longer only enforced by coercion, but reached by consent when class struggle is no longer about capital but diversified identities (McHoul & Grace, 1993). To put it another way, what needs to be stressed is the productive nature of power in its modern exercise rather than its only form of a relationship between a sovereign and a subject (Foucault, 1980b). Firstly, there are many forms of power that exist in our society which are exercised through forms of applied knowledge, for example doctors diagnose patients with knowledge of the body in hospitals, police punish criminals with knowledge of crime in prison and so on. Since knowledge varies with time, so does power. Thus power in Foucault's framework is perceived as historically different rather than monolithic. This is to say that there is no universal form of power, or unidirectional way of exercising power. In Foucault's words: "Power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything but because it comes from everywhere" (Foucault, 1980a, p. 93). This manifests as an iterative and never-ending process of regulation and resistance, and is further revealed by Judith Butler.

Judith Butler studies how gender as a form of knowledge in modern society functions in the 'new mechanism' of power, as Foucault defines it, by exploring to what extent our acts are determined by conventions and repeated discourses. Based on the idea that social reality is continually created as an illusion "through language, gesture, and all manner of symbolic social sign" (Butler, 1988, p. 519), she regards our acts as the result of a reiterative processes: social conventions and ideologies are endlessly cited around us, and we enact them by performing our bodies; then by repeatedly doing so we make those artificial conventions appear to be natural and necessary. In this sense, we are not how we want to be, but are enforced unconsciously to enact social conventions that create the appearance of our subjectivity and identity. Butler thus understands the very act of performing gender as a compelling illusion and an object of belief, which is also compelled "by social sanction and taboo" (Ibid., p. 520) that constitutes gender identity:

"The act that one does, the act that one performs, is, in a sense, an act that has been going on before one arrived on the scene. Hence, gender is an act which has been rehearsed, much as a script survives the particular actors who make use of it, but which requires individual actors in order to be actualized and reproduced as reality once again" (Ibid., p. 526).

Then she concludes that gender as an objective natural thing does not exist: "gender reality is performative which means, quite simply, that it is real only to the extent that it is performed" (Ibid., p. 527).

The theories above provide the second perspective in this thesis to understand sexuality, or sexual identity, that resists any set identities, questions the 'truth' behind identities, and challenges a singular form of power. It is taken as neither a liberating identity nor an oppressed social construction, but a performance or enactment of power. This is to say that sexuality is implicated in power, is an effect of power: "sexuality is not, in relation to power, an exterior domain to which power is applied ... on the contrary it is a result and an instrument of power's designs" (Foucault, 1980a; quoted from Jackson & Scott, 2010, p. 17). Utilizing Butler's theory of performativity, one major theme that studies of sexuality and space explore is the multiple heteronormative presentations of homosexual people in everyday life and regulations from heteronormative society. Heteronormativity is "the set of norms that make heterosexuality seem natural or right and that organize homosexuality as its binary opposite" (Corber & Valocchi, 2003, p. 4). It is also described as a "process of power relations in all spaces" (Valentine, 1993, p. 396). Most spaces, public or private, are under the surveillance of taken-for-granted heteronormativity that often foreclose performances of homosexuality. For example, Bell et al. (1994) examine the situation under

which gay skinheads (masculine gay) and lipstick lesbians (feminine lesbian) subvert the hegemony of the heterosexual presumption in commonplace environments and disrupt the shared meanings of public space. Linda McDowell (1994, 1995) explores how bodily comportment, such as dress style, hairstyle, makeup, manner of self-presentation is disciplined in gendered and sexualized spaces, say city working places like banks. By examining non-heterosexual women's encounters in bathroom and restaurant spaces, Browne (2004, 2007) illustrates how discourses and practices of accustomed manners become mutual surveillance techniques and thus are equipped with the power to (re)create heterosexual spaces. Gorman-Murray (2006) finds home, the imagined personal and free space, can still be one of alienations through heteronormativity.

Researchers also started to notice how the multifaceted character of sexuality stimulates unique sexualized spaces, reproduces taken-for-granted daily spaces, and reveals a new understanding of relationships of space, sexuality and power. For example, more and more researchers have found that homosexual communities actively resist the regulation and exclusion imposed on them in a space, and engage in processes of producing their own spaces. These sites include public spaces that gradually become a terrain for homosexuality, such as gentrified gay neighbourhoods (Knopp, 1997), public sex spots (Bulkens, 2009; Leap, 1999), gay festival and tourism destinations (Clift, Luongo, & Callister, 2002; Waitt & Markwell, 2006); and those spaces especially designed for homosexual people, such as bars and bathhouses (Holt & Griffin, 2003; Leap, 1999; Valentine & Skelton, 2003). We can see increasingly various kinds of homosexual spaces emerging all over the world; and studies of these sites have presented a dynamic picture of how homosexual people forge their exclusive spaces and pursue their desires while challenging heterosexual norms despite their alienation in public spaces.

2.3 FLUIDITY OF SEXUALITY

Studies of the geography of sexuality above initiated discussions not only about how spatial formations shape the ways in which sexual dissidents present and perform their sexualities, but also how these performances produce space. Geographers have contended that space is not simply the container in which things happen or only produced by the discourse of dominating power, but at the same time challenged by other practices and actively constituted through the actions that take place. Two directions of opinions have then led the discipline to re-examine the method and theories applied in studies of the emergence, regulation and consumption of sexualized spaces.

One argument is about global dissemination of homosexual ideology and its localized manifestations. Foucault's genealogical approach to the study of sexuality has shown that "'homosexual' is not an essential, transhistorical category but an identity and object of analysis that came discursively into being in particular places and times" (Oswin, 2006, p. 779). Hence, race, as another personal identity of which our understanding is "socially produced, is laden with knowledge and politics that are particular to time and location" (Peake, 2010, p. 55), has become a critical attention in sexuality studies. No matter they focus on a specific nation (Olund, 2010; Oswin, 2005, 2010; Saad & Carter, 2005), or the impact of colonial ideology and globalization upon local sexuality (Caluya, 2008; Haritaworn, 2007; Sandell, 2010), works have showcased how race intersects with sexualities across space, and suggested a need for more studies of how heteronormativity are enforced on different raced bodies (Tucker, 2010). To quote Butler, "If I am always constituted by norms that are not of my making, then I have to understand the ways that constitution takes place" (Butler, 2004, p. 15). Also as Binnie (2004, p. 15) argues:

"[R]esearches on sexuality need to acknowledge national differences in the regulation of sexual cultures and economies. Nationalism matters for sexual dissidents because of the focus within nationalism on fixity and a common culture. There are also fundamental differences between nation/states in terms of the regulation of sexual dissidence. Failure to consider and acknowledge these national/regional differences can lead to misunderstandings in the production and/or exchange of geographical knowledge about sexuality".

This is the reason I choose China as my research object, to explore how discourses of sexuality interact with space within a specific Chinese cultural context in a framework closely related with the idea of power. Though rare as it is, current researches on sexuality and space in China, for Instance, Kong's (2012) study on older gay men's use of public spaces and private (home) space for homosexual intimacy in Hong Kong and Wei's (2006) documentaries of gay men's lives in Chengdu and their uses of space, tend to overlook the function of power in the interaction of space and sexuality. My contribution of this thesis is to offer the field an opportunity to look at a region and culture that is different from the West, and to provide Chinese sexuality studies another perspective to look at local implementation of homosexual spaces.

Another direction of opinions in studies of sexualized space is the critiques on the achievement of positive representations of homosexual communities in public and their access to certain spaces. It is argued that this image is always associated with categories such as white people, middle class, good education and well manners, monogamy, and capacity to consume (Bell, 1995; Knopp, 1995; Puar, 2006). As Nast (2002) has stressed out, some, more often than not, white and middle class homosexuals have achieved certain degree of 'liberation' because of their adherence to the normative model of a monogamous, long-term relationship and inclusion into more mainstream capitalist and consumerist social relations, while other 'queers' are still denied access to these rights. In this context, geographers have engaged critically in questioning who benefits from these achievements and at what cost; and argue that sexualized sites are challenged by not only heterosexual majority but also other homosexuals that are not able to access or fit into these 'exclusive' spaces (Bell & Binnie, 2000, 2004; Binnie, 2004; Oswin, 2008). This leads to an argument of 'sexual citizenship' that covers both heteronormative and homonormative ideologies in producing spaces. Duggan (2003, p. 50) describes homonormativity as "a politics that does not contest dominant heteronormative assumptions and institutions, but upholds and sustains them, while promising the possibility of a demobilized gay constituency and a privatized, depoliticized gay culture anchored in domesticity and consumption".

This idea provides scholars a novel perspective to examine sexuality and its power relationships in spatial practices. As Weeks (2009, p. 9) puts it:

"The emergence of new social movements concerned with sex – modern feminism, the 'lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer' and other radical sexual movements – have challenged many of the certainties of the 'sexual tradition', and as a result have produced new insights into the intricate forms power and domination that shape our sexual lives".

Understandings of sexuality have then moved beyond fixed categories to a concept of 'queer' sexuality that mixes categories of bodily sex (male/female), gender (feminine/masculine) and sexuality (homosexual/heterosexual), and focuses on all possible combinations of self-formation, or another identity that is fluid, provisional, destabilizing all kinds of normative exclusions (Beasley, 2005). It implies a complex subjectivity of sexuality, in which individuals have to negotiate various discourses and forces. These multiple sexual discourses are shaped and re-shaped by a host of often conflicting dynamics that include class, race, gender, and other influencing elements such as age and generation, ability and disability, nationality, faith, and geography; and become highly subjective. Resistance to hegemony can therefore

be overt and direct, as well as covert and indirect, and destabilize hegemonic heteronormativity and homonormativity (Valentine, 2002). Space is thus not only produced by the discourse of dominating power, but also at the same time challenged by other practices. Under these circumstances, Weeks (2009, p. 38) quoted Schur (1980, p. 7) that power is “more like a process than an object” that is no longer held or controlled by a particular group, gender, state or ruling class; power then operates through complex and overlapping, and often contradictory, mechanisms.

Realizing that links between a range of identities subsumed as ‘LGBT’ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual) and their actions, identities and uses of space are far from homogenous and cannot be easily defined, scholars’ interests moved to a more radical project of destabilizing established sexual norms and a more critical investigation in queer theorizations of ‘becoming’ (Browne, 2006; Gorman-Murray, Waitt, & Johnston, 2008; Oswin, 2008). Knopp (2004, 2007) argues that there is an opportunity to present alternative modes of sexual being and to engage in active processes of renovation in the discipline, and this continual process of ‘becoming’ challenges essential or pre-determined bodies, identities or spaces. For example, G. Brown (2008) explores how both human and non-human bodies, objects and the environment enact with homoerotic cruising encounters, and contends that these site-specific and performative encounters suggest a more conditional sexual identity arising from the interaction of bodies in specific environments. Held (2015) explores the relationship among gender, sexuality, race and emotions in night-time leisure spaces, and argues that feelings such as comfort and safety are triggered by perceived (or imagined) sameness and difference of gendered, sexualized and racialized bodies, but also are constitutive of these subjectivities.

Queer approaches to geographies of sexualities challenge both the concept of heteronormativity and homonormativity in social spaces by questioning what is excluded by these norms, and reveal identity’s internal instability and incoherence by looking at increasingly complicated intersectionalities in the process of producing sexualized space. A few researches have noticed the heterogeneity, especially of social class, in homosexual communities from gay commercial scenes in Shanghai, China (Bao, 2012; Bassi, 2012); but none of them have dug into the influences of these on the production of sexualized space, hence missed the further explanation of interaction among space, sexuality and power. Therefore, my integration of queer approaches with social constructivist and performative ones in this thesis attempts to constitute an adequate theoretical framework that presents a panorama of the production of sexualized space in contemporary China, and a complete understanding of space, sexuality and power.

2.4 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Combining above perspectives of understanding sexuality and its relationship with space and power, I propose the theoretical framework of this thesis as Figure 1 (see below). And I will explain how it is going to be applied in the case study.

Three levels of actors, namely official and public opinion, the state vs. gay community and within gay community, were asked about the influence of their interaction on producing a KTV as same-sex erotic space. Their functions should be understood from how they perceive as well as are controlled by sexuality. In another word, the interpretation of sexual social constructivist, performative and fluid characteristics by spatial actors is not only representative in but also constitutive of a leisure space. It is a bidirectional way of working⁶,

⁶ The arrows between ‘space’ and ‘sexuality’ in the figure does not imply that three interpretations of sexuality and three actors in space have absolute one-to-one corresponding relationship.

thus every aspect of the actors should be examined with its implication of sexuality and formation of space, and vice versa. Power in this process can be top to down and down to top, oppressive and resistant, overt and covert, direct and indirect, everywhere and always in its process of producing the sexualized space and the spatialized sexuality.

Then to answer the research questions of this thesis, the next step is to find out what those actors of sexuality that play decisive roles in the process of producing gay KTV are and to further interpret their interactions in the space with the theories introduced in this chapter.

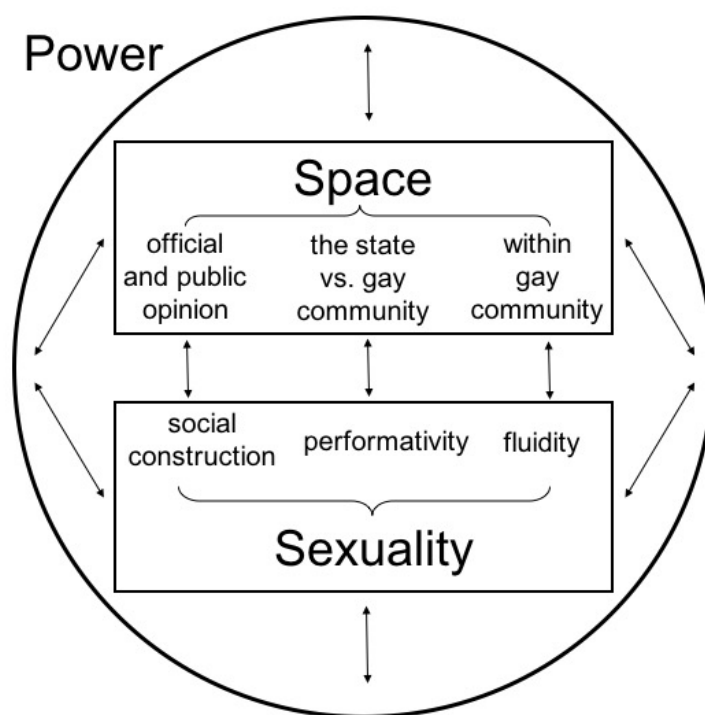
To understand the emergence of gay KTV, it is mainly to understand how sexuality is socially constructed by authoritative power. The main actor in this process is the official and public opinion towards homosexuality. The first step of this thesis is thus to look at how knowledge and discourses of sexuality differ in Chinese history and function as an instrument to 'correct' and 'normalize' people's thoughts and behaviour, and then its utilization of leisure spaces in contemporary China.

To understand the regulation of gay KTV, how sexuality is performed should be looked at. The main actors in this process are the foremen and *Xiaodis* in KTVs. Their performances in accordance to their understanding of homosexuality and consequent spatial representations in KTVs are data to be collected. It is also where concepts such as cultural hegemony, consent, performativity and heteronormativity will be tested.

To understand the consumption of gay KTV, the main actors in this process are customers inside; and their perceptions towards KTV are key to the formation of sexualized spaces, which in turn challenges the politics of spatialized sexuality, and destabilizes sexual identities. The explanations may involve ideas of homonormativity and queer theories.

With the establishment of this framework, in next chapter, I will introduce the ways in which theories and data are worked to present the result.

FIGURE 1 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK



CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

This chapter explains how the empirical research was conducted. There will be five parts in this chapter which focus separately on how I perceive knowledge and research; how I obtained and analysed the data used in this research, and the limitations of it; how I understand my role in the research and some ethical issues I encountered during the research.

3.1 FRAMING THE RESEARCH

To frame the research is to define the rules and boundaries of what is acceptable knowledge production and research (Tribe, 2006). By defining sexuality as a social construction, and as performative or as fluid, it is evident that this thesis holds two stances: social constructivist and post-structuralist. They agree on a world where there are no universal absolutes or objective truths, but multiple subjective interpretations of socially constructed reality (Jennings, 2001). Nonetheless, they differ in the ways in which they understand knowledge, in this case sexual identity, and power. A social constructivist approach favours a social-historically constituted identity, describes truth and power from a macro perspective, and studies human agency in interactions with social requirements. In this sense, research relies to a large extent on the given situation that is being studied (Creswell, 2013). This approach in this thesis helps to see the bigger picture of the emergence of homosexual space in China and how KTV is developed into a same-sex erotic space. Post-structuralist approaches, in terms of structures, perceive identity as a complex reality constructed out of overt and covert power relations (Jennings, 2001); and thus power as productive with the influence of ideological values, norms and positions serving the interest of some, while excluding others (Tribe, 2007). In terms of agency, post-structuralists also argue that there is no prior or authentic true self underneath power; hence it focuses on possibilities for contesting, transforming, transgressing, disrupting, reworking dominant ways of behaving from within existent structures of power (Aitchison, 2003). This approach in this thesis helps to analyse the strategies that are applied for the survival of KTV with same-sex erotic services, to read living experiences and to break down performances in the KTV; thus to deconstruct the production of gay KTV as a sexualized space and destabilize the spatialized sexuality of gay men in contemporary China. By combining these two approaches, this thesis will be able to study the process of the emergence, regulations and consumptions of KTV with same-sex erotic services, and the relationship of space, sexuality and power within the theoretical framework provided in previous chapter, bringing together social constructivist insight into human agency and post-structuralist notions of abstract and productive power.

3.2 METHODS OF THE RESEARCH

Methods such as literature review, participation, observation, and in-depth interviews have been applied in this thesis to generate data. This section will give a detailed explanation on how they have been conducted.

Regarding the formation of gay leisure space in contemporary China, it is a social-historical question that requires looking back at how homosexuality originated and developed in Chinese society. The major method applied here is literature review. Key discourses on homosexuality from different periods that still have deep impact on contemporary attitudes towards homosexuality have been examined, particularly those that have influenced the

emergence of homosexual leisure spaces in China. The social narratives and processes are extracted from this written background information to understand the emergence of sexualized space, and, further, how power produces knowledge, discourses and spaces.

For the other two research questions regarding the regulation and consumption of KTV as same-sex erotic spaces, spatial conditions of gay KTV and how these are appropriated, experienced and navigated by foremen, *Xiaodis* and customers inside were the main focus. These can be discursive (what people say), material (how people shape the space), social (what people do in the space) and symbolic (how people feel). The social factors behind, or the discourse and knowledge, which stimulate these conditions, are also important points to be presented and analysed in order to understand the production of space, and the relationship of space, sexuality and power. This thesis does not seek to make generalizations but is interested in the subjective experiences of people, therefore, these elements of data are obtained from participation, observation, and in-depth interviews as people construct and experience spaces according to their own positions and subjectivities, and forge their own realities which justifies personal views. Below are the details of how these activities were carried out.

Empirical research activities were concentrated in three periods. (see Table 1).

TABLE 1 DETAILS OF EMPIRICAL RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

| | 1 st Round | 2 nd Round | 3 rd Round |
|--------------------------|---|---|--|
| Period | June, 2014 | May, 2015 | April, 2016 |
| Ways of Obtaining Data | Participation, Observation, Conversations, In-depth Interview | In-depth Interview | In-depth Interview |
| People Who Were Involved | Foreman: XB <i>Xiaodi</i> : XY, AJ, GG, FZ, LJ Customers: MZ, ZZ | <i>Xiaodi</i> : XY, AJ, GG | Foreman: NF <i>Xiaodi</i> : JR, CZ Customers: KF, BS, LR, CP, MM |
| Background | It is the first time I visited a gay KTV. I was introduced to this place by a friend of mine (MZ). With his brief, I had a rough idea about what to specifically look at before I went there. | Follow up interviews with three <i>Xiaodis</i> I have met in the KTV to obtain more insights from those who provide erotic services. | In order to deepen the perceptions towards gay KTV and improve the credibility of research, more actors were recruited for interviews. |
| Data Obtained | During the time I was in the KTV, through participation and observation, I was able to see the styles of KTV (its characters in location, decoration, etc.), to look at all actors' behaviour, and feel the inside atmosphere | Through the interviews, I was able to have complete perceptions from <i>Xiaodis</i> regarding their experiences in the KTV and opinions towards | With a more direct outline of questions generated from previous research activities and answers to them, the third round interview provided sufficient |

| | | | |
|---------|--|--|--|
| | <p>and personal emotions during the entertainment activities.</p> <p>I talked with one foreman and five <i>Xiaodis</i> who were there serving us, which helped me to gain a general recognition of operation of gay KTV and their attitudes towards their job, their working place and customers.</p> <p>After the visit, I interviewed two customers who were with me in the KTV. I asked about their motivation and imagination of KTV, experiences and feelings in the KTV, and opinions towards KTV and <i>Xiaodis</i>.</p> | <p>their jobs, lives and homosexuality.</p> | <p>data for cross-reference and analysis.</p> |
| Remarks | <p>I used the word 'conversation' instead of interview because it was indeed casual talks for the foreman and <i>Xiaodis</i>, though I had some general directions in mind to lead the talk and obtain the data I need.</p> <p>Also the persons whom I talked to and observed were not informed of my purpose due to the sensitivity of the topic and the worry that what they say and do will be unnatural if they knew my purpose.</p> <p>The time length of conversations cannot be accurately measured due to that they happened spontaneously during my whole stay.</p> | <p>I needed to pay each <i>Xiaodi</i> a certain amount of money (on averagely around 20 Euros) to be able to talk with them. This happened due to the sensitivity of this topic, and I personally wanted to show my sincerity.</p> <p>All interviews were conducted via internet voice chatting tools.</p> | <p>The interview with NF was done by MZ, however the detailed interview outline was prepared by me. I also told him all the points that he needed to pay attention to in advance so as to obtain the data I have anticipated. I had to do it this way because the foreman was only willing to talk to MZ who he trusts with due to the sensitivity of this topic.</p> <p><i>Xiaodis</i> were also paid in order for me to get permissions for interviews and gain trust from them.</p> <p>All interviews were conducted via internet voice chatting tools.</p> |

MZ played an important role during the whole research activities. He is a very frequent customer of gay KTVs in Shanghai, hence has established a close relationship with people in the same-sex erotic service business. It was he who took me first to a gay KTV, helped me to make contacts with interviewees, suggested that I pay some money to *Xiaodis* who accepted interviews in the second and third round in order to gain access and trust from them, and at last interviewed the second foreman for me so as to obtain reliable data. A turn out like this is due to the sensitivity, even the illegitimacy of the existence of gay KTV; and as a researcher who engaged with this for the first time, I do need a person like MZ to help to achieve the goal of this thesis. The limitation of this, however, will be discussed in later section.

An in-depth interview is characterized not only by its length but also its depth. My interviews were semi-structured by using a list of topics. The topic list is “merely used as a guide. The ‘real’ guide to the issues or themes is vested in the interviewees and they end up leading the interview by order of their thoughts and reflections on the topic” (Jennings, 2001, p. 164). The interviewees are encouraged to speak freely, explain their own experiences in details and do most of the talks. This enables opportunities for more open and flexible conversations and unexpected topics for me to catch insights that I have not anticipated, which gave more depth to the interviews (Veal, 1997).

Topics for foremen focus on the background of establishment of gay KTV and their ways of managing KTV, including:

- Gay KTV in China and Shanghai
- Personnel in gay KTV
- Strategies to the survival of gay KTV
- Regulations of gay KTV
- Relationship with *Xiaodis*
- Customers in gay KTV

Topics for *Xiaodis* focus on their background, experiences and opinions regarding gay KTV, including:

- Personal background, especially about family, education, life experiences before working in the KTV
- Motivation, experiences and opinions of working in gay KTV
- Opinions towards sexual activities in gay KTV
- Opinions towards homosexuality and customers in gay KTV

Topics for customers are quite similar towards those for *Xiaodis*, but from the perspective of being served, including:

- Personal background
- Motivations and expectations to go to gay KTV
- On-site experiences, especially in sexual interactions
- Opinions towards gay KTV and *Xiaodis*

Below provide details of those people I have interviewed or talked with as groups (see Table 2 and Table 3). Besides their code names, age and occupations, I only provide information such as when the conversations or interviews were conducted, how many years working experiences they had in gay KTV by the time I interviewed or talked with them, or for customers how many times they had been to gay KTV, and for how long the interview lasted

(as I explained above, for conversations, this column will be N/A). The purpose of this is to check the coverage of research, but at the same time to keep my interviewees as anonymous as I can.

TABLE 2 DETAILS OF INTERVIEWS ON FOREMEN AND XIAODIS

| Code Name | Age | Occupation | Years of Working Experiences in Gay KTV | Period of Conversation or Interview | Length of Interview |
|-----------|-----|---------------|---|-------------------------------------|---------------------|
| XB | 38 | Foreman | 3 | June, 2014 | N/A |
| NF | 42 | Foreman | 5 | April, 2016 | 1 hour |
| XY | 24 | <i>Xiaodi</i> | 3 | June, 2014 May, 2015 | N/A 45 mins |
| AJ | 21 | <i>Xiaodi</i> | 0.5 | June, 2014 May, 2015 | N/A 30 mins |
| GG | 22 | <i>Xiaodi</i> | 1 | June, 2014 May, 2015 | N/A 40 mins |
| FZ | 23 | <i>Xiaodi</i> | 2 | June, 2014 | N/A |
| LJ | 22 | <i>Xiaodi</i> | 0.5 | June, 2014 | N/A |
| JR | 20 | <i>Xiaodi</i> | 1 | April, 2016 | 1 hour |
| CZ | 19 | <i>Xiaodi</i> | 0.5 | April, 2016 | 30 mins |

TABLE 3 DETAILS OF INTERVIEWS ON CUSTOMERS

| Code Name | Age | Occupation | Times to Gay KTV | Period of Interview | Length of Interview |
|-----------|-----|-------------|------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| MZ | 33 | Employee | 20+ | June, 2014 | 1 hour |
| ZZ | 40 | Employee | 2 | June, 2014 | 45 mins |
| KF | 32 | Employee | 1 | April, 2016 | 45 mins |
| BS | 33 | PhD Student | 5 - 10 | April, 2016 | 40 mins |
| LR | 60 | Retired | 5-10 | April, 2016 | 30 mins |
| CP | 35 | Employee | 1 | April, 2016 | 40 mins |
| MM | 32 | Freelancer | 1 | April, 2016 | 40 mins |

Before I left the KTV I visited, I told those people I talked with that I am a master student in social science and was planning to write a thesis about KTV. I asked them if I would be authorized to use the contents from the conversations we had with full anonymity of their

personal information in my thesis, and I got permissions from those I mentioned in previous sections. I wrote down all key points of my experiences and conversations immediately after I went home when the memory of mine is still reliable to ensure the credibility of data obtained from my visit to the KTV. I gained consent for recording and quoting each interview that I conducted. Key points of the interviews were all transcribed in Chinese afterwards. With this information, I composed a transcription of conversations and interviews as the appendix for later data analysis. They constitute the most empirical data of my research, though limitations of these methods will be discussed in later sections, too.

3.3 DATA ANALYSIS

My data can be separated into two parts, one is Chinese social and historical discourses of homosexuality gay leisure spaces in Shanghai obtained by literature review. The other is information regarding the production of KTV as a same-sex erotic space such as spatial representations and statements regarding space and sexuality, which, as I explained above, was generated from empirical research activities of participation, observation and interviews. Combining these two parts of data, I read them through the theoretical framework outlined earlier to find out whether those spatial representations and statements either demonstrate oppressions and regulations of the production of gay KTV or challenge the performance inside the KTV, to categorize and to thematise them, then I applied critical discourse analysis (CDA) to study them.

CDA is issue-oriented and appropriate in studies of social inequality, which tries to reveal what ideological and political foundation is served under the convention of discourses about a particular topic at a particular moment within a particular context (Bulkens, 2009; Hall, 1997; Wooffitt, 2005). Inherited from Foucault's ideas,

"CDA specifically focuses on the strategies of manipulation, legitimation, the manufacture of consent and other discursive ways to influence the minds (and indirectly the actions) of people in the interest of the powerful" (Van Dijk, 1995, p. 18, emphasis original).

It pays attention to all levels and dimensions of discourses: not only verbal ones, but also all other implications, such as behaviour and unspoken rules in a space; and it perceives power relations as everywhere in all social interactions and practice, in which power is repressive, constitutive and productive in producing 'truth' and 'reality' through ways of consent and exclusion (Bulkens, 2009). Following this, Wetherell (1998) argues that:

"it is necessary to explore the ideological underpinnings of these productive and constitutive discourses to understand how these and the subject positions made available, resonate with and reconstitute group interests and wider relations of dominance and power" (quoted from Bulkens, 2009, p. 64).

With the guidance of CDA, I am able to relate my data to my theoretical framework, to explain why and how there are certain phenomena, words and behaviors, and to unravel the nature of the relationship of space, sexuality and power behind them.

3.4 LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

There are several limits in this thesis. The first one is the small sample size. This is due to the sensitivity of this topic which makes it hard to recruit a large number of people for interviews. However, I would not regard this as inhibiting given that this thesis focuses on

subjective experiences, and research activities of participation and in-depth interviews have provided sufficient data for further analysis. Besides, cross-referencing between different participants when I compare and discuss the data helps to enhance the validation of research and mitigate the influence of this limitation in the results.

MZ played an important role in the carry out of empirical research: he introduced me to the gay KTV and provided me with as much information as he knows about the business so that I would have a concept of how to start the research before I went there; he helped me to establish most contacts for interviews; he interviewed the second foreman who only accepted to talk about the topic with him and later delivered a successful interview on my behalf with quite a lot insight on the topic at stake; he suggested that I offer some money to *Xiaodis* to show my sincerity and to gain trust from them when they refused interviews; he assured *Xiaodis* that I could be trusted and gave me their personal contact information so that I could interview them via internet voice chatting tools when I was not able to go back to Shanghai for face-to-face interviews for circumstantial reasons, thus guaranteeing the credibility of these interviews. As much as I am convinced that his help and suggestions did strengthen mutual trust between interviewees and myself, and ensure the quality of research, it also brought up two issues in the research. One is that I had to compromise the way of interviewing, namely that MZ had to interview the second foreman for me and I had to do the second and third round of interviews via the internet, this is unconventional and must have had different effects from standard interview techniques, for example I cannot see the instant reaction of my interviewees to the questions I asked. Nevertheless, I believe this compromise provided a safer and more relaxed atmosphere for interviewees to tell their real thoughts in return. The other issue is that I am aware that the results and interpretations for this thesis are to a large extent influenced by MZ's personal cultural, educational and social background, as well as his life experiences. This is a research that focuses on subjective experiences, but during analysis I tried to mitigate too much reliance on one person's experience by cross-referencing other participants' opinions on similar topics.

Another limitation of this thesis is the lack of opinions of certain groups of people. Most customer interviewees are in their 30s, and I did not manage to reach older customers, except one in his 60; thus the understanding of customers in KTV missed a specific older aged group of customers. This is partly due to the fact that the major consumers in gay KTVs, or even in gay leisure activities, who are capable of and energetic enough for consumption are near or already middle aged. I would certainly recommend that future research seeks to include a greater range of participants or exclusively focuses on older aged customers. Having said that, I do not consider this to be a severe limitation as the in-depth interviews have already given valuable insights and additional knowledge on the use of gay KTV. However, I would acknowledge that it would have more scientific values if I have interviewed other people, who do not go to gay KTV, no matter they are gay or not, or those who have been to gay KTV but are female or heterosexual men, to contrast different groups of people's opinion towards gay KTV and their influence towards the production of the space. Due to time constraints, it was beyond the scope of this thesis, but would also be a recommendation for future research.

Last but not the least, the transcriptions of conversations and interviews were written in Chinese. It is the language that was used during research activities and has a huge difference in modes of expression from English. When transcribing the record, for the sake of a better perception of understanding, I kept the most substantial contents of interviews and will translate them into English when they are quoted. While I have tried to keep to the original expressions used by interviewees, the translation would never deliver the same tones as the

native language, and thus there is an inevitable loss of information or emphases. The transcriptions have been provided as an appendix at the end of this thesis to cope with and reflect upon this limitation.

3.5 POSITIONALITY AND ETHICAL ISSUES

A researcher has to be aware of and acknowledge his/her own subjectivity and positionality during the conduct of research, as well as acknowledge that his own interpretation is influenced by participants' cultural, historical and personal experiences in writing down the results (Creswell, 2013). In light of these issues, I will explain my positionality and ethical issues of my research methods in the following section.

As a homosexual who has lived in China for more than twenty years and in the gay community of Shanghai ever since I identified myself as gay more than ten years ago, I have experienced gay scenes and the transformation of the situation of homosexuality in the city. These experiences have established the primary impression I have on public opinions towards homosexuality and the gay community in contemporary China, and stimulated the initial idea of this thesis. I have visited gay KTV not only as a researcher but also as an active participant in the gay community of which such KTVs are a part. This kind of auto-ethnographical method could help me with deconstructing the dimensions of space from my own personal feelings, to understand the interaction and power relationship behind the multiple performances in the KTV directly, and to enrich the diversity and deepen the credibility of the research. Though I still see myself mainly as a scientific researcher in this research, the fact that I am at the same time a customer in KTV has to be evaluated seriously in this project. This kind of auto-ethnographical method is not to compare my life with others', rather it is more to juxtapose mine with others; I want to use my experience as the way I used others', to elaborate empirical links with concepts, and to contribute to the analysis (Moss, 2001). I am aware of the pleasure and risk associated with visiting same-sex erotic spaces. What I am writing here is closely tied to my personal life, thus I try to "highlight the personal, the emotional, the sensual, and other components of lived experiences" (Leap, 1999, p. 4) that homosexual leisure spaces so richly contain. Meanwhile, as I am also aware of the personal influence of MZ in this thesis, I watched closely to which extent my own experience has affected the result. Cross-referencing this with other respondents here is again the way to reduce the critique.

Finally, I need to clarify the issue of the validity of the research. My participatory method and the way I obtained certain parts of my data without telling my sample group in the KTV, or paying *Xiaodis* money for interviews, or interviewing the foreman through my friend might be regarded as problematic. It is my strong belief, though, that part of the goal of this thesis is to unpack those 'impersonal' encounters when men consume same-sex erotic service in a KTV in order to fully understand the actual experiences and their effects during the process of the production of space. I address this goal by using the participants' own voices (including my own). While I disclosed the research details and plans for informant protection after the experiences in KTV, and obtained the consent for using data, I was not willing to seek the consent of those I observed prior to the observations. Attempting to do so would irreparably disrupt the situated environment that I am attempting to outline. Moreover, it would limit my experience during the stay in the KTV. The potentially problematic means I used to procure interviews with the foreman and *Xiaodis* were also necessary to get the most real ideas and personal emotions that they would not reveal to others. I believe the validity of the research in this thesis is not jeopardized.

CHAPTER 4: HOMOSEXUALITY IN CHINA AND GAY LEISURE SPACES IN SHANGHAI

In this chapter, the first section is about historical perceptions of sexuality in China and factors affecting current official and popular opinions towards homosexuality. Then it outlines how contemporary gay identities are formed in the country. These various discourses of sexuality from different groups have interactively shaped the gay community and its way of using spaces in different places in China. The fourth section of this chapter will discuss the specific case of Shanghai.

4.1 CHINESE ATTITUDES TOWARDS HOMOSEXUALITY

Three stages of transformations on public acknowledgement towards homosexuality in general can be recognized in China, although the most contemporary one, which encourages the expression of a more global-local sexual identity, has had the most influence on the production of sexualized leisure spaces (alongside attendant tensions) in China nowadays. Focusing on previous ideas of Chinese attitudes towards homosexuality helps to understand the historical development of social norms on this subject.

A prevalent pattern in ancient Chinese history of men who have sex with men can be seen between one man in a high hierarchical position, such as the emperor, governor, landlord or at least a scholar, and another who is a servant or of a lower rank of social status (Hinsch, 1990). With the tradition of the Confucian worship of hierarchy, it can be argued that same-sex intimacy between those who held power and those who were inferior in ancient China was tolerated with compliance to hierarchies (Kong, 2014). Though there were always contestations to indulgence in male eroticism with worries that it would be disruptive to authoritative order and governance (Long, 2005), the view of intimacy between same-sex persons as 'habits' rather than categorizing them as 'abnormal' remained little changed until the concept of 'homosexuality' spread into the country with its gradual semi-colonization by the West from late nineteenth century (Ma, 2003; Samshasha, 1997; Van de Werff, 2010).

Under the regime of Chinese Communism established in 1949, homosexuality was considered as a vestige of the 'antagonistic Capitalist countries' that should be exterminated (Long, 2005). The crime named 'hooliganism', which aims to prosecute inappropriate behaviour, including sexual activities between men, was set up, and accordingly homosexuals were actively persecuted (Chou, 2000). Education that encouraged the stigmatization of homosexuality and the highly oppressed sexual environment resulted in actual homosexual practices being hugely reduced (at least in public). This might also explain why it is hard to find any reliable records and data from research on homosexuality during that period.

The increasing visibility of homosexuality in Chinese mainstream society and the fundamental transformation of public opinions towards it is caught up with Chinese economic development and social improvement under the 'Reform and Opening-up' policy in China since 1978. There have been two breakthrough governmental actions concerning homosexuality. In 1997, the legislation which considers homosexual activities as 'offensive behaviour' ('hooliganism') was abolished; and in 2001, homosexuality was removed as a mental disease from the *Chinese Classification of Mental Disorders, the 3rd Version (CCMD-3)* (CSP, 2001). This was a result of the international scientific development of sexuality study and the authoritative need for a national image of an open country and a responsible government that cares about civic health and human rights (Van de Werff, 2010). With examples of Euro-American countries taking actions in the same issues, and continuous

efforts of scholars in China to legitimise homosexuality, this kind of identity eventually began to lose some of its stigma in China at the beginning of the new millennium (Wu, 2003). However, despite the decriminalization and medical de-classification acts mentioned above, Van de Werff (2010, p. 176) still argues “the relationship between the Chinese government and homosexuality remains problematic”, which mainly manifests in its concern with HIV/AIDS problems rather than homosexual rights issues such as same-sex marriage or community development. Given the prevalent assumption that HIV infection is intimately associated with gay sexual activities, and the fact that there were still no equal rights in marriage and other civil issues for the Chinese homosexual community, gay people in China are still perceived as ‘lewd’ (H. Li, Holroyd, & Lau, 2010). Moreover, after the assembly in Tiananmen Square that led to a huge political turmoil in 1989⁷, the government has strengthened censorship and restrictions on public meetings; and as a result, quite a lot activities such as the LGBT film festival or lectures that promote homosexual knowledge, community formation and human rights are regarded as ‘dangerous to the social stability’ by the authorities and have been cancelled (Van de Werff, 2010).

Public opinions towards homosexuality in China are also conflicting. On one hand, the idea of acceptance, understanding and respect of equality towards homosexuality can be increasingly seen, especially among those who are young or well educated due to positive knowledge on the issue. On the other hand, after generations of major opposition to homosexuality, the general population’s acknowledgement of homosexuality is still quite limited, especially for those in the vast rural areas of China. Even though it is now formally not seen as an ‘abnormality’, homosexuality is still regarded as ‘disgusting’ by many people, especially when it comes to associated sexual practices. Besides, the most deep-rooted Chinese tradition of continuing the family bloodline still troubles most people who accept homosexuality as ‘normal’, especially when they talk about it in Chinese real-life practice. In a quantitative research with a sample of 400 people on public attitudes towards homosexuality (Y. Li & Zheng, 2013), it is shown that the rate of ‘total acceptance’ of homosexuality is 43% and that of ‘total objection’ is 47%. Though there are high rates of accepting homosexuals as friends, or favouring their equal rights and working opportunities, obvious opposition can be seen when it comes to questions like ‘should homosexuality go public’ or issues that involve interviewees’ own interests, such as same-sex marriage, visibility of homosexual discourses to wider groups of people, and homosexual teachers for interviewees’ children. In addition, only 7.5% of 400 interviewees responded that they know homosexuals in their lives, and 75% of the sample chose to ‘tolerate but in a hope of changing them’ when asked what if one of their family members were homosexual. The results reveal Chinese values of Confucian moderation when it comes to a private issue like homosexuality, namely that ‘I’ understand ‘you’ and give ‘you’ respect, but ‘I’ do not like to get involved in ‘your’ business or be influenced by ‘you’. Furthermore, different from most countries, being homosexual is not an inherent sin of human nature against religion or society; it is more of a moral problem in China. This leads to an understanding attitude towards homosexuality on the surface of Chinese society but an avoiding and abandoning attitude deep inside. Nevertheless, these moderate but inconsistent attitudes crack some social space for homosexuals in China to survive and produce their own leisure spaces. Before I get to that, I would like to discuss how Chinese homosexuals identify themselves to understand this process.

⁷ Tiananmen Square protests of 1989 were initially led by students in Beijing in condolence of Chinese former leader HU Yaobang, and later turned into a nationwide protest on country’s political system and demand for democracy, freedom and equality. It ended with the army’s crackdown. After this, the country’s reform was largely halted, and events as such are until now strictly inspected.

4.2 SHIFT OF GAY IDENTITIES IN CONTEMPORARY CHINA

Identity is argued to have the function of forming norms, supporting social agencies and expressing certain values; sexual identity is one of the most paradoxical ones that is of interconnected differences, conflicts and opportunities, and is intersected with a whole set of social positions including class, race, ethnicity, age, region, etc. (Weeks, 1995). The above formal and public attitudes and opinions about homosexuality in China had real implications not only on how the gay communities perceive themselves but also how they express themselves. Looking at the shift of contemporary Chinese homosexual identities will help to reflect the conflicts of various intersectionalities inside the community under the development of Chinese economy and civil society, and thus enables us to better understand the norms they create during the production of their leisure spaces. Due to the non-existence of homosexual identity under first stage of ancient Chinese attitudes towards same-sex behaviours, and absolute opposition to homosexuality as crime and disease under the second stage of the newly established communist regime, study on Chinese gay identity starts from the third stage when the 'Reform and Opening-up' policy was initiated.

There are two shifts in how contemporary Chinese gay men identify themselves. With the start of the opening of the country to the outside world and a freer environment for cultural diversity, gay men in China became more adventurous in pursuing their sexual desires albeit still within a general climate of hostility towards them. It is also during this period that the phenomena of gay men secretly meeting in parks, public toilets and bathhouses where they were constantly at risk of getting caught and seized by the police received attention from social scientists (Y. Li, 1992). With a range of scholars' acknowledging homosexuality as normal, they made huge efforts to educate homosexuals and the masses in the country. It was through these efforts that many Chinese homosexuals were able to realize that they were not sick but just different in their sexual preference towards the same sex.

The shift happened when the Western ideology of the homosexual movement and gay men's life styles started to widely diffuse in China. Rofel (2007, p. 86) found that "in the mid-1990s, Chinese metropolises witnessed a veritable explosion of people who call themselves gay". This is manifested in that those self-identified gay men tend to inhabit big cities, be fond of elite cultures, desire to go through sexual experiences with foreigners or higher classed men, and to have leisure activities in high-end places, like luxurious bars. It is quite similar to the early stage of Western homosexual lifestyles as what Altman (1996, 1997) argues as a 'global gay identity' that is best represented as urban well-educated middle-class men among a majority of the population. Nonetheless, due to the disparity of development in multiple aspects, including economy, culture, and access to information in Chinese society, gaps among homosexuals themselves have enlarged. While some are celebrating being gay as a social identity, they intend to categorize themselves and build boundaries by nations, regions and communities; by doing this they also reject those who do not fit into a certain class and therefore strengthen sexual hierarchy (Jones, 2007; H. Li et al., 2010; Rofel, 2007). Rofel (2007) argues that this homosexual identity and practice are articulated by these gay men's inter-racial and cross-cultural practice of sex and intense desires for cultural citizenship in China, which conveys a new mode of inclusion and exclusion. From non-diseased homosexuality to global gay, the first shift in Chinese homosexual identity shows that gay men in China started to become concerned with not only 'what they are' but also 'how they are'. It echoes with the shift of understanding homosexuality from an absolute opposition to heterosexuality to the recognition of its intersectionalities that include or exclude certain people in the community; and also reflects scholars' critique of heteronormativity, that the acceptance of homosexuality is built on the requirement that it fits heteronormative imaginations.

Homosexual identity in Mainland China has also been influenced by trends in Hong Kong and Taiwan since the 1990s. A representational development in these regions is the emergence and wide recognition of a Chinese culturally characterized identity of homosexuality: *Tongzhi*, which translates into English as 'comrade'. While it was originally meant to refer to those who are 'like-minded' in terms of their embrace of communism, it was later co-opted by the homosexual community in a different way. *Tongzhi* in this later context was introduced during the first Lesbian and Gay Film Festival in Hong Kong in 1989, to refer to the community of people who are not of the mainstream (hetero)sexuality, as the organizer of the event was keen to employ an indigenous representation of same-sex eroticism (Chou, 2000). It was disseminated to Taiwan soon and gradually to Mainland China in the late 1990s. The *Tongzhi* identity is widely accepted by the community because of "its positive cultural references, gender neutrality, desexualization of the stigma of homosexuality, politics beyond the homo-hetero duality, and use as an indigenous cultural identity for integrating the sexual into the social" (Ibid., p. 2). From gay to *Tongzhi* is the second shift of Chinese homosexual identity, which seeks a more self-culture-integrated form of Chinese gay life style, and more acceptance by the mainstream society. However, as Chou and Chiu (1995) still argue, *Tongzhi* identity is still affected by bourgeois hegemony, male centralism, ageism, consumerism and Western cultural hegemony, which can be seen in the popular pursuit of the young, high-class and Westernized elite life style due to the subtle but entrenched influence of mainstream Western ideology concerning homosexuality. It is a result of what I have explained in the previous section that under global patterns of queer politics and local oppression of radical manifestations, the Chinese gay community found a middle point to express their desires. However, it also suggests a homonormative exclusion to those who do not fit the collective identity.

4.3 CHINESE HOMOSEXUAL COMMUNITY AND THEIR USE OF LEISURE SPACES

The Chinese homosexual community has grown under changes of social attitudes towards homosexuality and shifts on their own identities as I introduced in previous sections. Due to official and public moderate attitude, which discourage the radical visibility of homosexuality, most homosexuals try to keep a low profile in the public in order to avoid exposing their identities and consequent troubles. This has resulted in that one of the characters of Chinese homosexual community is 'closed' (Y. Li & Zheng, 2013). Another important factor that contributes to the current situation, which is also one of the backgrounds from which authoritative ignorance of homosexual civil rights and the general population's disapproval of homosexuality emerges, is the deep-rooted and paramount Chinese traditional worship of family. The idea that one, especially the son, should get married and have a child to extend the family bloodline, along with the One-child Policy⁸, particularly challenges homosexual life styles in contemporary China. With the enormous pressure from family and society, and seemingly insurmountable obstacles either to get legally married or to keep a long-term same-sex relationship in real life, most Chinese homosexuals choose to keep their sexuality hidden from mainstream society and to pursue

⁸ One-child Policy was legally enforced nationwide with a few exemptions at the end of 1970s. On 29th October 2015, the statement of Fifth Plenary Session of the Communist Party of China 18th Central Committee has announced that it will be changed to a Two-child Policy. Source from:

http://news.xinhuanet.com/banyt/2005-03/07/content_2661731.htm

and http://news.xinhuanet.com/finance/2015-10/30/c_128374476.htm.

The major currently active gay populations in China are mostly born under the One-child Policy, which makes a gay man as the only son of a family carry more burden of Chinese tradition value of marriage and extension of family bloodline.

their oppressed desires inside the community shielded from the outside. This kind of behaviour can obviously be seen in Chinese homosexual use of leisure spaces.

Three trends correspond to social opinions towards homosexuality and shifts in gay identity, and can be identified when it comes to the topic of homosexual leisure spaces in China. First, cruising spots for men in parks or public toilets in cities like Beijing and Shanghai had already been known for gay men to meet their 'kind' of people in the 1980s. At the time when the public did not understand homosexuality and even gay men lacked adequate knowledge of their of sexuality or did not know what to do with themselves, and under huge fear to confront themselves, these spots were few and extremely secret (Y. Li, 1992). Chronologically, the third trend of Chinese homosexual use of leisure spaces is that in recent years, shopping malls, restaurants, cafes, gyms, which are homosexual friendly or are of specific characters like exquisite, middle-class styled, petit bourgeois ambience that meet homosexual people's preference to demonstrate their privileged *Tongzhi* identity, have become popular among a younger generation of homosexuals. This is an interesting topic to discuss but not the emphasis of this thesis. However, I just missed the second trend because it stands for the development of the most representative pattern of current homosexual use of leisure spaces in China: the commercialization of exclusive gay leisure places. This is what this thesis focuses on, and will be explicitly explained in the following paragraph.

Commercial places like bars with safety, privacy and exclusion of non-gay customers emerged in early 1990s and bloomed in late 1990s as a result of the freer economic environment, given the high and constant risk of getting caught and seized by the police when cruising in public (Bao, 2012). For a long time, these places have been the most frequented locations for gay men to spend their leisure time, meet other gay people, express their sexual desires and be themselves. However, these gay leisure spaces face many difficulties in maintaining operation. Like the homosexuals' preference of hiding their identity from the public, these leisure spaces always keep a low profile. Due to the sensitivity of intimacy between men, the owners of these places, no matter if they intended to offer a sex-free space or not, have to deal with authoritative administration with caution. Any public space in China can go through inspection by the police. So it is an open secret that if you want to operate any commercial recreational place in China, you need to have a good relationship with the police, usually through bribery or share of profit (Bassi, 2012). This leads the operation of gay leisure spaces to two characteristics: they have a good enough relationship with the police to survive, and they sell high priced consuming items in order to make profits. The prevalence of commercialization in homosexual leisure spaces has thus created a hierarchic community between those who can and cannot consume.

The potential consumption capacity and need stimulated more and various kinds of spaces such as clubs, saunas, massage parlours, bathhouses, etc. operated for homosexuals. Among all these types of leisure spaces, it is not surprising then that with the cover of a 'normal' business and protection from the police, places emerge where same-sex erotic services that involve money exchanges are provided. This kind of places integrates elements of sex and sexuality, desire expression and commercialization, homosexual consumption and cultural citizenship, which provides a living example to look at how discourses of sexuality are enforced and manifested in leisure spaces in China.

Prostitution is one of the social norms strictly regulated in China. No matter if it is between different or same genders, Chinese law is always against prostitution and denies that it might be a voluntary trade between individuals. Meanwhile, the authoritative regulation towards prostitution puts its emphasis on cracking down on the crime of organized scaled prostitution. According to the 'Criminal Law' of China, those who organize, lure, shelter, and introduce others into prostitution shall be sentenced to imprisonment of at least five

years and a concurrent fine; but prostitutes and their clients usually get punished only with a maximum of fifteen days detention for investigation and the possible addition of a fine (Jeffreys, 2007). Nevertheless, this penalty was not enforced on an organizer of man-to-man prostitution until 2004 when a man was sentenced to jail for eight years and a huge fine under this kind of case (Jeffreys, 2007; Kong, 2014). The rapid economic development and enrichment of material life has spurred on the prostitution industry in China (Pan et al., 2004; Zheng, 2009). For most of the general population, the existence of prostitution is no longer a mystery or secret. Their attitudes have also changed from contempt to acceptance. Moreover, due to the considerable profits and consequent huge improvement in material life of being a prostitute, the idea that 'prostitution is better than poverty' has spread in society. One may find same-sex prostitution activities in various places in China nowadays. There are the so called 'money boy' in almost all kinds of exclusive gay leisure places for paid sex. The tricky part of this, if in a gay bar, is that it is difficult to tell who has the intention of engaging in such activities among the crowd in a bar, and both sides are suspicious about each other. Another option is to go to massage parlours or bathhouses, where prostitution services are secretly provided. However, this kind of place is notorious for sexually transmitted diseases and a bad reputation of filth; especially with the development of internet or mobile communication tools, customers tend to find such a boy online and go to a hotel room with more hygienic and secured environment. KTV is one of the places where you can find same-sex erotic services, and has several unique characteristics than other types of places as I mentioned just now. But before I go into details, I would like to use Shanghai as an example to further illustrate the development of homosexual use of leisure spaces in China.

4.4 GAY LEISURE SPACES IN SHANGHAI

I chose Shanghai not only because it is the largest city in China but also because its position as economic centre has built the city's character as international, open, commerce-oriented, and developed a service industry that employs huge number of migrant residents. As we will see later, these characteristics constitute the fundamental elements of homosexual leisure spaces in the city. But first I will look back the development of gay leisure places in Shanghai.

The early gay public spaces in Shanghai started in the 1970s and 80s with cruising places such as parks and public toilets. People who patronize these spaces during that time still faced huge social oppression and were in constant danger of being persecuted. According to Bao (2012), and also confirmed in the research of Bassi (2012), one of the earliest of such meeting places for gay people was the small roadside park where the newsstand is located at Hankou Road, which, together with its adjacent areas, including the Bund at the banks of the Suzhou River, was known as the '*Jin Sanjiao*' (golden triangle) area by local gay people (see Table 2). From the Bund along to the bank of Suzhou River, you are walking with one of the best scenes in Shanghai, however quiet and shady at night; and the Hankou Road area, where the headquarters of newspaper agencies and publishers, bookstores in Shanghai are locate, also became a gathering place for well-educated gay people.

From 1990s and onwards, gay people in Shanghai moved their whereabouts more to commercial places, such as bars, massage parlours, etc. Most of these places cluster in the central area of Shanghai where there are business infrastructures, modern environments and convenient transportations (see Figure 2). This fits their commercial pursuit not only because the area converges most flows of people, but also it is where gay men think suits their taste of high-class and elegance. However, these places still keep a low profile to the public, usually submerge in other fancy commercial scenes surrounded by them; and people would miss it if not known its purpose in advance. It is quite similar as gay men do in society more broadly.

FIGURE 2 AREA OF GAY LEISURE PLACES IN SHANGHAI



Consumerism is the most visible feature of gay culture in Shanghai (Bao, 2012; Bassi, 2012). It reflects the paradox of homosexuality in Shanghai: it values the consuming capacity of the community, but would not to admit full rights or recognition to them. Thus, for those with a high purchasing capacity, they are seen to possess more rights (and access to spaces) to pursue their needs and wants (Rofel, 2007). By looking at how commercial gay scenes in Shanghai have developed, Bassi (2012) has found out that Shanghai presents a dynamic commercial combination between Western capitalist modernity and traditional Chinese economic relationships from those of kinship and political authority. For example, to run a gay bar with modern ideas, one still has to deal with the police smartly by taking advantage of 'guanxi' (relationships). In Bao's (2012) research, by looking at how different groups of homosexual people select space and exclude those who do not belong to the group, he further argues that consumerism distinguish the whole community by class, race and gender. Bao (2012) also borrows Schein's (1999) theory that people in post-socialist China produce individualities by participating in practices of consumption to argue that homosexuality in Shanghai has created a distinct local identity and culture specificity through consumption. This kind of culture in Shanghai is an effect of the interplay between individual and social structures, based on the rationality of pragmatism central to capitalist logics and tied to the city's role as the national capital of finance and commercialization (Wasserstrom, 2008).

All the tensions and paradoxes of gay men's using leisure space above just provide many cracks through which same-sex erotic spaces can emerge, and meanwhile allow for variations in the ways in which these spaces are experienced. In the next chapter, this thesis will explore in depth the lived experiences of a commercialized gay leisure space in Shanghai, gay KTV, to explore the production of a spatialized sexuality and a sexualized space in contemporary China.

CHAPTER 5 IN A GAY KTV

This chapter presents the data I have collected during the empirical field work. There are three sections, each of which will separately show regulations of a gay KTV, Xiaodis' lives and customers' experiences in KTV.

5.1 REGULATIONS OF A GAY KTV

A Chinese styled KTV contains dozens of various sizes of rooms for different numbers of people to gather together. Unlike those KTVs in Western countries where there is only one stage for a small number of people to sing and others to watch, KTV in China provides a large room, which is to some extent a private space, and several kinds of entertainments for different groups of customers, and makes it a very popular place in China for friends to gather. Furthermore, with a specific Chinese cultural background, KTVs have become places for business networking and heterosexual erotic services. First, there is a long history of traditions in China that business should be negotiated accompanied with food or entertainment. The place where it takes place has to be exquisitely decorated, the food provided has to be tasteful, or the entertainment accompanied has to be enjoyable. The better the treatment is, the more it shows the host's capability of doing business, and the larger the chance is for the deal to be done. Hence, some KTVs are built like private clubs with the most luxurious decorations, the most advanced facilities and the finest food to meet the requirements of the best place for entertainment in a business negotiation (Palmer, 2015). Moreover, in a patriarchy-dominated society such as China, when there are only men involved in business transactions, if there are beautiful women joining them, it shows the host's hospitality and willingness to carry the guests' favors. These interactions are accompanied by the consumption of alcohol. Guests are encouraged to consume large quantities of alcohol; this is usually done by women in a male-dominated treatment to promote business negotiations. Some businessmen have seen the demand and opportunity, and brought erotic services into the KTV to earn huge profits from customers' high consumption of 'ladies and wine' (Ibid.).

As mentioned in the previous chapter, using KTV as same-sex erotic space originates from their uses as heterosexual ones; but with specific Chinese understandings of homosexuality and its commercial environment in Shanghai, this kind of space exhibits its unique characteristics. A foreman explained it as below:

MZ: "How are gay KTVs nationwide? Are there differences among cities?"

Foreman NF: "there are gay KTVs in cities such as Beijing, Shenzhen, Chengdu, Hefei, etc. Beijing, you know, it is the capital, so more strictly regulated; and there are more government officials, who are more sensitive to this kind of things, thus make the business really cryptic. Shenzhen is fine, but it attracts more customers for Hong Kong, who are difficult to deal with. Chengdu is quite a gay city, but due to the less developed economy, the business there is not so good. Hefei gets this kind of place because most Xiaodis in Shanghai are from Anhui⁹, so it is easier for recruitment. But the level and consumption there is lower than here. So I think Shanghai still has a better night life and higher consumption capacity, which attracts businessmen and tourists from all over the country."

MZ: "How about customers here? Why did you say that here earns more than those for female customers?"

Foreman NF: "Those who are able to consume here are not poor for sure. They are usually at their 30s at least with stable incomes. You know it is not cheap to consume here, with

⁹ Hefei is the provincial capital of Anhui.

hundreds yuan one night at least. But they know the price here, and know they have the capacity to consume. When they are here with friends, they are willing to pay. Also most of them have a higher education, so they are better behaved in KTV. Not like female customers in their KTVs, they are really horny sometimes and can play hard. Here, if Xiaodis finished basic routines and had fun with customers, they were willing to pay more tips. Also male customers consume more wine than female ones; with commissions from wine, Xiaodis would earn at least three to four hundred per night. So, as you can see, they earn a lot and here is easier than where there are female customers. That is why I say the level of business is higher in Shanghai."

It can be argued that the establishment of gay KTV is based on an assumption of gay men in Shanghai being well-mannered and capable of high consumption. This fits certain public imaginations of contemporary gay men in China, and indeed also caters to some gay men's 'global gay identity'. Nevertheless, to ensure the operation of a gay KTV, the management has to comply with certain unspoken rules. This is due to the fact that although prostitution has not been a secret to the general population, activities of same-sex erotic service are still at the edge of law enforcement and under huge moral condemnation. Before I go there, it is necessary first to know the organization chart of a gay KTV:

MZ: "What is the background of the boss of a gay KTV, and how would he have a place like this?"

Foreman NF: "Bosses of the earliest gay KTVs are those who own businesses like gay bar, sauna or massage parlours. They earned some money from this, and know some money boys, so opened a place like this to broaden their business. Later some bosses outside the industry wanted to do some investment, so they just put money for it and don't get involved in the running of the business."

MZ: "What about foremen then? How do they enter the business?"

Foreman NF: "There are two types of how a foreman enters the business. One is, for example, like me, who used to work in a heterosexual KTV, and I happened to know the boss here, so I moved here. Gay KTV earns more than heterosexual ones. My advantage is that I already have resources of money boys who I can introduce here. It really does not matter for them who they serve. Also I am better at persuading new Xiaodis, to teach them some skills. Another type, which is becoming more and more common, is experienced Xiaodis who are able to recruit their own teams and promote themselves to foremen."

MZ: "How do you recruit Xiaodis?"

Foreman NF: "At first we only have those experienced ones, like those who used to work in massage parlours or serve at this kind of KTV for female customers. With development of the business, we start to recruit inexperienced ones, some of whom are usually introduced by Xiaodis here, some come to us themselves."

The quotes indicate that foremen are actually the main actors who construct the gay KTV. Their function in producing KTV as same-sex erotic space will be further discussed latter. In following paragraphs, I will first explain their ways, as I call 'strategies' in this thesis, from the external and the internal to ensure the smooth operation of gay KTV.

5.1.1 External Strategies of a Gay KTV

The external strategies for a gay KTV to keep operation are to keep a low profile and to maintain a good relationship with the police. First, this kind of KTVs are usually located on the periphery between the main commercial zone and residential neighborhoods:

Foreman NF: "There are three or four gay KTVs existing in Shanghai as I know for now, none of them are in the central area, but of course nor are they very far or inconvenient to reach. They are near some metro stations, but usually in an inconspicuous building."

Also, the promotion of KTV basically depends on customers' word of mouth. It is also a way to avoid too much attention and to keep a low profile.

HL (the author): "But do you have any ads?"

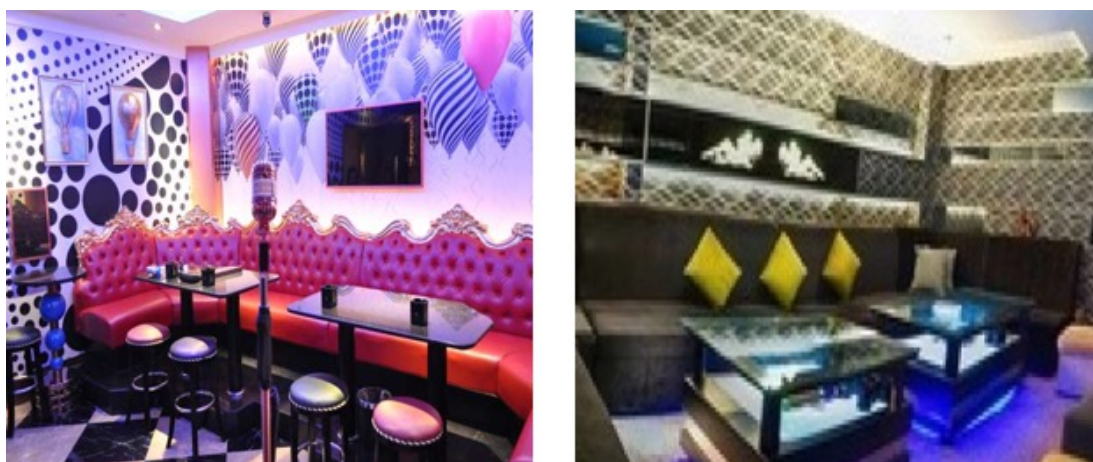
Foreman XB: "No. It all depends on reputations. My clients always tell their friends, like a snowball, I get more and more business. We do not do ads; how and what are we going to advertise? It is like telling everyone what we are doing. And we do not want to do ads. People get to know you if you are really good, and they will come with their friends. Ads are too flaunting and you don't want to call the police here."

Furthermore, different from those KTVs for general entertainment, gay KTVs keep an average decoration and standard equipment. Here I provide some pictures¹⁰ of a general KTV and a gay KTV from the outside and inside to better illustrate the situation (see Figure 3 and Figure 4).

FIGURE 3 OUTSIDE OF A GENERAL KTV (LEFT) AND A GAY KTV (RIGHT)



FIGURE 4 INSIDE OF A GENERAL KTV (LEFT) AND A GAY KTV (RIGHT)



Also as a customer reflected:

Customer ZZ: "The two KTVs I used to go are located at the periphery of some prosperous areas of the city with quite convenient transport. It is usually in an ordinary building, I mean,

¹⁰ Pictures are from the internet. For the general entertaining one, I choose pictures from the one named "Taipei Pure K" that is very popular among young people in Shanghai. For the KTV with same-sex erotic service, I managed to find the pictures of the one I visited online.

it is not very shabby, but not modern, either. Regarding the interior decorations, not that I care, but they look like they're from 1990s."

By keeping a low profile, the management of gay KTV tries to prevent it from high awareness among public so that their special service and customers will not be exposed to the public.

MZ: "How do you prevent non-targeted customer, like heterosexual men, from entering?"

Foreman NF: "Usually they will not mistake it. You see we are not in a huge shopping mall nor a franchise of some well-known KTVs with fancy decorations; who wants to go to a KTV like this nowadays?! "

MZ: "What if someone just mis-entered?"

Foreman NF: "If someone does enter, they will immediately find it unusual because of all male servants, and I think they will leave soon."

MZ: "Don't you worry they will report you?"

Foreman NF: "Not really. Even they find it surprising, they will not report us. Gay KTV is not a secret anymore nowadays since there are male-to-female ones, it is not hard to understand male-to-male ones. And people nowadays know only to mind their own businesses."

In this sense, maintaining a low-profile works as a survival mechanism for gay KTV by discouraging heterosexual customers from entering. Meanwhile, 'people's minding own businesses' reflects a compromise between the public and a gay KTV that exempts themselves from disturbing each other, which creates an alienated but safe space for the gay community. However, this is not the only pivotal way of survival for a place like this. Similar to other KTVs that provide heterosexual erotic services, a gay KTV has to have a tangible relationship with the police.

HL: "So do the police know your existence?"

Foreman XB: "Of course they know. There is nothing the police do not know in China. However, money can always resolve the problem. Doing this kind of business in China, you have to keep a reliable relationship with the police."

HL: "So they allow you do your business here?"

Foreman XB: "When they receive the money, and as long as we don't cross the line, they turn a blind eye here."

HL: "As far as you know, how is the relationship between KTV and the police?"

MZ: "Just bribery, so that they will not go and find trouble for KTVs; also if there is inspection, the police would let KTVs know in advance, so that they can cover."

HL: "Will it ensure the safety of KTVs if they have this relationship with the police? Under what circumstance they will still get inspected?"

MZ: "Then it might because you were not able to reach the higher level of the police, or the competitors give more money to the police. But even if one gets shut down, they can still open at another place with a new name and the same boss easily."

Here, with a good relationship of police, they secured not only a stable operation of KTV but also their safety when there are disruptions. Customers also know that if evidence is clear, for example if they were caught at the scene having penetrative sex in exchange for money, everyone involved in it would get punished and exposed to the public. They take the risk and go to a gay KTV based on their trust that the management of KTV has kept the business away from public attention and had a reliable relationship with the police that as long as they do not touch the bottom line, they would enjoy themselves in the KTV and be safe from

inspections. Police try to turn a blind eye to this kind of KTVs due to the money they take, thus they also try to keep its normal operation as long as there are no uncontrollable public complaints or superior's direct order to eliminate it. This consent among the management of KTVs, customers and the police is what Sigley (2004, p. 77) called "reconfiguration" in which state attempts to leave a gap for the homosexual community to fulfil their desires, meanwhile to keep it under the control and to extract profit from these commercial recreational spaces rather than actively policing sexual behaviour in public spaces, when the public acceptance of homosexuality and homosexual community's desire of sexual expression have shifted to a generally tolerated level.

5.1.2 Internal Operations in a Gay KTV

Foremen are aware that, as I introduced in the last chapter, Chinese crack downs on prostitution mainly target those who organize personnel for such activities, in this case foremen themselves. The most important strategy to avoid this and keep a stable operation of gay KTV is that they try to shift their responsibilities of sexual activities in the KTV off as much as possible.

HL: "What is the line here?"

Foreman XB: "like drugs, no drugs here, no."

HL: "What about sex?"

Foreman XB: "You are the customer here; you know what we serve here. Anything you want, you can discuss with my boy, I am sure you will get satisfied. You pay or not to pay, it is your business with them, and I will not get involved. My aim is to ensure your happiness in the room. But I do not think you are going to have too open sex in the room, right? That is quite embarrassing, isn't it?"

MZ: "Gay KTVs are actually not legally allowed in China. How do you evade risks?"

Foreman NF: "I will not say it is legally not allowed; it is not like we are setting a fire or committing a murder. It is just when you operate a KTV like this, you have to be more cautious and do not push boundaries so that you can survive or at least you are not going to prison."

MZ: "You just mentioned 'do not push boundaries', what does it specifically mean?"

Foreman NF: "Let's say we are now inspected by the police; we have to know how to deal with it. For example, Xiaodis can be naked, and we can say people are having fun; it does not matter since people in the room are all men, that does not count as a crime of obscenity. And we try to prevent anal sex in the room, otherwise it is a crime of group licentiousness. Beside, as a foreman, I do not get involve with customers' taking Xiaodi out; it only happens on their voluntary willingness. I do not get commissions from this, so it is not a crime of organizational prostitution."

The bottom line in a gay KTV thus is no direct (penetrative) sex in KTV rooms. It is constrained by the fact that public sex and group sex in China can be still legally convicted. Customers described their experiences to me:

Customer ZZ: "Though I want to have further sexual activity if I find some boy of my type, I don't think in China we are now so open that we would accept seeing someone you know having sex in front of you. If I want further activity, I can do it in a toilet cabin. You know it is kind of like a rule that when the customer goes to toilet, the boy accompanying him has to go with him as well. It does not only to make you feel well served or to help you if you are drunk, but also implies that further activities, such as oral sex or masturbation, can be taken there."

And if you really like the boy or you want to have penetrative sex, I think you have to pay more and take the boy to a hotel room."

Customer KF: "When I was in the room, those boys said directly they would accept all body contact except penetrative sex. Some would not accept oral sex, either. They will tell us directly. Since they said that, I don't think it's appropriate to violate their limits."

It is quite self-evident to customers and *Xiaodis* how sex activities should be conducted in the KTV rooms, and they should negotiate with each other for anything that may cross the bottom line. However, sometimes the situation may get out of control, and it is then the time a foreman to step out.

HL: "What if something offensive happens, like a customer wants to have anal sex with Xiaodi, but Xiaodi is not willing to do that?"

Xiaodi GG: "I have never heard that, neither. Really, most customers respect us a lot, and we can just negotiate anything. But If what you assume does happen, I think my foreman will be there to mediate for us."

HL: "What if the customer indeed asks for something too much?"

Foreman XB: "I think most customers here are of high quality. They do not usually ask too much. When it really crosses the line, such as anal sex in the room or hurting people's safety and health, Xiaodi will reason the customer if he is not will to do it and make up something to cheer him up. We would also explain and apologize with a toast to the customer if we know about it. Usually customers understand, and will forget it. People are here for fun, it is not necessary to fight and ruin the atmosphere here."

Even though the authority has granted its reconfiguration to the opening of a gay KTV due to an ambiguous and moderate discourse of homosexuality and the cover of profitable commerce it has, the internal regulations of a gay KTV are still dominated by a 'bottom line' of social attitudes towards homosexuality. Foremen set the scene in the KTV so that actual intimate bodily contacts do not happen in rooms but in toilets or hotels so even when the police have an unannounced inspection they could not find direct evidence of prostitution. Meanwhile, if a *Xiaodi* goes to a hotel room with a customer, the money for this goes solely to *Xiaodi* himself. These strategies eliminate the accusation of organizing prostitution activities against the management of KTV. Foreman would also check rooms from time to time by 'toasting' with the guests but actually to prevent chaos happening in the room. The foreman is the best coordinator when situation gets out of control: customers of course realize that it will not do any good for them to be charged as using violence for erotic activities, so they would stop when they earned the respect from a foreman's 'humble toast'. By doing this the foreman maintains the rules in the KTV so that he prevents the space from being violated and avoids further trouble. It reveals a process of establishing normative consent in which foremen, *Xiaodis* and customers together behave themselves to not to cross the line and keep the operation of gay KTV. From next section, I will present how the other two actors in gay KTV, namely *Xiaodis* and customers, experience the scene and feel about it.

5.2 XIAODIS IN A GAY KTV

In this section, I will introduce *Xiaodi's* experience of the KTV from two aspects, their opinions on sexual activities and their attitudes towards homosexuality, to see how their performances have affected the production of KTV as a same-sex erotic space.

5.2.1 Xiaodis' Opinions on Sexual Activities

To work as a *Xiaodi* in a gay KTV, the most challenging aspect would be how to accept sexual activities between men, especially when he is not gay. First I will present a foreman's idea on *Xiaodis'* sexuality.

HL: *"I think most of your Xiaodis here are straight, aren't they?"*

Foreman XB: *"It depends. If you think he is straight, then he is straight. If you think he is gay, he is gay. It is not necessary to have a precise definition, if you are having fun here. I do not think there is a rule that straight men cannot have sex with gay men, or gay men are only allowed to have sex with gay men. Everyone has his own preference. Some customers are coming here actually specially for straight Xiaodi; they feel like they are a conqueror. It is an open society now; just to have fun here."*

Foremen try to blur the definition of people who have sexual activity with other of the same sex as homosexuality, and to desexualize what *Xiaodis* do as an indispensable part of their work. Below are how *Xiaodis* see their sexualities and define what they do in gay KTV.

HL: *"Do you remember at first how did you adapt yourself to this job, such as being naked in the room and having sexual activities with customers?"*

Xiaodi GG: *"I do not think being naked is a huge thing. We are all men. It is like when you go to a bathhouse, where there are all the naked men. Also I need to persuade and prepare myself to those activities that they are just a part of my job and I have to do it. It might be difficult for the first time, and then you just get used to it."*

HL: *"So what if I ask you if you are gay, what would be your answer?"*

Xiaodi GG: *"I do not think to define myself as homosexual or heterosexual matters now. Sex is now just some movements, and makes no difference for me with whom I have it. But I still will find a girl to get married and have children in the future."*

HL: *"Do you think you are gay?"*

Xiaodi FZ: *"You can define me as whatever you like; it does not matter for me. I can make both male and female customers happy here. I am really good at this."*

HL: *"So do you have any bottom line of working here?"*

Xiaodi FZ: *"I can do anything."*

HL: *"So don't you find kissing and masturbation matter for you?"*

Xiaodi FZ: *"It is just a kiss, no big deal. You do not lose anything. Don't you masturbate yourself? So what if someone is doing that for you or you do it for someone else, like you help with your buddies. Everyone does this here."*

HL: *"Do you think being gay make you easier to adapt to the work here? Can you tell me your process of adaptation?"*

Xiaodi JR: *"I have my self-esteem, so I could not accept everything at first. It was not easy for me to get naked, give an oral sex to the customer, and further services. I have to tell myself repeatedly that this is my job and only if I do it well that I can make more money, live the life I want to live, and support my family. Nevertheless, everyone has his sexual demands, so you know, compared with my straight colleagues, I can also tell myself that I get my demand satisfied. Then I feel better about it, and indeed work better here."*

Xiaodis' strategies are also to desexualize what they do: they try not to relate them with definitions of their sexuality but just take it as 'everyone's thing', 'buddy thing', or 'money thing' to overcome the difficulties. This suggests how spaces normalizes the body's sexual behaviour by a reiterative process (Butler, 1988), and linked with performative characteristic of sexuality, which will be further discussed in latter chapter.

5.2.2 Xiaodis' Acknowledgements towards Homosexuality and Gay Men

This section looks at how *Xiaodis'* opinions towards homosexuality are, and thus how they influence the scene in gay KTV.

Xiaodi AJ: "Before this job, I knew little about gay men. I had heard about that, but I have never met a person like that. And I have never thought that I would do a job like that. I found through my experience in KTV that they are actually quite depressed. They are not like what I used to think, you know, I was quite worried about something terrifying would happen. But it turned out most customers I have met are quite nice, they respect us. I left the job only because it does not suit me. I have no judgement on homosexuality."

HL: "Did you know about homosexuality before?"

Xiaodi LJ: "I grew up in a rural area, where people even see intimate behaviour between males, they would not think it as homosexuality but close friendship. Before I came to Shanghai, I have never thought about a man and a man being together, like a man with a woman. I gradually knew about it during my work."

HL: "So what is your general opinion towards homosexuality?"

Xiaodi LJ: "I would say I understand a lot. But if there are so many people are like that, I will just respect them."

HL: "Would you have some, let's say, not good impression on gay men, for example, disgusted by them asking you do something that you do not want to do?"

Xiaodi LJ: "No, not really. Most clients I met are very nice, they respect me a lot. Even though they ask me to do something that I would not like to do, I can tell them my idea directly, and they would understand. I think it is more about understanding each other. I try to understand them and do my best to make my clients happy, and they will not be too hard on me. This is why I am working with male clients, they are polite and gentle. You have no idea sometimes female clients can really play..."

It seems *Xiaodis'* acknowledgements towards homosexuality and gay men remain as a group of people who are there to have fun, and understanding, well-mannered to them. However, one *Xiaodi* revealed through which ways they conclude like that:

Xiaodi JR: "I know how to protect myself, especially when a customer asks to take me to a hotel, I would judge if he is reliable. I can be honest with you that I do not think there is anything that is 'too much' here. I mean, if someone can work here for at least three months, he is acceptable and used to everything. Sometimes he says he does not accept going out with a customer is because he just does not want to. Maybe the price is too low, maybe he is just not willing to do it that night; or sometimes he thinks the customer is too old, not good looking, too fat, or weird. We would pick sometimes, too."

I am convinced that it would be a too absolute conclusion that every customer in a gay KTV is very well-mannered. With producing a KTV as same-sex erotic space without direct sex inside room but iterative practices of certain rules, customers become how the KTV wants them to be, and *Xiaodis'* impression of them is built on the gay men's image created by the production of the space of a gay KTV. They are then influenced by a heteronormative ideology to categorize their customers, which produces an inclusion and exclusion, and destabilizes KTV as a same-sex erotic space.

5.3 CUSTOMERS IN A GAY KTV

Customers will be examined from three aspects: their motivations to go to gay KTV, their attitudes towards gay KTV, and their interactions with and opinions towards *Xiaodis*. By contrasting customers' imagined and real experiences of KTV, it aims to find out how the fluidity of various intersectionalities has influenced KTV as same-sex erotic space.

5.3.1 Customers' Motivations to Go to a Gay KTV

I will first provide some quotes to show customers' specific motivations and imaginations of the place.

Some customers would go because they would directly get young guys to accompany by simply paying money.

Customer ZZ: "You know, nowadays, if you go to a gay bar, guys at my age are not that welcomed as we were when we were young. However, in the KTV, I do not need to think about if I meet someone who likes me, or is the night going to be fun; I've got a cute guy here to entertain me, he does what I ask him to do, why would I still go hunting aimlessly in bars?"

Customer LR: "I do not have any young friends anymore; my friends are at least 40. But who does not like a young body? As long as I pay in KTV, I got a 20-year-old young guy to talk with me, to drink, to have fun. Isn't it nice?"

Some would find the KTV a good place to have fun or release pressure:

Customer MZ: "I go to a gay KTV just for fun. When I am alone, I always want to find someone to accompany me. At my age, friends are getting increasingly busy, and it is hard to meet up, so I have to find Xiaodi to have fun."

Customer BS: "When I'm in a bad mood or under huge pressures due to work or parents' push for marriage, I would like to go to KTV. I can get an accompany without more emotional constrains."

Also after having heard about this kind of place, a lot of gay men feel curious about it.

Customer MM: "I felt curious and excited first time I heard of such a KTV. I wanted to see what it looks like when there are young boys providing performance and erotic services."

Customer CP: "My boyfriend and I had an agreement that if we want to go out for fun, we should go together. We were curious about this kind of places, so we went together. It was fun."

It is not difficult to imagine that customers' motivation to go to a gay KTV would be seeking company, having fun and just out of curiosity. This fits how the society regulate their public presence and how the community has developed its own way of using leisure places. But, given what I have presented above about gay KTV, would their real experiences meet their imagination? That is what I am going to focus on in next section.

5.3.2 Customers' Opinions of Gay KTV and Experiences with *Xiaodis*

Most customers expressed their positive opinions towards gay KTV:

Customer KF: "Though I did not like it very much, I would like gay KTV to keep operating. At least we have an option and a possibility."

Customer ZZ: *"For me, personally, I think KTV is one more place to express my desire. Chinese society always has erotic places, but before this, most are for straight men. I used to be jealous about this kind of place. The emergence of gay KTV has filled the market blank; gay men are then the same as straight men. Though I will not be a frequent customer of KTV, it feels good there. You know, it is a place for gay men."*

Customer CP: *"I hope the KTV can keep open. I think we have a relatively good material life now, but our mental life is too poor, especially gay men; we are too depressed. So we always want to find something new and exciting."*

Customer MM: *"Though I wouldn't have too intimate sexual interaction with Xiaodis, I enjoyed it a lot the night I was there. For me, visual enjoyment is enough. I think existence is reasonable. I hope there is some place like KTV for gay men, no matter what the purpose is. But the consumption in KTV is quite high indeed. Maybe it is only for those who have a good income. I can go there at most twice a year."*

To keep the operation of gay KTV fulfils gay men's desire of their leisure spaces in the city, a space that in their imaginations is private, safe and pleasant. It is a private space where they can escape from the pressure no matter from the inside community or the oppression from the outside society; it is a safe space where they can enjoy same-sex erotic fun while the possibility of exposure of their sexuality to the public and the risk of investigation from police is greatly reduced; it is a pleasant space where they are not responsible for nothing but money to the fun they have, where they are true to themselves, and able to express their desires without discrimination, judgement or constraints.

Meanwhile, among the customers I have interviewed, most of them are aware of Xiaodis' performance in the room and aim to earn money. Although they understand this, their behaviours are still constrained by the fact and challenged by Chinese discourses of sexuality. They would enjoy the scenes in KTV, like playing games with Xiaodis and watching their erotic performances. But when it comes to further mutual sexual interactions, they expressed their concerns.

Customer ZZ: *"Most of them (Xiaodis) are not very active. I think after all they are not gay and are there to earn money, they may try to avoid sexual activities as much as possible. So they will not imply to you for anything; getting naked is almost enough for them. But when we were about to leave, they asked if we want to see them masturbating for extra money. We did not do that. What we had was enough."*

Customer KF: *"As wild as I wanted it to go, I found it difficult for me to accept even two boys who serve there to have sex as a, let's say, performance in the room, not to mention to accept seeing my friends having sexual intimacy with them. It's strange for me to understand why. I mean I have seen those scenes in Thailand, two boys performing sex in a bar or on a stage, but I just cannot accept it in China. Basically, I am just an audience member. They do the job for money, I am there for fun, so I do not think I need too much interaction with them. Maybe others think differently, but for me I think we are not at the same level of age and education."*

Customer LR: *"It is not necessary (to have further sex activities with Xiaodis). These boys are not easy with this job. It is too embarrassing for them to have sex with someone at my age. And I have my partner at home, so it does not matter for me. I am there only for fun."*

Customer BS: *"I do not like to have penetrative sex with straight Xiaodi. I can accept oral sex, but actually that rarely happen to me, either. How to say this, sometimes if I see some Xiaodi*

that I like, and I would think I paid, so I can accept oral sex. But I prefer further sex with someone who really enjoys it. I know they were just doing what I asked them to do. They are not gay; how could they enjoy this! I did not want to force them to do what they were not willing to do."

Customer MM: "No. I do not feel comfortable with that (sexual activities). I think it is quite hard for straight men to work there, and I do not want to make it worse for them. Some may think they are working there for money, so they would accept everything. But I talked with them, they are just from rural areas without good education and good jobs. Though I also think they are indolent, I still feel sympathetic for them to do a job like that, especially if they are straight. I feel like I forced them to do it with money, like rape. So I will not have sexual activities with them, I just hope I can give them an easy job that night. Also I am not used to having too intimate actions with someone I just met. So I was basically an audience member that night."

It is clear from the quotes that the major concerns of customers' not having sex are not accepting having sex in front of others or casual sex, or feeling sympathetic for Xiaodis. It can be said that the experiences of customers in gay KTV are more restrained rather than indulging. It is largely due to their constraints to the discourses of sexuality. Nevertheless, some customers also expressed their ideas that for them a gay KTV is not a place for sex anymore.

HL: "Why are there less requirements of customers' taking Xiaodis out for a night?"

Customer MZ: "I think two reasons. The first is because for example customers like us who are capable of consumption in KTV are at a certain age with their own career. Our main purpose in the KTV is to relax, to release pressure from day time and have fun with friends. It is enough to enjoy everything in the room, and not necessary to finish by going to a hotel. The second is that with the development of the community, it is increasingly easy to find a sex partner, and there is no need to pay a Xiaodi for that. Even if I want to pay for sex, I have more options, who go to your place and provide massage."

Customer BS: "I do not go to KTV for sex. If I want, I can find it online or go to a massage parlour. I go to KTV to have fun with friends and find company for myself. Just imagine, there is a group of naked boy standing in front of you and your friends, and people have games and performances together, that is exciting enough. I do not think it is necessary to have it further."

Even though sex is the selling point of gay KTV, gay men in Shanghai have developed other possibilities to satisfy their needs of sexual desires. Differences of individual imagined and real experiences in KTV starts to challenge the stability of KTV as a same-sex erotic space.

An important aspect of this is exemplified in their various opinions towards Xiaodis. Some customers judge them just by if Xiaodis' appearance or style is attractive for them:

Customer KF: "I think most Xiaodis in my room that night are straight, maybe one or two are gay. I can tell this from their behaviour and look. They are just there for money. Though I like men who are more muscular, they are just not my type. So I just enjoyed the fun with my friends. I did not really feel satisfied. So I do think I will go for the second time. If you do not find the type you really like, then there is no fun."

Some feel their gap with Xiaodis is insurmountable:

Customer BS: *"I think those Xiaodis are still quite low quality. I mean, I can see that they want to make themselves look fashionable, but you know, the hairstyle, the clothes they wear. It seems they tried too hard. I did not find anyone I like for all these times."*

Some feel pity or sympathetic for Xiaodis due to their job:

Customer ZZ: *"I feel pity for them. I think they are neither educated enough to find a decent job nor willing to do some labour work. But it is not everyone that can bear the work there; obviously, they need to make some easy and quick money. They must have their own hardships, though I believe they can always find another way to live. It is maybe just destiny, and we all have our own. I can do nothing about it; maybe just try to be nice to them, and give as much tips as I can."*

HL: *"Would you have a good opinion of Xiaodis?"*

Customer CP: *"Why not? It is just like you go to a restaurant, you are served by waiters. Will you have a bad opinion of waiters? If they treat me bad, of course I will complain. But if they serve me very well and make me happy, I would go very often. I think we are equal. Though they are not doing some job decent, it is me who paid them to do it. If I do not have a good opinion of them, I should not have a good one on myself then."*

Some take Xiaodis as someone who want to make money and serve them for fun.

Customer MZ: *"For me, one sentence is enough to understand Xiaodis: for money. As long as they can stay long in a KTV, they would accept sex with customers for sure. They may say they do not accept, but maybe it is just because they think the price is too low. They have already formed an impression that gay men are rich. The only purpose of them for the job is to earn money. They try everything they can. Cruel as it may sound, But I think they are tools for fun. I mean, for me, they have too little social experience, they may find themselves good, but I think there are huge gaps between them and me, no matter of age or of our understanding towards the society. So when I am there, I do not overthink and just have fun."*

It is clear from quotes that customers feel superior than Xiaodis; they may not judge Xiaodis as "immoral" or "licentious", but the gap between well-educated and not-well-educated, urban and rural, being served and serving can still be seen. It not only exemplifies a homonormative idea of customers in order to keep their privilege in consumption, but also shows the heterogeneity inside gay community that emerges intersectionalities when customers' differences meet Xiaodis'. These intersectionalities further produce the space of a gay KTV under constant resistances and renegotiations.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Below I provide answers and discussion to research questions, and thus conclude the thesis.

The self-identity of Chinese homosexuals has shifted from the acknowledged 'normal' homosexuality to global gay (Altman, 1996, 1997) and local *Tongzhi* (Chou, 2000; Chou & Chiu, 1995). It is a result of the globally diffused homosexual movement and ideology from the West (Oswin, 2006) and its localized manifestation of sexual identity (Chou, 2000). However, the presence of homosexual community is either isolated from mainstreaming society or under the cover of commercialization. This is attributed to the conflicting official and public opinions towards homosexuality. Knowledge on sexuality has been used as a regulation of Chinese authoritative governance. At current period, the official rectification of notorious homosexuality compromises to the national need of economic development and an image of openness (Van de Werff, 2010), meanwhile the silence on homosexual equality and civil rights complies to its dominating ethno-ideology and interest of stable governance. This authoritative control on sexuality in a way made an implication of public opinions towards homosexuality. In spite of that the prevalence of knowledge on sexuality has hugely improved public affirmative acknowledgement towards homosexuality, a deep-rooted moral accusation of homosexual being filthy in sexual activity and being unfilial in not being able to have children and thus cutting off the family bloodline has largely influenced the extent to which homosexuality is accepted. The result exemplifies that, at least at a macro level, knowledge of sexuality is socially constructed by dominating power.

The manifestation of this result can be seen in gay men's use of leisure spaces. On one hand, the developing trend of gay leisure spaces from secret cruising places to commercial ones that are in the central area of city, for example those in Shanghai, reflects the shift of gay identities inside community and the increasing tolerance towards homosexuality outside community. On the other hand, what we can see from these scenes is their isolation of themselves from public attentions and still quiet expressions of sexual desires under the cover of commercialization. The situation echoes the position of homosexuality in contemporary Chinese society. It also corresponds with Foucault's (1973, 1977) argument on the interaction between knowledge and space that knowledge rules spatial presence and space reflects knowledge implementation in real life. Findings on gay leisure spaces in Shanghai has suggested a discussion on heteronormativity and homonormativity, but I will discuss them with the case of gay KTV.

The case of gay KTV applied in this thesis is to explore the power relationship in the production of spatialized sexuality and sexualized space due to its significance of demonstrating the complex process of Chinese development of acknowledgement towards homosexuality, homosexual politics in contemporary Chinese society and diversity of sexuality in leisure spaces.

The design of KTV transforming into same-sex erotic space originates from its use as a heterosexual erotic place with ideal customers who fit into the public imagination of gay men who are middle-classed, highly-educated, well-mannered and capable of consumption. The environment of Shanghai represents a general imagination for the emergence of this kind of space with its global and consumerist gay culture. However, the actual management and operation of a gay KTV require a series of strategies.

The most important external strategy for a gay KTV's stable operation is to build a reliable relationship with the police through corruption. In addition, it must keep a low profile, such as inconspicuous location and decoration, and no public advertisement, so that the KTV will

not be disturbed by the public. Inside KTV, the strategy of management is to avoid direct sex in KTV rooms. The implementation of the policy that there is no direct sex in KTV rooms ensures foremen to shift any charges regarding organizing prostitution in Chinese law off themselves. So when things get out of control, foremen will step out to turn it back to the normal track. But this policy is actually consented to by *Xiaodis* and most customers in the room since none of them wants to take the risk of being inspected or get embarrassed by being watched to have sex in front of other people. With this set of work, a gay KTV is produced as a space where gay men would have naked boys singing, playing and performing with them, while foreman and *Xiaodis* would make considerable profits from their consumption in the room. This process reflects what Foucault (1980b) argues as the new mechanism of power functions in modern society, and what Gramsci calls as cultural hegemony (Fontana, 2006). It is achieved through consent rather than violence or coercion. The current presence of gay KTV is a consent between the authority and those who want to earn money or express their sexual desires from a gay leisure business. This consent, however, as Foucault (1973, 1980a, 1980b) would argue, is a design of productive power. Here, power does not only belong to dominating will but also to those who command knowledge, in this case the foremen.

Foremen's power is also manifested in their way of desexualizing the sexual activities in gay KTV. The discourses they use to explain sexual activities and to train *Xiaodis* to get used to these activities, which are also exemplified from quotes on *Xiaodis'* opinions towards their job desexualize activities in KTV as 'normal buddy things and to make money'. This recognition challenges the definition of sexuality as categorizing people. Hubbard (2008) has argued that heterosexual men can enjoy having sex with both genders in the 'swinging' scenes, and Conlon (2004) suggests we would be better to think about sexuality defined in the moment of pleasure, but not as classified. It echoes with what Butler (1988) has defined as gender performativity, where gender and sexual identities are manifested in their performances, and having no ontological reality outside of social interaction. This performativity is the result of a reiterative processes in which people repeatedly react to endlessly cited social conventions and ideologies around them by performing their bodies. *Xiaodis'* repeatedly being told, thinking and doing their actions as 'normal buddy things and to make money' make them unconsciously to perform sexual 'conventions' that is created in gay KTV.

The performative characteristics of *Xiaodis'* action also implies that the space is still under the surveillance of heteronormativity, which is manifested in their opinions towards homosexuality and gay men. Although they would say that customers they met are well-behaved and respectful to them, *Xiaodis'* imagination of gay men follows the image of a 'good' or 'valuable' customers that is created during the production of KTV as a same-sex erotic space. By 'good', it refers to customers who follows the internal rules of gay KTV and do not force *Xiaodis* to have direct sex in the room; by 'valuable', it refers to those who are willing to pay and fitting the criteria such as well-mannered or good looking. For those customers who do not possess these qualities, *Xiaodis* utilize their power gained from their choice of interaction to exclude them from having further sexual activities due to their fail in heteronormative ideas towards gay men.

The existence of KTV as same-sex erotic space for gay customers is viewed as their resistance to heterosexual dominating society and an imagined homosexual exclusive space. However, their behaviours are still constrained by authoritative dominance and heteronormative ideologies. As far as they want to keep the operation of gay KTV, the space has been recreated with a new exclusion of those, including *Xiaodis*, who do not have high quality, not

follow the rules, or not reach the capacity of consumption. It exemplifies that the production of KTV as same-sex erotic space is also challenged by homonormativity. According to Duggan's (2003) definition of the term, customers' possession of the space while exclusion to those who they regard as not fitting into the space is a politics that promotes their privilege by incorporating themselves into dominant heteronormative imaginations of gay identities. With the development of the gay community and the difference between those who serve and are served, customers' demands in gay KTV have been more for visual and emotional satisfaction rather than physical one. The difference between *Xiaodis'* and customers' definition of gay KTV, their opinions towards each other shows the heterogeneity between users of same space and inside homosexual community. The heterogeneity between their imagined and real experiences in KTV, between the inclusion and exclusion produced by heteronormativity and homonormativity in the space, have emerged diversified intersectionalities, such as class, age, education, sexuality, manners, appearance, etc. They redefine KTV as a same sex erotic space that is always in the process of being produced by constant resistance and renegotiation of spatial practices.

Therefore, to conclude this thesis, gay KTVs are continually shaped and reshaped by public opinions towards sexuality, regulations towards sexualized spaces and performances of foremen, *Xiaodis* and customers inside. Meanwhile, the presence of KTVs also challenges the politics of sexuality, and destabilize sexual identities. It reveals the relationship between space, sexuality and power as that authoritative dominance constructs social-historical discourses of sexuality and its corresponding spaces; spatial formations and sexual performance interact with each other constantly, and produce heteronormativity and homonormativity, inclusion and exclusion; various intersectionalities of actors emerge and thus challenge the production of spatialized sexuality and sexualized space. Power, in this process, functions through consent, productive performance and instant interaction.

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APPENDIX: TRANSCRIPTIONS OF CONVERSATIONS AND INTERVIEWS

1, Conversation with Foreman XB in June, 2014

HL: 老板你们这生意不错啊。我以前从来不知道上海有这个地方，要不是 MZ 介绍就错过了。你们不做广告么？

XB: 不做。我们这生意就靠口碑，你觉得好就告诉朋友，一传十传百，来的人就多了呀。我们也不做广告，上哪去做广告啊，怎么说我们自己啊？！这不摆明了告诉人家我们这有那种服务么。我们也不想做广告，你觉得好肯定会被人知道，客人会来或者再带朋友一起来。做广告太招摇了，被抓到了怎么办？！

HL: 那警察知道你们么？

XB: 当然知道了。现在中国警察什么不知道啊。但是有钱么就能解决问题。在中国做这种生意，都是和警察把关系弄好的。

HL: 所以他们允许你们这种业务的存在？

XB: 他们收了钱就睁一只眼闭一只眼，只要我们做得不要太过分就可以了。

HL: 什么就过分了呢？

XB: 比方说吸毒啊。我们绝对不允许吸毒的。

HL: 那性行为呢？

XB: 你是这儿的顾客，你知道我们这都有什么服务的。想要什么，你和小弟商量，我保证你都会满意的。付不付钱，付多少钱都是你们商量，我们不介入。我的目标就是你在我们的 KTV 房间里玩得开心就行了。不过我想你也不会在房间里就做爱吧，那也有点尴尬啊，不是么？！

HL: 其实你们这挺多小弟都是直男，是吧？

XB: 这个看吧。你觉得他是直男他就是直男，你觉得他是同志就是同志。这个没有必要定义得那么准确啦，你和他们玩得开心就行。其实现在没有人说是直男就不能和同性发生性行为，是同志就不能和异性发生性行为，或者就只能和同志发生性行为。每个人的喜好不一样。有些客人到我们这专门就喜欢找直男，他们觉得有成就感。现在人的想法都很开放的，只要在这里玩得开心就好了。

HL: 有道理。可是我们客人想玩得开心，不一定你的小弟就都能满足我们啊。

XB: 你想做什么就和小弟商量，这些都好商量的。他们把你服侍好了，你就赏脸多给他们点小费，这里的事情就这么简单。

HL: 可有些事如果我叫他们做，他们不愿意怎么办？

XB: 我们这的小弟都是很听话的，职业素质都很高的，一般不会发生这样的事的。如果真有，你來找我，只要你的要求不是太过分，小弟又确实不愿意做，我可以马上炒了他，也不收你的钱。

HL: 那如果有些客人确实要求小弟做些很过分的事情怎么办？

XB: 我们这客人素质一般都挺高的，一般也不会要求太过分的。真有过分的，比方说在房间里就要肛交啊，或者伤害到小弟人身健康和安全了，小弟不同意也会和客人解释，让客人开心点，做点其他的补偿下。我们知道了也会和客人解释下，敬个酒赔个不是。客人也都能理解的，给个面子就过去了。大家到这里来就是为了开心，没有必要吵闹伤了和气。

2, Interview with NF in April, 2016

MZ: 据你所知通常同志 KTV 的老板是什么情况，怎么会开这样一个场所的？

NF: 最早开同志 KTV 的老板大多数以前就和这个行业有关系的，比方说像开同志酒吧，浴室或者按摩会所的，赚了钱了，手下也有一批小弟的资源，愿意做这些事情的，那就投资一个场所，给他们的客人提供另外一种娱乐方式，自己也可以多赚点钱。后来就有些老板只负责投资分成了，不负责经营管理了。像我现在的场子就是一个五十多岁的老板投资的，以前自己做点生意有点积蓄，自己也是 gay，经朋友介绍就投资了这么一个地方，平时有长得好看的小弟了就來玩玩，也不管平时的运作，基本上交给我了，每月规定上交多少利润就行了。

MZ: 那领班一般是怎么会进入这一行的呢？

NF: 领班有两种，一种比方说像我，你知道我以前是做女场的，机缘巧合认识开同志场的老板，同志场赚得更多么就转到同志场了。像我们这种比较有经验带小弟，很多小弟其实一开始就是从女场带过来的，反正都是赚钱，我们也比较会说服一些直男小弟，教他们一些技巧，让他们陪男的陪女的都能应付得来。现在还有一种慢慢多起来的是一些以前做得比较好的小弟，年纪大了，被点的次数也越来越少了，但是经验在那里，就去找新的小弟，带他们出道，慢慢有了自己的团队。

MZ: 这样的 KTV 现在全国哪些城市有？有什么异同？

NF: 一线城市吧，北上广深，成都合肥这样大点的城市都有。但不一样，北京、首都么，管得就严些，而且都是当官的，这个话题比较敏感，所以圈子很隐蔽。深圳受香港影响比较深，成都的同志风气比较重，但男的女气的很，消费水平也没那么高，生意不好做。合肥么就是因为在上海做这些的基本都是从安徽来的，所以那边也开起来了，招人方便。但是档次要低点，消费要低点，去的反而是上海这边的人多点。现在高铁也方便。所以还是上海夜生活更好点，全国各地的客人出差啊旅游啊都会过来，消费水平也高，

MZ: 现在上海这样的 KTV 分布情况怎样？

NF: 据我所知，上海有三四个比较大的这样的 KTV，听上去不多，但规模其实不小的。每家至少 20 间房间左右吧，生意都不错的，周末一般都能做到 80% 的包房率。不过这些没有一个是市中心，但是都还是比较方便找到的。比方说像我们这样的，在地铁站边上啊，一个稍微不显眼的商业楼里。

MZ: 其实这样的 KTV 目前从法律上来说还是不允许的。你们怎样规避这些风险呢？

NF: 其实不能说法律不允许，我们也没有放火杀人。只是在经营这类 KTV 的时候要注意怎么让自己存活下来，或者不至于被抓起来判刑。最重要的肯定是和警察搞好关系。如果被查了肯定是谁没有打点好了，钱没塞够。然后么自己也低调点，如果你搞得太太吵太乱，太多人投诉警察也按下不来，只好把你关了。我们就太平平做生意，这样客人也放心，生意也多。中国人说和气生财么。

MZ: 你刚说的擦边球具体是指什么呢？

NF: 虽然和警察关系肯定要搞好的，但是有时候太高的层面我们也孝敬不到，他要针对你，要关掉你做些表面成绩，或者有时候竞争对手要搞垮你，或者真的被太多人举报了，不管怎样就是警察现在查到你了，你还是要对付手段的。比方说有小弟陪酒，脱光了什么都可以，说起来就是大家都是男的，玩得比较 high，达不到淫秽的地步。男男女女这样可能就要出问题。但是在这里尽量不要在房间里发生太直接的性行为，避免被查到说是聚众淫乱。另外我们也不参与小弟出台的事，那都是小弟和客人自己商量双方自愿，我们不拿这个的提成，也就不算组织卖淫。

MZ: 说到公众的投诉，你们怎么防止不想要的客人，比方说异性恋客人，进到你们 KTV 呢？

NF: 他们一般都不会进来啊。你看我们故意选的不是什么大商场里，又不是什么连锁有名的 KTV，装修也不体面，谁现在还会关注到这种 KTV 啊。要是你和朋友想唱歌会来我们这么？肯定不会的呀。

MZ: 可是总有些人误入进来，怎么办？

NF: 他一进来一看到全是男的，和他说我们这里只能点小弟，他么就懂了呀，自己就走了。

MZ: 你们不担心这些误入的人发现这里的情况后去投诉么？

NF: 一般不会。其实现在人就算发现这里觉得很吃惊，也很少有人会去投诉的。一来现在这种事也不是什么秘密，男女的都有，男男的不是很难理解。二来也没人愿意管这种闲事，吃力不讨好。

MZ: 接下去问题是关于小弟的。首先你们是怎么招募到这些小弟的？

NF: 最早其实很多小弟是以前在按摩会所做的，或者在女场做的，这方面比较有经验。慢慢这个行业做起来了，有人主动找过来，也有一些是小弟介绍的自己的朋友老乡之类的。

MZ: 你怎么定义你们和小弟的关系呢？

NF: 就是上下级的关系，我带着他们找场子让他们赚钱，规矩都听我的。最多有些跟的时间久的小弟，关系还不错，就经常向客人推荐下，让他们赚钱机会多点。

MZ: 你所知的小弟真正是同性恋的比例怎样？

NF: 小弟里其实多数还是直男。最开始很多就是从女场过来的。在那里有经验了，对他们来说陪男的陪女的都一样，观念上转的也快，反正赚钱就行了。更何况还是在这里赚的多点容易点呢。后来直接进来的么也都是生计所迫，就是图这里赚钱快。很多人也不会做太久的，毕竟这个行当还是太复杂了。其实从我们的角度来说也不指望小弟做太久，不断有新人进来才好。这个行业流动性很大的，你想哪个客人愿意每次来看到的都是同一个人啊。不断有新的好看的小弟才有更多的回头客。

NF: 这里的客人基本是什么情况？为什么这里比女场赚的多，赚的容易和快呢？

NF: 能来 KTV 消费的客人基本上是有经济实力的，所以年龄相对就偏大了，基本最小 30 左右，收入比较稳定了。你想我们这消费相对来说也不便宜的，一晚上最少几百还是比较可观的。因为他们经济实力在那里了，来之前也知道我们这大概什么样的价格，那和朋友难得一起来找找乐子，舍得花钱。所以说这里赚的也多。但是因为来的客人基本上教育层次比较高的，相对来说还是比较文明的，不像在女场，有些女客人关上门了真的如狼似虎，会玩啊。在这的小弟基本上规定动作做了，陪客人唱歌喝酒，让他们开心了，一单就结束了，有些客人也愿意多给，加上卖酒的提成，男的毕竟比女的能喝，舍得浪费，一晚上三四百至少赚到了。要求出台的从总体上来说也少，真的也就一些年纪很大的，或者长得很猥琐的，平常找不到人做爱的，才会在这里做的比较过分。有些要求出台的小弟还不愿意去呢。上海圈子的整体档次还是比较高。

3, Conversation and Interview with XY

A. Conversation with XY in June, 2014

HL: 你是哪的人, 多大了啊?
XY: 我是 90 年的, 湖南人。
HL: 怎么会来做这个的呢?
XY: 我以前是当兵的, 退伍以后到了上海。通过一个朋友认识了 XB, 就入行了。我这些年一直跟着他, 他对我也不错。
HL: 这份工作你觉得怎么样啊?
XY: 我跟 XB 这么多年了, 我差不多是他最早的一批人了, 我们关系也很好, 他也很信任我。所以这份工作做得也还行。他对我要求也挺松, 想来做就做, 不想来做就不来。有时候生意不好的时候我就不来, 然后等这生意好了缺人了我再来。现在年纪大了, 都没什么人要了。
HL: 哪有, 我看 MZ 很喜欢你啊。
XY: 恩, 他对我还不错, 每次都给我面子, 会点我。
HL: 那你不在这上班的时候干什么呢? 用赚的钱放假休息?
XY: 我有时候会回老家, 和一个朋友做自己的生意。我把这赚的钱都投进去了。
HL: 你家里人知道你做什么?
XY: 当然不知道! 怎么可能。我觉得这没人会告诉他家里人, 女朋友或者好朋友自己在这里干什么吧。这毕竟不是什么值得骄傲的事。
HL: 他们就发现不了么?
XY: 你总是有办法掩盖得住的。你就告诉他们你做服务生, 你把钱给家里了, 你给你女朋友买东西就行了, 他们不用非得知道你真正在做什么。
HL: 那恋爱关系的呢?
XY: 也没人和自己的女朋友说。而且你不觉得我们现在这个年纪谈认真的感情有点早么。他们大部分人就是在一起开心啦。
HL: 你喜欢男生么?
XY: 算是吧。以前在部队的时候, 我和一个战友关系特别好。我心想那个感情当时就是喜欢吧。不过我也不懂, 所以也没怎样。不过我们现在还是好朋友, 经常联系。

B. Interview with XY in May, 2015

HL: 你现在的状况是怎样?
XY: 我现在基本上从 KTV 的那个圈子退出来了, 很少有联系。如果不是 MZ 的话, 我应该不会答应采访的。
HL: 你现在是在老家对吧, 做些什么呢?
XY: 在老家继续和朋友一起做生意, 开店。之前赚的钱都投在里面呢。
HL: 现在离开了那个圈子, 再回想起来那份工作对你来说意味着什么呢?
XY: 算是所谓的赚了自己的第一桶金吧。虽然肯定不能和那些好几十万一百万的比, 但是对我这种文化不高又去当兵的来说, 这些钱够我在老家做点小生意, 养活自己了。也挺好的。
HL: 老家没有人知道你之前做些什么吧?
XY: 没有, 这种事不会在这乱说的。
HL: 那你的朋友呢? 你介绍过你的朋友来这里工作, 你怎么和他们说的呢?
XY: 我只和我非常熟的朋友或者确实需要钱的朋友说。这方面我还是很小心的。我首先会看他们对这些事情的态度, 然后再决定是否要告诉他们。如果他想试试这份工作, 那和我没什么区别。如果他还是很拒绝, 那也没什么。现在就是一个笑贫不笑娼的年代。
HL: 在 KTV 的工作有没有改变你对同志群体的看法? 我记得之前你和我说过你也喜欢男生, 这段经历对你对感情的看法有没有发生变化?
XY: 其实里面的人都知道那就是工作, 都是逢场作戏, 所以没有人会对里面的感情太认真。说实话, 曾经倒是有过一个客人我真的挺喜欢的。他也对我很好。但是你知道, 这种感情很复杂。。。你知道。。。哎, 不管怎样, 最后是不了了之了。我在那做的挺久的了, 也看了太多的客人。他们可能会一时对你很好, 给你买东西, 甚至你的生活都能包了, 但最后还是会离开你。他们也就趁你年轻, 或者还没有厌烦你的时候对你好, 最终还是结束的。双方都知道。所以为什么要认真呢? 你永远不知道你的未来和另一个人会怎样。在那里唯一能做的就是享受当下。其实那段生活反而会让你对出来以后的真感情更追求, 更向往, 更执着。我现在就挺喜欢一个女孩的, 就想和她稳定下来过普通人的生活。这倒不是因为什么社会的压力要结婚生子成家立业什么的, 就是想要稳定下来。我对同性恋也没什么看不上, 虽然在我老家大部分人可能还是不能理解, 但我也确实喜欢过男生, 我能理解那种感情。
HL: 但是你你现在却喜欢一个女生, 这当中的变化是为什么呢?
XY: 我觉得我也没有想过这辈子就只喜欢男生还是女生, 我也不是因为什么压力去找一个女孩掩盖, 我是真的喜欢这个女孩。我也没有因为在 KTV 的经历讨厌同志或者怎样。我都能接受。我现在的态度就是活在当下。

4, Conversation and Interview with AJ

A. Conversation with AJ in June, 2014

HL: 你好, 你是哪的人啊?
AJ: 其实我算半个上海人吧。我爸妈以前在安徽, 但是我很小的时候就搬到上海来了。
HL: 不介意我问你怎么会来做这个工作的呢?
AJ: 没事, 其实就是朋友介绍过来的。我读书不好, 找不到什么特别收入比较好的工作, 既然朋友介绍了, 就来试试。
HL: 所以你喜欢男生么? 所以朋友才介绍你来。
AJ: 不是的, 我喜欢女生。因为我想多赚点钱所以朋友和我提到了这个我才来的。
HL: 你不喜欢男生的话, 你做这个之前知道你要做的事可能会要你和男生发生一些亲密的接触吧? 你觉得你能接受么?
AJ: 这个其实倒还好, 如果我不能接受的话我就会和客人说不行。
HL: 你能接受到什么程度呢?
AJ: 就脱光吧, 再多我就不能接受了。
HL: 那大部分客人可能不满意吧?
AJ: 还好, 其实大部分客人还是能接受的。有些客人也会不满意, 那他们就会和领班投诉。
HL: 那怎么办?
AJ: 那我那个晚上就白做了。
HL: 这样的话你做这个工作其实还是挺困难的吧?
AJ: 所以其实今天是我最后一天上班了。一来我不太能接受太亲密的接触, 二来我也不喜欢喝酒应酬, 不太会让客人开心。我找到了一个在日本餐厅当服务生的工作, 下周就开始上班了。我一直喜欢日本动漫, 一直想学点日语, 所以我还蛮开心能找到那份工作的。

B. Interview with AJ in May, 2015

HL: 能简单说下你离开 KTV 后的状况么?
AJ: 还行吧, 换了几次工作, 虽然基本都是服务员之类的, 但是还能过下去。
HL: 你现在回想觉得那段经历对你来说意味着什么?
AJ: 其实那是一段很短的经历, 对于我来说可能更大的意义在于长了见识吧, 没想到还有这样的一个世界。发现自己确实不适合某些工作, 那就做一些自己能做的, 自己喜欢做的。
HL: 经过这段经历你对同志群体的看法有什么改变么?
AJ: 没有在工作前我对同志了解的不多, 听说过, 但是从不认识这样的人。也没有想过有一天会做那样的工作。那段经历让我发现他们其实挺压抑的, 而且很多去 KTV 的人没有我想象中那么, 你知道, 就是真的做之前我还挺害怕发生一些可怕的事的。但其实大部分我接触过的客人都挺好的, 挺尊重我们的。实在是因为我自己过不了心理那关, 而且也不喜欢那种氛围, 陪酒啊什么的, 所以才离开的。所以我对同志也没什么特别的看法。
HL: 所以你个人也不会觉得能在 KTV 做下去的不好么?
AJ: 还好吧。自己也曾经在那里做过, 没什么好评判别人的吧。我觉得大家都是为了生存么, 我也能理解。那里每天唱歌喝酒, 感觉玩着就能赚好多钱, 只要能过心理关, 谁不愿意过那种生活呢。但是那个毕竟靠脸吃饭, 做久了身体也吃不消, 大部分人就是赚一笔就离开的那种, 所以能赚多少就赚多少。也没人会再提起这段经历。

5, Conversation and Interview with GG

A. Conversation with GG in June, 2014

HL: 你是哪的人啊?

GG: 我是安徽的, 淮安下面的一个县, 估计你都没听说过。
HL: 我第一次来这里, 有些问题挺好奇的, 能问你么?
GG: 大哥你问好了, 我能回答你的都说。
HL: 你怎么会来这里做这个工作的啊?
GG: 我不想读书了, 我们那像我这种年纪年龄都出来打工了。我就来上海了。但是在上海像我们这种学历不高的找工作很难。一个朋友介绍我过来, 我觉得能接受就过来了。
HL: 你的学上到什么级别了?
GG: 类似于像专科那种吧。
HL: 那其实是蛮高的学历了。你学的什么专业? 这样的学历在上海也很难找工作么?
GG: 我学的是工商管理。其实我的学校很差的, 在我们那种地方都没什么人看得上, 而且这种专业其实什么都学不到, 还不如出来打工呢。我其实属于中途辍学, 所以也没有什么文凭, 现在找工作至少要有个像样的文凭吧。
HL: 你找了多久没找到工作才决定做这个的?
GG: 其实我来上海也没很久, 就几个月。但是总要有钱养活自己吧, 而且上海消费那么贵, 什么工作都找不到, 带着的钱也用完了, 这个上一天班就有一天工资拿, 所以就做了。
HL: 所以你能接受在这里要做的事情?
GG: 不能接受的话我就不会在这里做了。
HL: 因为我印象中比方说新闻报道说道这种都是来城里打工, 结果被老板胁迫做这些事情。所以你们做这些都是自愿的咯?
GG: 哈哈, 大哥, 你别搞笑了。这都 21 世纪了, 谁还能强迫谁干什么呀。我们都是成年人, 大家都是自由的。我知道我自己在干什么, 我都是自愿的。这里来做的都是自愿的。能做的就做, 不能做的就走, 没有谁强迫谁。
HL: 你能接受这里的工作是因为你喜欢男生么?
GG: 我觉得我不是同性恋。其实在学校里, 有很多女生喜欢我呢。我也和女生做过爱。但是我不排斥这里要做的事。既然我选择做这份工作, 有些事就必须要去做的。
HL: 有没有发生过一些顾客让你做的事情你无法接受的呢?
GG: 我们做的也算服务行业, 客人要求的我们总是尽量满足的。我做到现在也没有客人提出什么让我觉得特别过分的要求。如果确实有客人提出什么我不能接受的要求的话, 我想我会和客人说不吧。希望他们能理解。
HL: 在 KTV 房间里, 你经历过的或者你听其他小说说的, 你觉得最出格的事情是什么?
GG: 好像没有特别出格的。其实在房间里大家做的游戏啊表演啊什么都差不多, 做过一两次就不觉得有什么大惊小怪的了。
HL: 万一发生一些, 比方说客人强行要求和小弟在房间里发生性行为, 小弟不能接受, 这种情况怎么办?
GG: 我几乎没听说过发生这种事情。真的大部分客人都挺尊重我们的, 要做什么都可以商量。但是如果真的有你说的那种情况, 领班应该会出面帮我们和客人解释吧。

B. Interview with GG in May, 2015

HL: 现在还在 KTV 工作么, 怎样了?
GG: 还在。都已经一年了, 什么都习惯了。现在做的还不错, 认识了很多。
HL: 你还记得一开始你是怎么适应这个工作的么? 比方说要脱光在房间啊, 要和客人发生一些性行为。
GG: 我觉得裸体没什么大不了的。我们都是男人。这就和去公共浴室一样, 不都是裸体的男人么。更深入的么, 就不断说服自己, 自己也有心理准备, 那是工作的一部分, 必须要做。第一次可能困难点, 多做几次就习惯了。
HL: 现在如果你问你是不是同性恋, 你会怎么回答?
GG: 现在我觉得同性恋异性恋都无所谓了, 对我而言那就是一个动作而已, 和谁都一样。但是不管怎样以后我还是会找个女生结婚成家生子的。
HL: 找个女生结婚是因为家里世俗的原因还是你自己发自内心的想要?
GG: 都有吧。现在的生活也不能过一辈子, 总是要离开另谋出路的。等稳定了还是应该有个家庭的。
HL: 现在的想法是因为在 KTV 的经历影响的么?
GG: 有吧。我到现在做了一年多了, 这个行当就是青春饭, 而且一年下来身体明显吃不消了。现在钱也赚了, 确实有考虑是不是为以后做些打算。在 KTV 做了那么久, 反而越来越希望稳定下来。
HL: 所以你现在对这个工作是什么看法呢?
GG: 我挺喜欢这个工作的。我在这遇到的人都特别有社会阅历, 我喜欢和他们聊天。不像我老家的朋友, 他们什么都不知道。我可以从客人那学到很多东西。我在这赚的也比老家其他人多。不过也是这里的工作让我明白很多道理, 时间久了, 也知道这里发生的一切都是逢场做戏, 反而更希望等以后离开这个工作的话就找一份安稳的工作, 成家立业。

6, Conversation with FZ in June, 2014

HL: 你在这做了多久了?
FZ: 做了快两年了吧。
HL: 所以你是同志么?
FZ: 你怎么觉得开心就怎么觉得咯, 我无所谓, 男客人女客人都让他们玩得开心, 我很厉害的。
HL: 你在这里能做的底线是什么?
FZ: 都可以啊。
HL: 你对于和客人舌吻, 打飞机都不觉得有什么么?
FZ: 没什么啊。亲一下而已, 你也没损失什么。自己也不打飞机么。所以别人帮你做和你帮别人做又怎样呢。就好像帮你的兄弟打飞机一样。每个人在这都这么做。
HL: 你喜欢这个工作么?
FZ: 喜欢啊。不喜欢我也不会做那么久了。但是我也很努力的。其实这个行业竞争很激烈的。你只有年轻打扮的好看才有优势。我每天得花好多时间挑衣服做头发。这也花很多钱的。所以你就得工作的更辛苦来补贴。这没完的。
HL: 喜欢这个工作的哪一点呢?
FZ: 我本来就不喜欢死板的工作, 在这里天天和玩一样, 陪客人做游戏喝酒就可以赚钱, 多好啊。

7, Conversation with LJ in May, 2015

HL: 你是哪的人啊?
LJ: 江苏的。
HL: 我第一次听到有江苏的。这好多人都从安徽来的。所以你怎么来做这个的?
LJ: 其实和大多数人一样, 朋友介绍过来的。
HL: 朋友第一次告诉你这个的时候, 你能接受么?
LJ: 我以前是做按摩的, 所以还能接受吧。
HL: 你的意思是你以前做类似体推的按摩师是么?
LJ: 是的。
HL: 那如果做按摩师也要和客人发生身体接触的话, 为什么不继续做下去。我的意思是这两个对你来说有什么不同么?
LJ: 因为这个更轻松点, 做按摩太累了, 赚的也没有多很多。我学的就是中医按摩, 但是常规的实在太辛苦, 后来就有同事建议可以给客人做体推, 那样收入增长不少。但是和这里比还是辛苦的。按摩真的是体力加技术活。在这里喝酒唱歌就可以把钱赚了。所以我就来这里工作了。
HL: 你有做按摩的经验, 那这里是不是就容易上手一些, 不会像其他小弟需要比较多的调整时间, 会更放得开些?
LJ: 其实还是需要适应的。因为做按摩就是一对一, 一个客人一个小时或者一个半小时做完一个套路就好了, 在这里还要有类似表演的环节。刚开始做的时候我不太能接受, 感觉像故意卖弄。但是如果你要在这工作就必须这么做, 所以我就硬着头皮学着做就是了。现在都已经习惯了。
HL: 所以你自己喜欢男生么?
LJ: 不是, 我有女朋友呢。
HL: 那你女朋友知道真实的工作么?
LJ: 不知道, 她就以为我是在 KTV 做服务生。
HL: 她不会发现么, 毕竟这是你每天的工作, 如果她和你那么亲密, 总应该知道你在哪上班吧?
LJ: 目前她没发现。她也有自己的工作, 总是能想到理由瞒过去的。我挺喜欢我的女朋友的。我想多赚点钱也是为了能和她过上更好的生活。做这个工作确实觉得有点对不起她, 所以我平时也尽量在物质生活上满足她, 对她好, 让她能在自己的朋友面前炫耀一下, 为有我这个男朋友感到骄傲。
HL: 那你是怎么说服自己接待男客的呢?

LJ: 一开始做按摩的时候, 常规的按摩收入实在太少了, 在上海生活很困难。后来接触到一些同行, 他们已经在做带些体推的按摩了, 我就转到他们店里。那里也不会强迫你一定做体推, 但是待久了你看身边的人同样干活赚的比你多, 他们也都能接受, 就慢慢和他们学着也做了。来 **KTV** 前就能接受这方面的事了。

HL: 那你以前了解同性恋么?

LJ: 我长大的那个地方很偏僻的, 就算知道男生和男生可以有亲密的行为, 也不懂什么同性恋, 从来没想过男生和男生可以像男生和女生一样在一起之类的。我也是来到上海以后, 工作中接触到了才慢慢明白是怎么回事。

HL: 所以你对同志一般的看法是怎样呢?

LJ: 我也不敢说多理解吧, 但是我觉得既然有这样的人, 那就尊重他们的选择好了。

HL: 那会不会因为工作的原因对同志有些不好的印象和看法? 比方说有些客人会要求你做些比较难的事情, 你不得已做了, 但还是觉得他们很恶心的?

LJ: 没有吧。大部分我遇到的客人都挺好的, 也挺尊重我的。尽管有时候他们会问我能不能做一些我不能接受的事, 我直接告诉他们就行了, 他们也能理解。我觉得这就是互相理解吧。我理解他们的一些想法, 我也尽量让他们玩得开心, 他们也不会太为难我。其实这就是我做男客的原因, 他们都挺礼貌的, 也很绅士。你不知道有些女客反倒是什么都能做……

8, Interview with JR in April, 2016

HL: 你多大了, 哪的人?

JR: 我今年 20, 安徽人。

HL: 怎么会来 **KTV** 做这份工作的?

JR: 来上海之前就听说有这样的场所。自己学历也不高, 找不到什么赚钱的工作, 那种工厂做工我是受不了, 所以后来就找了 **KTV** 试试。

HL: 所以你觉得能接受要在这里做的一些事么?

JR: 你知道我是喜欢男生的吧。我觉得会比那些不喜欢男生的人要容易接受一点吧。

HL: 对, 我们先说说你是同志这件事。你是怎么发现自己喜欢男生的, 发现以后的一些经历?

JR: 这个就是天生的吧。我差不多就是 15、6 岁的时候吧, 那时候差不多男生女生就开始早恋了。虽然也有女生喜欢我, 我们在我们那学校还挺受欢迎的呢, 但是我好像对她们没有什么感觉, 反而是更喜欢看一些成熟的男人那种类型。有时候好些男生一起看黄片, 他们讨论女演员, 我反而盯着男演员。那时候就怀疑自己是不是喜欢男生。现在也不像以前, 网上什么都有, 上网查了就差不多知道了吧。但是我们那个小县城这种事情我也不能和人说, 就一直憋得挺郁闷的。不过那时候我就下决心一定要到大城市来, 不管做什么工作。因为大城市更包容这些, 也能找到志同道合的人, 过上我自己想要的生活。

HL: 你选择这份工作的最重要因素是什么呢?

JR: 我也不会什么技能, 去工厂做吧我不会, 而且听说挺苦的, 加班什么很累。我现在只能做些简单的工作, 服务员啊之类的。赚的钱还不够房租呢, 总不能让父母再养我吧, 那非得被他们弄回家去。我听说这里赚钱多, 就来试试咯。

HL: 所以主要还是为了赚钱是吧?

JR: 是的。

HL: 能告诉我你赚那么多钱的主要目的是什么呢? 我的意思是你是赚了为了当下的物质生活更好呢还是存着将来有什么计划?

JR: 其实我觉得也没有你想的那么多, 我基本上也就是个月光吧。你看首先在上海生活消费就很高了。要租房子吧。我总不能住集体宿舍吧, 那些直男的房间又乱又臭, 而且我也没有自己的私人空间。生活的开销也很高, 我还是希望生活质量稍微高点的, 这可能是同志和直男的区别吧。更何况做了这份工作, 你必须要把自己打扮得好看点潮流点才能被客人点, 这样买衣服都不少钱。每个月我还得省点钱寄回家给爸妈, 他们的收入也不高, 把我养这么大, 也不容易, 工作了终于可以孝顺他们了。所以其实也就是中等, 如果没有这份工作的话, 我可能过得是贫困水平了。

HL: 那你有没有碰到过一些场合客人提出让你做些比较过分的事, 你不能接受的?

JR: 好像没有吧。我觉得都习惯了, 可能你觉得过分的, 在我看来都已经习惯了, 是正常的了。而且我觉的都是同类人吧, 都能理解对方, 知道大家在社会上都挺不容易的, 所以一切都能商量着来。我自己也知道怎么保护好自己, 特别是如果客人要求出台的话, 我也会先判断一下这个人是不是可靠。其实我也不怕实话告诉你, 我觉得客人的要求也没有过分不过分之说。既然做了这一行, 能做下来超过 3 个月, 基本上都是能出台的。只不过有些人他不想和这个客人做, 他就会说不接受出台。有可能这个客人开的价格太低了不值得, 带去的宾馆条件太差, 当天晚上不状态, 不想赚这个钱, 都有可能; 或者他觉得看不上你这个客人, 我们有时候也会挑最后出台的人, 有些人不喜欢老的, 有些人不喜欢看上色眯眯的感觉很猥琐的, 有些人也会挑长相啊身材之类的。我们也会挑的。

HL: 你觉得这份工作对你来说意味着什么?

JR: 我觉得这份工作不仅提供给我一个还可以的收入和物质生活, 而且也提高了我的自信, 让我很乐观的。因为你知道我从小县城来, 自己也没读过多少书, 有时候觉得自己是同志, 和别人不一样, 挺自卑的。所以刚到上海的时候我觉得人家都看不起我。但是通过这份工作赚的钱, 我能买得起好看的衣服, 请客我的朋友吃好吃的, 甚至给他们买东西。我觉得我朋友现在看我不一样了。我自己也觉得和那些在城里长大的没什么区别, 就整个人都自信了很多。而且我现在对于自己是同志也更能接受了, 对以后的生活也更乐观吧。

HL: 那你刚说到的朋友, 他们知道你是同志, 知道你的工作么?

JR: 有一些知道我是同志, 但没有一个人知道我具体的工作。我在上海朋友很少的, 除了同事, 就是偶尔才和在上海打工的同学聚一下, 更多就是春节回家和老家的朋友同学聚一聚。没有必要让大家知道我真正是做什么的啦。

HL: 最后我想问问你的感情生活和对以后的打算。你有没有想象过你的客人中发展真正的爱情, 或者你现在对自己感情生活的看法是怎样的? 对未来感情和工作生活的规划是怎样的?

JR: 我当然也希望能找到自己喜欢的人, 他也喜欢我, 我们可以在一起, 互相照顾。但是现在我的工作让这个很难。虽然我也在 **KTV** 碰到过我喜欢的类型的客人, 但是几乎都是是一厢情愿吧。更何况这些客人就是一时来找找乐子, 发泄下压力, 不可能对我们有真感情的。虽然我也想有客人喜欢我给我提供更好的物质生活, 但我想那也不会是长久之计。同事中找一个也不可能, 太尴尬了。生活中找一个, 我现有的工作也是个障碍。所以我真的没想过自己感情生活会怎样。还是等以后这个工作做不下去了, 自己找了份正常点的工作, 生活也比较稳定了再说吧。这个工作是青春饭, 我也知道早晚我会离开的。不过我现在还年轻, 还能做一段时间, 就先不去想以后的了, 先赚钱吧。

9, Interview with CZ in April, 2016

HL: 能先介绍下你多大了, 哪儿的人, 在 **KTV** 工作多久了么?

CZ: 我今年 19, 江苏人, 在 **KTV** 工作快半年了。

HL: 你是怎么会想到去 **KTV** 工作的?

CZ: 我和家里人出柜了, 他们不能接受, 我和家里人闹翻了, 所以我就离家出走了。我也没有读完书, 但是也不想再和家里人联系问他们要钱。我想没有他们也能过得很好, 所以就来这上班了。这个工作挺好的, 比其他工作赚得多。

HL: 所以你是同志? 你是怎么发现自己喜欢男生的?

CZ: 很小的时候我就意识到自己喜欢男生了吧。现在那么开放的社会, 这方面的信息很容易就能查得到, 所以很早我就知道自己是同志了。

HL: 你选择现在这份工作的原因是什么?

CZ: 能赚到不少钱肯定是第一位的。当然现在在很多工作都可以赚到很多钱, 但是那些工作都需要很高的学历, 专业的知识和技能, 那些我都没有。这份工作不需要那些, 喝酒每天就能赚到不少。

HL: 你一开始就能接受在 **KTV** 要做的具体事情么, 比方说和客人发生性行为?

CZ: 对我而言, 那就是我工作的一部分, 不代表什么。

HL: 你的想法挺前卫的, 我很好奇是受了什么影响呢?

CZ: 虽然我年纪不大, 但可能因为我确认自己是同志比较早吧, 进圈子也比较早, 也谈过些恋爱了, 感觉很多恋人最后也是因为社会各种压力最后分开, 我也能试着把性和爱分开吧。

HL: 那现在这个工作整体上对你而言意味着什么?

CZ: 我现在因为这个工作也算经济独立了。我也喜欢在这里交到和我一样的朋友。我甚至在考虑要不要介绍男朋友来这里工作。但是我也不想让他和客人太亲密。哎, 我也不知道, 再看吧……

HL: 你有一个男朋友? 你还想让他和你做一样的工作? 能具体解释下你的想法么?

CZ: 对啊, 我刚不是说我试着把性和爱分开么。我男朋友也是这么想的, 再说我们现在也需要钱, 所以他能接受我目前的工作, 不过我保证我不会出台。因为我们现在不住在一个城市, 所以我想让他到上海了, 这样我们能真正在一起了。我不知道他能不能找到什么工作, 如果真的没钱了, 也许他可以和我一起做, 互相还有个照应。然后我们可以攒下一些钱, 生活在一起, 再看以后怎么发展了。

10, Interview with MZ in June, 2014

HL: 你最开始怎么会知道上海有这样 KTV 的存在的?

MZ: 你知道我比较喜欢在外面玩啊, 慢慢就认识比较多夜店的人, 第一次是一个以前做女场的领班告诉我跳槽到做同志的 KTV, 叫我来看看玩玩。

HL: 最早去的时候动机是什么?

MZ: 就觉得好玩啊。一个人太无聊, 想找人陪陪。你知道到我们这个年龄, 朋友大部分时间都有自己的事要忙, 要出来聚一聚越来越难, 那就只好找人陪我玩咯。在 KTV 里逗逗那些小弟, 故意为难一下他们, 挺好玩的。而且我喜欢灌醉别人, 特别喜欢看别人醉了的样子, 好多陪我的小弟最后都被我灌醉了。

HL: 那其他不像你这么熟的人怎么找到这样 KTV 的呢?

MZ: 有 KTV 的城市, 你通过几个朋友问总是能问到这些地方。比方说朋友过生日啊, 大家就一起去 KTV 叫几个小弟, 这样也玩得开心点。口口相传咯, 像你不就是我叫去的么。

HL: 一般在同志 KTV 都做些什么呢?

MZ: 在那里主要是小弟陪着你唱歌喝酒咯。然后会有些游戏, 但主要是借着输了游戏的时候客人和小弟有些亲密的举动。还有些时候惩罚就是小弟脱一件衣服, 然后等小弟都脱光了他们一起可以做一些表演。不管是游戏还是表演都要用到很多酒的, 因为他们就是靠卖酒赚钱么。玩到尽兴的时候, 如果你想发生更深的性行为就和小弟商量咯, 一般他们都会愿意做些口交之类的。再深的就要商量多少钱, 要带出去了。但是现在客人想带出台的越来越少了。

HL: 为什么?

MZ: 我觉得有两方面原因吧。一个是比方说能在 KTV 消费得起的顾客至少有一定年龄和自己的事业了吧, 比方说像我们, 去 KTV 的目的更多是放松自己, 缓解下生活的压力, 和朋友聚在一起找点乐子。在房间里玩得开心就行, 没必要非得做到最后一步。二来现在圈内也比较开放了, 找个炮友还是很方便的, 没必要花钱找那些小弟。就算花钱现在也有很多其他的选择, 有专门做这个的人, 打着诸如按摩的旗号, 还上门服务, 找那种不就行了。

HL: 你接触到小弟是同性恋的多还是异性恋的多?

MZ: 还是异性恋的多点。但是我觉得也无所谓吧, 到最后该做的都会做。

HL: 我觉得有些异性恋的小弟在做这个工作上还是要克服很多心理障碍的吧, 带给客人的服务体验也是不一样的吧?

MZ: 我觉得没有什么区别。他们进来之前都知道自己要做什么的, 你能做就能赚钱, 不能做就走人。他们都和做那些事了, 你说他们是异性恋还是同性恋, 或者说一定去定义是异性恋或者同性恋在这种情况下有什么意义呢。其实太固执的直男做不长的, 因为如果你一直不肯突破自己的这条线的话, 不等客人投诉, 领班就先把你炒了。KTV 里面人员流动性很高的, 但某种程度上也是好事, 客人总是喜欢新的面孔, KTV 也能经常吸引客人。

HL: 你能说说你对这些小弟的看法么?

MZ: 我觉得要理解他们最容易的就是一句话: 都是为了钱。只要能在 KTV 做下去的, 都是能接受给客人提供性服务的。嘴上说不能接受, 其实我觉得就是心里在想客人开的价码值不值得。他们已经形成了同性恋就应该是有钱的印象了。他们做这个工作的唯一目的就是为了钱。他们也知道这个是青春饭, 能赚钱的时间就这么几年。等年纪大了没人点了自然就退出这个行当了。所以他们也尽量把自己打扮、表现出他们以为会受人欢迎的样子。但是在我看来, 虽然这句话有些残酷, 他们其实就是找乐子的工具。我的意思是, 对我而言他们毕竟阅历少, 见得少, 他们觉得自己还不错, 但我觉得我们之间还是有不小的差距。不同年龄段的人对事物还是有不同的认知的。所以和他们在一起, 我也不会想太多, 我玩得开心就好。

HL: 接下去我想问些关于 KTV 运作方面的问题。第一个, KTV 和警察的关系具体是怎样?

MZ: 就是贿赂咯, 让警察不要去找他们麻烦。或者如果有举报或者检查的时候, 警察就会先漏出风声, KTV 就能掩盖下。

HL: 如果和警察关系可靠, KTV 就一定安全么, 什么情况下会被警察查到呢?

MZ: 那就是他们没贿赂到的警察高层一定要治你, 觉得你不好或者竞争对手比你贿赂的更厉害。可是就算关门了换个名字换个地方还是可以重新开的, 老板其实还是一个人。

HL: 一般这样的 KTV 是怎样运作的? 老板和领班一般是怎样的背景? 他们怎么赚钱?

MZ: KTV 运作的核心是领班和他们手下的小弟。一般这种 KTV 的老板也就提供个地方, 然后让几个领班承包, 自己每月收钱就行了。至于领班么, 其实都挺年轻的, 就是二十多三十出头的样子吧, 但是肯定都很有经验的。有些是以前在女场做过的, 有些是以前做小弟做的比较好的。所以他们做的时间久了, 手下的小弟和顾客资源都够了就开始从老板那承包场子了。领班每个月交给老板一定数额的利润, 剩下的就可以分成了, 所以领班做得越好, 赚得越多, 每月上万是至少的。KTV 的利润来源主要有两部分。最大头是酒的消费。你看我们上次喝的黑标就是 1000 块, 你超市最多 300 块就能买了。而且你还不知道喝的是不是真的酒, 假酒一瓶 100 不到就能拿到货。而且他们还有好多贵的酒。我听说最多一次一个人在那里一晚上消费了两万元。所以 KTV 的核心就是不管你干什么, 只要你消费足够多的酒就行。他们想尽一切办法, 什么游戏啊表演啊, 就是为了让你消费越多的就越好。另外领班收入还有一部分是给小弟的小费的提成。小弟小费底线就是 300 元, 领班从里面抽一百元。

HL: 那小弟的收入是怎样构成的?

MZ: 小弟的收入分成三部分吧。第一部分是基本工资, 就是你去上班了至少会给你出勤的钱。但这部分钱是很少的, 这个主要还是领班用来保证每晚他有足够的小弟。第二部分就是小费, 每次被点就是 300 的小费, 只要交 100 给领班, 自己拿 200; 如果客人给多了都是小弟自己的。然后出台的话, 钱都是自己拿的, 不分给领班的。第三部分也是卖酒的提成, 小弟可以从他那一单顾客整体消费中获得一定比例的卖酒的提成。所以小弟也是卯足了劲灌你足够多的酒, 或者就用很多酒玩游戏表演之类的。

11, Interview with ZZ in June, 2014

HL: 你去过 KTV 几次了?

ZZ: 去过两次了。

HL: 一开始去抱着的心态和目的是怎样的?

ZZ: 一开始的心态肯定是猎奇。因为听朋友说有那样的 KTV, 觉得应该会蛮吸引人蛮刺激的, 所以想去体验下。然后还想如果看到自己喜欢的类型小弟, 也许会考虑带他出台。

HL: 能大概描述下你去的 KTV 的位置、环境、装修等等么。

ZZ: 我去的 KTV 一般在一些繁华地区的边缘但交通都还算便利。然后 KTV 一般在一幢不是很热闹的商用楼里, 楼不是很破烂, 但也不是很摩登。至于 KTV 本身的装修么, 我虽然不介意, 但是说实话看上去就像 90 年代的风格。

HL: 这样的环境给你选择 KTV 会带来什么影响么?

ZZ: 如果只是为了唱歌, 我肯定不会去这种 KTV。但是这也不是我们的目的, 所以也不会太介意。还是会把关注放在小弟的身上。

HL: 在 KTV 被服务的过程是怎样?

ZZ: 到了那以后先会被带到房间里, 坐下来以后, 领班会先介绍下他们那的服务价格, 然后就带一群男生进来了, 带了两轮还是三轮, 我记不清了。那些男生就站在你面前让你挑。每个人都挑完了就开始唱歌玩游戏。游戏的尺度么肯定是越来越大, 而且肯定是要喝很多酒的游戏。酒喝得越多么他们赚的越多呀。游戏里输的人就要脱衣服。但是就算是顾客输了也是陪顾客的那个男生脱衣服的。顾客都不会脱衣服的, 都认识的, 脱光了多尴尬。那些男生这样很快就都脱光了。因为他们的主要目的还是多卖点酒给我们赚提成, 但是喝也不可能喝太多, 所以他们就会安排一些要用到很多酒的色情表演。比方说常见的就是“高山流水”, 就是一个男生要蹲在那喝另外一个男生从身上流下来的啤酒, 这样需要很多身体往下倒, 消费就很快。然后在房间里就没有更进一步的行为了, 因为我觉得现在中国还没有开放到大家能接受看自己的朋友当面发生性行为。如果有客人想要更直接的身体接触的话, 一般会在厕所里做。你知道就是客人去上厕所的时候, 你点的小弟也得陪你一起去。那个不但是表示尊重你, 帮助你如果你有点醉的话, 其实也是如果你想发生进一步行为的话, 口交或者打飞机, 就可以在那做。如果你真的喜欢那个男生, 或者你真的想发生肛交的话, 可能得带小弟出台去酒店吧。

HL: 那在房间的时候他们有主动提出或者勾引你发生性行为的举动么?

ZZ: 这要看人的。大部分不是很主动的, 因为毕竟他们大部分不是 gay, 也就是为了赚钱, 可能不发生性行为就尽量不发生吧。所以在过程中不会强烈暗示你要怎样, 也不会挑逗你, 都脱光了就差差不多了。就是最后要结束了会问下要不要看他们打飞机, 要不要带他们出台。当然无论哪个都是要加钱的。我们都没要, 我觉得房间里发生的就足够了。

HL: 那你对小弟们的感觉是怎样?

ZZ: 我觉得他们挺可怜的。虽然其实他们就是不愿意做一些苦的累的工作, 教育也达不到更好的工作; 这份工作就会是抽烟喝酒, 能过性接触的心理关就能做, 而且又轻松赚钱又快, 但是毕竟这个还是要放弃自己的一些尊严迎合别人, 不是所有人都能忍受那儿的工作的, 我觉得他们都有自己的一些故事吧。虽然我觉得总是有其他办法可以生存, 但他们也并不容易。也就是命吧, 我们都一样, 我什么都不做了, 最多就是对他们好点, 多给点小费。

HL: 你再去 KTV 的原因是什么呢?

ZZ: 向我们这个年龄的人去其他同志场所, 比方说酒吧, 肯定不像年轻人那么受欢迎了, 但是在 KTV 我就不用去考虑这些人是否喜欢你, 或者怎样做才讨人喜欢, 直接就有一个年轻的男生陪我, 做我让他做的任何事, 那为什么还要去酒吧漫无目的得找人呢?

HL: 你觉得 KTV 对你, 或者说对中国同志来说意味着什么?

ZZ: 我觉得这个其实可能会带来负面影响。因为办的人只是看中了其中的商机赚钱, 有时候人们会为了利益越来越没底线, 反而给外界带来对同性恋不好的印象。但是对我个人来说是多了一个, 怎么说呢, 发泄的场所。或者说在这个出现之前, 也有很多色情场所, 但提供服务的可能是女性, 客人就是男人。我们以前看这些场所可能是很羡慕的, 他们有这样场所。同志其实有这方面的需求。有了 KTV 的出现后, 填补了这个空白。同志就可以和异性恋男人一样。虽然我不觉得我会经常去 KTV, 但是在那里感觉挺好的。你知道, 那就是给同志的一个场所。

HL: 除了 KTV 之外, 其实还有其他的一些为同志提供色情服务的场所, 比方说按摩会所, 你觉得他们有什么区别么?

ZZ: 我觉得他们不一样。按摩是一对一的, KTV 一般都是朋友人多点一起去, 一起喝酒做游戏, 带来的感受不一样。按摩更侧重身体的接触。KTV 带来的更大的冲击和愉悦是感官和精神上的。两者是不同的, 不能互相取代。

12, Interview with KF in April, 2016

HL: 你去过 KTV 几次?
KF: 去过一次。
HL: 去之前对 KTV 的想象是怎样? 觉得自己能接受的底线是怎样?
KF: 去之前觉得越无底线越好。
HL: 包括能接受肛交么?
KF: 那倒不会。毕竟是和朋友一起, 在公共场合。事后开房倒是可以。
HL: 所以你能接受的具体底线是什么呢?
KF: 口交吧。我说的是指小弟之间的。和我或者我朋友是不能接受。
HL: 为什么? 很多人去那都会做这个啊?
KF: 我也觉得很奇怪为什么我会这么觉得。因为我在泰国也看到过这样的表演, 两个男生在酒吧或者舞台上表演直接的性行为。当然第一次看到的时候也觉得很吃惊, 第二次第三次就习惯了。但是我想象一下如果是在国内的话, 连小弟之间的性行为我都很难接受, 更别说看到我朋友在那有亲密的行为。
HL: 为什么呢? 为什么在泰国可以接受, 在中国就不可以呢?
KF: 我也不清楚, 我也觉得这个想法挺奇怪的。我觉得有可能还是环境的关系。
HL: 你去的 KTV 是在什么样的地段?
KF: KTV 是离市中心比较近, 但周边不是很繁华的, 还算比较隐蔽。
HL: 觉得 KTV 的装修之类的怎样呢?
KF: 我说实话没有特别的印象。就是很普通的风格。
HL: 到了那以后的情况怎样?
KF: 我们到了以后就有人迎接我们, 然后把我们带到包厢, 然后就有小弟过来让我们选。选中的小弟就会过来做下陪我们唱歌喝酒。因为我是第一次去, 所以一开始会有些尴尬。但是因为同行的有之前去过的, 他就比较清楚应该怎么做, 就会主动邀请大家喝点酒然后组织做游戏。做游戏么有输有赢, 数的么就会有写惩罚。一开始可能是摸一下或者亲一下, 之后就是脱衣服, 然后一步步玩上去。
HL: 玩到什么地方呢?
KF: 其实他们那也有规定, 我们在那的时候小弟就说了不能有肛交。玩到最后也就是小弟全裸, 之间玩游戏, 我们看着。有些也不能接受口交。这些他们都会直说。他们说了么, 我想顾客也不太好意思强人所难, 在公共场合都这么说了, 那就肯定不做了。但是如果你特别喜欢的话可以商量带他们出台。
HL: 你和小弟之间的互动怎样呢?
KF: 我个人就是基本上以看为主。也没有和小弟太多互动。本来他们冲着钱来, 我们冲着玩去的, 所以也不会想说有太多的交心。当然可能每个人的情况不一样, 但对我来说, 本来文化层次和年龄阶段都不在同一个水平, 所以不会觉得想去说些心里话。从我个人角度来讲还是以玩和看为主。
HL: 所以你对小弟的总体印象怎样?
KF: 他们就是年龄比较小, 相对教育不是非常好, 可能没有读过大学, 或者即使读过也是比较差的大学。估计找不到什么工作, 这个工作对他们来说应该比较赚钱的吧。
HL: 那你对他们的性向和与客人的互动怎么看, 还有最后玩下来的感受怎样?
KF: 我觉得我接触到的小弟基本都是直男吧, 可能一两个是 gay, 但剩下的基本都是直男。你看他们的举止、谈吐都能看得出来。只不过是為了生计需要才来挣这笔钱。所以他们表现也不会很娘, 感觉就好像他们在异性恋的场子做男妓一样。虽然我比较喜欢 man 一点的人, 但是整体来讲, 他们还真的不是我喜欢的类型。所以我更多是和朋友一起去玩个开心。我个人而言在里面无论是从欣赏肉体的角度还是找到自己喜欢的人的角度都没有得到满足。所以我觉得我应该不会再去第二次了吧。因为我没有找到特别大的乐趣。虽然表面上看到他们赤身裸体还可以, 但从深层次讲, 没有我喜欢的类型, 所以没有真正的乐趣。
HL: 那说不定下次就找到你喜欢的类型了呢?
KF: 其实我打听过了, 这种 KTV 就是比较年轻、瘦小、文化素质比较低的, 但这种类型真的不是我喜欢的。可能我的朋友比较喜欢这种类型的, 他就玩得比较开心吧。
HL: 你觉得你在那里安全么?
KF: 安全吧。我们也没有干什幺特别淫乱的事。可能小弟在那里都脱完有点不太雅观, 但是警察应该不会来查吧。这种地方应该都和警察有关系的。
HL: 最后说下你对上海同志各种休闲活动的看法吧?
KF: 其实现在上海休闲就那么几种。平时就大家几个朋友一起聚聚, 吃吃饭聊聊天。有假期的时候就和好朋友出去旅游。还有一种方式就是去酒吧。但是分两种情况, 一种很享受酒吧, 一种就不喜欢。我属于后者吧。我很少去了, 大概两三个月会去一次吧。我不喜欢上海同志酒吧的氛围, 因为那里的环境很奇怪, 大家就是陌生人坐在那, 没有沟通。而且我不喜欢酒吧很吵的环境。 虽然我前面说了, 去 KTV 的经历也并没有给我带来特别大的欢乐。但是从我内心本质来讲, 我是希望有这种 KTV 的存在的, 它毕竟提供了一种可能性。

13, Interview with BS in April, 2016

HL: 你好, 能介绍下你自己么?
BS: 你好, 我叫 XXX, 今年 33, 是一名在读博士。
HL: 你去过 KTV 几次啊?
BS: 挺多次了吧, 得有五六次至少。
HL: 你觉得 KTV 最吸引你的是什幺呢?
BS: 当我心情不好, 或者我工作上有很大的压力, 或者家庭上逼婚有很大的压力时, 我就会去。在那和朋友一起, 还有个人陪我, 也不需要什幺感情牵绊, 我觉得挺好的。
HL: 说说你在 KTV 的一些经历吧?
BS: 其实也没什么特别的, 就和所有客人在那一样吧, 和朋友一起去, 有小弟陪着一起喝酒做游戏, 慢慢他们都会脱光衣服, 有时做些表演, 就这些咯。
HL: 你好像没有提及性行为, 比方说小弟给客人口交之类的, 你或者你的朋友没在那做过么。
BS: 没有, 至少在房间里没有。这个我觉得就比较私人了吧, 如果你觉得想要小弟给你做那些的话可以去厕所啊之类的。我听说有些会在房间里当着其他人的面就做, 那个对我来说有点夸张了, 我也没见过我的朋友那么做。然后再进一步出台之类的, 更是要和小弟商量, 在酒店开房了吧。
HL: 你有和 KTV 的小弟做过那些么?
BS: 口交有。但是没有带小弟出过台。
HL: 为什么? 没有特别喜欢的么?
BS: 一方面有这个原因, 我觉得那些小弟还是素质挺低的。我意思是我能看出来他们想把自己打扮得时髦点, 但是你看那个发型, 他们穿的衣服, 就觉得用力过猛了。我去了几次都没有看到我特别喜欢的人。另一方面我去 KTV 的时候也没有特别冲着那个去吧。我的意思是如果我想找人做爱的话, 我可以约炮啊, 找按摩的啊。去 KTV 主要还是和朋友一起开心, 找人陪我们玩。你想一大帮人, 包括你的朋友, 站在你面前一帮脱光了男生。大家互相嬉笑玩闹, 那个场景给你的视觉和感官上的刺激就够了, 没必要非得出台。还有一个原因我觉得比较私人的, 就是我不太能接受和非同志的小弟发生那种关系, 总觉得怪怪的, 你懂么。
HL: 可是其他的一些身体接触, 口交你都能接受, 不是么?
BS: 口交我能接受, 但其实我也很少让小弟做。怎么说呢, 有时候看到我比较喜欢的类型的小弟, 我就会想我花钱了, 这些基本的还是可以做到的, 他们也是训练出来的。但是我还是倾向性行为发生在能互相享受的人身上, 有时候我就会想他们为了赚钱不得不做我些让他们做的, 他们又不是同志, 怎么可能会享受这些。我还是不想强迫他们做他们不愿意做的。
HL: 你觉得 KTV 安全么? 怕不怕警察抓到你?
BS: 不会吧。这些地方都应该和警察有关系的吧, 应该都搞定了吧。
HL: 作为博士, 高学历的人士, 你能从这个角度说些你对类似 KTV 这样场所的看法么?
BS: 我觉得去 KTV 的顾客基本上学历都还不错吧。或者说他们因为还可以的学历有一份不错的工作和可观的收入, 使他们能够承受得起 KTV 的消费。有意思的是服务他们的基本上都是学历比较低的, 或者说因为学历低而找不到更好的工作, 为了生计在 KTV 工作的小弟。我觉得这是一个挺有意思的 gap, 某种程度上稍微高点学历的人去的时候已经带着了优越感。同时, 虽然我自己也算是高学历的人吧, 但是我觉得越高学历的人, 因为懂得越多, 越能理解这些行为, 你也可以说他们看穿了这些性和爱的东西, 在这种私密空间越放得开, 尺度越大, 越玩得 high。所以我不会很惊讶如果一些所谓高学历的人很喜欢去 KTV。

14, Interview with LR in April, 2016

HL: 您好, 能简单介绍下自己么?
LR: 你好, 我叫 XXX, 我今年 60 了, 以前是个生意人, 现在自己给自己退休好几年了。
HL: 能先说下自己作为同志的经历么?

LR: 没什么特别的, 年轻的时候就觉得自己对男人有感觉, 对女人没感觉。那时候虽然不懂, 但我算比较幸运的是阴差阳错过结婚, 所以到现在也没什么负担。后来自己下海做点生意, 算抓住了早期的一些机会, 所以赚了点钱, 现在日子还能自给自足。后来社会越来越开放, 在所谓的圈子也混过, 但毕竟年纪大了, 这几年和自己的伴侣就渐渐稳定下来了。

HL: 您的伴侣多大, 你们在一起多久了?

LR: 他比我小 8、9 岁了, 我们在一起 6 年了。我们也不像你们年轻人什么谈恋爱在一起, 我们到这个年龄就互相照顾, 过日子。

HL: 那您去 KTV 您的伴侣知道吗?

LR: 知道, 我们有时候还一起去。其实我去那也不是要做什么, 就是去那坐坐, 喝喝酒, 看看那些年轻的身体, 热闹下。我这年纪也折腾不动了, 他也能理解。

HL: 您觉得 KTV 最吸引你的是什么呢?

LR: 你知到我们这个年纪生活圈基本没有什么年轻的气息了, 朋友里最年轻的都四五十了。但谁不喜欢年轻的肉体呢? 在 KTV 我只要给钱就有 20 岁上下的一个男孩陪我说话、喝酒、玩, 多好啊。

HL: 你有没有考虑过和这些男孩发生性行为?

LR: 没这个必要。这些男孩为了钱出来做这个, 也不容易。硬要花钱让他们和我做那些也太强人所难了。我这个年纪对那些也无所谓了, 更何况我家里也有人能陪我。我就图个开心, 没别的。

HL: 您能从比较大的年纪这个角度说说对类似 KTV 这样场所的看法么?

LR: KTV 对我们这些老年人来说吧, 如果能消费得起确实是提供给了我们一个接触年轻肉体的可能, 因为现在社会中靠正常交往我们这个年纪的人几乎没有任何市场, 只有靠钱。虽然消费不低, 但总比包养一个小年轻便宜得多吧, 只要不要想得到太多就可以。像我这样, 我觉得心态还算平和, 可能我真的是老了吧。我也知道有些四五十岁的人, 顶着啤酒肚, 头发也不多, 反正一副猥琐的样子, 到 KTV 花点钱就忘乎所以了, 让里面男孩做的一些事情也真是有点过分, 那样不好。你要真想做全套, 至少多给点钱也就算了, 里面的孩子在社会上赚点钱不容易。

15, Interview with CP in April, 2016

HL: 你好, 先介绍下你自己吧。

CP: 你好, 我叫 XXX, 今年 35 岁, 是公司职员。

HL: 你去过几次 KTV 了?

CP: 我就去过一次 KTV, 还是和我男朋友一起去的。

HL: 你能介绍下和你男朋友的情况么? 然后说下怎么会第一次也是目前唯一一次去 KTV 就会和男朋友一起呢?

CP: 我和我男朋友在一起八年了, 所以真的是在一起很久了, 老夫老妻了, 我们都挺信任对方的。我们听说有同志 KTV, 就很好奇这样的 KTV 是什么样的, 所以我们说说好一起去看看, 就是这样。

HL: 在 KTV 里面的经历怎样?

CP: 没有什么特别的, 就和朋友一起, 唱歌喝酒, 看小弟表演。

HL: 你们点小弟了么?

CP: 点了啊。应该不允许不点吧。

HL: 那你们和小弟有什么亲密接触么?

CP: 那倒没有。我们都是有男朋友的, 而且男朋友还在场, 不太适合做什么亲密的动作吧。小弟知道我们是一对来的, 也没有太敢亲近我们, 就和其他小弟一起游戏, 给我们表演了。

HL: 你对于小弟有什么看法?

CP: 我觉得他们就是为了钱才做这个工作的吧。你看他们给我们敬酒啊, 尽量让我们感觉很被尊重啊, 应该都是都是为了钱吧。

HL: 你知道那些小弟是直男还是同志?

CP: 据我了解好像直男还是多数。

HL: 那你对直男给同志提供性服务怎么看?

CP: 就像我刚刚说的, 为了钱吧。

HL: 所以假设你可以和他们发生性关系, 你能接受么?

CP: 看吧, 如果有我喜欢的类型, 我可以接受的。大家都是自愿的, 我有给了钱, 我没觉得有什么不能接受的。

HL: 总体来说, 你会看得起他们么?

CP: 这没什么看不起吧。我对他们没有什么感觉, 就好像比方说你去饭店吃饭, 服务员上菜提供服务, 你是被服务的, 也不会想什么看不看得起服务员吧。如果他们对态度很差, 那我可能觉得我付的钱不值得, 我会投诉。但是如果他们的服务很到位, 我就会觉得很开心, 经常去, 他们生意肯定也好。除了提供相应的等值的服务外, 我觉得我们都是平等的。可能有些不是我喜欢的类型, 那我不那么亲密就好了。虽然他们做的是可能会被别人不齿的工作, 但是我们花钱让他们做的, 如果我们看不起他们, 那也应该看不起自己吧。

HL: 你对 KTV 的存在的整体看法是什么?

CP: 因为我个人一些限制, 虽然我觉得我应该不会经常去, 但我希望 KTV 能保持开着。我觉得虽然现在我们物质生活相对可以了, 但是精神生活在太贫乏了, 特别是同志自身的压抑太久了, 所以现在都特别想找一些新奇的东西, KTV 就提供了这样一个可能和选择。

16, Interview with MM in April, 2016

HL: 你好, 先介绍下自己吧。

MM: 你好, 我叫 XXX, 今年 32 岁, 是一个自由职业者。

HL: 你去过几次 KTV 了?

MM: 其实只去过一次。

HL: 你去的主要动机是什么呢?

MM: 我很好奇, 也很兴奋, 想看看那些男孩的表演, 还有提供服务是什么样。

HL: 能说你在那的经历么?

MM: 我是朋友带我去的, 他事先联系好了他经常点的小弟, 我们到的时候就有人直接带我们进去了。那个 KTV 在一幢很不显眼的商业楼里, 里面的商铺看上去都不是很吸引人的样子, 如果不是我朋友带我去, 我估计我永远都不会注意到。KTV 本身的装修也很普通, 一开始吃了一惊, 就像二三线城市的那种风格。因为我习惯城市那种比较时尚的 KTV 了, 刚进去就有种城里人到乡下可以招摇炫富的感觉。然后就是进到自己房间点小弟。我一开始还很不好意思, 有种皇上选妃小弟等着被临幸的感觉。我选的小弟坐下来就和我打招呼什么的。因为我很好奇, 直接就问他是不是同志, 他说他不是, 然后我就觉得有点别扭, 好像是我用钱硬把他掰弯的感觉。所以后来我们互动都有点尴尬。他倒是觉得是不是他什么没做好, 还和我道歉。不过后来大家一起唱歌喝酒做游戏, 慢慢也放开了。但是我本来就是比较内向, 所以基本也是看他们玩。

HL: 所以你和小弟最后有什么性行为发生么?

MM: 没有。我还是自己心里过不去, 一是觉得他们都是直男的话, 他们为了钱在那工作挺不容易的, 再让他们做那些我过不了自己心里那关, 另外我也不太习惯第一次见面就和人发生太亲密的性行为, 所以那晚上我基本就是观众。

HL: 你对小弟的感觉好像还挺复杂的?

MM: 好像是。有些人可能觉得他们为了赚钱做那些, 和他们做些什么都能接受。我和小弟聊过, 他们就是从外地过来, 没什么学历, 找不到什么好工作, 虽然我觉得他们也确实有点好逸恶劳, 但是我觉得做这个工作还是挺同情他们的。特别是他们还是直男的话, 我总觉得好像我们同志用钱胁迫他们做那些事, 有种强奸的感觉。所以我觉得我不会和他们发生什么性行为, 然后我希望多给他们点尊重, 让他们相对轻松点完成当晚的工作就好了。

HL: 那你对 KTV 这样场所的存在有什么想说的么?

MM: 尽管我去 KTV 的那晚我没有和小弟发生太亲密的性行为, 但我还是挺 enjoy 那天晚上的。对我来说看到那些场景, 玩得放松开心就够了。我觉得存在即是合理吧, 我也希望同志能够有这样一个场所, 不管他们在那里的目的是怎样。不过 KTV 的消费确实挺高的, 可能只有一些收入相对还不错的人才能去的起吧。我可能一年最多愿意在那消费 1-2 次。