

# 民间报告

## 普遍定期审议（第3轮）

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主题：基于性倾向和性别认同的歧视普遍存在

提交报告的民间机构：彩虹项目

1. 中国政府并没有做出任何法律和实践上的实质性进步，以确保中国公民享有基于不同性倾向和性别认同的平等权利。这与中国政府声称的已经实施上一轮普遍定期审议提出的全部三项相关建议相矛盾。这三条建议是：“将歧视的法律定义写入中国法律，以便加强中国在这方面的努力”（葡萄牙 186.85）；“设立反歧视法律法规，确保男女同性恋、双性恋和变性者享有平等待遇，包括在学校和工作场所享有平等待遇”（爱尔兰 186.89）；“按照国际标准，在劳动和就业法律中加入禁止一切歧视的规定，包括基于性取向和性别身份、族裔、宗教和艾滋病毒感染情况的歧视”（荷兰 186.90）。在接受普遍定期审议的建议时，中国政府声称现行各部法律都禁止了歧视，包括劳动法。<sup>1</sup>但是，现行法律和法规并没有禁止对基于性倾向和性别认同群体（LGBTQ）的歧视。
2. 如果没有对 LGBTQ 群体的法律保护，他们仍然容易受到系统歧视和暴力，被排除在公共服务之外且无法通过司法程序去问责。由于缺乏法律禁止基于性取向或性别认同的歧视，LGBTQ 群体在寻求学校和工作场所的平等待遇以及获得法律补救方面面临障碍。根据联合国开发计划署 2016 年发布的一份调查，超过一半的 LGBTQ 受访者因性取向或性别认同而遭受歧视。<sup>2</sup>
3. 我们建议会员国就性取向歧视问题向中国提出以下建议：
  - 加快通过《反就业歧视法》，确保其中包括禁止基于性倾向和性别身份的歧视，并使其得到有力执行；

- 彻底删除《中国精神疾病分类与诊断标准（第三版）》以及学校教育课程中的同性恋歧视内容，遵守国际标准并遵循《日惹原则》，确保将性取向和性别认同纳入公共教育；
- 通过法律法规禁止中国的同性恋“扭转治疗”，惩罚提供“治疗”的医院或诊所，并为被迫接受非法治疗的个人提供补救措施。

### **没有婚姻平权**

4. 中国当局否认婚姻平权和法律平等权利，对 LGBTQ 人群进行歧视。在 2016 年具有里程碑意义的案件中，中国法院判决否决了一对希望结婚的同性伴侣。<sup>3</sup> 政府未能依法保护 LGBTQ 群体享有婚姻平等权利似乎与民意背道而驰。根据联合国开发计划署 2016 年的一份调查，85% 的异性恋受访者支持同性婚姻合法化，这一数字在 LGBTQ 群体中上升至 95%。<sup>4</sup> 在预防暴力方面，同性恋关系中的个人也没有得到与异性恋夫妻相同的法律保护。中国政府官员明确表示，在 2015 年通过的《反家庭暴力法》不会涵盖同性伴侣，尽管在最初的草案中有人乐观地认为该法将更具包容性。<sup>5</sup> 根据全国人大常委会发言人的说法，法律排除同性伴侣的原因是“在中国，我们从未发现过同性恋关系中的暴力行为”。<sup>6</sup> 然而，中国的非政府组织公开发布了充分的证据证明同性关系中的暴力行为以及法律保护的必要性。<sup>7</sup> 这是推进保护 LGBTQ 权利的重大挫折，反映出政府缺乏政治决心以确保所有人享有平等待遇。

### **非自愿的“扭转治疗”**

5. 在中国，私人和公共的诊所和医院通过“扭转治疗”以“纠正”一个人的性别认同和性取向，这通常涉及精神病治疗、厌恶疗法、激素疗法、药物治疗和电击的使用。<sup>8</sup> 在 2015 年“结论性意见”中，联合国禁止酷刑委员会（CAT）对中国诊所提供同性恋“扭转治疗”、政府未能取缔这种做法、也无法在法律上保证 LGBTQ 群体的人格完整性，表示担忧。<sup>9</sup> 迄今为止，中国政府没有采取任何措施取缔同性恋“扭转治疗”，这种所谓“治疗”的受害者仍无法获得法律追责权。
6. LGBTQ 群体通常被其家庭成员强迫地送到精神科医院或诊所，进行“扭转治疗”。在 2016 年至 2017 年期间，我们记录了 169 项强制“扭转治疗”指控，其中涉及 49 家官方医院。受影响的人被进行电击，强迫吃药，催眠，厌恶疗法和胁迫。2017 年 7

月，河南的一家法院判定一名接受强制扭转治疗的男子胜诉，判决当事诊所支付 5000 元人民币（约合 790 美元）的赔偿金，并公开道歉。<sup>10</sup> 然而，到目前为止，这家诊所仍未执行法院判决的道歉。

7. 另有一个例子，在 2015 年，一个同性恋男子被家人强行送到精神病医院，因为他想和妻子离婚。<sup>11</sup> 在没有进行任何沟通或评估的情况下，医院以“性偏好障碍”为由对他进行了 19 天的治疗，在此期间，他被喂药，强行注射药物并受到骚扰。这种类型的非自愿“治疗”是由政府的政策导致的，这是将某种形式的同性恋和双性恋归类为《中国精神疾病分类与诊断标准》（CCMD-3）所述的心理变态的结果。<sup>12</sup> 这也违反了中国的《精神卫生法》，该法规定精神病收治须事先由合格的医生进行全面检查，并由被收治人自愿参与接受心理治疗。
8. 2014 年，有许多涉及诊所和医院在中国各地进行同性恋“扭转治疗”的报道，包括北京，重庆，广州，南充，西安和珠海。来自同性恋慈善组织的志愿者向 10 个城市（包括北京，广州，杭州，南宁，深圳和西安）的工商局和卫生局举报了这些开展“同性恋扭转治疗”的精神病诊所。2013 年，一名前往诊所寻求心理咨询的男同性恋者在广东省深圳市被进行了一个多月的催眠和电击。<sup>13</sup>

### ***LGBTQ 群体面临的就业歧视和不平等***

9. 2015 年，LGBTQ 群体赞赏《反就业歧视法》（专家意见稿）中使用的措辞，其中规定性别认同和性取向不应成为雇主在招聘、雇用、培训、薪酬、晋升和为员工提供福利时考虑的因素。<sup>14</sup> 该法案如果通过将有可能成为一个法律上的突破，为中国 LGBTQ 群体提供职场上的保护。但是，这部法律提案的正式通过并没有明确的时间表。此外，我们也不能确定最终的法律文本会包含有关性别认同及性倾向的规定，也不能确定这些法律条文会得到落实。
10. 由于缺乏对性别多样性的法律承认，LGBTQ 群体遭遇歧视的现象十分普遍，连官方也承认这点。根据 2013 年爱白文化教育中心对 2,161 名 LGBTQ 人群的调查，38.5% 的人因性别认同或性取向而在工作场所遭受歧视和不平等待遇。<sup>15</sup> 2017 年联合国开发计划署的一项调查发现，14% 的 LGBTQ 受访者因性取向或性别认同而被拒绝就业。<sup>16</sup>

11. 然而中国当局只采取了一些小举措来防止职场歧视，尚未在法律或实践中采取具体或实质性步骤，以防止基于性别认同或性取向的歧视。在中国当局接受普遍定期审议（UPR）提出的三条相关建议时，声称现有法律已经禁止对不同的群体的歧视。当局认为，《劳动法》规定“劳动者就业，不因民族、种族、性别、宗教信仰不同而受歧视”，以及“《就业促进法》对就业歧视进行了系统性的规定”。可是，无论是《劳动法》还是《就业促进法》都没有为 LGBTQ 群体提供任何法律保护，因为性别认同和性倾向未列为歧视理由。<sup>17</sup>
12. 由于缺乏对 LGBTQ 群体的法律保护，他们在面临就业歧视时无法获得平等的法律救济。2014 年，深圳一名男子在性取向曝光后失去了工作。<sup>18</sup> 他起诉了雇主，这是中国首个基于性取向的就业歧视诉讼。法官间接承认了性倾向在劳动关系终止的过程中发挥了作用，但还是判该男子败诉。<sup>19</sup> 在 2015 年，一位跨性别人士被解雇，因为雇主担心他给客户带来“不适宜的印象”。<sup>20</sup> 这位受害者向劳动仲裁委员会申请劳动仲裁，但裁定仍然有利于雇主。<sup>21</sup> 该跨性别人士随后提起诉讼，法院判决认为受害人系被非法解雇，但不认定是歧视。<sup>22</sup> 在这两个标志性诉讼中，法院和仲裁委员会作出相关决定的关键因素是，没有法律禁止基于性倾向或性别认同的歧视。
13. 根据广东省公安局发布的一项规定，公民变性手术后可以更新户籍和身份证上的性别登记。<sup>23</sup> 但是如果他们需要更新学籍档案或其他文件的性别登记，则可能会面临困难。<sup>24</sup> 身份证明文件之间的这种不一致可能会给 LGBTQ 群体找工作带来障碍。<sup>25</sup> 此外，没有任何迹象表明这些政策将会在全国范围内实施。

### **在学校受到歧视**

14. 教育机构中的恐同和歧视在中国仍然普遍存在，非常规性别的学生经常遭受霸凌。根据 2015 年《中国临床心理学杂志》的调查结果，40.7% 的非常规性学生被霸凌，其中有近 35% 是口头上的威胁，他们之后几乎都经历了一定程度的抑郁。<sup>26</sup> 在 2016 年联合国开发计划署调查的受访者中，40% 的 LGBTQ 人士表示他们在学校遭受过歧视。<sup>27</sup>
15. 造成这一问题的原因主要是，校方采取各种方法抑制 LGBTQ 学生在校园里越来越高的可见度，以及缺乏对性别多样性的认识。许多高校拒绝学生在校园内注册

LGBTQ 学生社团，使得他们无法公开招募成员，也无法使用设施和资源开展活动。<sup>28</sup> 学校经常限制有助于促进性别多样性的活动，甚至抑制在校园中 LGBTQ 公开存在的痕迹。<sup>29</sup> 在对 LGBTQ 学生各种形式的骚扰中，2016 年广东省一所大学校方威胁要拒绝授予一位女生文凭，因为她在校园里向她女朋友求婚，并把她们的照片在网上发布。<sup>30</sup>

### **有偏见的教科书强化歧视**

16. 高等教育中使用的有偏见的教材加剧了对 LGBTQ 群体的歧视。尽管 2001 年从精神障碍的分类中删除了同性恋和双性恋，但许多教科书继续传授相反的观点。我们在 2014 年进行的一项研究显示，40% 用于大学心理学或心理健康课程的书籍仍将同性恋视为性变态的一种形式。我们还发现，有一半的教材介绍了“扭转治疗”。最近一次出版这样的教材是在 2013 年，包含了歧视性的和过时的信息，比如将同性恋者视为艾滋病的一个病源。
17. 缺乏强有力的、可执行的反歧视法律使得中国司法制度未能保护 LGBTQ 人群的权利。2017 年 3 月，北京市高级人民法院驳回了一位女同性恋大学生的上诉，她控告高校教材对同性恋的污名化。她起诉了教育部，指控教育部没有召回用于专业考试和大学课程的教材，仍然将同性恋标记为精神障碍，并提供有关“扭转疗法”的信息。<sup>31</sup> 由于一直没有法院举行庭审，一桩于 2007 年针对相关出版商提起的诉讼仍未判决。然而一项针对中国人民大学出版社的倡导活动获得了成功，这项活动是由之前起诉教育部的学生发起的。<sup>32</sup> 在另一个案例中，一名学生根据消费者权益相关法规对暨南大学出版社提起诉讼——而不是基于歧视——认为教科书不符合“中国法律规定的质量要求”，从而侵犯了其权利。有两场关于此案的庭审都被取消了，尚未对簿公堂。<sup>33</sup>

注释：

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<sup>1</sup> In response to recommendations 186.85 (Portugal) and 89 (Ireland), the government replied: “China’s Constitution clearly stipulates that all citizens are equal before the law. China prohibits all possible discriminations via enacting specific laws. China’s Law on Regional National Autonomy, Law on the Protection of Rights and Interests of Women, Law on the Protection of Rights and Interests of Elderly, Law on the Protection of Minors, Law on the Protection of Rights and Interests of Disabled Persons, Law on the Promotion of Employment and other laws clearly prohibit discriminations based on ethnicity, religion, gender, age, disability and other aspects.” In response to 90 (Netherlands), the government said, “The Labour Law of China stipulates that workers shall not be discriminated on grounds of ethnicity, race, sex and religious beliefs. The Law on the Promotion of

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Employment of China contains systematic stipulations against employment discriminations.” UN Human Rights Council, “Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review, China, Addendum, Views on conclusions and/or recommendations, voluntary commitments and replies presented by the State under review,” A/HRC/25/5/Add.1, 2014.

<sup>2</sup> United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) China, “Being LGBTI in China: A National Survey on Social Attitudes towards Sexual Orientation, Gender Identity, and Gender Expression,” May 16, 2016, p. 27, [http://www.cn.undp.org/content/china/en/home/library/democratic\\_governance/being-lgbt-in-china.html](http://www.cn.undp.org/content/china/en/home/library/democratic_governance/being-lgbt-in-china.html)

<sup>3</sup> *BBC Chinese*, “China’s First Same-Sex Marriage Case Ruled Against Gay Couple” (中国首例同性婚姻维权案判同性恋者败诉), April 13, 2016, [http://www.bbc.com/zhongwen/simp/china/2016/04/160413\\_china\\_same-sex\\_marriage\\_case](http://www.bbc.com/zhongwen/simp/china/2016/04/160413_china_same-sex_marriage_case).

<sup>4</sup> UNDP China, “Being LGBTI in China: A National Survey on Social Attitudes towards Sexual Orientation, Gender Identity, and Gender Expression,” May 16, 2016, pp. 25, 28.

<sup>5</sup> The September 2015 second draft of the Anti-Domestic Violence Law opened up the definition from the initial draft to cover “family members,” which was viewed as ambiguous enough to cover same-sex couples. However, authorities specifically mentioned in a press conference after the law’s passage that it does not cover homosexual couples. China Law Translate, “What’s new in the new Domestic Violence Law draft?,” September 16, 2016, <http://chinalawtranslate.com/major-changes-in-the-domestic-violence-law/?lang=en>.

<sup>6</sup> *China Daily*, “Anti-Domestic Violence ‘Persons Living Together’ Provision does not Cover Homosexuals” (反家暴法中“共同生活人”不包括同性恋), December 27, 2015, [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/micro-reading/china/2015-12-27/content\\_14436421.html](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/micro-reading/china/2015-12-27/content_14436421.html).

<sup>7</sup> Beijing Yuanzhong Gender Development Center, Beijing Weiping Women’s Organization, Beijing Tongyu, and Guangzhou New Media Feminism “An Investigative Report on Anti-Domestic Violence Law Implementation” (《反家庭暴力法》实施情况调研报告), March 15, 2017, <https://zhuannlan.zhihu.com/p/25781138>; Xie Wenting, “Gay people seek protection under China’s first domestic violence law,” *Global Times*, January 15, 2016, <http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/963684.shtml>.

<sup>8</sup> CHR and Coalition of NGOs, “Information Submission to the UN Committee Against Torture for Consideration in List of Issues, February 2015,” <https://www.nchr.org/2015/02/chrd-information-submission-to-the-un-committee-against-torture-for-the-review-of-the-fifth-periodic-report-of-china-february-2015/>

<sup>9</sup> Committee against Torture, Concluding observations on the fifth periodic report of China, CAT/C/CHN/CO/5, February 2016, paras. 55-56.

<sup>10</sup> Gerry Shih, “Man wins lawsuit in China over forced gay conversion therapy,” *Associated Press*, July 4, 2017, <https://apnews.com/4d9d955c9bfd401b93f28ef4e9ffa5f8>.

<sup>11</sup> Meng Fanyong (孟繁勇), “Involuntarily Committed for 19 Days at a Psychiatric Hospital, Reason was Sexual Preference Disorder” (他被精神病医院强制治疗 19 天 理由是：性偏好障碍), *Henan Business*, June 15, 2016, [http://newspaper.dahe.cn/hnsb/html/2016-06/15/content\\_41104.htm](http://newspaper.dahe.cn/hnsb/html/2016-06/15/content_41104.htm).

<sup>12</sup> Chinese Classification of Medical Disorders kept a category of “ego-dystonic homosexual” (article 62.31) to describe people who have difficulties accepting their homosexuality or bisexuality. China’s classification deviates from international standard, such that “ego-dystonic homosexual” is not found in World Health Organization’s International Statistical Classification of Diseases and Related Health Problems (ICD-10). Chinese Classification of Medical Disorders (CCMD-3), “Homosexuality, Bisexuality” (同性恋 双性恋), <http://www.psychcn.com/counseling/zxjn/200612/2580826650.shtml>.

<sup>13</sup> CHR and Coalition of NGOs, “Information Submission to the UN Committee Against Torture for Consideration in List of Issues, February 2015.”

<sup>14</sup> The proposal was submitted by National People’s Congress (NPC) delegates after initial consultation started in 2008, and has since been approved for further drafting and consultation with relevant departments. No calls for consultation with civil society have been made. Luo Jingwen (罗静雯), “NPC Deputy Sun Xiaomei: Speed Up Adoption of ‘Employment Anti-Discrimination Law’ To Ensure Equal Employment for Everyone” (人大代表孙晓梅：抓紧制定《反就业歧视法》确保每个人平等就业), *Chongqing Daily*, March 16, 2016, [http://cq.cqnews.net/html/2016-03/16/content\\_36531225.htm](http://cq.cqnews.net/html/2016-03/16/content_36531225.htm); Employment Anti-Discrimination Law of the People’s Republic of China (Proposal Draft by Experts) (中华人民共和国反就业歧视法 (专家建议稿)), 2016 draft (uploaded by CHR), <https://www.nchr.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Employment-Anti-Discrimination-Law-of-the-People%E2%80%99s-Republic-of-China-Proposal-Draft-by-Experts2016.pdf>.

<sup>15</sup> Asia Catalyst, Beijing Zuoyou, and Shanghai SCMC Center, “‘My Life is Too Dark To See The Light’: A Survey of the Living Conditions of Transgender Female Sex Workers in Beijing and Shanghai,” January 2015, p. 14, <http://asiacatalyst.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/Asia-Catalyst-TG-SW-Report.pdf>.

<sup>16</sup> Out & Equal, “Only Five Percent of LGBTI Employees in China Feel Comfortable Coming Out at Work,” October 16, 2017, <http://outandequal.org/only-five-percent-of-lgbti-employees-in-china-feel-comfortable-coming-out-at-work/>.

- <sup>17</sup> Labor Law of the People's Republic of China, 1995, [http://www.china.org.cn/living\\_in\\_china/abc/2009-07/15/content\\_18140508.htm](http://www.china.org.cn/living_in_china/abc/2009-07/15/content_18140508.htm); Law on Promotion of Employment of the People's Republic of China, 2008, [http://www.npc.gov.cn/englishnpc/Law/2009-02/20/content\\_1471590.htm](http://www.npc.gov.cn/englishnpc/Law/2009-02/20/content_1471590.htm).
- <sup>18</sup> NGOCN, "China's First Workplace Discrimination Against Homosexuality Lawsuit Filed" (全国首例同性恋职场歧视案今起诉), November 27, 2014, <http://www.ngocn.net/news/360566.html>.
- <sup>19</sup> The victim lost both the first-instance trial and appeal in 2015. The judge stated that it was unclear if the termination of his job was due to his homosexuality or damages to the company's image caused by a video that was posted online, which revealed his sexual orientation. The judge's reasoning reflected sexual orientation had in fact played a role, but the verdict was ruled against the victim. Pan Bo (潘播), "Man Fired After Coming Out of the Closet, Lost Lawsuit Against Company for Employment Discrimination" (男子出柜后被解雇 告公司就业歧视败诉), *Guangzhou Daily*, April 23, 2015, <http://news.sina.com.cn/s/2015-04-23/053931749820.shtml>.
- <sup>20</sup> Vanessa Piao, "Chinese Panel Rules Against Plaintiff in Transgender Job Discrimination Case," *The New York Times*, May 10, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/11/world/asia/china-transgender-job-discrimination.html>.
- <sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>22</sup> Vanessa Piao, "Transgender Man Was Unfairly Fired, but Bias Not Proved, Chinese Court Says," *New York Times*, January 2, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/02/world/asia/china-transgender-lawsuit.html>.
- <sup>23</sup> Guangdong PSB promulgated a directive in 2008 on updating one's sex after sex reassignment surgery. Guangdong Public Security Bureau, "Citizens After Sex-Reassignment Surgery Changing Gender Identity in One's Hukou Registration" (公民手术后变更户口登记性别项目), August 22, 2011, [http://zwgk.gd.gov.cn/006940140/201108/t20110822\\_267369.html](http://zwgk.gd.gov.cn/006940140/201108/t20110822_267369.html).
- <sup>24</sup> Xu Ye, "Research on China's Transsexual Group: Discrimination and Ignorance Even Among LGBT Group" (中国跨性别群体调查: LGBT 群体内也有歧视和无知), *IFeng*, January 7, 2015, [http://news.ifeng.com/a/20150107/42878387\\_0.shtml](http://news.ifeng.com/a/20150107/42878387_0.shtml).
- <sup>25</sup> The Ministry of Education has issued no directive or rules regarding how post-operative transsexuals can update their gender identity on school diplomas, hence, many schools refuse to change the identity for students. In some cases, the inconsistencies have caused distrust between employer and job candidate.
- <sup>26</sup> Wei Chong-zheng and Liu Wen-li, "The Association between School Bullying and Mental Health of Sexual Minority Students," *Chinese Journal of Clinical Psychology*, No. 4, Vol. 23, 2015.
- <sup>27</sup> UNDP China, "Being LGBTI in China: A National Survey on Social Attitudes towards Sexual Orientation, Gender Identity, and Gender Expression," May 16, 2016, p. 27.
- <sup>28</sup> According to interviews conducted with the groups, they were not allowed to register on campus and currently there are no known open LGBT group allowed to register like other student groups.
- <sup>29</sup> Prominent activist Ai Xiaoming was able to register a LGBT group at Guangzhou's Sun Yat-sen University when she was still teaching at the school in 2006 because university authorities did not fully understand what LGBT stood for. University authorities then blocked the group from registering the following year, after the group began receiving media attention, and the university was under pressure to close it. NGOCN, "Story of Sun Yat-sen University's Rainbow Club: University Is Not So Free and Inclusive" (中大彩虹社的故事: 中大并没有那么自由包容), July 9, 2014, <http://www.ngocn.net/news/90658.html>; In 2016, another school in Guangzhou pressured facilities and stores on campus not to provide space for an exhibition on homosexuality. WeChat User Sisyphus-stone, "An Exhibition Without People: The Most Authentic Artwork of Exhibition 'Named'" (一场没有人的展览 | 被取消是"命名"展最真实的作品), September 19, 2016, [http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/?\\_biz=MzlwMjM4MTIxNA==&mid=2247483701&idx=1&sn=8f4392b3db1c94c084eb2c6fdb26288&chksm=96dec3c4a1a94ad29044166bc0a06dc9c13bdcf9b1036d324b06bada5a85a8e8291ed37099a7&scene=1&srcid=09198vt4EG0dwIKTBZwa0dYi#wechat\\_redirect](http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/?_biz=MzlwMjM4MTIxNA==&mid=2247483701&idx=1&sn=8f4392b3db1c94c084eb2c6fdb26288&chksm=96dec3c4a1a94ad29044166bc0a06dc9c13bdcf9b1036d324b06bada5a85a8e8291ed37099a7&scene=1&srcid=09198vt4EG0dwIKTBZwa0dYi#wechat_redirect).
- <sup>30</sup> Police and university officials also searched the woman's home, an official from the university's Communist Party Committee repeatedly harassed the two students, and state censors blocked a feminist group's online social media account that posted the story. Wang Xiaoyu, "Heterosexual Proposal at Graduation Is Blessed, But Homosexual Proposal Gets Denied Diploma?" (异性恋毕业求婚得校长祝福, 同性恋毕业求婚不给毕业?), *China Digital Times*, June 28, 2016, <http://chinadigitaltimes.net/chinese/2016/06/%E5%BC%82%E6%80%A7%E6%81%8B%E6%AF%95%E4%B8%9A%E6%B1%82%E5%A9%9A%E5%BE%97%E6%A0%A1%E9%95%BF%E7%A5%9D%E7%A6%8F%E7%BC%8C%E5%90%8C%E6%80%A7%E6%81%8B%E6%AF%95%E4%B8%9A%E6%B1%82%E5%A9%9A%E4%B8%8D%E7%BB%99/>.
- <sup>31</sup> Caixin, "Teaching Stigma About Homosexuals University Student Loses Appeal Against Ministry of Education" (教材疑污名化同性恋 大学女生告教育部二审败诉), March 6, 2017, <http://china.caixin.com/2017-03-06/101062813.html>; Natalie Thomas, "Chinese gay activist challenges homosexuality 'disorder' textbooks," *Reuters*, September 12, 2016, <http://in.reuters.com/article/us-china-rights-textbook-idINKCNI11174>.

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<sup>32</sup> Qian Jinghua, “China’s Homophobic Textbooks Turn Over a New Leaf,” *Sixth Tone*, April 24, 2017, <http://www.sixthtone.com/news/1000050/chinas-homophobic-textbooks-turn-over-a-new-leaf>.

<sup>33</sup> Katherine Tai, “Suing the homophobia out of China’s textbooks,” *Sup China*, January 23, 2018, <https://supchina.com/2018/01/23/suing-the-homophobia-out-of-chinas-textbooks/>.