Understanding *Yaoi*/Boys' Love Chinese Fandom

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Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Leeds
School of Psychology

September, 2019

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Acknowledgements

Thank you to my supervisor Professor Anna Madill for reading my drafts and guiding me in my analysis and all our exciting and thought-provoking discussions. I really appreciate to have this opportunity to do research on this topic. This research has many useful and timely contributions to make to understanding current youth popular culture in both China and Anglophone regions. I am excited to publish my work and do further research on this topic.

I would like to thank my family who have given me an extreme tolerance and support for my choice of this programme with what might be considered a ‘deviant’ topic. My family, especially my mum, gave me ‘uncommon’ freedom to arrange my time since I was very young. As a result I was attracted by Yaoi during my middle school age. Then Yaoi has become an important part of my free time until now. I am so lucky to experience the big changes, promotions, even retrogress in Chinese *Yaoi*.

My mum uses her wisdom, kindness, and enlightenment imperceptibly to influence me. She always shares her feelings, knowledge and experience with me rather than give me instructions. She gave me confidence to study oversea, to do my current research and to continue my career.

And thanks to my grandpa. He was the earliest generation of educational psychologist in the PRC. He introduced psychology and scholarship to me and I still remember the image of him and his office where I spent summer holidays with him. He inspired me by his erudite life with colorful hobbies. He loved his scholar career and love life, calligraphy, fishing and even NBA. I would like to thank him to being so inclusive, energetic and optimistic, and this encouraged me to work hard and never give up. I am so lucky to have such a marvelous family.

Thanks also to my friends - He Wei Wen, Zhang Qian, and Ma Jing - for all your support. I am so glad you came to Japan to meet me and have a fascinating trip together. It has been great to find people to share interests and to do exciting things together.

I would like to thank all my participants, especially, all my interviewees. I am so honoured to interview you all. It has been a pleasure to hear other people's perspectives on *Yaoi* culture. I hope this research captures something of the fandom and the material. Although *Yaoi* fans might face all kinds of prejudices, I hope they can enjoy this harmless hobby without gossips and moral judgements.

Finally, I would like to thank my examiners spending time and patiently reading my research.

Abstract

Background: *Yaoi*, or Boys' Love (BL), is a female-oriented genre of subculture that portray fantasy romantic and erotic relationship between men which presents in manga, prints, fiction, anime, internet series, drama, video game, or any media format. *Yaoi* originated in Japan in early the 1970s and has since gone global. *Yaoi* was introduced into China in the 1990s and has become an essential part of Chinses popular culture.

Aim: The overall aim of this research is to provide an understanding of the Chinese *Yaoi* fandom.

Method: Following ethical approval, data was generated via interviews and online surveys. Twenty semi-structured online and face-to-face interviews were conducted with self-identifying, female Chinese *Yaoi* fans (17-28 years old, M=23.5). Interviews explored personal preferences, experiences, feelings and understanding about Chinese *Yaoi* and were analysed using Thematic Analysis. Two almost identical online surveys of Chinese *Yaoi* Fandom (in Chinese, final n=1922) and Anglophone *Yaoi* Fandom (in English, final n=1713) collected quantitative and qualitative data. The survey has 144 questions in five sections: demographics, *Yaoi*, feelings about *Yaoi*, social relationships, and other erotic materials. Qualitative data was content analysed and the quantitative data was analysed using a variety of appropriate statistical tests. Three overarching foci of analysis emerged from exploratory inspection of the data: That is, the research offers an analysis of the heteronormative frame in Chinese *Yaoi* through integrating female Chinese fan interviews with Sinophone and Anglophone survey data; addresses the question 'who engages with *Yaoi* in China?'; and explores engagement with the sexual content of *Yaoi* in Chinese and Anglophone contexts.

Findings and Conclusion: Compared with Chinese and Anglophone *Yaoi* fans: Chinese fans were more influenced by a heteronormative frame than were the Anglophone; Chinese fans included more female and heterosexual participants with relatively more socially conservative and less socially liberal outlook than Anglophone participants; Chinese fans showed clear differences between casual and avid fans in the consumption of sexual content of *Yaoi* and other erotic materials, unlike Anglophone fans; however, as a global youth culture, Chinese and Anglophone fans demonstrated highly consistent preference in the sexual contents of *Yaoi* materials. This research is based on the largest ever survey sample of *Yaoi* fandom in both China and Anglophone regions and is unique in allowing comparative analysis of the data from these almost identical surveys. It covers a large range of important aspects of *Yaoi* and has demonstrated self-validation between the qualitative and quantitative findings and well as between the two surveys in terms of sexual content preferences for this idiosyncratic global phenomenon. Where there are cultural differences, this has been explored thoroughly and can be related in general to social conservativism of Chinese culture and the social liberalism of Anglophone regions.

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgements ..... **iii**

Abstract ..... **v**

Table of Contents ..... **vii**

List of Tables ..... **xii**

List of Figures ..... **xxvi**

List of Glossary ..... **xxviii**

Publications and Presentations ..... **xxxii**

Preface ..... **xxxiv**

Chapter 1: Introduction **1**

1970s 2
1980s 3
1990s 6
21st century 8

Literature Review **15**

Literature research strategy 16
Themes dominating the research literature on *Yaoi* in Chin 23
Theme 1. Sexual liberation *23*
Theme 2. Paradox of gender identity *29*
Theme 3. Fandom *33*
Theme 4. Social influence *37*
Theme 5. Communication *42*

Aims and Thesis Structure 45

Chapter 2: Methodological Overview **46**

Theoretical framework 46
The Project 47

Background to the researcher and her research on *Yaoi* in China 50
Ethical issues 54
Ethical issues with regard to the interviews *56*
Ethical issues with regard to the survey *58*
The interviews 59
Interview participant recruitment *61*
Interview data analysis *64*
The Survey 66
Survey data collection *68*
Survey data analysis *69*
Summary 69
Chapter 3: The Heteronormative Frame in Chinese *Yaoi* **71**
Method 74
Interview Data *74*
Interview Analysis *76*
Survey Data *78*
Survey Analysis *79*
Analysis 81
Interview Analysis: The Heteronormative Frame *81*
Discussion 97
Social and Family Approval *97*
Everlasting Romantic Relationship *99*
Heteronormative Couple and Dislike Reversible Relationship *100*
Gay Relationships in Reality *101*
Evaluation and Conclusion *103*
Chapter 4: Who engages with *Yaoi* in China? **105**

Method 113
Analysis 121
Research question 1: Are there differences between Chinese and Anglophone survey participants? 121
Discussion 1: Are there differences between Chinese and Anglophone survey participants? 138
Research question 2: Are there differences between Chinese 'casual' and 'avid' BL fans? 144
Discussion 2: Are there differences between Chinese 'casual' and 'avid' BL fans? ... 151
Question 3: Are there differences between Chinese BL fans by social outlook? 154
Discussion 3: Are there differences between Chinese BL fans by social outlook? 168
Research Question 4: Are there differences between Chinese participants from Mainland China and from Hong Kong? 175
Discussion 4: Are there differences between Chinese participants from Mainland China and from Hong Kong? 177
Conclusions 178
Addendum 181
Chapter 5: Engagement with the sexual content of *Yaoi* in Chinese and Anglophone contexts 184
Method 187
Analysis 193
Research question 1a: Which 'risqué' sexual content do Chinese and Anglophone participants particularly enjoy in BL and does this differ between cultures? 195
Discussion 1a: Which 'risqué' sexual content do Chinese and Anglophone participants particularly enjoy in BL and does this differ between cultures? 204

Research question 1b: Are there sub-demographics in Chinese and in Anglophone culture who enjoy particular forms of risqué sexual content in BL and do these forms relate also to enjoyment of particular storylines and concern with legal issues?..... 212

Discussion 1b: Are there sub-demographics in Chinese and in Anglophone culture who enjoy particular forms of risqué sexual content in BL and do these forms relate also to enjoyment of particular storylines and concern with legal issues?..... 238

Research question 2a: Which 'incestual' sexual relationships do Chinese and Anglophone participants particularly enjoy in BL and does this differ between cultures? 242

Discussion 2a: Which 'incestual' sexual relationships do Chinese and Anglophone participants particularly enjoy in BL and does this differ between cultures?..... 249

Research question 2b: Are there sub-demographics in Chinese and in Anglophone culture who enjoy particular forms of 'incestual' sexual relationships in BL and do these forms relate also to enjoyment of particular storylines and concern with legal issues?..... 253

Discussion 2b: Are there sub-demographics in Chinese and in Anglophone culture who enjoy particular forms of 'incestual' sexual relationships in BL and do these forms relate also to enjoyment of particular storylines and concern with legal issues?..... 283

Research question 3a: What other erotic materials do Chinese and Anglophone participants engage with and does this differ between cultures?..... 287

Discussion 3a: What other erotic materials do Chinese and Anglophone participants engage with and does this differ between cultures? 292

Research question 3b: Are there sub-demographics in Chinese and Anglophone culture who engage with particular forms of other erotic materials and do these forms relate also to enjoyment of particular storylines and concern with legal issues?..... 294

Discussion 3b: Are there sub-demographics in Chinese and Anglophone culture who engage with particular forms of other erotic materials and do these forms relate also to enjoyment of particular storylines and concern with legal issues? 309

Conclusions 311

Chapter 6: Conclusions and Reflections - Understanding *Yaoi*/Boys' Love Chinese Fandom 313

Integrated conclusions of the three empirical investigations 314
Strengths and limitations of this research 315
Further research 318
Final conclusion 318

References 320

Appendices 346

Appendix 1: Ethics Approval 346
Appendix 2: Ethics Approval (revised for interview data collection in China) 347
Appendix 3 Safety Protocol for Risk Assessment 348
Appendix 4 Draft Interview schedule 351
Appendix 5 Understanding the Chinese Boys' Love Fandom: Information Sheet 352
Appendix 6 Concern Form 355
Appendix 7 Confidentiality Statement for Transcribers 356
Appendix 8 BL Fandom Survey 357
Appendix 9 E-mail (may be adapted slightly to be relevant to contactee and will be in Chinese) 368
Appendix 10 Postcard 369
Appendix 11 Leaflet 372
Appendix 12 Contract for postcard front picture copy right 374
Appendix 13: Contract for postcard backside picture copy right 378
Appendix 14 Initial Results for Chinese and Anglophone Survey 381

List of Tables

Chapter

Table 1. 1: Number of selected articles from each data base 19

Table 1. 2: Articles contributing to the themes in the literature review 23

Chapter 3

Table 3. 1: Description of interviewees in the order in which interviews conducted 76

Table 3. 2: Survey participant demographics by culture and gender 78

Table 3. 3: Interviewee contribution to themes 82

Table 3. 4: Summary statistical results for survey questions analysed: Chinese-culture gender differences and female-gender cultural differences 83

Table 3. 5: Which specific elements do you particularly enjoy in BL? - Chinese and Anglophone survey % response by gender 85

Table 3. 6: I like BL stories that are mostly romance and no sex – Chinese and Anglophone survey % response by gender 87

Table 3. 7: Please select the types of seme you particularly like - Chinese and Anglophone survey % response by gender 89

Table 3. 8: Please select the types of uke you particularly like - Chinese and Anglophone survey % response by gender 90

Table 3. 9: Who do you identity with most? - Chinese and Anglophone survey % response by gender 92

Table 3. 10: Which specific elements do you particularly enjoy in BL? - Chinese and Anglophone survey % response by gender 94

Table 3. 11: How acceptable are male-male sexual relationships to you in real life? - Chinese and Anglophone survey % response by gender 96

Table 3. 12: How acceptable are female-female sexual relationships to you in real life? - Chinese and Anglophone survey % response by gender 96

Chapter 4

Table 4. 1: Summary of participant demographics in Yaoi research on Sinophone and Western populations 106

Table 4. 2a: What is your gender? - Chinese and Anglophone participants by frequency 123

Table 4. 3: What is your sexual orientation? - Chinese and Anglophone participants % response 125

Table 4. 4: How did you first discover BL? – Chinese and Anglophone survey % response 128

Table 4. 5: I discuss my interest in BL with friends I know in person – Chinese and Anglophone survey % response 128

Table 4. 6a: What is your highest educational level? - Chinese and Anglophone survey % response 129

Table 4. 7a: What is your main occupation? - Chinese and Anglophone survey % response 130

Table 4. 8a: Do you create any BL works yourself? - Chinese and Anglophone survey % response 131

Table 4. 9a: Do you BL cosplay? - Chinese and Anglophone survey % response 131

Table 4. 10a: What percentage of your spare time do you spend on BL? - Chinese and Anglophone survey % response 132

Table 4. 11a: How intensely are you a BL fan? - Chinese and Anglophone survey % response 132

Table 4. 12: Do you create any BL works yourself? - Chinese student and non-student survey % response 133

Table 4. 13: Do you BL cosplay? - Chinese student and non-student survey % response 134

Table 4. 14: What percentage of your spare time do you spend on BL? - Chinese student and non-student survey % response 134

Table 4. 15: How intensely are you a BL fan? - Chinese student and non-student survey % response 134

Table 4. 16: Do you create any BL works yourself? – Anglophone student and non-student survey % response 135

Table 4. 17: Do you BL cosplay? – Anglophone student and non-student survey % response 135

Table 4. 18: What percentage of your spare time do you spend on BL? – Anglophone student and non-student survey % response 135

TABLE 4. 19: HOW INTENSELY ARE YOU A BL FAN? - ANGLOPHONE STUDENT AND NON-STUDENT SURVEY % RESPONSE 136

TABLE 4. 20: DO YOU CREATE ANY BL WORKS YOURSELF? – CHINESE AND ANGLOPHONE STUDENT SURVEY % RESPONSE 136

TABLE 4. 21*: DO YOU BL COSPLAY? – CHINESE AND ANGLOPHONE STUDENT SURVEY % RESPONSE* 137

TABLE 4. 22: WHAT PERCENTAGE OF YOUR SPARE TIME DO YOU SPEND ON BL? - CHINESE AND ANGLOPHONE STUDENT SURVEY % RESPONSE 137

TABLE 4. 23: HOW INTENSELY ARE YOU A BL FAN? – CHINESE AND ANGLOPHONE STUDENT SURVEY % RESPONSE 137

TABLE 4. 24: ARE THERE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CHINESE AND ANGLOPHONE SURVEY PARTICIPANTS? - SUMMARY STATISTICAL RESULTS 138

TABLE 4. 25: HOW INTENSELY ARE YOU A BL FAN? – CHINESE SURVEY % RESPONSE AND CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGE 144

TABLE 4. 26: GENDER BY SEXUAL ORIENTATION - CHINESE SURVEY % RESPONSE BY TWO FANSHIP INTENSITY CATEGORIES 146

TABLE 4. 27: DO YOU CREATE ANY BL WORKS YOURSELF? - CHINESE SURVEY % RESPONSE BY TWO FANSHIP INTENSITY CATEGORIES 146

TABLE 4. 28: DO YOU BL COSPLAY? - CHINESE SURVEY % RESPONSE BY TWO FANSHIP INTENSITY CATEGORIES 147

TABLE 4. 29: WHAT PERCENTAGE OF YOUR SPARE TIME DO YOU SPEND ON BL? - CHINESE SURVEY % RESPONSE BY TWO FANSHIP INTENSITY CATEGORIES 147

TABLE 4. 30: I USE BL TERMINOLOGY (E.G., 'MOE', 'SEME', 'UKE') IN GENERAL CONVERSATION - CHINESE SURVEY % RESPONSE BY TWO FANSHIP INTENSITY CATEGORIES 147

TABLE 4. 31: I LIKE TO CLASSIFY PEOPLE AND THINGS AS DIFFERENT TYPES OF SEME AND UKE - CHINESE SURVEY % RESPONSE BY TWO FANSHIP INTENSITY CATEGORIES 148

TABLE 4. 32: I DISCUSS MY INTEREST IN BL WITH PEOPLE ONLINE - CHINESE SURVEY % RESPONSE BY TWO FANSHIP INTENSITY CATEGORIES 149

TABLE 4. 33: I DISCUSS MY INTEREST IN BL WITH FRIENDS I KNOW IN PERSON - CHINESE SURVEY % RESPONSE BY TWO FANSHIP INTENSITY CATEGORIES 149

Table 4. 34: I discuss my interest in BL with members of my family - Chinese survey % response by two fanship intensity categories 150

Table 4. 35: How frequently do you engage with male-male slash fiction? - Chinese survey % response by two fanship intensity categories 150

Table 4. 36: Duration of Engagement - Chinese survey % response by two fanship intensity categories 150

Table 4. 37: Are there differences between Chinese 'casual' and 'avid' BL fans? – Summary statistical results 151

Table 4. 38: How acceptable are male-male sexual relationships to you in real life? – Chinese survey % response and cumulative percentage 155

Table 4. 39: How acceptable are female-female sexual relationships to you in real life? – Chinese survey % response and cumulative percentage 155

Table 4. 40: Gender by sexual orientation - Chinese survey % response by two social outlook categories 158

Table 4. 41: How intensely are you a BL fan? - Chinese survey % response by two social outlook categories 159

Table 4. 42: To what extent does it worry you that BL scanlations (fan translations) and fan-subbed BL anime are breaches of copyright? - Chinese survey % response by two social outlook categories 159

Table 4. 43: To what extent do you worry about legal issues in relation to the sexual content of BL? - Chinese survey % response by two social outlook categories 160

Table 4. 44: How frequently do you engage with male-male slash fiction? - Chinese survey % response by two social outlook categories 162

Table 4. 45: How frequently do you engage with female-female slash fiction? - Chinese survey % response by two social outlook categories 162

Table 4. 46: How frequently do you engage with heterosexual erotic materials (e.g., slash fiction, other fictions, videos, photographs, manga, anime)? - Chinese survey % response by two social outlook categories 162

TABLE 4. 47: HOW FREQUENTLY DO YOU ENGAGE WITH NON-BL/NON-SLASH MALE-MALE EROTIC MATERIALS PROBABLY DESIGNED FOR GAY MEN (E.G., FICTIONS, VIDEOS, PHOTOGRAPHS, MANGA, ANIME)? - CHINESE SURVEY % RESPONSE BY TWO SOCIAL OUTLOOK CATEGORIES 163

TABLE 4. 48*: HOW FREQUENTLY DO YOU ENGAGE WITH NON-SLASH FEMALE-FEMALE EROTIC MATERIALS (E.G., FICTIONS, VIDEOS, PHOTOGRAPHS, MANGA, ANIME)? - CHINESE SURVEY % RESPONSE BY TWO SOCIAL OUTLOOK CATEGORIES* 163

TABLE 4. 49: HOW FREQUENTLY DO YOU ENGAGE WITH NON-BL/NON-SLASH BDSM MATERIALS (E.G., FICTIONS, VIDEOS, PHOTOGRAPHS, MANGA, ANIME)? - CHINESE SURVEY % RESPONSE BY TWO SOCIAL OUTLOOK CATEGORIES 163

TABLE 4. 50: MISSING DATA FOR OTHER EROTIC MATERIALS QUESTIONS BY TOTAL ENDORSEMENT AND THREE SOCIAL OUTLOOK CATEGORIES 164

TABLE 4. 51: FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE OF CHINESE HYBRID SOCIAL OUTLOOK PARTICIPANTS BY SUB-TYPE 166

TABLE 4. 52: GENDER BY SEXUAL ORIENTATION – CHINESE SURVEY % RESPONSES BY FIVE SUB-TYPES OF HYBRID SOCIAL OUTLOOK 166

TABLE 4. 53: ARE THERE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CHINESE BL FANS BY SOCIAL OUTLOOK? – SUMMARY STATISTICAL RESULTS 167

TABLE 4. 54A: MAINLAND CHINA AND HONG KONG - CHINESE SURVEY % RESPONSES GENDER BY SEXUAL ORIENTATION 176

TABLE 4. 55A: MAINLAND CHINA AND HONG KONG - CHINESE SURVEY % RESPONSES BY THREE SOCIAL OUTLOOK CATEGORIES 177

TABLE 4. 56: ARE THERE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CHINESE BL FANS FROM MAINLAND CHINA AND FROM HONG KONG? - SUMMARY STATISTICAL RESULTS 177

TABLE 4. 57: NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS BEFORE, DURING AND AFTER UNIVERSITY RECRUITMENT PERIODS IN CHINA (2 EXAMPLE PERIODS) AND ANGLOPHONE COUNTRIES (ONE PERIOD ONLY) 182

Chapter 5

TABLE 5. 1: VARIANCE ACCOUNTED FOR IN THE FOUR COMPONENTS RETAINED IN THE CHINESE RESPONSES TO WHICH 'RISQUÉ' SEXUAL CONTENT DO YOU PARTICULAR ENJOY IN BL? 197

TABLE 5. 2: ROTATED COMPONENT LOADING FROM 4-DIMENSIONAL CATPCA ON 15 VARIABLES IN THE CHINESE RESPONSES TO WHICH 'RISQUÉ' SEXUAL CONTENT DO YOU PARTICULAR ENJOY IN BL? 198

TABLE 5. 3: VARIANCE ACCOUNTED FOR IN THE FOUR COMPONENTS RETAINED IN THE ANGLOPHONE RESPONSES TO WHICH 'RISQUÉ' SEXUAL CONTENT DO YOU PARTICULAR ENJOY IN BL?.....201

TABLE 5. 4: ROTATED COMPONENT LOADING FROM 4-DIMENSIONAL CATPCA ON 15 VARIABLES IN THE ANGLOPHONE RESPONSES TO WHICH 'RISQUÉ' SEXUAL CONTENT DO YOU PARTICULAR ENJOY IN BL? 202

TABLE 5. 5: COMPARISON OF COMPONENT STRUCTURE OF CHINESE AND ANGLOPHONE 'RISQUÉ' SEXUAL CONTENT CATPCAS.....204

TABLE 5. 6: KEY VARIABLES IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE FOR EACH 'RISQUÉ' SEXUAL CONTENT CATPCA COMPONENT BY CULTURE USED TO IDENTIFY ENGAGED DEMOGRAPHIC.....213

TABLE 5. 7: PERCENTAGE OF CHINESE AND ANGLOPHONE BL FANDOM ENGAGING WITH EACH CATPCA 'RISQUÉ SEX' COMPONENT BY GENDER AND SEXUAL ORIENTATION.....214

TABLE 5. 8: COMPARISON OF COMPONENT STRUCTURE OF CHINESE AND ANGLOPHONE 'RISQUÉ' SEXUAL CONTENT CATPCAS.....215

TABLE 5. 9: CHINESE COMPONENT 1 BDSM SPECIALIST BY GENDER.....216

TABLE 5. 10: CHINESE COMPONENT 1 BDSM SPECIALIST BY SEXUAL ORIENTATION.....216

TABLE 5. 11: CHINESE COMPONENT 1 BDSM SPECIALIST BY FANDOM INTENSITY.....216

TABLE 5. 12: CHINESE COMPONENT 1 BDSM SPECIALIST BY STORYLINE - ROMANCE NO SEX 217

TABLE 5. 13: CHINESE COMPONENT 1 BDSM SPECIALIST BY STORYLINE—IMPLICIT RELATIONSHIPS.....217

TABLE 5. 14: CHINESE COMPONENT 1 BDSM SPECIALIST BY STORYLINE - EXPLICIT SEX 218

TABLE 5. 15: CHINESE COMPONENT 1 BDSM SPECIALIST BY LEGAL CONCERN.....218

TABLE 5. 16: CHINESE COMPONENT 2 MECHANOID/ANIMAL SEX SPECIALIST BY GENDER.....218

TABLE 5. 17: CHINESE COMPONENT 2 MECHANOID/ANIMAL SEX SPECIALIST BY SEXUAL ORIENTATION 219

TABLE 5. 18: CHINESE COMPONENT 2 MECHANOID/ANIMAL SEX SPECIALIST BY FANDOM INTENSITY 219

Table 5. 19: Chinese component 2 Mechanoid/Animal Sex Specialist by storyline - romance no sex 220

Table 5. 20: Chinese component 2 Mechanoid/Animal Sex Specialist by storyline - implicit relationships 220

Table 5. 21: Chinese component 2 Mechanoid/Animal Sex Specialist by storyline - explicit sex 221

Table 5. 22: Chinese component 2 Mechanoid/Animal Sex Specialist by legal concern 221

Table 5. 23: Chinese component 3 Underage Sex Specialist by gender 221

Table 5. 24: Chinese component 3 Underage Sex Specialist by sexual orientation 222

Table 5. 25: Chinese component 3 Underage Sex Specialist by fandom intensity 222

Table 5. 26: Chinese component 3 Underage Sex Specialist by storyline - romance no sex 223

Table 5. 27: Chinese component 3 Underage Sex Specialist by storyline - implicit relationships 223

Table 5. 28: Chinese component 3 Underage Sex Specialist by storyline - explicit sex 223

Table 5. 29: Chinese component 3 Underage Sex Specialist by legal concern 224

Table 5. 30: Chinese component 4 Minority Fetish Specialist by gender 224

Table 5. 31: Chinese component 4 Minority Fetish Specialist by sexual orientation 225

Table 5. 32: Chinese component 4 Minority Fetish Specialist by fandom intensity 225

Table 5. 33: Chinese component 4 Minority Fetish Specialist by storyline - romance no sex ... 225

Table 5. 34: Chinese component 4 Minority Fetish Specialist by storyline - implicit relationships 226

Table 5. 35: Chinese component 4 Minority Fetish Specialist by storyline - explicit sex 226

Table 5. 36: Chinese component 4 Minority Fetish Specialist by legal concern 226

Table 5. 37: Anglophone component 1 BDSM Specialist by gender 227

Table 5. 38: Anglophone component 1 BDSM Specialist by sexual orientation 227

Table 5. 39: Anglophone component 1 BDSM Specialist by fandom intensity 228

Table 5. 40: Anglophone component 1 BDSM Specialist by storyline - romance no sex 228

Table 5. 41: Anglophone component 1 BDSM Specialist by storyline - implicit relationships 228

Table 5. 42: Anglophone component 1 BDSM Specialist by storyline - explicit sex 229

Table 5. 43: Anglophone component 1 BDSM Specialist by legal concern.....229

Table 5. 44: Anglophone component 2 Animal Sex Specialist by gender.....230

Table 5. 45: Anglophone component 2 Animal Sex Specialist by sexual orientation.....230

Table 5. 46: Anglophone component 2 Animal Sex Specialist by fandom intensity.....230

Table 5. 47: Anglophone component 2 Animal Sex Specialist by storyline - romance no sex....231

Table 5. 48: Anglophone component 2 Animal Sex Specialist by storyline - implicit relationships.....231

Table 5. 49: Anglophone component 2 Animal Sex Specialist by storyline - explicit sex.....232

Table 5. 50: Anglophone component 2 Animal Sex Specialist by legal concern.....232

Table 5. 51: Anglophone component 3 Underage Sex Specialist by gender.....232

Table 5. 52: Anglophone component 3 Underage Sex Specialist by sexual orientation.....233

Table 5. 53: Anglophone component 3 Underage Sex Specialist by fandom intensity.....233

Table 5. 54: Anglophone component 3 Underage Sex Specialist by storyline - romance no sex.....234

Table 5. 55: Anglophone component 3 Underage Sex Specialist by storyline - implicit relationships.....234

Table 5. 56: Anglophone component 3 Underage Sex Specialist by storyline - explicit sex.....234

Table 5. 57: Anglophone component 3 Underage Sex Specialist by legal concern.....235

Table 5. 58: Anglophone component 4Minority Fetish Sex Specialist by gender.....235

Table 5. 59: Anglophone component 4 Minority Fetish Sex Specialist by sexual orientation .236

Table 5. 60: Anglophone component 4 Minority Fetish Sex Specialist by fandom intensity.....236

Table 5. 61: Anglophone component 4 Minority Fetish Sex Specialist by storyline - romance no sex.....236

Table 5. 62: Anglophone component 4 Minority Fetish Sex Specialist by storyline - implicit relationships.....237

Table 5. 63: Anglophone component 4 Minority Fetish Sex Specialist by storyline - explicit sex.....237

Table 5. 64: Anglophone component 4 Minority Fetish Sex Specialist by legal concern.....237

Table 5. 65: Summary statistical results for Chinese and Anglophone demographic, storyline, and legal concern associated with each CATPCA 'risqué sex' component 239

Table 5. 66: Variance accounted for in the four components retained in the Chinese responses to Which 'incestual' sexual relationships do you particularly enjoy in BL? 244

Table 5. 67: Rotated component loading from 4-dimensional CATPCA on 20 variables in the Chinese responses to Which 'incestual' sexual relationships do you particularly enjoy in BL? 245

Table 5. 68: Variance accounted for in the four components retained in the Anglophone responses to Which 'incestual' sexual relationships do you particularly enjoy in BL? .247

Table 5. 69: Rotated component loading from 3-dimensional CATPCA on 20 variables in the Anglophone responses to Which 'incestual' sexual relationships do you particularly enjoy in BL? 248

Table 5. 70: Comparison of component structure of Chinese and Anglophone 'incestual' sexual relationship CATPCAs 250

Table 5. 71: Key variables in order of importance for each incest relationship CATPCA component by culture used to identify engaged demographic 254

Table 5. 72 All variables in order of importance for each incest relationship CATPCA component by culture used to identify engaged demographic 255

Table 5. 73: Percentage of Chinese and Anglophone BL fandom engaging with each CATPCA incest relationship component by gender and sexual orientation 256

Table 5. 74: Chinese component 1a Non-Blood Adoptive Relationships by gender 257

Table 5. 75: Chinese component 1a Non-Blood Adoptive Relationships by sexual orientation 257

Table 5. 76: Chinese component 1a Non-Blood Adoptive Relationships by fandom intensity ..258

Table 5. 77: Chinese component 1a Non-Blood Adoptive Relationships by storyline - romance no sex 258

Table 5. 78: Chinese component 1a Non-Blood Adoptive Relationships by storyline - implicit relationships 259

Table 5. 79: Chinese component 1a Non-Blood Adoptive Relationships by storyline - explicit sex 259

Table 5. 80: Chinese component 1a Non-Blood Adoptive Relationships by legal concern 259

Table 5. 81: Chinese component 1b Step/In-Law Relationships by gender 260

Table 5. 82: Chinese component 1b Step/In-Law Relationships by sexual orientation 260

Table 5. 83: Chinese component 1b Step/In-Law Relationships by fandom intensity 261

Table 5. 84: Chinese component 1b Step/In-Law Relationships by storyline - romance no sex 261

Table 5. 85: Chinese component 1b Step/In-Law Relationships by storyline - implicit relationships 261

Table 5. 86: Chinese component 1b Step/In-Law Relationships by storyline - explicit sex 262

Table 5. 87: Chinese component 1b Step/In-Law Relationships by legal concern 262

Table 5. 88: Chinese component 2 Blood Relationships by gender 263

Table 5. 89: Chinese component 2 Blood Relationships by sexual orientation 263

Table 5. 90: Chinese component 2 Blood Relationships by fandom intensity 263

Table 5. 91: Chinese component 2 Blood Relationships by storyline - romance no sex 264

Table 5. 92: Chinese component 2 Blood Relationships by storyline - implicit relationships 264

Table 5. 93: Chinese component 2 Blood Relationships by storyline - explicit sex 265

Table 5. 94: Chinese component 2 blood relationship by legal concern 265

Table 5. 95: Chinese component 3 Brother Relationships by gender 265

Table 5. 96: Chinese component 3 Brother Relationships by sexual orientation 266

Table 5. 97: Chinese component 3 Brother Relationships by fandom intensity 266

Table 5. 98: Chinese component 3 Brother Relationships by storyline - romance no sex 267

Table 5. 99: Chinese component 3 Brother Relationships by storyline - implicit relationships 267

Table 5. 100: Chinese component 3 Brother Relationships by storyline - explicit sex 268

Table 5. 101: Chinese component 3 Brother Relationship by legal concern 268

Table 5. 102: Anglophone component 1 Non-Blood Relationships by gender 268

Table 5. 103: Anglophone component 1 Non-Blood Relationship by sexual orientation 269

Table 5. 104: Anglophone component 1 Non-Blood Relationships by fandom intensity 269

TABLE 5. 105: ANGLOPHONE COMPONENT 1 NON-BLOOD RELATIONSHIPS BY STORYLINE - ROMANCE NO SEX 270

TABLE 5. 106: ANGLOPHONE COMPONENT 1 NON-BLOOD RELATIONSHIPS BY STORYLINE - IMPLICIT RELATIONSHIPS 270

TABLE 5. 107: ANGLOPHONE COMPONENT 1 NON-BLOOD RELATIONSHIPS BY STORYLINE - EXPLICIT SEX 270

TABLE 5. 108: ANGLOPHONE COMPONENT 1 NON-BLOOD RELATIONSHIPS BY LEGAL CONCERN 271

TABLE 5. 109: ANGLOPHONE COMPONENT 2 BLOOD RELATIONSHIPS BY GENDER 271

TABLE 5. 110: ANGLOPHONE COMPONENT 2 BLOOD RELATIONSHIPS BY SEXUAL ORIENTATION 271

TABLE 5. 111: ANGLOPHONE COMPONENT 2 BLOOD RELATIONSHIPS BY FANDOM INTENSITY 272

TABLE 5. 112: ANGLOPHONE COMPONENT 2 BLOOD RELATIONSHIPS BY STORYLINE - ROMANCE NO SEX 272

TABLE 5. 113: ANGLOPHONE COMPONENT 2 BLOOD RELATIONSHIPS BY STORYLINES - IMPLICIT RELATIONSHIPS 273

TABLE 5. 114: ANGLOPHONE COMPONENT 2 BLOOD RELATIONSHIPS BY STORYLINE - EXPLICIT SEX 273

TABLE 5. 115: ANGLOPHONE COMPONENT 2 BLOOD RELATIONSHIP BY LEGAL CONCERN 273

TABLE 5. 116: ANGLOPHONE COMPONENT 3 BROTHER RELATIONSHIPS BY GENDER 274

TABLE 5. 117: ANGLOPHONE COMPONENT 3 BROTHER RELATIONSHIPS BY SEXUAL ORIENTATION 274

TABLE 5. 118: ANGLOPHONE COMPONENT 3 BROTHER RELATIONSHIPS BY FANDOM INTENSITY 274

TABLE 5. 119: ANGLOPHONE COMPONENT 3 BROTHER RELATIONSHIPS BY STORYLINE - ROMANCE NO SEX 275

TABLE 5. 120: ANGLOPHONE COMPONENT 3 BROTHER RELATIONSHIPS BY STORYLINE - IMPLICIT RELATIONSHIPS 275

TABLE 5. 121: ANGLOPHONE COMPONENT 3 BROTHER RELATIONSHIPS BY STORYLINE - EXPLICIT SEX 276

TABLE 5. 122: ANGLOPHONE COMPONENT 3 BROTHER RELATIONSHIP BY LEGAL CONCERN 276

TABLE 5. 123: CHINESE VARIABLE 'BLOOD BROTHER RELATIONSHIPS' BY GENDER 277

TABLE 5. 124: CHINESE VARIABLE 'BLOOD BROTHER RELATIONSHIPS' BY SEXUAL ORIENTATION 277

TABLE 5. 125: CHINESE VARIABLE 'BLOOD BROTHER RELATIONSHIPS' BY FANDOM INTENSITY 278

TABLE 5. 126: CHINESE VARIABLE 'BLOOD BROTHER RELATIONSHIPS' BY STORYLINE - ROMANCE NO SEX 278

TABLE 5. 127: CHINESE VARIABLE 'BLOOD BROTHER RELATIONSHIPS' BY STORYLINE - IMPLICIT RELATIONSHIPS 278

TABLE 5. 128: CHINESE VARIABLE 'BLOOD BROTHER RELATIONSHIPS' BY STORYLINE - EXPLICIT SEX 279

TABLE 5. 129: CHINESE VARIABLE 'BLOOD BROTHER RELATIONSHIPS' BY LEGAL CONCERN 279

TABLE 5. 130: ANGLOPHONE VARIABLE 'BLOOD BROTHER RELATIONSHIPS' BY GENDER.....280

TABLE 5. 131: ANGLOPHONE VARIABLE 'BLOOD BROTHER RELATIONSHIPS' BY SEXUAL ORIENTATION.....280

TABLE 5. 132: ANGLOPHONE VARIABLE 'BLOOD BROTHER RELATIONSHIPS' BY FANDOM INTENSITY.....280

TABLE 5. 133: ANGLOPHONE VARIABLE 'BLOOD BROTHER RELATIONSHIPS' BY STORYLINE - ROMANCE NO SEX 281

TABLE 5. 134: ANGLOPHONE VARIABLE 'BLOOD BROTHER RELATIONSHIPS' BY STORYLINE - IMPLICIT RELATIONSHIPS.....281

TABLE 5. 135: ANGLOPHONE VARIABLE 'BLOOD BROTHER RELATIONSHIPS' BY STORYLINE - EXPLICIT SEX 282

TABLE 5. 136: ANGLOPHONE VARIABLE 'BLOOD BROTHER RELATIONSHIPS' BY LEGAL CONCERN 282

TABLE 5. 137: SUMMARY STATISTICAL RESULTS FOR CHINESE AND ANGLOPHONE DEMOGRAPHIC, STORYLINE AND LEGAL CONCERN ASSOCIATED WITH EACH CATPCA INCEST RELATIONSHIP COMPONENT AND THE VARIABLE BLOOD BROTHER RELATIONSHIPS 284

TABLE 5. 138: VARIANCE ACCOUNTED FOR IN THE FOUR COMPONENTS RETAINED IN THE CHINESE RESPONSES TO WHAT OTHER EROTIC MATERIALS DO YOU ENGAGE? 289

TABLE 5. 139: ROTATED COMPONENT LOADING FOR2-DIMENSIONAL CATPCA ON 6 VARIABLES IN THE CHINESE RESPONSES TO WHAT OTHER EROTIC MATERIALS DO YOU ENGAGE? 289

TABLE 5. 140: VARIANCE ACCOUNTED FOR IN THE TWO COMPONENTS RETAINED IN THE ANGLOPHONE RESPONSES TO WHAT OTHER EROTIC MATERIALS DO YOU ENGAGE?.....291

TABLE 5. 141: ROTATED COMPONENT LOADING FOR2-DIMENSIONAL CATPCA ON THE 6 VARIABLES IN THE ANGLOPHONE RESPONSES TO WHAT OTHER EROTIC MATERIALS DO YOU ENGAGE?.....292

TABLE 5. 142: COMPARISON OF COMPONENT STRUCTURE OF CHINESE AND ANGLOPHONE OTHER EROTIC MATERIALS CATPCAS 293

TABLE 5. 143: KEY VARIABLES IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE FOR EACH OTHER EROTIC MATERIALS CATPCA COMPONENT BY CULTURE USED TO IDENTIFY ENGAGED DEMOGRAPHIC.....294

TABLE 5. 144: PERCENTAGE OF CHINESE AND ANGLOPHONE BL FANDOM ENGAGING WITH EACH CATPCA OTHER EROTIC MATERIALS COMPONENTS BY GENDER AND SEXUAL ORIENTATION 295

TABLE 5. 145: SUMMARY DESCRIPTIVE RESULTS FOR CHINESE AND ANGLOPHONE PARTICIPANTS WHO SKIPPED AND ENDORSED 'NEVER' FOR EACH QUESTION IN THE OTHER EROTIC MATERIALS SECTION 296

TABLE 5. 146: KEY VARIABLES IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE FOR EACH OTHER EROTIC MATERIALS CATPCA COMPONENT BY CULTURE USED TO IDENTIFY ENGAGED DEMOGRAPHIC 297

TABLE 5. 147: CHINESE COMPONENT 1 OTHER EROTICA MATERIALS BY GENDER 297

TABLE 5. 148: CHINESE COMPONENT 1 OTHER EROTICA MATERIALS BY SEXUAL ORIENTATION 298

TABLE 5. 149: CHINESE COMPONENT 1 OTHER EROTICA MATERIALS BY FANDOM INTENSITY 298

TABLE 5. 150: CHINESE COMPONENT 1 OTHER EROTICA MATERIALS BY STORYLINE - ROMANCE NO SEX 298

TABLE 5. 151: CHINESE COMPONENT 1 OTHER EROTICA MATERIALS BY STORYLINE - IMPLICIT RELATIONSHIPS 299

TABLE 5. 152: CHINESE COMPONENT 1 OTHER EROTICA MATERIALS BY STORYLINES - EXPLICIT SEX 299

TABLE 5. 153: CHINESE COMPONENT 1 OTHER EROTICA MATERIALS BY LEGAL CONCERN 300

TABLE 5. 154: CHINESE COMPONENT 2 MALE-MALE SLASH FICTION BY GENDER 300

TABLE 5. 155: CHINESE COMPONENT 2 MALE-MALE SLASH FICTION BY SEXUAL ORIENTATION 300

TABLE 5. 156: CHINESE COMPONENT 2 MALE-MALE SLASH FICTION BY FANDOM INTENSITY 301

TABLE 5. 157: CHINESE COMPONENT 2 MALE-MALE SLASH BY STORYLINE - ROMANCE NO SEX 301

TABLE 5. 158: CHINESE COMPONENT 2 MALE-MALE SLASH FICTION BY STORYLINE - IMPLICIT RELATIONSHIPS 302

TABLE 5. 159: CHINESE COMPONENT 2 MALE-MALE SLASH FICTION BY STORYLINE - EXPLICIT SEX 302

TABLE 5. 160: CHINESE COMPONENT 2 MALE-MALE SLASH FICTION BY LEGAL CONCERN 302

TABLE 5. 161: ANGLOPHONE COMPONENT 1 OTHER EROTICA BY GENDER 303

TABLE 5. 162: ANGLOPHONE COMPONENT 1 OTHER EROTICA BY SEXUAL ORIENTATION 303

TABLE 5. 163*: ANGLOPHONE COMPONENT 1 OTHER EROTICA BY FANDOM INTENSITY* 304

TABLE 5. 164: ANGLOPHONE COMPONENT 1 OTHER EROTICA BY STORYLINE - ROMANCE NO SEX 304

TABLE 5. 165: ANGLOPHONE COMPONENT 1 OTHER EROTICA BY STORYLINE - IMPLICIT RELATIONSHIPS 304

TABLE 5. 166: ANGLOPHONE COMPONENT 1 OTHER EROTICA BY STORYLINE - EXPLICIT SEX 305

TABLE 5. 167: ANGLOPHONE COMPONENT 1 OTHER EROTICA BY LEGAL CONCERN 305

Table 5. 168: Anglophone component 2 Non-slash/non-BL male-male erotic material by gender 306

Table 5. 169: Anglophone component 2 Non-slash/non-BL male-male erotic material by sexual orientation....306

Table 5. 170: Anglophone component 2 Non-slash/non-BL male-male erotic material by fandom intensity....307

Table 5. 171: Anglophone component 2 Non-slash/non-BL male-male erotic material by storyline - romance no sex 307

Table 5. 172: Anglophone component 2 Non-slash/non-BL male-male erotic material by storyline - implicit relationships 307

Table 5. 173: Anglophone component 2 Non-slash/non-BL male-male erotic material by storyline - explicit sex....308

Table 5. 174: Anglophone component 2 Non-slash/non-BL male-male erotic material by legal concern 308

Table 5. 175: Summary statistical results for Chinese and Anglophone demographic, storyline and legal concern associated with each CATPCA other erotic material component 309

List of Figures

Chapter 1

Figure 1. 1: Number of publication on Yaoi in China by year from 2006 to 2018 21

Image 1. 1: Advert for Guardian showing the main characters 13

Image 1. 2: Advert in which the characters mean "Guardian girl fans" which presents after the character images 15

Chapter 4

Figure 4. 1: What is your age in years? – Chinese survey % response bar graph 122

Figure 4. 2*: What is your age in years? – Anglophone survey % response bar graph* 122

Figure 4. 3: What is your sexual orientation? - Chinese survey frequency response bar graph 124

Figure 4. 4: What is your sexual orientation? - Anglophone survey frequency response bar graph 125

Figure 4. 5: At what age did you start to engage with BL?- Chinese survey frequency response bar graph 126

Figure 4. 6: At what age did you start to engage with BL?- Anglophone survey frequency response bar graph 126

Figure 4. 7: Duration of Engagement - Chinese survey frequency response bar graph 127

Figure 4. 8: Duration of Engagement - Anglophone survey frequency response bar graph ... 127

Figure 4. 9: How intensely are you a BL fan? – Chinese survey % response bar graph 145

Figure 4. 10: How acceptable are male-male sexual relationships to you in real life? - Chinese survey % response bar graph 155

Figure 4. 11: How acceptable are female-female sexual relationships to you in real life? - Chinese survey % response bar graph 156

Figure 4. 12: How acceptable are male-male sexual relationships to you in real life? - Anglophone survey % response bar graph 157

Figure 4. 13: How acceptable are female-female sexual relationships to you in real life? - Anglophone survey % response bar graph 157

Figure 4. 14: Number of participants before, during and after university recruitment periods in China (2 example periods) and Anglophone countries (one period only).....183

Chapter 5

Figure 5. 1: Scree plot of Chinese responses to Which 'risqué' sexual content do you particular enjoy in BL? 196

Figure 5. 2: Scree plot of Anglophone responses to Which 'risqué' sexual content do you particular enjoy in BL? 200

Figure 5. 3: Scree plot of Chinese responses to Which 'incestual' sexual relationships do you particularly enjoy in BL?.....243

Figure 5. 4: Scree plot of Anglophone responses to Which 'incestual' sexual relationships do you particularly enjoy in BL?.....246

Figure 5. 5: Scree plot of Chinese responses to what other erotic materials do you engage? 288

Figure 5. 6: Scree plot of Anglophone responses to What other erotic materials do you engage? 290

List of Glossary

Boys' Love (BL)

Boys' Love (BL), also known as Yaoi (see below), is a Japanese original genre of youth culture that portray romantic and erotic relationship between men. Both target and are created by females, presenting in manga, fiction, printings, anime or video game. Although in general the meanings of BL equals to Yaoi, the term BL is more commonly used in Japan while Yaoi is more likely to be used in Western culture. Also some Western academics suggest BL indicates that the story presents relatively less or no sexual content compared with Yaoi stories.

Danmei / Tanbi

Tanbi is a special term in China that came from the term for Japanese aesthetic literature from the beginning of the 20th century. However, now in China Tanbi refers in particular to all kinds of Yaoi or Boys' Love culture and cultural products, such as manga, fiction, pictures, even for cosplay events, including both dojinshi and original works.

Dojin / Dojinnv / Dojinshi

Dojin also comes from Japanese "同人 (どうじん)" and share*s the same written characters in China. Originally it means people who have similar interest or who are in the 'same camp'. Now dojin has evolved its meaning into fan arts or derivative works. Fans of an original work could create new material based on it and both original and derivative works can be in any format such as arts, lfiction, film, manga, or animation. Dojin works are not necessary in Yaoi formats which means these may not always be a romantic/erotic story about male characters: they can also be associated with male and female characters or female and female characters. Dojinnv is developed from Dojin but it seems only used in a Chinese context. It means female fans of dojin works or doji culture, similar to fujoshi (see below), although dojin

does not definitely mean Yaoi orientation. In most Chinese research, dojinnv generally has been used as same as fujoshi. Dojinshi keeps the basic meanings of dojin while it tends to focus on a finished product, commonly manga and fiction books. Although dojinshi generally is an amateur creation, it still could be exchanged or sell in comic market or the fan communities.

Fu / Fujoshi

Fu is a special concept in Japan and China which generally uses the Chinese character or Japanese Kanji (腐). It derives from a Japanese concept “Fujoshi” (腐女子) that means Yaoi girl fan - while “Fu” means Yaoi from Japanese Kanji “腐 (ふ)” and “Joshi (じょし)” means female. According to the similarity between Japanese Kanji and Chinese character, “fu” has been directly used in Chinese context as the same meaning in Japan. The meaning of the kanji “fu” in both Chinese and Japanese includes rotten, so that the “rotten girl” also means Yaoi fans in some translation.

Moe

Moe, means when reading or watching some content, including characters, plots, scenario, or scenes it triggers strong exciting, liking, and pleasuring feelings. In Chinese and Japanese used ACG discourse context, it could directly mean something great, or liking something very much, used as adjective and verb.

Scanlation

Scanlation indicates the activity in which fans translate, scan, and upload manga without authorization. Fans often organize together voluntarily online and divide the process meticulously associated with uploading, translating, proofreading, editing and releasing. The members of online scanlation groups gain no economic income from scanlation.

Seme / Uke

Seme and uke indicates the main couple characters of a Yaoi story. Generally, seme indicate the ‘top’ one and uke means the ‘bottom’ one. Although most documents suggest seme could be the dominated and active role and uke is the passive figure, according to the diversity of Yaoi story, seme / uke tend to simply indicate the role in sex rather than in relationship. Even though the binary stereotype of seme/uke is still firm, the various and complex relationship between seme and uke also have been presented in Yaoi.

Shonen-ai

Shonen-ai is the term for the genre at the beginning of Yaoi culture in Japan in the early1970s that was developed from or within shojo (girls) manga. Shonen-ai is likely to describe a sad and beautiful romantic story involving teenaged boys in which there is no directly portrayed sexual contents, erotic resonances hinted at by showing under-dress or kiss. Although the term Shonen-ai is no longer used in Japan, it still has been used as a category in some manga reader websites and books in the West.

Shota / Shotacon

‘Shota’ means young boys age between about 9 to 16 years, and ‘con’ means being strongly fascinated by. Hence, Shotacon refers a genre of manga and anime presenting romantic or erotic relationship with young boys, either both young boys or young boys and adults. A Shotacon story could show the male/male, male/female or a non-romantic story, and therefore not necessary in Yaoi style.

Slash

Slash is a genre of fan fiction that focuses on sexual relationships between characters of the same sex which could be male/male and female/female story. And the majority Slash fiction focus on male characters. Slash originated in the early 1970s from

Western fan fiction the first being about Kirk and Spock who are characters from Star Trek which aired on television from the late 1960s. Erotic stories were labelled as K/S, while K&S indicated the fan fiction was about their friendship only. As a result, the Slash became the label and category of the erotic/romantic fantasy fan fiction.

Yaoi

Yaoi, known as Boys' Love (BL), is a Japanese original genre of youth culture that portrays the romantic and erotic relationship between men which is targeted at and created by females. It presents in manga, fiction, printings, anime or video game. The possible difference between BL and Yaoi is that Yaoi may focus more on the sexual content and pays less attention to plot.

Sinophone

Saussy (2012) indcated that Sinophone mean both "Chinese-speaking, especially in a region where it is a minority language" and "all Chinese-speaking areas, including China and Taiwan, Chinese-speaking world". In current thesis, to compare with Anglophone, Sinphone mean Chinese-speaking regions including Manadarin and Canwhich includes predominately Mainland China, Hong Kong and Taiwan.

Publications and Presentations

Oral conference presentations

Zhao Y. & Madill A. (2016). Understanding Chinese Yaoi Fans. Oral presentation at East Asian Popular Culture Conference, University of York, York, UK.

Zhao Y. & Madill A. (2017). What are the differences between Chinese and English-speaking Yaoi fans in Animal-related themes. Oral presentation at The Eighth International Graphic Novel and Comics Conference, University of Dundee, Dundee, UK.

Zhao Y. & Madill A. (2017). What are the differences between Chinese and English-speaking Yaoi fans in prefers. Oral presentation at Leeds Comics Forum Conference, Leeds City Library, Leeds. UK.

Zhao Y. & Madill A. (2018). The demographic differences about Chinese and Anglophone Yaoi fans. Oral presentation at Mechademia conference on Asian Popular cultures, Kyoto International Manga Museum, Kyoto, Japan

Zhao Y. & Madill A. (2018). What are the differences between Chinese and English-speaking Yaoi fans. Oral presentation at Fan Studies Network 2018 Conference. University of Cardiff, Cardiff, UK.

Publications

Zhao Y. & Madill A. (2018). The heteronormative frame in Chinese Yaoi: integrating female Chinese fan interviews with Sinophone and Anglophone survey data. *Journal of Graphic Novels and Comics* 9(5), 435-457

Madill A., Zhao Y. & Fan L.H. (2018). Male-male marriage in Sinophone and Anglophone Harry Potter danmei and slash. *Journal of Graphic Novels and Comics* 9(5), 418-434

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Preface

The overall aim of this research is to provide an understanding of the Chinese *Yaoi* fandom.

Chapter 1 is a brief historical review of *Yaoi* culture, how it was introduced into, and developed within, China, Japan, and Anglophone regions. It explores academic and public understanding of *Yaoi* and how perspectives have changed along with *Yaoi* promotion in China. The purpose of this chapter is to highlight the popularity of *Yaoi* culture and the limited research focusing on Chinese *Yaoi* culture and fandom.

Chapter 2 outlines the methodology of this thesis, providing details of the Chinese survey data collection in terms of three main phases and semi-structure interviews that how the analysis of interviews was based on Thematic Analysis.

Chapter 3 integrates the Chinese interview data and Sinophone and Anglophone survey in a demonstration of how heteronormativity frames on Chinese *Yaoi*. This presents in consideration of family and social approval and the fitting of male-male relationships to conventional male-female relationship in *Yaoi* stories,

Chapter 4 outlines the similarities and differences between the demographic pattern of Chinese and Anglophone *Yaoi* fandom based on the Sinphone and Anglophone survey data. Chinese *Yaoi* fandom is more female, heterosexual, casual, and socially conservative.

Chapter 5 explores the sexual contents of *Yaoi,* demonstrating similar preference patterns in Chinese and Anglophone fandom with only small differences in terms of fandom intensity and in types of *Yaoi* and other erotic materials.

Chapter 6 summarizes the main findings of *Yaoi* as a global phenomenon and how the differences between Chinese and Anglophone fandom are impacted by culture

background. The strength and limitations are discussed in terms of the data collection, sample size, survey contents, and conclusions offered.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Yaoi, or Boys' Love (BL), is a genre of youth culture that portray fantasy romantic and erotic relationship between men. It presents in manga, prints, fiction, anime, videos, internet series[1], CD drama, and video game (Bollmann, 2010; McLelland, 2008; Pagliassotti, 2010; Patrick & Galbraith, 2011). *Yaoi* is a female-oriented subculture that is mainly produced and consumed by women. *Yaoi* texts present male-male relationships, often apparently imitating the heterosexual model with 'seme' and 'uke' roles generally mirroring that of masculine and feminine. However, various kinds of *Yaoi* story have been developed and seme and uke roles also could be overturned and stereotypes broken.

Yaoi, in its progenitor genre 'Shonen-ai', originated in Japan in the early 1970s and spread globally, especially during the 1990s, through commercially translated products and illegal uploads to the internet. Today, professional and amateur creators exist all over the world and have developed multiple styles and formats. In contemporary China, there is a huge population of *Yaoi* consumers and producers with an inestimable number of Yaoi novels serialized online and many other kinds of *Yaoi* material uploaded to the internet.

In the following sections, I outline a brief history of the development of *Yaoi* from its origins in 1970s Japan, paying attention to its introduction into other Asian countries, particularly China.

[1] Internet series is a new type of online show in China that the series are made only for online supplying. Due to relatively relaxed policy environment for online shows, the internet series become a new carrier of *Yaoi*.

1970s

Yaoi began from Japanese female mangakas (animators) developed the Shojo manga into the story describing platonic love between young boys called Tanbi (aesthetic) and Shonen-ai (boy love) in the 1970s. The important founders for Japanese *Yaoi* culture were a group of female mangakas called the Showa 24th Group who were born around Showa 24th year (1949) and published their works from the 1970s. Both Moto Hagio's *The Heart of Thomas* (1974) and Keiko Takemiya's *Kaze to Ki no Uta* (1976-1984) are the representative works for Shonen-ai that described very close friendship between young boys and their ambiguous romantic relationship. Both works were serialized in JUNE which is the earliest BL magazine begun in 1978. The Showa 24th Group progressed Shojo manga into a wider field associated with knowledge of classic literature, history, science and exoticism, as well as with philosophical and abstract musings (Suzuki, 1999). Shonen-ai was identified the contents and themes of serious literature, while also considered to be 'pedantic' and 'difficult to understand' (Galbraith, 2011; Suzuki, 1999) which possibly limited the range of readership.

Simultaneously, in the West, similar fan fiction developed called 'Slash fiction' from early 1970s. Slash fan fiction portrayed sexual relationships between same sex characters. The most famous and original couple was Kirk/Spock from Start Trek, while the symbol "/" became the antonomasia of this particular type of fan fiction (Boyd, 2001). Although *Yaoi* and Slash carried similar meaning in the beginning, currently *Yaoi* is more likely to include all kinds of work associated with fantasy male relationships comprising romantic or erotic contents, while Slash tends to indicate a story focusing on sexual relationships between same sex characters, involving both female and male characters.

1980s

In the 1980s, based on the narrative system built by the Showa 24th Group, the female-oriented males' romantic stories were highly accepted and developed. Dojinshi has sprung up that is derivative work in which the male characters are inserted into a romantic relationship which is not in the original story. Generally believed to be the beginning of Dojinshi work was that based on Captain Tsubasa which is a typical sport theme Shonen manga (boys' orientation) including both anime and manga. The Dojinshi works focused on emotional connection and friendship developing into a romantic or sexual relationship. Dojinshi are fan and hence mainly amateur works, with plots and themes that are relatively simple and superficial, especially in comparison with the traditional Shonen-ai works. In fact, the creators joked about themselves as producing stories with 'No peak (climax), no pointl (punch line/denouement), no meaning': in Japanese, "Yama nashi, Ochi nashi, Imi nashi" from which came '*Yaoi'* (Allen & Kate 2009; Ingulsrud, 2011). *Yaoi* is generally used to indicate the category of work focusing on sexual, rather than romantic relationship.

From the 1980s, Taiwan introduced Japanese manga officially and there is a relatively long and successful experience in importing and translating Japanese manga, compared with other Chinese areas. *Doraemon, Black Jack, Astor Boy* and other popular manga made a significant success in Taiwan during the 1970s and 1980s, and many local publishers and Japanese publishers were built in Taiwan. Hence, Taiwan maintains a relatively similar manga market to Japan. During the1980s, *Yaoi* manga was introduced into Taiwan and spread to most Chinese areas. Due to historical and cultural influences, Taiwan is the most Japan-influenced Chinese-speaking area. In comparison, Mainland China holds relatively hostile and

prudent attitude toward Japan and Japanese culture, while Hong Kong shows a relatively gentle and open attitude (Li, 2006). Hence, at first, most Chinese-translated Japanese manga came from Taiwan, and then, there was some Hong Kong version and, until recently, there is only limited official version Japanese manga in Mainland China but no *Yaoi* manga.

In Japan BL became very popular from the end of the 1980s, and BL also has been quickly and extensively accepted by Taiwan readers. In particular, the female group of artists known as 'CLAMP' played an essential role for developing and spreading of BL manga in their -*RG VEDA*-, *X*, *Tokyo Babylon*, *Cardcaptor Sakura*, *xxxHOLiC* and other well-known Shojo manga that were always with BL themes and elements. Compared with directly *Yaoi* story, like *ZETSUAI 1989* by Minami Ozaki, the works of CLAMP and the similar work like *Ouran High School Host Club* by Bisco Hatori has drawn less negative attention from authorities and are accepted by a larger group of readers. There is large number of Chinese fans who were introduced to *Yaoi* by this kind of Shojo manga, rather than the fully *Yaoi* story. BL narrative fiction followed a similar trajectory as BL manga in Japan. From the end of 1970s, many *Yaoi* novels were serialized in NOVEL JUNE including Kaoro Kurimoto's *Mayonaka no Tenshi* (真夜中の天使) (1986) and Reiko Yoshihara's *Ai no Kusabi (1986-1987).* Both are famous underground BL novels that presented complex and science fiction worlds with a great narrative showing complicated themes and innovative forms of female writing.

Ai no Kusabi describes a world ruled by a super computer. Humans are classified as noble, citizen, and mongrel, the latter excluded from the civilization. All noble humans are male and superior to others in physical, mental, and intellectual capacity but unable to reproduce. Females are a minority group who are kept

separate. A special role that can cross the rigorous class divide is the one who can become the ‘pet’ of a noble. Pets are also divided into four levels by the super computer. Iason Mink is a top class noble and Riki is the mongrel and marked by Mink as his pet. Iason dislikes the general pet who is of low intellect and over-values appearance and he wants to enjoy the process of training Riki as a submissive pet. Riki revolted for his pet role, then, Iason approved him back to the gutter for one year. After one year, Riki was unwilling to back, so Iason broke him by the threat of Riki’s best friend Guy. Guy tried to rescue Riki via perishing with Iason together by exploding the building. However, Riki chosen to committed suicide with Iason in the exploding building.

Ai no Kusabi is difficult to classify as a purely romantic story between males, as the general *Yaoi* novels, because further meaning and information has been presented including exploration of social division, inequality, exclusion, human freewill, as well as the fact of human beings as redefined. Compared with focusing on love, the story spends a large amount of space portraying how Riki fights against, not only Iason, but the social system and his own sensual desire. Although all other citizens and mongrel people thirst to be a pet for short, but well-off, life Riki fights for his freedom and rejects the life which is like being treated like an animal. Iason also fights to have choices, even though he comes from the top social class, when he is slandered and excluded due to Riki not being a general, or usual kind of, pet. Hence, both Iason and Riki are presented as pioneers and revolutionaries who challenged convention, although with suicide the only way to control their life. This work acquired significant successes in the market and critical acclaim, leading to the rise of *Yaoi* manga *Yaoi* novels.

After then, more and more BL writers and novels have sprung up. In particular, BL fiction significantly extended the Dojinshi market due to easier to starting creating. Further, although most BL novels were not formally translated into Chinese or introduced into the Chinese-speaking world until the 21th century, pirated editions and fans' translation (scanlation) versions still appeared in the Chinese market and had an important influence. A major influence was to encourage a host of Chinese BL authors to serialize their novels online: both fan fiction and original novels.

1990s

From 1990s, Japanese manga and amine has spread across the world and become extremely popular. Japanese Shojo manga has been introduced into many countries, including Shojo manga commonly seasoned with *Yaoi* elements, such as most of the work of CLAMP, Hikaya Nakajo, and Yuu Watase. Although McLelland (2007) indicated the first formally introduced *Yaoi* in the West was not until 2003, what might be thought of as '*Yaoi* forms' had been introduced much earlier. Further, even if strong copyright issues were raised, Slash fiction has continued blooming in Western.

Around the 1990s, Western and Japanese academics started to study *Yaoi* culture using many confusing and conflicting perspectives. For example, according to the often ambiguous gender identity presenting in *Yaoi*, many academics linked *Yaoi* to queer theory. Since mainly male characters perform in stories that presents relatively more gender-equal relationships between characters, some researchers pointed out this marked an awakening of female subjectivity for pursuing equal relationship with men themselves (Pagliassotti, 2008; Pagliassotti, 2010). Further,

scholars suggested that *Yaoi* story presents the ideal relationship and perfect pure love for female and provide a relatively reasonable space to enjoying the erotica without moral shame (Ivory, Gibson, & Ivory, 2009; Kellogg, 2014; Moroni, 2014).

On the other hand, *Yaoi* culture, especially for *Yaoi* manga (i.e., with drawings), faced serious censures associated with child pornography due to many countries, including Canada, North America, Australia, and the UK where generally expected that cartoons are for children rather than consumed by mature groups (Zang, 2009). In addition, possibly due to different interpretation, even when the manga shows adults, but with young and cute appearances, this can be viewed as an underage character and, hence 'child abuse materials' by some Western readers and authorities. Furthermore, according the binary relationship between seme and uke, the formula of *Yaoi* story and relationship has been argued to copy the heterosexual hegemony one between men and women. Hence, gay and queer groups and researchers also highlighted that *Yaoi* culture mis-represents gay life in an offensive way (Hall, 2007).

Yaoi has considerably developed in Chinese areas from 1990s, inseparably from internet popularization in China. Internet, which had popularized speedily from beginning of 21th century, is fundamental carrier and makes important contribution on *Yaoi* culture development. Most Japanese *Yaoi* manga are released online from piratical version of Taiwan or Hong Kong publications in Mainland China. For *Yaoi* novels, there is only limited formal publication in Mainland China and the majority of *Yaoi* novels, both Dojinshi and original works, are serialized online. Although increasingly *Yaoi* novels have been made as physical books, they are mainly self-published and sold online rather than through an official publisher. Thus, from the 1990s onwards, both producing and consuming of *Yaoi* culture in China is mainly

base on internet. However, due to the ability of the internet to cross geographical and space limitation, fans are able to communicate, share, and read *Yaoi* works anywhere and anytime, importantly facilitating *Yaoi* culture spreading.

21st century

From the turn of the century, *Yaoi* culture has boomed worldwide in various aspects. Not only has there been a large number of *Yaoi* manga and novels introduced to different countries, but also various online communities, forums and social network groups have been built. Fans also benefit from illegal scanlations that some fans, who can access the materials, scan and upload the manga or fictions and providing translations. In addition, the fans communicate surmounting the geographical and national limitation, which also encourages the local creators to develop more formats and themes. In early periods, *Yaoi* materials have been misunderstood globally as gay-orientation materials and were targeted as a male gay market. However, this misunderstanding has been rectified and, based on the facilitations of the internet, the real male gay-orientation Bara manga is becoming more accessible.

Along with larger number of novels and authors involved in *Yaoi* worldwide, there are more and various elements, plots, and themes have been introduced to *Yaoi* fiction and fan arts. *Yaoi* culture has also progressed as a complex popular culture which is difficult to capture in one theory or simple conclusion. The global popularity of *Yaoi* also brought some researchers and public attention with big debates around *Yaoi* culture, either criticism or the praise, and I are far away from understanding *Yaoi* culture in terms of any simple perspective. *Yaoi* culture has progressed to be complicated and abundant, and with millions words written and

images drawn in *Yaoi* texts, and some several years over which a long serialized manga or story may appear, meaning and codes can evolve.

From about the year 2000, Taiwan publishers started to publish local authors' BL novels and Chinese BL novels have also prosperously developed online. At the beginning, most Chinese BL novels tended to imitate the Japanese style in language and plot such as the name of main characters and use of Japanese gangs as the common background. Since then, historical settings and martial arts have become popular elements that develop a strong Chinese-style story. Most recently, a mixture of styles, themes, and a wide variety of elements have appeared.

Current fictions include full-length novels with *Yaoi* themes, but also tmini-fictions around one hundred words. Specifically, the Chinese mini-blog, with 140 words, organized competitions for mini-fiction from 2010, included a mass of *Yaoi* fiction. The limited words meant that creating this kind of *Yaoi* work became relatively easy, hence, a larger population engaged in creating *Yaoi*, especially for Dojinshi which generally need less background information and personality-building, so that Dojinshi fiction fits into mini-blogging well and has become popular.

Along with Dojinshi developing, there are no-longer only amateur creators. Commercial publishers also organized professional writers to create Dojinshi for specific events as advertising and for celebration. Also, as amateur work has increasing influence and economic power, more and more comic markets have been organized in Japan, Mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Korea and other Asian countries. The source of Dojinshi has also developed across wider fields including original manga, anime, fiction, TV programmes, movies, even real stars, myth, historical figures, and classical literature. In fact, the existence of Dojinshi seems to have become a mark for the popularity of the original work or person, and creating

Dojinshi, even a couple of sentences or a simple drawing, become a way fans show their love. Most popular fiction, such as movie, anime, TV sitcoms run with a large number of fan works which fan fiction crosses all kinds of fields and works.

Fan works and their writers are not ignored and more and more intentionally-ambiguous male-male relationships are being presented in public, with BL even becoming a way of adverting. Hence, *Yaoi* seems no longer to be a minority activity or subculture. For example, in'X-men' advertising, the main actors James McAvoy and Michael Fassbender played with *Yaoi* in many different interviews and TV programmes, including the Connan Show, the Graham Norton Show and other short interviews. That is, they joked repeatedly about the relationship between the characters they played and the relationship between themselves as actors. They even were shown fan drawings and read fan fiction on the Graham Norton Show and Michael and James even argued about seme and uke roles and talked about their sexual life on different shows and interviews. The actor of Iron man, Robert Downey, also had fun with fan works and fan arts for Iron man, Revenger, or Sherlock Holmes on his social network account.

Deliberate play with homoeroticism is deliberately incorporated into Asian popular culture such as when members of boy bands and male actors show/pretend excessively close relationship and over-concern with each other to tease female fans, and intense interactions between men being portrayed in movies and sitcoms. Moreover, the '*Yaoi*-factor', as a kind of banter, was introduced into the CCTV Spring Festival Evening in 2013, which is the most important evening party from the Chinese official media. For example, during a magic show, the illusionist Qian Lu performed "Magic Piano" which made the piano and player - Yundi Li - disappear together. When Li showed confusion about signals from Lu, and after some

whispering between them, Lu unexpectedly shouted that “Looking for someone? Get Leehom.” Leehom was cooperated with by Li and in 2012 there were rumours of gay friendship. The Chinese netizens applauded it as the best part of the night (2013, EPOCH TIMES). This seemed to show high acceptance to the chaffing gay friendship, and successfully pleased the large numbers of the audience and encourages *Yaoi* fans to continue playing with fantasy gay friendship.

There is far-reaching regulations consisting of an almost blanket ban on pornographic materials in Mainland China. Almost all sexual description or representation in *Yaoi* could be identified as pornographic. Hence, *Yaoi* materials are vulnerable when authorities implement online ‘clean-ups’ during which website owners or the managers of network platforms are instructed to delete problematic materials (Garrick & Chang, 2016). That is, official notices regarding online checking and clearing are issued which are passed on by network platforms to their users requesting that users delete or lock relevant content. More serious online checking tend to occur throughout the summer and winter school holidays and proceeding important national events. Hong Kong and Taiwan both apply the rating system and maintain different approaches to the regulation of the erotic materials. Censorship in Hong Kong mainly focuses on real child pornography, real obscene images, and politcal speech, hence pays little attention to *Yaoi* (Lee, 1997). Regarding Taiwan, since 1987 censorship mainly focuses on potical issues, national security, slander and libel rather than literary and artistic creations including *Yaoi* works (Yeh, 2010).

Contemporary Chinese *Yaoi* culture is built with strong Chinese characters with formats focused on novels and fan fictions, rather than manga or anime as in Japan, and mainly relying on the internet, with only limited physical products. As to

the contents, Chinese specific background and themes are popular in Chinese *Yaoi* culture including the mythical realm, martial arts, and spirits stories, as well as time travel and rebirth are particularly prevalent in China. As a result, Chinese academics also have been drawn attention to the booming *Yaoi* culture, particularly to the specific characteristics of Chinese *Yaoi* culture and its differential social and culture background, meaning that Chinese researchers also maintain some particularities in Chinese *Yaoi* research.

21st century case study: 'Guardian'

'*Guardian'* is a phenomenally popular, online, 40 episode, live action series, update with three episodes on every Wednesday and Thursday from June to July 2018. Adapted from a popular long *Yaoi* novel of around four hundred thousand words finished in 2013, it was one of the annual top ten fiction on the *Jinjiang* website that year.

The quality of the live action adaptation was extremely low, maybe the one of worst ever. However, *Guardian* was extremely popular and, as of August 2018, it achieved an accumulated 25 billion plays. It even reached one hundred millions daily plays, not including unofficial broadcast platforms, such as *YouTube*, or download versions. The two main actors attracted a huge number of new fans such that the number of their follower in social media (*Weibo*) increased from 3-8 million and 2-6 million. There were more than 10 billion readers and around 18 million discussion under social media tag in *Weibo*. To make a comparison, the *World Cup* which was on around the same time attracted only around 0.7 billion readers and around 0.5 million discussion in Weibo. Even *Game of Thrones* twitter accounts maintained 7 million followers and *Harry Potter* film twitter account maintained around 2 million

followers, but the *Guardian* series *Weibo* followers also achieved more than one million within only one month.

Compared with other *Yaoi* online series, the main actors were older, more experience, and professional, given that both have already appeared in many TV series and films highly accepted by Chinese mainstream media (e.g., a film about the history of the communist Party of China). More usually in *Yaoi* live action adaptations, the main actors are young, often still students. Interestingly, although the adaption of *Guardian* avoids homo-romantic connotations and presents the relationship as a brotherly 'romance' or extremely good friendship, this series did not add a female character to suggest the possibility of a heterosexual relationship developing for at least one of the protagonists. For example, other *Yaoi* adapted online series, like *Kaifengcuanqi* (开封奇谈) or *Rexuechangan* (热血长安), added female characters and built heterosexual relationship for the main characters.
Other changes have involved small acts of censorship around potentially sensitive contents which seem essential to encourage the tolerances and enthusiasm of a large audience. For example, the original novels included mythological and supernatural elements within a contemporary setting which are not allowed within Chinese censorship regulations. Thus, all supernatural elements were changed into 'alien' and 'geno-variation' themes, which was not popular with the fans and a huge number have made short fan-videos to rebuild or supplement the story.

Image 1. 1: Advert for Guardian showing the main characters

In terms of advertising, the actors and official company stress the *Yaoi* elements and played-up to fans. In particular, the two main actors presented as having a very close relationship, and intentionally said that they had read the original fiction and posted exepts on social media which they read out. The series has become so popular that, before the last episode, the series advertisement was shown on the big screen of Central Square in Shanghai, Guangzhou, Chengdu, and York central. After the last episode, there was such disappointment about the ending that the original author wrote a new special chapter that implied the ending was not actually "the real ending".

Guardian was extremely successful in economic terms and achieved an extraordinary interaction with fandoms, fan arts, and fan promotion, but also had a huge influence in mainstream media in a way that no other *Yaoi* work has done. However, unfortunately, the fans of the two main actors were antagonistic to the original *Yaoi* work, to Yaoi fans, and even to the fan base of the other actor, expressed strong concerns about the reputations of the actors. Hence, although

Guardian has brought influential fame to *Yaoi*, more fans, and important economic interest, this unpleasantness and lack of tolerance to the "*Yaoi* tag" could potentially limited the live action adaptation of further *Yaoi* works. This is the paradoxical situation of *Yaoi* in China: it can muster huge economic success, huge audiences, fans, and social influence but also quickly cause concern and suffer a backlash.

The following literature review focuses on exploring the features of *Yaoi* research based on the Chinese background and Chinese researchers between 2006, when the first research began to appear, until 2016.

Image 1. 2: Advert in which the characters mean "Guardian girl fans" which presents after the character images

Literature Review

In this section I outline my literature search strategy, provide an overview of the selected literature, and then discuss in more detail the themes I see dominating the research literature on *Yaoi* in China as published within the predominate Chinese-speaking regions of Asia.

Literature research strategy

The literature search was deliberately broad to scope *Yaoi*- relevant research in all disciplines. The inclusion criteria were that relevant articles should:

- be published in journals and released Master and PhD dissertations;
- between 2006 (when the first *Yaoi* research was published in Mainland China) and 2018;
- be based on the Chinese-speaking context;
- relate to *Yaoi* culture in any way;
- be a research-based article or 'vision statement' commentary;
- be available in Chinese or English;
- be a 'full-text' article.

Due to large gap between high and poor quality of *Yaoi*-related publications, the research with very poor quality was excluded. The criteria of poor quality:

- misunderstanding the fundamental terms of *Yaoi* culture;
- conclusions build on unclear source data or very unclear results;
- poor logical reasoning between evidence and conclusion.

Although the criteria of poor quality articles are relatively subjective, the studies exclude contributed little to the understanding of *Yaoi* culture within a Chinese context.

I searched for relevant literature using several data bases holding articles in Chinese. I offer a short description of each following. First listed are the three largest academic data bases in Mainland China: CQVIP, Wanfang, and CNKI.

CQVIP (Chongqing VIP information Co. Ltd.) was established in 2000, which built the comprehensives Chinese information and literature service databases and

cooperated with Google Scholar so that it includes the data also from Google Scholar (Lin & Chen, 2009; Tan, Zhang & Rao, 2010).

Wanfang Inc. was created in 2000 by the Institute of Scientific and Technical Information of China based on the Wanfang Group Corporation and supported by China's Culture Industry Investment fund, China Science Publishing & Media Group Ltd, Beijing Zhijin Technical Investment Co., Ltd, Information, Science and Technology Institute in Sichuan, and the High and New technology Co., Ltd, of Scientific and Technical Documentation Press. The data bases included are the China Science Periodical, Dissertation, Conference Paper, Technical Reports, Patent, Standards, China Local Gazetteers, China Scientific and Technological Achievements, China Laws and Regulations, China Institution Data, and data from National Science and Technology library (Li & Chen, 2009).

CNKI (Chinese National Knowledge Infrastructure) was built in 1996 and was a key national information construction project under the lead of Tsinghua University and supported by the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Science, Propaganda Department of Communist Party of China, and General Administration of Press and Publication. The online CNKI data bases developed from 1999 and included journals, doctoral dissertations, masters' theses, conference proceedings, newspapers, yearbooks, statistical yearbooks, e-books, patents, standards and other online information in order to build a comprehensive China Integrated Knowledge Resources System (Wu, 2005).

For my literature review I included also relevant search bases for the main Chinese-speaking areas in Asia of Taiwan and Hong Kong, given that these places all relatively similar cultural and social backgrounds highly related with Chinese language use. The following three databases were searched.

National Digital Library of Theses and Dissertation in Taiwan is supported by the National Library to provide a service of collecting, keeping, and borrowing theses and dissertation for academics and the public based on a Degree Conferment Law.

Index to Taiwan Periodical Literature System collects the major academic journals published in Taiwan and some published in Hong Kong.

Hong Kong Journals Online is a full-text database including academic and professional English-language and Chinese-language journals published in Hong Kong which is supported by the Digital Initiative of the University of Hong Kong.

The key words searched were: “Tanbi”, “Boys’ Love”, “BL”, “*Yaoi*”, “Fujoshi”, and “Dojinshi”. “Boys’ Love”, “BL”, and “*Yaoi*” were searched in in English because they have become familiar and used this way globally. “Tanbi”, “Fujoshi”, and “Dojinshi” were sesearch for using Chinese because there are local terms which have currency in Chinese *Yaoi* culture. Specially, simplified Chinese was used in databases from Mainland Chinese and traditional Chinese was used in databases from Taiwan and Hong Kong. Regarding the different but similar written language are formally used in Chinese speaking areas, the simplified Chinese is used in Mainland China, and the traditional Chinese is used in Hong Kong and Taiwan.

Each data base was searched separately. Due to the multiple meanings of each Chinese character, there were many irrelevant articles appearing which has to be excluded manually. For example, search term “fujoshi”, would find articles related to ‘venal women’ or the ‘rotten female body’. Since there are only limited research articles available in the full-text online version in the Taiwan database, I accessed the full-text version of six articles with the help of my supervisor’s contact, Professor Tien-yi Chao’s (National Taiwan University). According to the inclusion criteria, of these two dissertations and one journal article were found. No hits were found in the Hong Kong database. The number of selected articles from each database is presented in the following table (Table 1).

Table 1. 1: Number of selected articles from each data base

Source of literature	**Number of relevant articles of acceptable quality**	**Number of articles excluded as overlaps**
CQVIP	87	27
Wanfang	102	47
Zhiwang	83	63
Taiwan Dissertations	9	4
Taiwan Periodicals	8	4
Hong Kong	3	/
Total number	**171**	/

Overview of the selected literature

A data extraction table was created in which all 123 selected articles are listed along with their main methods, results, strengths and limitations. This can be found in the two extended Addendums submitted with this report (Journal Articles/Dissertations).

Of the 171 articles, 113 are journal articles and 58 dissertations. *Yaoi* culture has attracted academics from various fields such as education, economics, literature, sociology, psychology, gender studies, law, communication, and political education.

Although Chinese scholars have paid attention to *Yaoi* culture for only just over one decade, noticeable progressed is showed in Chinese *Yaoi* research, in both quality and quantity in terms of the 171 papers.

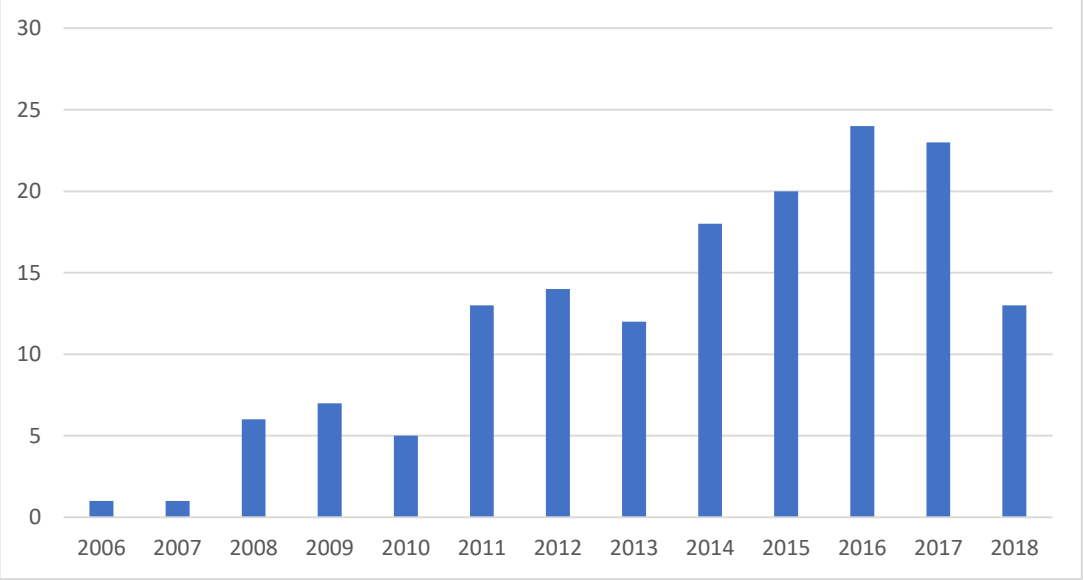
From 2006 to 2010, only 21 articles, both journal articles and dissertations, were published and showed low quality, such as having a very strong bias and/or superficial understanding of *Yaoi* materials. Most of this research focused on the negative effects of *Yaoi* culture on readers and aimed to reform the readers' views and educated them about 'right' way to understand relationships. Although some of the early research mentioned positive aspects of *Yaoi* culture, the feminist perspective of *Yaoi* culture may have been over-highlighted. Additionally, a far-fetched but common idea of helpful aspect of *Yaoi* culture is that it is positive for sexual education. Although this has been frequently suggested by researchers, they have not provided a reasonable explanation for their opinion. Further, very conservative researchers suggested *Yaoi* culture would incorporate problematic moral issues for readers, authors, and/or characters due to the male-male relationship or sexual contents that is generally identified in China as unethical and abnormal.

Simultaneously, much research has tried to explore the reasons for *Yaoi* becoming so popular. Conclusions seemed to repeat existing options and lacked evidence specific to the Chinese social background. Although it is possible that there are no 'wrong' answers, those proposed appear rather superficial, and biased perspectives about *Yaoi* culture seemed to dominate early *Yaoi* research on the Chinese context.

After 2010, the number of articles and dissertations grew quickly so that around twenty were published year in 2011 and 2012. After that, relevant research

was published at a rate of 30 each year from 2013 to 2015. This research tended to focus on the limited scope and different aspects of *Yaoi* culture, addressed more specific questions, and showed relatively less aggressive attitudes toward *Yaoi* culture although researchers still showed concern about its impact on readers. Various questions have been discussed such as the mental situation of audiences, how transmission theories apply to *Yaoi* culture developing, and how *Yaoi* novels and manga are published. Finally, between 2016 and2018, danmei has been increasingly successful with online series or animation, and the attention of research has been on the popularisation of *Yaoi*, including its compromises with general social values.

Figure 1. 1: Number of publication on Yaoi in China by year from 2006 to 2018



Researchers also tried to understand the phenomenon in terms of audience and content. The research focused on audiences investigated psychological conditions such as self-consistency, gender identity, views of intimate relationship, desire for autonomy, and the practice of female writing. As to the research concentrated on the materials, the traits, types, themes and special plots have been

studied. Because in China *Yaoi* novels and Dojinshi fans novels developed greater audiences and authors compared to manga and anime, a literature perspective and novels analysis has been very relevant to investigating *Yaoi* culture in China. Hence, some research has emphasized understanding the function of *Yaoi* novels while only limited research focused on *Yaoi* manga.

Researchers attempted to explore the appeal for Fujoshi for the popular types of *Yaoi* novel that associated with equality, liberty and value of love via enjoying the image of the beautiful male and with females tending to be absent in those stories, at least as romantic partners. Moreover, contemporary research has moved beyond a focus on the audiences' psychological requirements in terms of equality, or only getting pleasure from the male image, and has incorporated also queer theory, gender politics, reforming masculinity, and narrative theory. Contemporary research has attempted to get beyond the surface and broad, the more specific question about *Yaoi* culture has been investigated individually. In recent years, the 'soft' danmei novels which have been adapted into online series have achieved great success so that research has also paid more attention to generalizing and selling *Yaoi* to the public (Liu, 2018; Yi, 2017). Although researchers seem more focused on feminism and danmei as an expression of female desire, there is also emphasis on the popularity of danmei in mainstream culture and how it is fitted into a heterosexual ideology (Luo, 2017; Zhu & Zhang, 2017).

Overall, Chinese *Yaoi* research has developed significantly alongside Chinese *Yaoi* culture, which has drawn increasing attention and had increasing social influence. According to the special social background in China, although *Yaoi* research has clearly diversified and become more sophisticated, much *Yaoi* research still tends to focus on the mental health of audiences.

Themes dominating the research literature on *Yaoi* in Chin*a*

For a better understanding Chinese *Yaoi* research, I present four themes I see dominating the selected literature: “sexual liberation”, “paradox of gender identity”, “presumption”, and “social influence” - plus one supplementary category “other”. Each theme includes two or three sub-themes and each sub-theme is will be expounded through the example of two to three relatively high quality and representative research articles which have been selected from relevant articles in the full corpus guided by the creation of the data extraction table submitted as an addendum. The (number of) papers contributing to each theme is shown in Table 2.

Table 1. 2: Articles contributing to the themes in the literature review

Theme	**Sub-Theme**	**Number of articles contributing to sub-theme (total n=171)**	**Articles selected as exemplary**
Sexual liberation	Feminism	47	3 (Liu, 2014; Wang, 2015; Zheng, 2015)
	Pornography for women	12	2 (Cui, 2014; Liang, 2015)
Paradox of gender identity	Misogyny	23	2 (Yan, 2015; Xu & Yang, 2015)
	Idealisation of the male	9	1 (Zhang, 2015)
Fandom	Authors	30	2 (Li, 2010; Liu, 2014)
	Audience	33	2 (Zhang, 2015; Zhu & Zhao, 2015)
Social influence	Selling *Yaoi*	31	3 (Liu & Yan, 2014; Wu, 2015; Zhou, 2015)
	Moral concern	22	2 (Sun, 2014; Zhao, 2015)
Communication	The internet	15	1 (Zhang & Dong, 2010)
	Legal issues	4	1 (Xu, 2014)

Theme 1. Sexual liberation Sexual liberation, also known as sexual revolution, was a social movement that challenged the traditional concepts, convention, behaviour, and interpersonal relationship linked to sexuality from 1960s in the Western world

(Allyn, 2000). The movement attempted to normalize sexual behaviours beyond the traditional patriarchal-heterosexual relationship model and increase the acceptability of contraception, public nudity, premarital sex, pornography, homosexuality and other alternative forms of sexuality, so breaking down traditional mores and restrictions in sexual expression (Klepacki, 2008).

As for China, people were shocked by progressive sexual ideas of the 20th century and the Chinese really only faced the similar meaning of Western sexual liberation toward the end of the century. For last two decades, Chinese attitudes to sex, sexuality and related concepts and behaviours have undergone a huge change. The first female sexologist - Li Yinhe - has investigated, encouraged, and fought for the rights of minority sexual groups including homosexual, bisexual, or people breaking down hegemonic heterosexual models of relating. Although Li has made an essential contribution to Chinese sexual liberation, the durable controversy between traditional and open views about sexuality still dominate Chinese attitudes toward sexuality. As to *Yaoi* culture, the similar situation has occurred in Chinese *Yaoi* research. On one side, feminist views arguably present within the text and image; on the other side, the superficial equality between the seme and uke has been criticized. Meanwhile, the sexual content has been highlighted as women's self-awakening, but has also faced strict restriction and censorship.

The theme 'sexual liberation' in Chinese research on *Yaoi* is made-up of two sub-themes: (1) feminism and (2) pornography for women.

Sub-theme 1. Feminism Feminism is an essential part of academic concern with regard to *Yaoi* culture. A number of researchers identified the feminist stance as an important reason for *Yaoi* culture becoming popular and having such influence in modern society. *Yaoi* culture is mainly produced and consumed by women and

provides a huge space for, and influence on, female expression. Female writing and expressing has been identified as an important symbol for feminist practice that subverts the traditional ‘male gaze’ due to men being the written-about ‘objects’. Moreover, researchers indicated that *Yaoi* stories portray the relationship between males which fundamentally challenge the heterosexual relationship model (e.g. Du, 2014; Yang & Xu, 2015; Zhen & Wu, 2014). Although relationships in the *Yaoi* story commonly still maintains the binary forms, the males’ images produce a sense of more equal relationship around the characters. As a result, the *Yaoi* materials are speculated to be a channel for women to portray an equal relationship and equal environment for female readers when is difficult to achieve in real life. Further, due to the romantic story only involving males, the hegemony heterosexual relationship has been excluded, particularly given that marriage and reproduction both are fundamental and necessary elements for Chinese heterosexual relationship. The relationship has been built on what might be viewed as a purer motivation – emotion, attraction and love - rather than the social requirements (Du, 2014; Zhang 2015).

Moreover, researchers have linked queer theory (e.g,, Du, 2014; Yang & Xu, 2015) and *Yaoi* culture, *Yaoi* has importantly challenged the heterosexual patriarchal hegemony in terms of the flowing gender traits and sexual identity. For example, *Yaoi* story introduced special elements such as male pregnancy and male-male marriage so that the traditional gender concepts have been further broken down, social roles shifted, and biological features dispelled. Although most seme and uke roles maintain the binary model in terms of masculine and feminism/top and bottom/dominating and submissive/active and passive, the seme and uke roles, as partially alternative gender identities are still detectable in that biological gender has been negated and based, rather, on performance.

ABO and other *Yaoi* stories have received much criticism for the formulaic and stereotyped seme-uke relationship which may intensify the heterosexual model. Several Chinese researchers highlighted that, although the male-male relationship seems to present the more equal and open relationship, the male characters and stereotype story produces only superficial and illusory liberation (e.g. Li, 2013; Zhen & Wu, 2014; Zheng, 2015;). For example, the Omega or uke show the male appearance but play the typical and traditional female role, which may enable the female reader to insert herself into the characters to some degree. Hence, although the perfect and equal relationship may see to have been portrayed, the inequality of male and female has been emphasized. The 'male' is often shaped as remarkable, outstanding, and as a person who can control life and win the superlative relationship; while the 'women' is shown as inferior, scheming, and tricking for selfish desires (Li, 2013). Hence, the views about man's superior position with women's inferior position have been intensified implicitly.

To understand the flowing nature of gender, Zheng (2105) analysed a specific types of *Yaoi* story – ABO[2] setting - which completely rebuilds gender. The majority ABO stories focus on male characters, although the frame of male and female has been broken and an alternative strict hierarchy of social environment has been built. Zheng suggested that many such fictions portrayed Omega struggle and negotiation

[2] This designed a world with six gender type where sex is classified as Alpha, Beta, and Omega rather than male and female, but male and female still present in Alpha, Beta, and Omega. All are equipped with male and female genitals while male and female only represent differences in appearance, gender differences depend on Alpha, Beta and Omega. Alpha plays the masculinity and dominate role from top social classes and showing outstanding and remarkable ability in general, while Omega is subordinate but minority who has uncontrollable mating cycles every month and need to take inhibitor, with very high rate of fertility during mating cycles. Alpha can responses to the Omega's mating cycles and can mark the Omega. When Omega is marked, other Alpha and Omega could know the Omega being marked and he would only be able to have sex with the marker or he will feel extreme discomfort. Beta, as the ordinary group with the largest population, have reproductive ability but low fertility rate.

with the hierarchy social rule through shaping the conflicts between mating cycles and inhibitor of Omega, and marker from Alpha. The ideal relationship was described as overcoming the hierarchy social rule, with a relationship looking like that between equals and being driving by love rather than 'animal' sexuality. Additionally, numerous stores also explore an Omega hiding this identity and achieving an Alpha or Beta work position. This could, be a metaphor for affirmative action for the socially disempowered and, potentially, reflect the desire of females for equal right regardless gender position. Undeniably, there are a large number of ABO stories following the hierarchy model, highlighting the biological and social weakness of Omegas, and reinforcing the stereotypes of Alpha and Omega. Zheng emphasized that multiple level decoding, or interpretative possibilities, of such text is a feature of popular culture and not just of *Yaoi* culture. And there are different types of ABO fiction, possibly reflecting different anxieties and exploring various expectations of their role in social life of the female authors and readers.

Sub-theme 2. Pornography for women Pornography is an essential part of sexual liberation since it is a form of sexual expression outside of the marital relationship, but has a complex relationship gender and sexual roles and norms. Pornography has been hotly debated by different schools of feminists. In particular, anti-pornography feminists have argued that the depiction of women as objects in pornography is purely misogynist and vile, while sex-positive feminists suggest that the issues are more subtle, that pornography, itself, is not necessarily problematic, and fight against, what they see as, a repressive, reactionary, and conservative faction pretending to speak for all woman (Garlick 2011; McElroy, 1996; Strossen, 2000).

Within this context, *Yaoi* is particularly interesting in the portrayal in fantasy of men by women that not only depict romantic but also erotic stories so that sexual

content presents in *Yaoi* frequently. Female writing and creative expression plays an important role in feminist practice through shifting the role of women from the object narrated to a narrator herself. *Yaoi* texts provide a huge space for female expression of sexual fantasy in unprecedented numbers. As a result, Yao an expression of women's sexual desire has been focused on by the public and by academics and women's consumption and enjoyment the images of beautiful males has been increasingly accepted (Yang, 2014).

In China, the regulation to pornography is particularly strict. All kinds and formats of pornography are prohibited and close censorship is maintained to check the sexual contents of novels, movies, and sitcoms etc. Traditionally, in China female identity is commended as chaste and without sexual desire and this is still influential currently. *Yaoi* culture faces high risks given its n sexual contents and an author and a website manager were charged with the crime of spreading obscenity in 2011 and 2012. Even so, erotic materials still play an indispensable role in Chinese *Yaoi* culture.

Most Chinese *Yaoi* researchers are unwilling to explore sexually related topics since sex is a relatively taboo and vulgar subject in China even today. The mainstream attitude is to maintain vigilance to sexual contents while limiting researchers to indicating how *Yaoi* materials could be a channel for teenagers' sexual education and to satisfy their curiosity about sexuality (Wang 2015; Yao, 2015; Zheng, 2012). Due to the serious moral requirements for females' sexual behaviour, it could be that female readers can engage with *Yaoi* sexual contents with less moral judgement because of a presumed lack of identification with the characters. That is, based on the male images, female readers could be seen as enjoying the sexual contents and beautiful images, while keeping a distance from their own insertion into

the sexual activity portrayed. In this way, *Yaoi* could be understood as providing females with a flexible and safe way to express imagination, desire, curiosity, and understanding about (male) sex and sexuality. Further, Chinese women are now consuming many forms of the beautiful male image in *Yaoi* materials from figures in the public media, film and TV stars, sportsmen, even delivery boys.

Although Chinese authorities maintain a serious attitude towards sexual contents in *Yaoi*, popular *Yaoi* with gentle sexual contents or only hinting at sexual desire has contributed to the increasing normalization of sexual material for women, especially for women expressing their sexual fantasy and expectations. According to the essential of sexual liberation, normalizing sexual behaviour and concepts outside of heterosexual monogamous relationship, *Yaoi* culture has fitted into in various aspects. The male-male relationship break down the heterosexual hegemony, the flowing and performing gender characters challenges the stereotyped gender role and requirements, and the sexual contents of *Yaoi* reduces the moral concerns and guilt of female creators and audiences.

Theme 2. Paradox of gender identity In contrast to Western culture in which female and male, feminine and masculine are opposites, Chinese masculinity tends to include also gentle and doughy characteristics such as “Wen” and “Wu”. Masculinity would not be reduced by being soft or frail-looking in the Chinese culture context. Moreover, compared with hegemony in Western culture, which tends to assume that masculinity only exists in heterosexual males and is excluded in homosexuality, traditional Chinese religion and morality did not set limitation and taboo in homosexuality and the ideal figure displayed a de-gendering of traits. Meanwhile, women were defined by social role such as wife, mother, or daughter rather than special gender temperaments (Geng, 2004; Zhang, 2001). Matters of moral

judgement for sexuality were built around the family rather than in terms of sexual behaviour per se given the importance of producing the next generation. This is the context in which chastity for females outside of marriage was important and why there was a high tolerance for homosexuality: that is, homosexual behaviour did not threaten the heterosexual family structure as long as children were assured, and the concept of masculinity did not conflict with that of femininity.

Hence, *Yaoi* texts seem to fit into the Chinese traditional expectations for men "being excellence for literary grace and warlike exploits" (Yang & Li, 2014), the male characters of both seme and uke partaking of both masculine and feminine traits in *Yaoi* context. And academics have been interested in studying these ambiguous gender roles and gender models in *Yaoi*. On the other hand, given that the creators and audience of *Yaoi* tend to be female, the fact that female characters tend to be absent or denigrated in the fiction, yet masculinity praised, attracted researchers' attention.

The theme 'paradox of gender identity' in Chinese research on *Yaoi* is made-up of two sub-themes: (1) misogyny and (2) idealisation of the male.

Sub-theme 1. Misogyny The seme and uke roles depend on the personality, traits, and the interactions between characters. Seme and uke are, in some ways, a selectable and negotiable role and depends on the performance of characters. Hence, the females' traditional responsibility has been released and her social role replaced. In fact, the majority of *Yaoi* materials, if they exist, female characters and their roles are superficial, simplified, defamed, or masculinized (Yan, 2015; Zhang, 2013). Researchers indicated the phenomenon as misogyny and sometime as a 'female castration complex', meaning prejudice against the female and women rejecting the

disliking female identity and, through this, maintaining patriarchy and male privilege ideas.

Yan (2013) found there to be three types of common female characters within *Yaoi* stories. The first is the simple villain who is discarded or rejected by the seme or uke, aims to break the relationship of the protagonists, and who is generally portrayed as lamentable or detestable. Second, is the friend is portrayed with as shallow and insignificant without a developed personality, not involved in or promoting important plots, mainly as the accessory of main characters, and paid limited attention by authors. Finally is the female hero who, even if marked as female is without traditional feminine traits, is little different form the male characters or even more masculine.

Zhang (2013) indicated that the weak role of female characters within *Yaoi* culture has been theorised as a manifestation of women's internalised inferiority. The fragile female characters bring less sense of reality and immersion for readers as a result and female *Yaoi* readers have been suggested to avoid facing the complex situation of women in reality that could produce anxiety or concern for readers. However, at the same time, female readers can see themselves into any character, including seme or uke, given that these Roles are decided by personality, physical appearances, or sometimes even preference, and for some *Yaoi* story the seme/uke role shifts. In fact in *Yaoi*, the seme/uke roles do not necessarily o follow the binary model, and either seme or uke can play the strong, active, masculine, leading, and aggressive role. The seme/uke model further deconstructs the man/women gender order , extends and develops what is meant by 'masculinity', and builds new possibilities for the gender order and for the characters. Arguably, these enriched characters with multiple levels and complex features provide female readers access

to any character at any time during the dynamic interaction between seme and uke (Yang, 2014). Hence, the absence of female characters may provide a channel to avoid the anxiety of being female and help to achieve a flexible gender identity.

Heterosexual hegemony has been highlighted though *Yaoi*, especially when elements like marriage, male pregnancy, and/or raising children is introduced into *Yaoi* story (Yang, 2014). Women put themselves into such stories to realize both the fitting into traditional ideal life and the breaking down of social rules at the same time. In China, especially Mainland China, women face huge pressure to get married and to have children and *Yaoi* culture provides a 'Pure Land' in which to escape from social expectations. However, the mainstream media and traditional views continue to present the idea to women that the ideal life is to marry a good man, have a good child, and to be a good wife, and the majority of Chinese women still dream of such life. The male-male image in *Yaoi* might satisfy a rebellious fantasy taking elements from the mainstream plots about marrying, a wedding, pregnancy, and raising children commensurate with social and personal gender expectation for women. As the result, *Yaoi* may incorporate also the traditional stance towards the inferiority of females given how this has been reinforced socially for both authors and readers.

Sub-theme 2. Idealization of the male According to an extended concept of masculinity, man can be portrayed as a perfect figure able to embrace the advantages of both male and female. And this perfect figure can conduct the romantic relationship which many researchers consider in *Yaoi* is that of the 'pure love' of women's fantasy. Accordingly, the male-male relationship escapes from the mundane aspects of ordinary relationships, usually avoiding the requirements of marriage and reproduction. While stories have many kinds of plots, the central

explanation provided by researchers is that it affords a ‘pure love’ identified as the need for a sacrifice from the lovers due to suffering the judgement from the public. Further, *Yaoi* culture also emphasizes the beautiful image, the ideal physical appearance of the central *Yaoi* characters. Li (2015) suggests, for example, that women consume *Yaoi* materials just to enjoy these beautiful images, language, and stories. Undeniably, the majority of *Yaoi* manga and novels provide a dramatic and magnificent story with gorgeous characters. The Chinese novels often spend many pages in praise of the appearance of the main characters and, generally, both seme and uke have outstanding appearances and demonstrate both masculine and feminine features, such as heroic spirit, being adorable, handsome and gorgeous and, hence, although male, t presenting a neutral space of gender-identification.

Theme 3. Fandom *Yaoi* culture in China is associated with huge amateur creation so that the same women are often both authors and audience. Even professional creators, especially for writers in Mainland China, also have to have other formal work in order to make a living. An amateur work has played an essential role in *Yaoi* culture from early and the Comics Market[3] in Japan has been a big event for fans since the1970s. This generalized into Taiwan, Hong Kong and Mainland China, providing essential opportunities and spaces for fans to sell and buy amateur creations. The market associated with fan works is very strong for *Yaoi* materials but include also other fan works targeting male and general readers of comic and mangaka. Other more specific themes such as “Slash only” or “superman

[3] Comics Market is the largest and oldest Dojinshi fair holding twice a year in Tokyo Japan. It started in 1975 and, so far, 91st Comics markets have been held in Japan. The market provides essential opportunities for amateur fans to selling their creations including manga, novels, drawing etc. Although the majority participants are amateur, many famous Japanese mangaka started their professional career from Comics Market, such as CLAMP, Takahashi Rumiko, since commercial publishers also pay attention on that.

only" markets are held but are relatively small. A considerable number of Chinese *Yaoi* novels have been serialized online and this huge number of authors and their audience has drawn the attention of researchers. Those researchers have explored the reason for amateurs to keep producing their work and the motivation encouraging readers to engage (Lu & Tang, 2012; Zhang, 2010; Zhang, 2015).

The theme 'fandom' in Chinese research on *Yaoi* is made-up of two sub-themes: (1) authors and (2) audience.

Sub-theme 1. Authors Most Chinese amateur writers release their novels and fictions online for free or at a very low-price for reading, such as one Chinese penny for one chapter (around 0.1 penny in UK sterling) and the money would be taken by the website. Any income received by an author is part of a signed contract with the website and the payment will take account of the word count of the fiction. Hence, only a limited number of writers receive an income, and very few make a living from their writing published online. However, there are a considerable number of amateur works online which significantly exceed the amount created and published professionally. For example, in China there are more than four hundred *Yaoi* novels, including Dojinshi and original fiction, finished and published online each month and the word account can be between five thousand to one million. This compares to a generally limited amount of online novels by professional authors. The fictions have collected from the Jinjiang[4] finished fictions and the collection of reading groups[5] and the professional authors are identified by which published at least two

[4] Jinjiang is the largest online female orientation fiction serializing website in China, and it also organizes the publication and online selling.
[5] Many Tanbi reading groups actively collect the finished novels and label with comments in social networks, and then, they upload those novels monthly.

physical novels, had more than five full-length novels, and had fame in Chinese Tanbi novels (Account the average[6], from Jan. 2015 to Jun. 2016).

Dojinshi work is particular common for amateur writers and printers. Zhang (2010) investigated the motivation for fan work authors to start, continue, and print their work to join the comic market in China and Taiwan. Regarding the work, most writers were generally unable to publish professionally, so most are privately printed to sell at the comic market. Hence, printing could be a complex endeavour and relatively high cost for amateurs and, as a result, most amateurs would not print their works. The majority of amateur creators selling their works at markets hardly consider the economic factor in details, and the researchers concluded that the essential motivation went beyond economic benefits.

In general, Dojinshi creation is motivated by three main factors. The first is to start with a strong emotion toward specific characters or a scenario. This might be 'moe[7]' or a feeling of dissatisfaction, which encourages audiences to complete their fantasy and/or rectify their disappointment. Regarding long novels, it is difficult to continue to be driven only by temporary interest or excitement. Hence, second, in terms of interview analysis by Zhang (2010) and Lu and Tang (2012), the researchers found that feedback and communication from readers play central role in keeping creating for amateur authors. As to the creation starting from strong emotion, the feedback, either approbatory or negative, triggers the responses from authors or other readers, and fans communicated about the creation, original works, and other

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[6] The actual novels have been collected from Jinjiang and Gongdewuliang reading group who uploads the finished tanbi novels monthly (http://blog.sina.com.cn/u/2519305017; http://www.weibo.com/u/2519305017?from=feed&loc=nickname&is_all=1)

[7] Moe, means when read or watched some content, including characters, plots, scenario, or scene, trigger the strong exciting, liking, and pleasuring feelings. In Chinese and Japanese used ACG discourse context, it could directly mean something great, or like something very much, used as adjective and verb.

relevant information frequently. The authors even take suggestions from fans to continue the serialization, demonstrating that the support from communication could affect both emotions and practices. In these ways an online interpersonal relationship is built and authors felt a sense of self-actualization and achievement during creation and interaction with others. Finally, when the story is finished, or sells out, their self-confidence and self-esteem is increased and they experienced a feeling of being needed. Therefore, compared with rational economic benefit, emotional factors showed more influences on amateur authors during the whole creating process.

Sub-theme 2. Audience Although *Yaoi* stories have been criticized as superficial, highly formulaic, following a similar pattern, and distasteful in incorporating explicit sexual description, it has a large audience. Many researchers have explored the reasons for female reader engagement. Many theories have been proposed and provide reasonable explanations for the popularity of *Yaoi* culture. These include the feminist stance, women's creative expression, and their portrayal of ideal romantic relationships.

Zhang (2015) focuses on the perception of 'healing' which introduced a new, interesting perspective to understanding *Yaoi* materials and their readers. Zhang indicated that readers experienced three stages during their reading of *Yaoi*: identification, catharsis, and insight. Specifically, readers seek characters or features in the story that they recognise and with which they achieve emotional resonance. In this way, readers can understand and follow the feelings, experiences, and thought of characters. This allows them to relieve own pressures and stress and experience catharsis. Finally, based on their understanding about the characters, readers reconsider their own situation and problems and find solutions and insights in order to develop as individuals. It is not necessary for the reader to put herself into story, in

order to see similarities or to build identifications and can, none-the-less, acquire pleasure, reduce negative emotion, and have a feeling taking control in her life. Zhang (2015) speculates that readers obtain healing though reading *Yaoi* materials and benefit from a feeling of empowerment. Although the researcher did explore the effects of reading of materials, like general romantic stories, the positive influences of *Yaoi* materials was still argued to have been demonstrated.

Theme 4. Social influence Along with *Yaoi* culture becoming extremely popular in China, its influence cannot be neglected - including negative and ambivalent opinions. One side is the huge potential for economic benefits in encouraging *Yaoi* culture into mainstream media. In fact, to attract *Yaoi* fans, official authors intentionally add *Yaoi* elements into their original creation: called 'selling *Yaoi'*. Selling *Yaoi* has become increasingly common in public medial and indicates the increasing tolerance and acceptance of *Yaoi* culture. However, the high popularization of *Yaoi* with its homosexual-like themes and erotic contents has also aroused anxiety, public indignation, and serious moral concern. Increasing visibility of *Yaoi* culture has highlighted its association with erotic material, explicit sexual contents, sexual concepts, and conflict with traditional female moral requirements, as well as drawing public anxiety about the sexual orientation of readers. On the other hand, although *Yaoi* describes a female fantasy of male homosexuality, the apparent progressive sexual attitude of *Yaoi* has influenced public media to offer greater representation of homosexuality and homosexual-related themes. Hence, public tolerance toward homosexuality and possibly other sexual minorities has been impacted by *Yaoi* culture. As a result, researchers attempted to analysis the phenomenon of 'selling *Yaoi'* and the moral concerns and anxiety about *Yaoi* culture has also been explored.

The theme ‘social influence’ in Chinese research on *Yaoi* is made-up of two sub-themes: (1) selling *Yaoi* and (2) moral concern.

Sub-theme 1. Selling Yaoi As to the adverting effect of *Yaoi*, most general media appreciates the potential value. Although not directly making money from selling *Yaoi* materials, a huge number of *Yaoi* fans could be attracted to other media by the inclusion of *Yaoi* elements. *Yaoi* fans, especially Dojinshi fans, will potentially increase the consumption of original works. Dojinshi works are built on the original product that the amateur authors are familiar enjoy very much. However, although Dojinshi creations are derived from existing works, persons, or events, they are a special understanding and coding of the original. That is, *Yaoi* fans add their own way of making the story complete, perfect, and satisfying. Hence, adding a trigger for *Yaoi* audiences could encourage the original work to run all the rage.

As a result, actors more frequently talk about the close same-gender friends in banter, and this play has been intentionally appended through intensive relationship between same gender characters in popular culture products. For example, *Yaoi* fans extremely enjoy the phenomenon as the BBC and other news media report Chinese *Yaoi* fans going crazy about developing the ;gay love theory; for Sherlock (BBC News, 2014; Abad-Santos, 2014). And regarding the four seasons *Sherlock* television sitcom, the interaction and intensity of the relationships between same-sex characters has been delineated more and more in order to cater to the huge group of *Yaoi* fans. This demonstrates the integration effect of *Yaoi* and mainstream culture: while *Yaoi* has permeated the public media, public media has also compromised to some degree. Hence, both researchers and media players have paid attention to understanding and, in effect, exploiting *Yaoi* culture. And *Yaoi* elements have become a stunt for public

media such as films, teleplay, reality television, and other types of show, while exposing the *Yaoi* elements as an effective means of advertising.

Researchers have investigated the *Yaoi* elements presented and coded in popular movies and TV series, including Sherlock (BBC TV), Gu Jian (a Chinese TV series), and several Chinese movies (Pan, 2014; Wu, 2015; Yin, 2015). Pan (2014) suggested that, to an extent, Dojinshi creations express counterculture desire such as the breaking down of stereotypes established under the momentum of consumerism and mainstream culture. Hence, Dojinshi culture could be considered a result of negotiation between authority culture and more critical and challenging discourse. A major example is that inter-infiltration between *Yaoi* and mainstream culture encourages the display of closed but erotically-ambiguous relationship in general programmes. On the other hand, *Yaoi* itself suffers in the rigorous censorship tending to cater to mainstream culture in curbing the level of explicit sexual contents and fitting characters into acceptable gender stereotypes. Specifically, Yin (2015) mentioned that, under Chinese culture background and censorship, general programmes and films which face to the public would not be allowed to portray homosexuality directly. Although 'art-house' Chinese homosexual-themed films have achieved very good international reputation[8], almost no award-winning films have been released to the Chinese public legally. As a result, when the ambiguous *Yaoi* elements are added into general programmes, the relationship between characters can be decoded in a more obvious *Yaoi* way. To some degree, as *Yaoi*

[8] Farewell My Concubine won the Cannes Palme d'Or in 1993. The main actor of Lan Yu, Liu Ye won for Best Actor at Taiwan's 38th Golden Horse Awards Lan Yu won in 2001. East Palace, West Palace premiered at the Mar del Plata Film Festival in Argentina in November 1996 and at the 1997 Cannes Film Festival as part of the Un Certain Regard competition.

elements become common within public media, homosexual culture and people also come more into the public view.

Sub-theme 2. Moral concern With *Yaoi* and homosexuality drawing more and more attention of the public, serious anxiety and worry has also been raised. Although, officially, homosexuality is not identified as illicit or abnormal, the authorities seem unfriendly to homosexuality due to the media regulation policy which prohibits homosexual-related programmes to be release to the public in 2015[9]. And with regard to explicit sexual content, this is under stringent regulation, and both the mainstream public and authorities maintain a very negative attitude. In fact, the Chinese mainstream maintains an extremely vigilant and harsh view about any form of pornography and all types of pornography are illegal and considered immoral. Therefore *Yaoi* culture has been confronted with serious querying and criticism. Meanwhile researchers have tried to seek the positive side of its explicit content.

Many researchers have offered a far-fetched linked between the sexual content of *Yaoi* and sexual education in China (e.g., Lui & Tang, 2012; Wang, 2015; Yang, 2015). Considering the devoid and imbalanced education level in sexuality in China, the huge gap between different areas, families, and individuals, the Chinese *Yaoi* fans possibly know very little about sexuality. There are limited research focusing on sexual education in China, one study focused on students from Shandong Economic University indicated near 60% student never received formal sexual education in all 190 students (Zhao, 2007). Another study investigated 806 teenagers (age between 15 to 18) from Shanghai suburbs, major participants pointed out that received sexual education from school but only providing basic knowledge (Yu, Lou,

[9] The State Administration of Radio Film and Television issued the new version of general principles of the TV content production in 2015.

Gao, Marshall 2003). Therefore some researchers are concerned that *Yaoi* culture brings deviant sexual concepts to young readers. Young people may seem over-vulnerable and adults pay great attention to 'right' ideology and try to make sure youths follow. For example, Gao (2013) investigated *Yaoi* culture based on a pedagogical perspective that explores the educational meaning of *Yaoi* and proposed suggestions about regulation, sexual education, and individual development in personality and how fans interpret the world.

Further, researchers have expressed worry that consuming *Yaoi* materials could impact readers' sexual orientation. The concern about not fitting into the 'right' sexual ideology and hetero-normative sexual orientation reflects the expectations of authority and mainstream culture to keep youth in the normal path: particularly to maintain women within the heterosexual hegemony and the traditional female role. Although the *Yaoi* story format actually highly fits the heterosexual model, as opposed to promoting rebellious female sexual liberation or equality, the presentation of non-hegemonic genders and relationships cause actual tension in the public. On the other hand, although *Yaoi* culture in in high vigilance by the mainstream, it has the effect of introducing homosexuality-themes into public arena more frequently and in a more normalized way alongside *Yaoi* popularization. In fact, research has confirmed the existence of more positive attitudes toward homosexual groups by *Yaoi* fans, and *Yaoi* fans generally shows more equal views about sexual liberation and more concern about equal rights for homosexuals (Xu & Yang, 2015; Zhu & Zhao, 2015). Even though *Yaoi* culture has often been censured as mis-representing the image of homosexuality, through it the public has become truly familiar with the existence of non-hegemonic sexualities. This is important progress because homosexuality has no longer been excluded from daily life and no

longer ignored and hidden. Drawing this public attention is an essential part of effort for homosexual liberation.

Theme 5. Communication Along with *Yaoi* culture blooming in China, additional influences also have to be taken into account. The most important additional factors are the internet and legal issues. The internet plays an essential role in that it has carried the development of Chinese *Yaoi* culture. Japanese *Yaoi* manga and fictions, and Chinese Tanbi novels, are released online which means the majority of people have access *Yaoi* material through the internet. Further, *Yaoi* fans have many ways of communicating through the internet, such as chat groups, social networking sites, and forums. And almost completely *Yaoi* physical produce - books, toys, accessories - have been made privately and sold online. However, given that much online material is without identification, certification, or permission – and its often explicit sexual content - legal issues are raised which are mainly associated with copyright and censorship.

The theme 'communication' in Chinese research on *Yaoi* is made-up of two sub-themes: (1) the internet and (2) legal issues.

Sub-theme 1. The internet The Chinese National Internet Development Report[10] indicated that more than half a billion netizens were expected by 2015 in China. This compares to only four million in 2000: around 0.5% of the Chinese population in 2015. Chinese *Yaoi* culture started relatively later than other Chinese-speaking areas like Taiwan and Hong Kong, but the development processes is similar with the internet playing an identical and essential role promoting Chinese *Yaoi* culture.

[10] China Internet Network Information Center issued the report about overall situation of Chinese internet twice a year from 1997.

Researchers suggest that internet provides unlimited space for information exchange and creation so that huge amounts of material can be accessed online free and little restriction. The internet eliminated many barriers to the consumption and production of *Yaoi* and maximized the popularisation of *Yaoi* culture. Further, internet provides a convenient means for fans to communicate, conquering geographical location. Most communication between fans occurs online and, importantly, promotes the creative enthusiasm of authors as well as consolidating in-group identity. As well as amateur creating, convenient communication also encourages co-creating and group-creating between fans, which facilitates additional creative formats. In additional, due to the anonymity of the internet, it provides a space that produces a sense of safety and freedom for users, meaning that fans are more willing to express themselves online. Authors can test different types of stories, formats, and themes in their creating practices. This is especially so for, what might be considered, taboo themes which might frequently show in *Yaoi* story - and homosexual-related themes are one kind of taboo in Chinese society. Moreover, anonymity is imperative if the audience is to enjoy anything without outside judgement, especially for *Yaoi* fans who engage in such socially-condemned materials related to homosexual and pornography. Both are particular sensitive for Chinese culture and authorities, so *Yaoi* culture has considerably benefitted from the internet.

Sub-theme 2. Legal issues According to the convenience of the internet but also the obstacles of censorship, *Yaoi* culture involves several legal issues. Considerable online *Yaoi* manga are pirated, huge numbers of Dojinshi are without copyright authorization from original authors, and much *Yaoi* material will contravene Chinese regulations about pornography. As to the online manga, most are uploaded by fans

and some of them even are translated by fans – called scanlation – and, although some *Yaoi* manga have been published in Taiwan officially, fans still upload such publications online without permission. However, there is no actual regulation for self-uploading, since there is no actual economic loss caused by large numbers fans uploading and consuming those materials. As a result, the issues of pirating and self-uploading have been ignored by academics and authorities.

Real disputes associated with copyright and authorship have been the focus of researchers' attention. Along with *Yaoi* bringing increasing economic benefits, there have been more debates between Dojinshi creators and original copyright holders. For example, the definition of the copyright between original authors or Dojinshi author has been explored (Xu, 2014). Regarding the existing cases, the sharing authorship is decided by original authors. Specifically, Disney prohibits any Dojinshi works, Star Trek rejects most, and J. K. Rowling approves the majority although still engaged in a lawsuit with fan-fiction author Steven Wander Arts. Therefore, copyright holders decide the level of sharing for non-commercial fan works and, if acceptable, provide Creative Commons (CC) licenses to fan work authors. However, even if CC licenses has provided a strong legal basis, due to the huge population and various levels and formats of amateur fan creation, CC licenses need further generalisation and explanation.

Finally, due to censorship and regulation of pornography in China, sexually-explicit *Yaoi* stories might be identified as illegal. In fact, two persons were charged and sentenced to six- eighteen months imprisonment in 2010 and 2013 for *Yaoi*-related offenses. This caused serious anxiety from the public and lead to further stigmatization of *Yaoi* culture, and the incident seems leaded to further concern about the legislation of pornography and sexual contents in public.

Aims and Thesis Structure

This chapter has provided an introduction and a review of the existing research literature on *Yaoi* in China. Given the above literature review, the problem to be tackled in this thesis is to understand the Chinese *Yaoi* fandom given that this is a genre of fiction in which production and consumption largely overlap and the material is ostensibly socially prohibited. Hence, the overarching aims are to explore in comparison with Anlgophone fans a) how Sinophone fans read *Yaoi*, b) examine who consumes *Yaoi* in Sinophone regions and, c) analysis how Sinophone fans engage with the sexual (ostensibly socially prohibited) content in *Yaoi*.

Chapter 2 continues by providing an overview of the methodologies involved. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 then report three extended research investigation, each chapter with its own introduction, method, analyses and discussions. That is, chapter 3 offers an analysis of the heteronormative frame in Chinese *Yaoi* through integrating female Chinese fan interviews with Sinophone and Anglophone survey data; chapter 4 addresses the question ‘who engages with *Yaoi* in China?’; and chapter 5 explores engagement with the sexual content of *Yaoi* in Chinese and Anglophone contexts. This final chapter of the thesis then provides conclusions and reflections on this work.

Chapter 2: Methodological Overview

Theoretical framework

This is a mixed methods study which integrates female Chinese fan interviews with Sinophone and Anglophone survey data, analysed using Thematic Analysis and statistics, respectively. I mix these methods within a pragmatic paradigm in which I understand the qualitative and quantitative approaches to cohere at the level of a critical realist epistemology, meaning that both accept an object of inquiry (i.e., *Yaoi* fans), while analysis is considered to incorporate an element of interpretation (Madill & Gough, 2008).

Critical realism is a branch of metaphysical philosophy which address the issue of distinguishing the 'real' world and the 'observable' world. The basic premise is that the can be known and understood by individuals, but via a perspective based on the experience of what is humanly 'observable' (Zachariadis, Scott, & Barrett, 2013). Moreover, it is argued that social phenomena are 'concept-dependent' and need interpretive understanding which is not independent from the human notions or perceptual apparatus by which such phenomena became observable. Hence, critical realism integrates empiricism and interpretivism and is primarily utilized as a practice-based research domain in social science which are largely based on qualitative methods (Venkatesh et.al. 2013). Quantitative methods are compatible with critical realism in terms of understanding the phenomena investigated to be, at least in part, socially constructed within contexts such as geographical or historical conditions (Tsoukas, 1989). For example, following is how this theoretical framework applies to some of the key concepts in this thesis: i.e., 'male' and 'female', and the genres 'romantic' and 'erotic'.

First, in terms of gender, a critical realist position is that while differentially embodied person exists as objects in the world (realist ontology), how those bodies are understood is considered to be social constructed (relativist epistemology) so that categories such as male/female, masculine/feminine will be variable defined and applied in different contexts, including pertinently cultural contexts. For the present research, this means that participant self-definition as to gender is accepted while also allowing participants to indicated non-binary gender identification. In terms of *Yaoi* materials, gender itself is often problematized both narratively and visually. Second, considering genre from a critical realist position – such as romance and erotica – these are understood to be terms identifying types of *Yaoi* materials the content of which may vary depending on contextual ethics and taste. Hence, these terms are used within this thesis always with reference to the relevant participant group.

Regarding this project, *Yaoi* is considered a social phenomenon and I will be exploring how it is engaged with in two very different cultural settings: Sinophone and Anglophone regions. The qualitative data generated with Chinese fans provides information on how the material is understood by them and frame employed. The quantitative data collected from both groups, provides a wealth of information on demographics and content preferences.

The Project

As described in detail in Chapter 1, Chinese research has tended to focus on the content of *Yaoi* materials and the implications of its popularity. For example, Wang (2019) explored the phenomenal popularity of Chinese online story *Drama Guardian* and other highly engaged-with original Chinese *Yaoi* novels, in particular how they

negotiate between Chinese censorship and erotic contents. Similarly, Chao (2016) focused on Chinese erotic *Yaoi* novels from *Lucifer's Club*, arguing that Chinese *Yaoi* authors and audience attempted to develop a queer gaze and to challenge Chinese heteronormative ideology. Further, Chao (2013, 2017) analyzed two specific works - the comic *In These Words* and the anime *Yuri on Ice* – to explore evidence of hybridization culture in *Yaoi* facilitating its global market. And Wang (2018)'s doctoral dissertation focused on a very successful author named *Priest* who produced many popular *Yaoi* novels, two of which have been adapted into TV or online dramas.

Relatively few Chinese publications have reported data generated from the *Yaoi* audience and those that have done are of relatively poor quality. This applies to both interview and survey methodology,

Regarding Chinese interview research, commonly there was no clearly outlined interview schedule with which to contexualise the reported anlaysis. For example, Wang (2018) offers an analysis suggesting a negative influence of *Yaoi* on the political ideology of female university students: i.e., towards criticism of heteronormative sexuality, and of promoting a high expectation of romantic relationships. Where interview questions are better reported, they can suggest some bias in the research. For example, Zhu and Wang (2012), argued that young female readers of *Yaoi* might be attracted to this material due to the absence of a father. However, the interview questions were highly driven by father roles and father absence is a relatively common situation in Chinese families. However, there is some higher quality Chinese interview research focusing on gender and queer identification and group identity (e.g., Wang, 2017; Zhang, 2015), healing feelings from the consumption of Yaoi (Chang, 2015), and practices in the *Yaoi* fan arts

market (Huang, 2015). As outlined following, the interviews I undertook with Chinese *Yaoi* fans for this project has a clear interview schedule which is fully reported to contextualize my analysis.

Zhu and Cui (2012) and Zheng (2017) report both survey and interview data but provided little detail on their research methods. Moreover, in general, Chinese survey research in this area has relatively small and restricted samples (e.g., Cheng, 2007, N=21; Li, 2009, N =31; Yao & Gou, 2013, N=530; Zhang, 2015, N= 362). While Zhang (2015) and Yao and Gou (2013) appear to have meaningful sample size, they included also non-*Yaoi* fans: around half the sample of the former and 70% of the latter. Moreover, few studies provided adequate detail about their survey questions (e.g., Dai, 2014). There are also methodological weakness. For example, Zhang (2015) investigated the influence of *Yaoi* on the sexual orientation of university students but, arguably, used an inappropriate scale to 'measure, sexual orientation. In contrast as outlined following, the survey I designed for this project is set out in clear sections and I report with care the questions I selected and analysed in each chapter of this thesis.

This is a mixed methods study which uses both quantitative and qualitative research approaches. That is, I conducted interviews with Chinese *Yaoi* fans to explore their experiences, interests, and opinions but also collected data through a BL/*Yaoi* Fandom Survey in Chinese, with an almost identical one created in English which was managed predominantly by my supervisor. The survey provides mainly quantitative data, but some open-ended response questions were also included which provide qualitative data. My PhD focuses on the Chinese survey but I include also some comparative analysis with the data collected by my supervisor through the Anglophone survey where this might illuminate the Chinese context.

The overarching aims are to explore in comparison with Anglophone fans:

- how Sinophone fans read *Yaoi*;
- examine who consumes *Yaoi* in Sinophone regions; and.
- analyse how Sinophone fans engage with the sexual (ostensibly socially prohibited) content in *Yaoi*.

As it will be explained in this chapter: these aim are operationalized through the following methodology and objectives:

- find and review the existing research literature on *Yaoi* in China (see Chapter 1);
- create, promote, and analyse the quantitative and qualitative data obtained from a survey of Chinese *Yaoi* fans (see Chapters 3, 4, and 5);
- undertake interviews with Chinese *Yaoi* fans and analyse this material with qualitative methods (see Chapter 3);
- integrate the existing research literature with the quantitative and qualitative findings from this study (see Chapter 3, 4, and 5);
- where appropriate, compare and contrast the findings from the Chinese and Anglophone *Yaoi* fandom surveys (See Chapter 3, 4, and 5).

This chapter offers a general, methodological overview of the work conducted.

Background to the researcher and her research on *Yaoi* in China

I have engaged in Chinese *Yaoi* culture for 17 years: from the beginning of middle school at around 12 years old. I have experienced the main developing period of this culture and witnessed the changes and dilemmas as the rapidly increasing popularity and increasingly harsh regulations becomes the essential paradox of Chinese *Yaoi*. Understanding how *Yaoi* culture and fans negotiate with Chinese authorities and

mainstream culture, while maintaining its essential characteristics could be important for *Yaoi* study. Hence I really appreciate the opportunity to investigate Chinese *Yaoi* fans in my Masters' project and PhD programme.

Regarding my Master's project, the situation of Chinese *Yaoi* fans was investigated by an early online survey and interviews. Due to the time limitation, only 25 survey responses and 4 interviewees were included. The survey had 144 questions with basic demographic information, other reading materials, the pattern and formats of *Yaoi* materials, preference for mangakas, feelings about Yaoi culture, social relationship and other pornographic materials. The results suggested *Yaoi* readers did not necessarily consume other pornographic materials but reading male-male slash fiction was significantly correlated with reading *Yaoi* materials. Further, fans were unwilling to share their *Yaoi* interest with their families and would be upset if found out by family members. One major shortcoming of my Masters research was that almost all participants were recruited by snowball sampling. Specific feedback also indicated that there were too many questions in the survey, that the suggested formats of *Yaoi* materials did not contribute to understanding Chinese *Yaoi* fandom, and that the preference for specific mangakas was too limited. As a result, the current online survey was modified in these, and additional, respects. For example, the online survey has been reduced to 47 questions, preference for *Yaoi* authors has been replaced with preference types of seme and uke, and preference for specific elements within *Yaoi* stories has been added.

Regarding the interviews, in my Master's project, semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with Chinese *Yaoi* fans on their personal experiences of consuming *Yaoi* materials, their preference for specific *Yaoi* authors, stories, or characters, feelings about shota and shotacon (stories with pre-pubescent characters),

and opinion about Chinese censorship for *Yaoi* culture, as well as leaving space to interviewees to provide additional information. Four interviews I conducted with female, Chinese fans recruited through snowball sampling and one self-pilot (in which I was interviewed by my supervisor Professor Anna Madill) were analysed using the thematic qualitative approach of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). IPA aims to explore the details of how participants interpret their personal world in order to understanding the specific phenomenon under investigation and how participants make sense of their experience (Smith, 2004). According to my original analysis of these interviews, I found four main themes: group identity, gender identity, communication, real world, and a core category called technological factors.

The interview schedule for my Master's interviews worked well because it included essential aspects of *Yaoi* culture: the main experiences of consuming and producing *Yaoi* material, preference for authors, stories, characters, special elements, and regulation by authorities. Hence, the schedule has been retained for the current study. In terms of the interview analysis, it was not only what the interviewees said about their experiences that contributed to my understanding *Yaoi* culture for the participants but, importantly, also information that I abstracted from the transcripts. Hence, I have moved away from using IPA – with its focus on staying true to participant meanings – and decided to use Thematic Analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) due to being more flexible about the focus of analysis. Further, all the interview data I generated for my Master's project has been re-analysed for my PhD as well as recruiting and interview more participants.

This is a mixed methods study which uses both quantitative and qualitative research approaches. That is, I conducted interviews with Chinese *Yaoi* fans to explore their experiences, interests, and opinions but also collected data through a BL/*Yaoi* Fandom Survey in Chinese, with an almost identical one created in English which was managed predominantly by my supervisor. The survey provides mainly quantitative data, but some open-ended response questions were also included which provide qualitative data. My PhD focuses on the Chinese survey but I include also some comparative analysis with the data collected by my supervisor through the Anglophone survey where this might illuminate the Chinese context.

The overarching aims are to explore in comparison with Anlgophone fans a) how Sinophone fans read *Yaoi*, b) examine who consumes *Yaoi* in Sinophone regions and, c) analysis how Sinophone fans engage with the sexual (ostensibly socially prohibited) content in *Yaoi*. As it would be explained in this Chapter: these aim are operationalized through the following methodology and objectives:

- find and review the existing research literature on *Yaoi* in China (see Chapter 1);
- create, promote, and analyse the quantitative and qualitative data obtained from a survey of Chinese *Yaoi* fans (see Chapters 3, 4, and 5);
- undertake interviews with Chinese *Yaoi* fans and analyse this material with qualitative methods (see Chapter 3);
- integrate the existing research literature with the quantitative and qualitative findings from this study (see Chapter 3, 4, and 5);
- where appropriate, compare and contrast the findings from the Chinese and Anglophone *Yaoi* fandom surveys (See Chapter 3, 4, and 5).

The following three chapters of my PhD (i.e., Chapters 3, 4 and 5) are presented as contained studies undertaken on the growing data set at three points in the work. That is each chapter is structured with its own introduction, method, analysis, and discussion sections. Each offers detailed exposition of the method relevant to that analysis, i.e., data collection (including paths to recruitment and the participants recruited at that point in the process), the data selected for analysis in that study to address particular research questions and the data analysis undertaken to address these questions. Hence, this chapter offers a general, methodological overview of the work conducted.

Ethical issues

This research follows the principles set out by the British Psychological Society code of ethics. These guidelines include ethical principles such as making sure that participants know what will happen and are happy to take part, and the protection of participant identity. According the British Psychological Society *Ethical Principles for Conducting Research with Human Participants* and further *Code of Human Research Ethics* (2018) set and classified the general principles which includes 'respect', 'competence', 'responsibility' and 'integrity'.

In terms of 'respect'-"respect for the dignity of persons and people'' (Code, 2018), both interview and survey data were anonymised and interview participants were informed that they were free to withdraw their data up the point of publication. To ensure 'self-determination', the minimal interviewee age was set at 16 years old and the survey was directly promoted only within university environments and public convention sites etc., and not to high school or middle school. Before completing the

survey or interview, participants were provided with an introduction to the study or information sheet which included the researchers contact details for queries prior to or after taking part. To minimize the influence of environment, for the Chinese survey promoted in university classes, a DR-Code to the survey was provided to students (i.e., rather than a paper survey in the class), and either the researcher or the lecturers highlighted that there was no requirement to undertake the survey. Even if students completed the survey within their classes, participants used a link from their own mobile phone so avoid any audit trail through an institution site, for example, and hence to ensure confidentiality.

Regarding ‘competence’ and ‘responsibility’, the researcher is required to maintain and develop her professional expertise and to be aware of her limitations, Additionally, the researcher needs to accept appropriate responsibility for what is under her control and management and to seek advice from her supervisor throughout. Hence, I took relevant training courses, including interview skills, how to analyse interview data, and quantitative data analysis in order to make sure I fulfilled as far as possible the competence principle. Moreover, I fully understood my responsibility to develop and improve of my skills and respect the welfare of any participants.

As to ‘integrity’, researchers are required to be honest, truthful, accurate and consistent. More specifically, researchers should consider candour, unbiased, fairness, avoiding interest conflicts. Thus, having secured appropriate ethical approvals, I uploaded all data to university security system to make sure it was held safely and confidentially and could be drawn upon appropriately if required to provide an audit trail. Further, I ensure that I was involved in no conflict of interests through the work. My interviews and surveys ask about the consumption of erotic

materials which is an activity which is highly regulated in China. In terms of ethics, I take the position that my participant themselves negotiate this context and I am not, per se, encouraging consumption by asking about their normal activity in this regard. Moreover, in China, *Yaoi* materials rarely include 'hard core' pornography or extremely aberrant sexual activity that is not completely obviously fictional and unable to be replicated in the real world. Finally, I note I have responsibility to bring to the attention of my supervisor any illegal activity, or potential of harm to others or self, reported by participants and to discuss with her the correct course of action. This situation did not occur.

Ethical approval for the PhD research was obtained on 30th October 2014 (for the revised survey 14-0210) and on 30th November 2015 (for interview data collection in China 15-0341) from the School of Psychology Ethics Committee, University of Leeds with approval number: (Appendices 1 & 2).

Ethical issues with regard to the interviews

Ethical approval for my interviews involved creating an information sheet and consent form for participants, and risk assessment and safety protocol for my data collection in China.

Ethical approval was sought and given to take consent via a signed consent but also verbally at the beginning of an audio-recorded interview or within the text of an e-mail. Audio-recording of the interviews are kept on a private and secure university computer, locked with a username and password. I typed-up audio-recordings into transcripts and made every effort that participants are not identifiable in the transcripts or other material, such as e-mails, used for analysis. For example, I omitted potentially identifying details and used pseudonyms (false names). I obtained consent to use quotes from the interviews in reports of the research on the condition

that participants are as far as possible not identifiable in the quotes. I gave signed consent forms to my supervisor for safe and confidential storage. If participants gave me consent to share their interview data with other researchers, I committed to sharing the anonymised version and, if required, know only very general demographic information about the participants (e.g., approximate age).

There are some limits to confidentiality in all research activity. Hence, the information sheet stated that I may be obliged to alert relevant authorities if a participant reveals involvement in any serious criminal activity, intention to harm themselves or others, or if I have good reason to suspect that the participant is at serious risk of harm from others. It stated that, if this is the case, I may tell you that I intend to seek advice and will, at the earliest opportunity contact my supervisor. However, I also reassured potential participants that my research does not actively seek such information and, if I think they may be about to disclose something along these lines during the interview, I will remind them of my obligations.

There were considered to be no significant risks to participants in taking part in this research. However, some topics related to *Yaoi* may be sensitive. For example, some *Yaoi* has explicit sexual content and some *Yaoi* on the internet may contravene copyright and other laws depending on the jurisdiction in which they are accessed. Hence, I warned potential participants that I would like to ask their opinion on these kinds of topics but made it clear that they could decline this line of questioning without having to give a reason. As standard, participants were informed that they could contact me to take their interview out of the research at any time up to the point at which it has been submitted for examination or publication, without having to give a reason (although, reassuringly, no-one took-up this opportunity). If I went to an event in China to recruit, I use the safety protocol with my parents (Appendix

3). Also, for my own safety, if I recruited an interview participant at an event, I found a quiet yet public place to sit and do the interview. A quite place was needed for privacy but also for clear audio-recording. However, a public place was also appropriate for safety reasons. I also interviewed some Chinese students at the University of Leeds and did so in a private room on campus.

Ethical issues with regard to the survey

Ethical approval for my survey involved considering how to word the opening text for the survey so as to be fully informative about its content and making the final section on Other Erotic Materials optional because these questions are not directly related to *Yaoi*. Hence, the first page of the survey was as follows:

> Hello! My name is Yao Zhao. I am a Chinese national and postgraduate student at the University of Leeds in the United Kingdom. This survey is for Chinese Boys' Love (BL) fans. BL, also known as YAOI, originated in Japan and consists of female-oriented products such a manga, anime, and novels that focus on homoerotic relationships. BL is popular in China but there is very little research about the Chinese fans. By completing this survey you will be helping promote understanding of this fandom. The survey does not ask your name and I will not know who has completed it. I have ethical approval to conduct this research from the School of Psychology at the University of Leeds: Ethics approval number 14-0210, date: 30th October 2014. My research supervisor is Professor Anna Madill.
>
> This survey will take about10 minutes to complete. Most questions just ask you to select an answer from a few options. However, there is usually space for you to explain your answer in your own words – but you can chose to complete as many or as few as these as you want. The survey has five sections: (A) demographics, (B) feelings about BL, (C) social relationships, and (D) engagement with other erotic material. You can skip any question you don't want to answer and can skip the whole of section E if you want. I will just be very grateful for any information you are willing to share with me about your interest in BL.
>
> When this research is completed, you will find summary results at https://leeds.academia.edu/AnnaMadill/BL-Chinese-Fandom-Research to find further information. If you might be interested to take part in an interview (e.g., via e-mail) to explore your opinions about BL in China please contact me. Thank you for your help with this research! Yao
>
> E-mail: academic_yaoi@sina.com

Weibo: Academic_Yaoi
QQ: 3136104550

The interviews

Regarding extant research which applied the interview research method in similar fields, researchers have focused on gender and queer identity (e.g., Huang, 2015; Wang, 2017), healing feelings (Chang, 2016), and arts market (Huang 2015). However, as I reviewed in an early chapter, interview studies on Chinese *Yaoi* are often weak due to biases in the questions asked. For example, Zhu and Wang (2012) investigated the influence of father absence on young girls consuming *Yaoi* and appeared to validate their started assumption that *Yaoi* materials were some kind of compensation for the lack of a masculine role in the family.

The interviews constitute a major part of the analysis presented in Chapter 3 and are described in detail in that chapter. Hence, here, I offer a more general overview of the methodology involved, the challenges raises, and how these challenges were met.

The main qualitative method of data generation for the study is the semi-structured interview. However, qualitative data was also collected through open-ended response questions in the online survey. The semi-structured interview is based on an open framework around an interview schedule while maintaining flexibility to bring new ideas from what interviewees say during interviewing. The schedule is used for every interview so that similar topics have been discussed by each interviewee. According to individual interviewees displaying different foci, the semi-structured interview allows appropriate straying from the basic interview schedule during the conversational and two-way communication (Cohen, 2006).

The interview schedule was designed to include questions about what fans think about *Yaoi* culture, how they engage, whether they create *Yaoi* and, if so, what the work is about. It also includes questions about interviewees, preferences for *Yaoi* creators and materials. The specific question about *Shota* and *Shotacon* have been included because this is such a fraught area morally as is, to a lesser extent, the question about female characters in *Yaoi* given that they tend to be presented in a very bad light. Legal concerns about *Yaoi* material in China was also raised for discussion. Overall the face-to-face interviews followed the schedule, but if interviewees raise interesting new issues around a particular topic or idea, they were free to talk further about this. For example, issues about using *Yaoi* terminology and selling popular media through *Yaoi* element were frequently raised. Although there is relevant and appropriate overlap between the content of the interview and survey, the interview format is more flexible and can gather more details. The interview schedule is as follows:

How would you describe Boys' Love/YAOI to someone who had never heard of it?

Can you let me how you came to be interested in BL/YAOI?
- How old were you when you first found BL/ YAOI?
- What BL did you find first, can you remember?
- How did you find it (through friends, online)?
- Where do you get your BL/YAOI (bought, borrowed, online)?
- Do you share this interest with your friends?
- Do you also read slash fiction?
- Do you create BL/YAOI manga yourself?

Do you consider yourself to be fujoshi?
- What does this mean to you?

Who is your favourite BL/YAOI mangaka?
- What are some of her titles that you like?
- What is it that you like about her work?

What is your favourite BL/YAOI title?
- Can you tell me a bit about this story?

Do you find yourself identifying with a particular character in the story?
What is it that you like about this story?

What kind of BL/YAOI do you like best?
Particular kind of relationship?
Particular kind of seme or uke?
Level of explicitness?
Do you engage with other kinds of erotica?

Who do you think is the audience for BL/YAOI manga in China?
How do you feel about male/female readers of BL/YAOI?
How do you feel about straight/gay/lesbian readers of BL/YAOI?
How do you feel about younger/older readers of BL/YAOI?

What aspects of BL/YAOI do you find shocking, if any?
Sometimes the relationships are incestuous – what do you make of this?
What do you feel about the way that female characters are portrayed?
Sometimes some of the characters look very young – what do you make of this?
What is your opinion of Shotacon?

Some BL/YAOI may be illegal in the China. How do you feel about this?
To what extent are you concerned about copyright of BL/YAOI manga in China?

How important is BL/YAOI to you?
What does it mean to you?

Interview participant recruitment

To be relevant for interview, interviewees had to meet the following criteria:

- be a Chinese national;
- at least 16 years old;
- consider themselves to be a keen fan of *Yaoi*;
- signed the consent form, stated consent in writing in written data collection methods or verbally at the beginning of audio-recorded interviews.

I recruited relevant participants to interview in the following ways:

- by word of mouth when I attended manga events, seminars, or any other relevant events;
- through leaflets (Appendix 11) which include a short summary about the study, a short invitation to interview, my contact information and the DR-code for survey link;
- via a postcard (Appendix 10) with a short invitation to interview, my contact information and the DR-code for survey link which was sent out as free gift by a Chinese online *Yaoi* seller;
- by way of an invitation to interview at the beginning and end of the online survey along with my contact details;
- I also interviewed some friends and used snowballing through asking my friends and all my interviewees to tell their networks about my study.

I informed potential participants that I anticipated conducting the interview in Chinese, but would be happy to conduct them in English if that is their preference. I also informed potential participants: that I had a list of questions, but was happy to discuss their experiences and opinions in their own way; that the interview may be very short or may last an hour or more depending on how much time they have and where it is conducted; that I anticipated asking about how they got interested in *Yaoi*, how they pursue this interest, to tell me about their favourite *Yaoi* mangakas and publications, their thoughts about the content of *Yaoi* (including its sexual content), and opinion about how *Yaoi* is received in China.

The interviews were conducted by online voice chat, face-to-face interview, e-mail interview, or the direct online chatting by text. These different formats were required because all the participants are required to be Chinese nationals who are living in Mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan or other countries, like the UK, USA

and Canada. Even when the interviewees live in China and recruited face-to-face from manga events or seminars, interviews are difficult to arrange immediately because interviewees were not all from the local area and manga events and seminars have a noisy environment not fitted to audio-recording. Moreover it is more efficient to recruit as many as possible participants from these events and arrange to conduct the actual interview later. Hence, due to the geographical and temporal barriers, online interviews was the preferred approach while the types of online interview - voice chat, text chat or e-mail - was decided by the interviewee.

Although voice chat, text chat and e-mail facilitated different amounts of information, all followed the same interview schedule. Hence, al interviewees answered the basic questions in all formats of interview and added extra information as relevant. As a result, reasonably comparable data has been collected across these online interviews. Additionally, several face-to-face interviews were conducted that displayed more flexibility and depth given better opportunities to adjust the questions in terms of interviewees' responses in this format.

Twenty-six interviews were conducted including 5 e-mail interviews, 2 text chat interviews, 8 face-to-face interviews, and 11 online interviews with audio-recording. All interviews were conducted in Chinese. The first three interviewees were from my Masters research since the interviews were conducted using the same schedule and I am reanalysing them using a different method of qualitative analysis. Interviews were therefore conducted between 6th March 2014 and 17th April 2016.

The e-mail and text chat interviews were relatively short and simple and the text was saved directly as documents. It was decided that the quality of this data was not sufficient to include it in the research. The online and face-to-face interviews were longer, lasting between 45 minutes to 2 hours, and were more detailed. The 16

online and face-to-face interviews were audio- recorded and required transcription by the researcher in Chinese. *Yaoi* is mainly engaged with by women and, it has turned out that, all my interviewees are female. Although it would have been interesting to interview some men, the timescale for completion of my PhD made it difficult to try and collect and analyse more interview data. I therefore made a benefit of concentrating on female fans in the analysis of the interview material and coherence it offers.

For training purposes I was also interviewed by my supervisor. This interview went very well and it was decided to include it in the data set given that I fulfilled the recruitment criteria. This meant that in total 20 interviews were included in the study.

Interview data analysis

Thematic analysis has been selected to analyse the interview material (Braun & Clarke, 2006). I used Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA: Smith, Flower, & Larkin, 2009) to analyse the interviews in my Masters' thesis. This worked reasonably well, but revealed limitations for the research questions I am addressing in my PhD. That is, IPA focuses on capturing phenomenon as experienced by participants, on subjective experiences interviewees mention directly (Lyons & Coyle, 2016). This is only one aspect of what I would like to examine in my PhD. I would like to explore also implicit ideas alluded to by interviewees regarding *Yaoi* culture - and interviews include numerous hints and metaphors, alluded to indirectly. Thematic analysis therefore allows me more flexibility.

Thematic analysis provides essential skills for qualitative analysis that gives flexibility to use an essentialist/realistic or constructionist theoretical framework. For

example, narrative analysis or Discourse Analysis may use a social constructionist epistemology and so tend to apply a strong pre-existing theoretical framework. In contrast, both IPA and grounded theory are more inductive and try to build themes to understand the phenomenon through staying very close to the data. Thematic Analysis allows the research to work within both an inductive and theoretical framework judiciously. In terms of Braun and Clarke's (2006) suggestions, several decisions related to theme selection and analysis are essential for Thematic Analysis with the question "what counts as a theme?" a fundamental decision.

First, regarding what counts as a theme, the *prevalence* (how frequently relevant content is mentioned by interviewees) and *keyness* (how important the content is), need to be considered, remembering that importance may not simply be reflected by frequency, so that, both will be taken into account. Second, a decision is needed as to whether the analysis will be a rich description of the whole data set or of a specific aspect. This will be guided by the research questions. Third, Thematic Analysis embraces both 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' pathways to identify the themes and pattern in the data set, depending on the researcher's interest and what appears to suit the data collected. Top-down analysis incorporates a theoretical framework or concepts, while bottom-up analysis focuses on the building themes from the data regardless of per-existing frames or conceptions. Fourth, the researcher needs to decide to work with explicit or implicit meanings in the data. Lastly, regarding the theoretical framework, the research can work within a more essentialist/realist or constructionist approach. The essentialist approach summarized the themes or options from data in a 'straightforward way' taking what is said at face value. Constructionism tends to consider how what is said may be shaped by social

background and context. Regarding current study, the decisions with regard to specific approach are still under consideration.

One potential problem with the qualitative analysis needs to be managed. I am very familiar with Chinese *Yaoi* culture, its background, the terms and codes used by fans, as well as some of the works that fans discussed during interview. This has benefits for interpreting and thematising the transcripts. At the same time, though, I have preconceived opinions and assumptions that I may not notice that could lead me to over-interpret or mis-interpret my participants. Further, when a researcher holds any (implicit) prediction during the analysis, it could lead to looking for evidence and overlooking alternatives. Hence, in managing this process I relied on discussing early ideas with my supervisor and being open to challenge.

The Survey

Extant research using surveys have investigated various influences of *Yaoi* in China such as on sexual orientation and gender identity (Dai, 2014; Yao & Gou, 2013; Zhang, 2015), feminist tendency (Zhang 2017), and consumption culture (Zheng, 2017). However, as outlined in a prior chapter, the survey research has widely varying sample size (range from around 30 to 980), questionably relevant participants, often poor quality questions, and lack of adequate analysis

The survey data constitute a major part of the analysis presented in Chapter 3, and the entire analyses presented in Chapters 4 and 5. Survey data collection continued throughout my PhD so the sample size increases through Chapters 3 to 5. Hence, detailed description of the participants, methods of disseminating the survey, and analysis undertaken are offered in each of these chapters.

The survey was designed in English for the ethics submission and for supervisor comments then translated into Chinese and uploaded to a Chinese Survey website in order to make it accessible in China (Appendix 8). The survey contains likert-scale and open-ended questions while the open-ended questions are most as the additional and supplementary part of like-scale question. The like-scale questions provide extra space to participants to add any comments or explanation. Hence both quantitative and qualitative data is collected from survey respondees in order to understand different facets of *Yaoi* culture and *Yaoi* fans.

The survey includes five sections: basic demographic information, *Yaoi* materials and feelings about *Yaoi* culture, social relationships, and engagement with other erotic materials. Demographic information asks about gender, age, location, educational level, and intensity of engagement with *Yaoi* to provide information about the overall pattern of *Yaoi* fans. Formats and types of *Yaoi* materials have been listed, including specific sexual contents, types of seme/uke, and incest relationships. The survey also collects information about fans engagement with other pornographic materials. The revised survey was opened on 18th March 2015.

An almost identical survey in English is being managed by my supervisor Professor Anna Madill. I developed the survey format together with a view to my leading the Chinese survey for my PhD. The differences between the two surveys are, first, the Chinese version asks participants' nationality and current country of residence whereas the Anglophone version asks for first language, nationality, and current country of residence. Second, the Chinese version has a reduced number of options for sexual identity. 'Heterosexual', 'homosexual', 'bisexual', 'not sure' and 'other' are present in the Chinese version, but 'pansexual/polysexual' was omitted because these are not common concepts for people with a Chinese background.

However, the survey provides “other” and space to participants to fill in any additional information to avoid being misleading and confusing.

Survey data collection

Collection of survey data mainly depends on the online version. However some paper copies of the survey have also been used. For example, I have given out paper copies at relevant *Yaoi* events which have been completed and returned immediately to me for transfer to the online form for ease of analysis. I promoted the survey and found relevant participants to complete the survey in the following ways:

- I directly released the online version through Chinese social network website and *Yaoi* fan forums with the permission of webmasters ;
- Leaflets with a short summary of the study and QR code for the online survey were given out universities in China (Appendix 8);
- I e-mailed managers of manga societies in universities in China and asked them to send the survey link or paper version to their members;
- I attended manga events in China to give out the leaflets (Appendix 11) and to provide the paper version of the survey to relevant participants;

  List of events I attended:

  - 2016 Chengdu iComic communication event
  - 2015 Chengdu iComic Communication event
  - 2015 Chengdu Fate Stay Night Only Dojinshi event
  - 2016 Kunming Comic/Anime event
  - 2015 Kunming Comic/Anime event
  - 2016 Qilin Club the 10th anniversary event in Kunming
  - 2017 Kunming Comic/Anime event

- I contacted persons who run Chinese *Yaoi*-themed accounts on social media and Chinese authors of *Yaoi* and *Yaoi*-related materials and asked them to send out the link to the survey through social media;
- I contacted an online seller who run an online shop selling *Yaoi*-related materials, and asked her to send out the postcard (Appendices 10) with products (with survey DR code) as a free gift;
- I e-mailed Chinese societies within UK universities to ask managers of the Societies to send the survey link to members;
- I provided the link to the online survey to audiences whenever I made a presentation about my research in the UK and in China.

Survey data analysis

The research questions addressed using the survey data and the statistical techniques used to do so are detailed in the following three chapters. And both Chinese and Anglophone initial descriptive results was reported in Appendix 14 which mianly showed by percentage due to the different sample sizes between Chinese and Anglophone data.

Summary

In summary, this is a mixed methods study which integrates female Chinese fan interviews with Sinophone and Anglophone survey data, analysed using Thematic Analysis and statistics, respectively. I mix these methods within a pragmatic paradigm in which I understand the qualitative and quantitative approaches to cohere at the level of a critical realist epistemology.

The overarching aims are to explore in comparison with Anlgophone fans a) how Sinophone fans read *Yaoi*, b) examine who consumes *Yaoi* in Sinophone regions and, c) analysis how Sinophone fans engage with the sexual (ostensibly socially prohibited) content in *Yaoi*. As it would be explained in this Chapter: these aim are operationalized through the following methodology and objectives:

- find and review the existing research literature on *Yaoi* in China (see Chapter 1);
- create, promote, and analyse the quantitative and qualitative data obtained from a survey of Chinese *Yaoi* fans (see Chapters 3, 4, and 5);
- undertake interviews with Chinese *Yaoi* fans and analyse this material with qualitative methods (see Chapter 3);
- integrate the existing research literature with the quantitative and qualitative findings from this study (see Chapter 3, 4, and 5);
- where appropriate, compare and contrast the findings from the Chinese and Anglophone *Yaoi* fandom surveys (See Chapter 3, 4, and 5).

The following three chapters of my PhD (i.e., Chapters 3, 4 and 5) are presented as contained studies undertaken on the growing data set at three points in the work. That is each chapter is structured with its own introduction, method, analysis, and discussion sections. Each offers detailed exposition of the method relevant to that analysis, i.e., data collection (including paths to recruitment and the participants recruited at that point in the process), the data selected for analysis in that study to address particular research questions and the data analysis undertaken to address these questions.

Chapter 3: The Heteronormative Frame in Chinese *Yaoi*

Yaoi is a female-oriented genre of popular culture, present in manga, light novels, anime, video games, fan art, and fan fiction, which describes romantic and erotic relationships between men. *Yaoi* originated in Japanese *Shojo* (girls) manga in the 1970s, the original variant called *Shonen-ai* – literally 'boy love' - which focused on stories of pure love between beautiful boys (Toku, 2007). In the 1980s, simpler, more explicitly sexual, fan art and fan fiction about male-male relationships developed which were described playfully as having 'no peak, no fall, no meaning' ('yama nashi, ochi nashi, imi nashi' in Japanese): hence the acronym '*Yaoi'* (Ingulsrud, 2009; Kotani 2007). Today there are many terms for female-oriented homoerotica. *Danmei* is a specifically Chinese term, *slash* a Western designation, while the term *Boys' Love* (BL) covers the broadest range of material and is the most common contemporary term in Japan (Mizoguchi, 2003). The term *Yaoi* is widely accepted in the West and is commonly used by North American manga publishers, as well as with regard to numerous other media forms (Jones, 2005).

An uncountable number of *kanji* (written characters) are identical, or very similar, in Japanese and Chinese, although may carry different meanings. With the influence of Japanese popular culture in China, many subcultural terms have been taken-up along with their Japanese meanings. '*Tanbi'* (耽美) is a key example. While in the original Japanese, *Tanbi* means 'aesthetic literature', it has become the widest designation of Chinese *Yaoi* culture called *Danmei* which has taken the direct Chinese pronunciation of the Japanese characters. *Danmei* embraces all types of romance and fantasy about male-male relationship from the gently suggestive to the

sexually-explicit, literary works and sequential art. Similarly, the Japanese term for ardent female fans of *Yaoi* - *fujoshi* (腐女子) – literally ‘rotten girls’ (Mizoguchi, 2010), has been transplanted into Chinese culture. Here, not only are the written characters identical, the ‘*fu*’ (腐) can mean ‘rotten’ and ‘*joshi*’ (女子) mean ‘female’ in both languages. Moreover, the Japanese terms *seme* (攻) and *uke* (受), which describe the ‘top’ and ‘bottom’ roles that tend to structure the male-male relationship in *Yaoi* material, have shared kanji meanings: ‘attacker’ and ‘receiver’, respectively (Zanghellini, 2009).

Japanese popular culture has swept the world and *Yaoi* is no exception. *Yaoi* culture is a female-oriented genre of popular culture, present in manga, light novels, anime, video games, fan art, and fan fiction, which describes romantic and erotic relationships between men. and translated Japanese manga and novels have been published in abundance in Taiwan and Hong Kong. Many more have been fan translated and uploaded to the internet for public consumption, and many thousands of home-grown, Chinese authors post original novels and series online. Chinese *Yaoi* has developed a unique style in which male-male romance is portrayed utilising a range of settings and genres including contemporary everyday life and science fiction, but also invoking motifs from Chinese mythology, history, legends, and *Wuxia* (Chinese fantasy genre based on Asian martial arts). The most popular *Yaoi* website holding original novels and fan fiction is probably *Jinjiang Literature*, which is reported to enjoy more than 2 million log-ins a day according to the newspaper ‘China Daily’ in 2014 - and log-in is not even required for basic online reading.

Yaoi has drawn increasing attention from Chinese academics in line with the boom in Chinese *Yaoi* culture from about 2006. A review of the Chinese research on *Yaoi* conducted by the present authors identified the following major foci: sexual

liberation, paradox of gender identity, the fandom, social influence, and the internet and legal issues. In general, the research has explored *Yaoi* in relation to a possible burgeoning feminism and concern that young Chinese women are rejecting traditional female identity. In this respect, some articles have provided a negative interpretation of *Yaoi* materials and culture within this context (e.g., Sun, 2014; Yan, 2015; Zhao, 2016). *Yaoi*-type elements are increasingly evident in ordinary public media, involving well-known Chinese celebrities, public figures, and performers, and have proved to have considerable commercial value and social influence. This has caused controversy given the conservative social values of traditional Chinese culture and the official prohibition on sexually explicit material and public acknowledgement of homosexuality (e.g., Wu, 2015; Zhao, 2016).

There is also a growing research literature which is more open to the creative and socially transformative potential of *Yaoi* in China, much of which is conducted by young Chinese women who have grown-up with *Yaoi* culture (e.g., Liu, 2014). Of particular interest in relation to the current article, is rigorous research on Chinese *Yaoi* fandom which attempts to present the culture from the perspective of the fans themselves (e.g., Yang & Xu, 2015a&b). Similarly, this article addresses the research question: *How do Chinese Yaoi fans read Yaoi stories?* In asking this question, I am interested in discerning if there are a set of assumptions, or a frame, differential to Chinese culture which colours fans understanding of this material.

A key direction in this still very small literature is the suggestion that, although *Yaoi* presents male-male relationships, Chinese fans are reading *Yaoi* through a heteronormative lens (e.g., Zhou, Paul, & Sherman, 2018). The concept ‘heteronormativity’ refers to a set of assumptions and beliefs according to which people are considered to fall into two distinct genders, and that sexual attraction

between people of opposite gender deemed normal, natural and the basis of social standards (Warner, 1991). As will be demonstrated, my research concurs that Chinese *Yaoi* has a heteronormative frame. However, my study takes the novel approach of integrating female Chinese fan interviews with Sinophone and Anglophone survey data and adding nuance to the growing literature.

Method

Ethical approval for research was obtained from the School of Psychology Ethics Committee, University of Leeds, UK. Informed consent was obtained for all interviewees and completion and submission of the online survey was deemed to constitute informed consent to use the data for research purposes. Participants are anonymised throughout. This is a mixed methods study which integrates female Chinese fan interviews with Sinophone and Anglophone survey data, analysed using Thematic Analysis and statistics, respectively. I mix these methods within a pragmatic paradigm in which I understand the qualitative and quantitative approaches to cohere at the level of a critical realist epistemology, meaning that both accept an object of inquiry (i.e., *Yaoi* fans), while analysis is considered to incorporate an element of interpretation (Madill & Gough, 2008).

Interview Data

Interviewees met the inclusion criteria of being a Chinese national, at least 16 years old, and a self-defined fan of *Yaoi*. They were recruited by word of mouth, at Chinese manga events, at seminars and other relevant meetings, and through a request for interviewees at the beginning of the online *Yaoi* surveys (see below). Interviews were conducted in Chinese by the researcher, who is a native Chinese speaker, except the self-pilot which was conducted with me by my supervisor in

English. Interviews took a semi-structured format meaning that, while guided by a schedule, this was used flexibly and participants were free to raise new issues. The schedule involved questions about what Chinese fans think about *Yaoi* culture, how they engage, whether they create *Yaoi* and, if so, what the work is about, preferences regarding *Yaoi* creators and materials, and legal concerns about *Yaoi* in China.

Twenty interviews were conducted between March 2014 and April 2016 (Table 1). Although men were not excluded, none volunteered. Participant age ranges from 17-28 years (M=23.5); two were in high school, five undergraduates, eight postgraduates, three in white collar and two in freelance employment; one identified as homosexual, 13 as heterosexual, one was unsure of her sexuality, and the sexuality of the other interviewees is unknown. Nine interviews were conducted face-to-face and 11 online with audio-recording. Interviews lasted between 45-135 minutes and were transcribed verbatim by the researcher.

Table 3. 1: Description of interviewees in the order in which interviews conducted

Interviewee	Age (yrs)	Occupation	Sexual orientation	Recruitment	Mode	Length (mins)
1	26	Master student	Heterosexual	Self-pilot	Face-to-face	88
2	26	Master student	Heterosexual	Snowball	Face-to-face	75
3	26	White collar worker	Heterosexual	Snowball	Face-to-face	125
4	25	Master student	Heterosexual	Snowball	Face-to-face	55
5	17	High school student	Unknown	Survey response	Online	65
6	23	Master student	Heterosexual	Snowball	Face-to-face	50
7	24	Master student	Heterosexual	Snowball	Face-to-face	75
8	28	PhD student	Homosexual	Snowball	Face-to-face	75
9	27	PhD student	Heterosexual	Snowball	Face-to-face	135
10	27	White collar worker	Not sure	Snowball	Online	90
11	27	Freelancer	Heterosexual	Snowball	Online	75
12	26	White collar worker	Unknown	Survey response	Online	60
13	21	Undergraduate student	Heterosexual	Survey response	Online	70
14	27	Freelancer	Heterosexual	Snowball	Online	75
15	25	PhD student	Unknown	Snowball	Face-to-face	85
16	20	Undergraduate student	Unknown	Survey response	Online	50
17	19	Undergraduate student	Unknown	Manga event	Online	45
18	17	High school student	Heterosexual	Manga event	Online	60
19	20	Undergraduate student	Heterosexual	Seminar	Online	80
20	19	Undergraduate student	Heterosexual	Seminar	Online	50

Interview Analysis

The interview data were analysed using Thematic Analysis (TA: Braun & Clarke, 2006). TA focuses on identifying patterns within qualitative data via coding in order to explore specific research questions. Braun and Clarke set-out four dialectical decisions that are required when deciding the kind of TA conducted: whether the

epistemology tends towards realism or constructionism; whether the analysis is a rich description of the entire data set or detailed account of one particular aspect of it; whether the analysis is inductive ('bottom-up') or theoretically-driven ('top-down'); and whether the themes presented are 'semantic' (stay true to the participant's own apparent meanings) or 'latent' (developed through analytical interpretation). The thematic analysis presented here is critical realistic in accepting that bodies and social structures exist and have effects, while are open to different meanings; is a rich description of the data set; was conducted inductively; and presents some themes that are semantic and some that are latent (Table 3).

Thematic Analysis: Analytical Procedure

The research question explored in this study is: *How do Chinese Yaoi fans read Yaoi stories?* The researcher transcribed all the interviews in Chinese (except for Interviewee 1 [the researcher], whose interview was conducted in English). I then read the transcriptions and listened to the audio-recordings several times while taking notes about initial ideas. Through this process, I noticed that interviewees often appeared to describe *Yaoi* in ways, and using concepts, familiar to heterosexual relationships. I therefore collected relevant quotes from the interviews into an excel sheet, noting from which interviewee each quote belonged. Themes were then developed based on my notes and a close consideration of the quotes identified. Initially, this process was driven semantically (i.e., staying close to the interviewees' words) and then, if a more conceptual meaning was perceived, the analysis became more interpretative and the latent meaning of some themes was articulated. It was also noticed that the same interviewee could provide both supportive and opposing evidence with regard to the same theme. The process of refining the themes and their labels was conducted in iterative cycles under the supervision of my PhD supervisor.

Eventually five themes were identified: four with supportive/opposing subthemes and the fifth with three subthemes. Finally, an overarching concept was developed which integrated these five themes at the most parsimonious level: that is, the 'heteronormative frame'.

Survey Data

A *Yaoi* fandom survey was created, one version in English and an almost identical version in Chinese. The survey consists of likert-scale and open-ended questions in five sections: demographics, *Yaoi* materials, feelings about *Yaoi*, social relationships, and other erotic materials. The Anglophone survey opened in November 2014 and the Chinese survey in March 2015. The surveys were promoted via relevant internet forums and social network websites, and by contacting anime and manga clubs. Leaflets about the study were also distributed at universities in Kunming China, via an online Chinese *Yaoi* shop, and at manga events in China during 2015-16, at which a paper version of the survey was provided for immediate completion and collection. Data analysed in this article was collected until March 2017 (Chinese N=1085, Anglophone N=1615, the latter including only participants who noted their first language to be English) (Table 2).

Table 3. 2: Survey participant demographics by culture and gender

	Gender			
Culture	Female	Male	Other	Total
Chinese	949	120	16	1085
Anglophone	1203	268	144	1615
Total	2152	388	160	2700

People identifying as other than male- or female-gendered is much higher in the Anglophone survey (N=16; 1% of Chinese participants; N=144; 9% of Anglophone participants). Due to the small number of Chinese in this group, other-

gendered people are not included in the statistical analyses presented in this article. A Chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency of women and men completing the Chinese and the Anglophone surveys. The relation between these variables was significant, x^2 (1, N=2540) = 23.40, p<.001 with women more likely to have completed the survey in the Chinese group (N=949; 87%) than the Anglophone group (N=1203; 74%). *Yaoi* is known to be female-oriented, and two former surveys of Chinese *Yaoi* fandom also have high female participation rates of 96.4% (N=1107; Song & Wang, 2011) and 100% (N=434; Cui, 2014).

Survey Analysis

Having identified through analysis of the interview material the pattern I have called the 'heteronormative frame' in Chinese *Yaoi*, I selected specific questions from the survey for statistical analysis on the rationale that these items might inform this frame and help me interpret and contextualise the qualitative analysis. Specifically, survey questions were selected that might illuminate further the themes devised in the qualitative analysis. Hence, I selected the following seven questions from the 43-question survey: *I like BL*[11] *stories that are mostly romance and no sex* (5-point likert scale, '*never'* to '*extensively'* calculated as 1 to 5); *How acceptable are male-male sexual relationship to you in real life?* (5-point likert scale, '*never'* to '*always',* calculated as 1 to 5); *How acceptable are female-female sexual relationship to you in real life?* (5-point likert scale, '*never'* to '*always',* calculated as 1 to 5); *Who do you identity with most?* ('*seme'*, '*uke'*, '*other'* [this was a follow-on question for participants who indicated that '*When I engage with BL, I put myself in the place of the characters*']), and further analysis of the free-form responses provided when

[11] 'BL' (Boys' Love) in this context is interchangeable with '*Yaoi'*.

‘*other’* was endorsed; *Which specific elements do you particularly enjoy in BL?* (Four relevant elements from a list of nine provided); *Please select the types of seme you particularly like* (list of 6 provided); *Please select the types of uke you particularly like* (list of 6 provided). For the latter three questions, participants could endorse as many options as they liked. Anglophone participants provided a relatively higher number of endorsement than Chinese participants, and female participants provided a relatively higher number of endorsement than male participants (Chinese female M=3.16, 2.94, 3.12; Chinese male M=2.03, 2.10, 2.30; Anglophone female M=3.42, 3.23, 3.38; Anglophone male M=2.61, 2.51, 2.75). Hence, the statistical analysis needs to be interpreted in light of the lower mean endorsements on these questions by Chinese participants, particularly men.

Analysing a restricted number of survey questions selected for theoretical relevance to the qualitative analysis of the interview data helps minimise Type I errors (false positives) in the statistical analysis. To minimise Type I errors further, I set the demanding significance level of $p < .001$ and, given that the qualitative analysis is focused on Chinese women, limited my statistical comparisons to Chinese women versus Chinese men (to assess Chinese-culture gender differences) and Chinese women versus Anglophone women (to assess female-gender cultural differences). The Chi-Square test of independence was used to determine if two categorical variables (e.g. Chinese women and Anglophone women) are associated with one another for each observational unit (e.g., *seme* type). The likert scale response data selected for analysis were not normally distributed, so a non-parametric test – the Mann-Whitney U – was used to test for differences in median between groups.

Analysis

I demonstrate how the 'heteronormative frame' of Chinese *Yaoi* was identified in the interviews, providing evidence through quotes selected from the interviews, and integrate the thematic analysis of the interview material with statistical analysis of selected survey questions.

Interview Analysis: The Heteronormative Frame

The heteronormative frame of Chinese *Yaoi* as developed through my analysis of the interviews consists of five themes: social and family approval, everlasting romantic relationship, heteronormative couple, dislike reversible relationship, and gay relationships in reality. Table 3 shows how each interviewee contributed to the themes in terms of providing supportive and/or opposing information. For the last theme – gay relationships in reality – I identify if interviewees contributed information that was normalising, open-minded, or rejecting. Possibly ironically, all but one participant (Interviewee 1, me, the researcher) contributed information substantiating the interpretation of the heteronormative frame (Table 3). Table 4 provides a summary of statistical analysis of theoretically-selected survey questions indicating whether or not significance reached at $p<.001$ for the groups contrasted and the relevant effect size, Pearson's r and Cramer's V, where a trivial effect size is <0.1, a small effect size is $0.1\leq 0.3$ and a medium effect size is $0.3\leq 0.5$ (Cohen, 1988). The extended description for *seme* and *uke* types provided in the survey are given in footnotes to Table 4.

Table 3. 3: Interviewee contribution to themes

Theme label	Social and family approval		Everlasting romantic relationship		Heteronormative couple		Dislike reversible relationship		Gay relationships in reality		
Theme type	Latent		Semantic		Latent		Semantic		Latent	Semantic	Semantic
Interviewee	Support	Opposing	Support	Opposing	Support	Opposing	Support	Opposing	Normalise	Open-minded	Reject
1						√		√			
2	√		√		√	√	√			√	
3	√				√	√	√				√
4			√		√	√			√		
5	√				√				√	√	
6					√	√			√	√	
7	√		√		√	√	√		√		
8					√		√		√		
9			√		√		√				
10	√		√		√				√		
11	√			√	√	√					
12			√		√	√					
13			√		√	√	√				
14	√		√		√	√		√	√		
15					√				√		
16			√		√				√		
17					√	√					
18							√				
19	√		√						√		
20					√		√			√	

Table 3. 4: Summary statistical results for survey questions analysed: Chinese-culture gender differences and female-gender cultural differences

Survey question and test used	Chinese female vs. Chinese male	Effect size	Chinese female vs. Anglo female	Effect size
Mann-Whitney U				
I like BL stories that are mostly romance and no sex				
	CF	small	CF	medium
How acceptable are male-male sexual relationship to you in real life?				
	CF	small	AF	medium
How acceptable are female-female sexual relationship to you in real life?				
	/	/	AF	medium
Chi-Square test of independence				
Which specific elements do you particularly enjoy in BL?				
Cross-dressing	CF	small	AF	small
Gender change	/	/	/	/
Male pregnancy	CF	small	CF	small
Marriage/wedding	CF*	small	AF**	small
Please select the types of seme you particularly like				
Black Heart[12]	CF*	small	CF**	small
Cowardice[13]	/	small	AF	small
Natural[14]	/	/	AF	small
King[15]	CF*	small	CF**	small
Standoffish[16]	CF*	small	AF**	small
Loyal Dog[17]	CF*	small	CF**	/
Please select the types of uke you particularly like				
Princess[18]	/	/	AF	small
Wife[19]	CF*	small	/**	/
Tempter[20]	CF*	small	/**	/
Queen[21]	CF*	small	CF*	small
Natural[22]	CF*	small	AF**	small
Standoffish[23]	CF*	small	/**	/

[12] Black Heart: Calculating, sophisticated, intelligent but might be a double-dealer.
[13] Cowardice: Wimpy, meek, undemanding. He may not have the nerve to make the first move and once things get going he is probably under the *uke*'s control.
[14] Natural: Innocent, usually inexperienced, may be shy. Often looks like he ought to be the *uke*.
[15] King: Generally from a good family and with high social status, he achieves success, wins recognition, and sticks to principles.
[16] Standoffish: Initially cold and even hostile before gradually showing his warm side.
[17] Loyal Dog: Devoted and determined, he will fawn over his *uke* like a puppy and doggedly pursue the *uke* until he gets him despite constant rejection.
[18] Princess: Beautiful, elegant, and strong-willed. May be arrogant, demanding, or expect to be treated like royalty. Often from a wealthy family.
[19] Wife: Focuses on family, good at housework, relatively mature, and could be either aggressive or submissive.
[20] Tempter: Puts the moves on his *seme*. Might be an aggressive submissive.
[21] Queen: Supercilious, dominant, and takes charge of the relationship and of daily life.
[22] Natural: Naïve, innocent, cheerful, kind-hearted.
[23] Standoffish: Initially cold and even hostile before showing his warm side.

Notes: CF=significantly higher Chinese female endorsement, AF=significantly higher Anglophone female endorsement, /=no significant difference between groups or trivial effect, *=endorsement 50+% of group indicated, **=endorsement 50+% of both groups contrasted

Theme 1: *Social and Family Approval* (8 support; 0 oppose)

When interviewees mentioned social and family approval, they made clear that they preferred stories where the relationship between the men could be accepted by their families and admitted in public: 'I like the explicit, clear and obvious relationship, like pregnancy and children born within stories' (Interviewee 10). When stories involve plots about family and social tolerance, the perfect ending would be that the protagonists win support and acceptance. For example, Interviewee 7 explained that 'I wrote a *Yaoi* story before. I described how the couple went to tell their parents. One family did not agree with their decision but another family accepted them, and later the disapproving family gradually understood and accepted them.' Moreover, for participants such as Interviewee 19, the ability for the couple to be open about their relationship was important: 'I like stories about actors who start to fall in love and finally come out in public.'

Link to Quantitative Analysis

I selected for analysis the survey question: *Which specific elements do you particularly enjoy in BL?*, analysing responses for four relevant elements from a list of nine provided. Survey responses by culture and gender for two of these - male pregnancy and marriage/wedding - are provided in Table 5. Participants could endorse as many elements as they liked, hence Table 5 reports the percentage of each group who endorsed each element.

Table 3. 5: Which specific elements do you particularly enjoy in BL? - Chinese and Anglophone survey % response by gender

	Female		Male	
	Chinese (N=949)	Anglo (N=1203)	Chinese (N=120)	Anglo (N=268)
Male pregnancy	33.33%	22.94%	9.20%	15.67%
Marriage/wedding	51.60%	61.85%	27.47%	48.51%

Chi-square tests of independence were calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of (a) Chinese women and Chinese men and (b) Chinese women and Anglophone women for the two selected elements. Chinese women were more likely to endorse male pregnancy (N=317; 33.33%) than Chinese men (N=11; 9.20%), x2 (1, N=1069) = 29.42, p<.001, Cramer's V is .166 (small effect); Chinese women were more likely to endorse male pregnancy (N=317, 33.33%) than Anglophone women (N=276, 22.94%), x2 (1, N=2152) = 29.08, p<.001, Cramer's V is .12 (small effect); Chinese women were more likely to endorse marriage/wedding (N=490; 51.60%) than Chinese men (N=33; 27.47%), x2 (1, N=1069) = 24.83, p<.001, Cramer's V is.152 (small effect); Anglophone women were more likely to endorse marriage/wedding (N=744, 61.85%) than Chinese women (N=490, 51.60%), x2 (1, N=2152) = 22.62, p<.001, Cramer's V is .10 (small effect).

The statistical analysis of this survey question: *Which specific elements do you particularly enjoy in BL?*, supports the theme from the qualitative analysis '*Social and family approval*' in that it is women in particular who like male-male marriage and it is Chinese women who like male pregnancy relatively more than the other groups. Marriage in itself is a form of social and family sanction and reproduction is a social expectation in China.

Theme 2: *Everlasting Romantic Relationship* (10 support; 1 oppose)

Half of the interviewees spontaneously mentioned a preference for the development of a permanent relationship between the *uke* and *seme* and how if the *uke* or *seme*

changed their mind about their relationship it might reduce their enjoyment of the story. Interviewee 19 explained: 'I like stories about childhood sweethearts. I like to watch them growing up and finally being together.' And Interviewee 16 said: 'I enjoy *Yaoi* stories about standing aloof from worldly success. The best thing is only that the *seme* and *uke* live together forever.' Participants liked the *seme* and *uke* to overcome all difficulties to maintain their relationship, including an *uke* who is willing to wait and forgive the *seme* who has made many mistakes. In this regard, Interviewee 2 said: 'I do not like stories with a change of *seme* even if he may be not good enough or did some bad things to the *uke*. I want this scum-*seme* to reform and come back to make amends to the *uke*.'

Participants, such as Interviewee 10, also liked *semes* with a more patient and gentle disposition who would like to be the companion or protector of the *uke* and willing to make any sacrifice to maintain the relationship: 'Feiliu [*uke* as interviewee identified] is pure and simple. Su [*seme*] is a unique and special person in his world. He only likes Su- nothing else.' On the other hand, one interviewee had a different point of view and said: 'I accept stories about one *uke* with more than one *seme* in relationship at the same time, but not one *seme* with more than one *uke*' (Interviewee 11). Hence, she demonstrated tolerance for *Yaoi* relationships which involve multiple and changing partners and - most contrary to the heteronormative frame - that this is acceptable for the *uke* but not for the *seme*.

Link to Quantitative Analysis

I selected for analysis the survey question: *I like BL stories that are mostly romance and no sex*. The survey responses by culture and gender are provided in Table 6.

Table 3. 6: I like BL stories that are mostly romance and no sex – Chinese and Anglophone survey % response by gender

	Female		Male	
	Chinese (N=949)	Anglo (N=1203)	Chinese (N=120)	Anglo (N=268)
Never	4.82%	2.41%	23.08%	4.85%
Sometimes	15.01%	43.72%	15.38%	39.18%
Often	25.90%	29.84%	19.78%	29.48%
Very often	36.23%	17.71%	27.47%	18.28%
Extensively	18.04%	6.32%	14.29%	8.21%

Mann-Whitney tests indicated that liking for BL stories that are mostly romance and no sex was greater for Chinese women (Mdn=4.0) than for Chinese men (Mdn=3.0), U=42800.5 (z=-4.60), p<.001, using Cohen's effect size r=-.14 (small effect); and greater for Chinese women (Mdn=4.0) than for Anglophone women (Mdn=3.0), U=368467.5 (z=-14.67), p<.001, using Cohen's effect size r=-.46 (medium effect). The statistical analysis of this survey question: *I like BL stories that are mostly romance and no sex*, supports the theme from the qualitative analysis '*Everlasting romantic relationship*' in that it is Chinese women in particular who read *Yaoi* as romance.

Theme 3: *Heteronormative Couple* (7 support; 10 mixed; 1 oppose)

Seven interviewees had sole preference for the *seme* and *uke* to maintain the traditionally masculine and feminine binary respectively, and to follow gender stereotypes in appearance, personality, and social role. For example, Interviewee 9 describes liking 'the *uke* who can make a great sacrifice for the *seme*. It is unrealistic but attracts me a lot. I like a strong and powerful *seme* and healing *uke*. The best couple is the wounded but powerful *seme* and healing *uke* who comforts the *seme*.'

Ten interviewees provided both supporting and opposing evidence. They highlighted their liking for differences between *seme* and *uke* but preferred that both are portrayed as fully masculine. For example, Interviewee 12 said that she liked 'the

uke showing a very lovable and adorable personality - and the *seme* taking care of the *uke* - but not talkative and not expressing himself very much. But I still want masculine behaviour like a man, even if he is the *uke*'. Similarly, Interviewee 17, said: 'I like an *uke* who is beautiful, soft, and smart, but not too sissy.' And while Interviewee 13 mentioned that 'I like the strong and powerful *seme* who is able to control everything in his life while the *uke* is cute, pure and sweet', she also said: 'but I don't want the story to look like a man and woman romance story. I hope the *uke* keeps masculine features in some way, even he is beautiful and soft.' Only Interviewee 1 expressed a sole liking for the *Yaoi* couple to consist of two very masculine men: 'Many *Yaoi* manga are about very feminine men. I think if you read something like that it may be the same as reading some stories between men and women. It may be no different from *Yaoi* and normal relationship. So if I read some *Yaoi* work, I prefer masculine men.'

Link to Quantitative Analysis

I selected for analysis the survey question: *Please select the types of seme you particularly like*, and analysed responses to all 6 types provided. Survey responses by culture and gender are provided in Table 7. Participants could endorse as many *seme* types as they liked, hence Table 7 reports the percentage of each group who endorsed each type.

Table 3. 7: Please select the types of seme you particularly like - Chinese and Anglophone survey % response by gender

	Female		Male	
	Chinese (N=949)	Anglo (N=1203)	Chinese (N=120)	Anglo (N=268)
Black Heart	71.76%	54.45%	32.50%	36.19%
Cowardice	7.10%	22.53%	13.30%	21.27%
Natural	30.80%	46.47%	37.50%	49.25%
King	64.40%	54.03%	22.50%	38.43%
Standoffish	54.30%	64.75%	30.80%	47.76%
Loyal Dog	63.50%	54.28%	33.33%	51.87%

Chi-square tests of independence were calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of (a) Chinese women and Chinese men and (b) Chinese women and Anglophone women for each of the six *seme* types. The relation between variables was significant for the following contrasts. Chinese women were more likely to endorse Black Heart (N=680; 71.76%) than Chinese men (N=39; 32.50%), x2 (1, N=1069) = 74.16, p<.001, Cramer's V is .26 (small effect); Chinese women were more likely to endorse Black Heart (N=680, 71.76%) than Anglophone women (N=655, 54.45%), x2 (1, N=2152) = 66.70, p<.001, Cramer's V is .18 (small effect); Anglophone women were more likely to endorse Cowardice (N=271, 22.53%) and Natural (N=559, 46.47%) than Chinese women (N=67, 7.10%; N=292, 30.80%), x2 (1, N=2152) = 95.86, p<.001, x2 (1, N=2152) = 54.68, p<.001, Cramer's V is .21 (small effect) and .16 (small effect); Chinese women were more likely to endorse King (N=611; 64.40%) than Chinese men (N=27; 22.50%), x2 (1, N=1069) = 77.66, p<.001, Cramer's V is .27 (small effect); Chinese women were more likely to endorse King (N=611, 64.40%) than Anglophone women (N=650, 54.03%), x2 (1, N=2152) = 23.43, p<.001, Cramer's V is .10 (small effect); Chinese women were more likely to endorse Standoffish (N=515; 54.30%) than Chinese men (N=37; 30.80%), x2 (1, N=1069) = 23.43, p<.00, Cramer's V is .15 (small effect); Anglophone women were more likely to endorse Standoffish (N=779, 64.75%) than

Chinese women (N=515, 54.30%), x2 (1, N=2152) = 24.38, p<.001, Cramer's V is .10 (small effect); Chinese women were more likely to endorse Loyal Dog (N=603; 63.50%) than Chinese men (N=40; 33.33%), x2 (1, N=1069) = 40.55, p<.001, Cramer's V is .20 (small effect); Chinese women were more likely to endorse Loyal Dog (N=603, 63.50%) than Anglophone women (N=653, 54.28%), x2 (1, N=2152) = 18.72, p<.001, Cramer's V is .09 (trivial effect).

The statistical analysis of this survey question, *Please select the types of seme you particularly like*, supports the theme from the qualitative analysis '*Heteronormative couple*' in that it is Chinese women in particular who like the more masculine types of *seme* (Black Heart, King, and Loyal Dog).

I also selected for analysis survey question: *Please select the types of uke you particularly like*, analysing responses to all 6 types provided. Survey responses by culture and gender are provided in table 8. Participants could endorse as many *uke* types as they liked, hence table 8 reports the percentage of each group who endorsed each type.

Table 3. 8: Please select the types of uke you particularly like - Chinese and Anglophone survey % response by gender

	Female		Male	
	Chinese (N=949)	Anglo (N=1203)	Chinese (N=120)	Anglo (N=268)
Princess	12.60%	38.32%	19.20%	31.72%
Wife	51.30%	51.70%	32.50%	41.79%
Tempter	53.80%	57.86%	35.80%	51.87%
Queen	50.00%	30.50%	21.70%	24.25%
Natural	59.30%	70.40%	39.56%	66.79%
Standoffish	66.60%	59.93%	36.70%	45.52%

Chi-square tests of independence were calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of (a) Chinese women and Chinese men and (b) Chinese women and Anglophone women for each of the six *uke* types. The relation between variables was

significant for the following contrasts. Anglophone women were more likely to endorse Princess (N=469, 38.32 %) than Chinese women (N=120, 12.60%), x2 (1, N=2152) = 185.17, p<.001, Cramer's V is .29 (small effect); Chinese women were more likely to endorse Wife (N=487; 51.30%) than Chinese men (N=39; 32.50%), x2 (1, N=1069) = 15.09, p<.001, Cramer's V is .20 (small effect); Chinese women were more likely to endorse Tempter (N=511; 53.80%) than Chinese men (N=43; 35.80%), x2 (1, N=1069) = 13.84, p<.001, Cramer's V is .11 (small effect); Chinese women were more likely to endorse Queen (N=474; 50.00%) than Chinese men (N=26; 21.70%), x2 (1, N=1069) = 34.22, p<.001, Cramer's V is .18 (small effect); Chinese women were more likely to endorse Queen (N=474, 50.0%) than Anglophone women (N=367, 30.50%), x2 (1, N=2152) = 84.21, p<.001, Cramer's V is .20 (small effect); Chinese women were more likely to endorse Natural (N=563; 59.30%) than Chinese men (N=48; 39.56%), x2 (1, N=1069) = 16.25, p<.001, Cramer's V is .12 (small effect); Anglophone women were more likely to endorse Natural (N=847, 70.40%) than Chinese women (N=563; 59.30%), x2 (1, N=2152) = 28.84, p<.001, Cramer's V is .12 (small effect) ; Chinese women were more likely to endorse Standoffish (N=632; 66.60%) than Chinese men (N=44; 36.70%), x2 (1, N=1069) = 41.05, p<.001, Cramer's V is .20 (small effect).

The statistical analysis of this survey question, *Please select the types of uke you particularly like*, supports the theme from the qualitative analysis '*Heteronormative couple'* in that it is Chinese women in particular who like the *uke* to present some masculine qualities while maintaining the *uke* role (i.e., dislike Princess but like Queen).

Finally, I chose to analyse the survey question: *Who do you identity with most?* ('*seme'*, '*uke',* '*other'* [this was a follow-on question for participants who

indicated that '*When I engage with BL, I put myself in the place of the characters*']). Survey responses by culture and gender are provided in Table 9.

Table 3. 9: Who do you identity with most? - Chinese and Anglophone survey % response by gender

	Female		Male	
	Chinese (N=949)	Anglo (N=1203)	Chinese (N=120)	Anglo (N=268)
% endorse an identification	47.93%	85.62%	50.55%	89.55%
Seme	19.83%	18.64%	41.30%	23.75%
Uke	46.26%	49.13%	36.96%	53.33%
Other	33.91%	32.23%	21.74%	22.92%

Raw percentages indicate that: (a) Anglophone participants are more likely to agree with the statement: *When I engage with BL, I put myself in the place of the characters*, than are Chinese participants; and (b) where participants identify with the *uke* or *seme*, more than twice as many female participants and Anglophone men identify with the *uke* while Chinese men tend to identify with the *seme*. Of the 154 Chinese women who endorsed 'other', 73 provided a useful explanation: 14 identified with other characters and 60 identified with either *seme* or *uke* depending on the story, the author, and character personality, description or representation. Of the 332 Anglophone women who endorsed 'other', 294 provided a useful explanation: 7 identified with other characters and 287 identified with either *seme* or *uke* depending on the story, character personality, situation and mood, with some indicating a preference for a *switch*, *versatile*, and *seke* (i.e., a character who can be both a *seme* and an *uke* in a reversible couple).

The statistical analysis of this survey question: *Who do you identity with most?*, supports the theme from the qualitative analysis '*Heteronormative couple'* in that it is women in particular who identify with the *uke*, i.e., the more feminine role,

while Anglophone women - but not Chinese women - are more likely to identify with a reversible character.

Theme 4: *Dislike Reversible Relationship* (8 support; 2 oppose)

The 'reversible' relationship in *Yaoi* is one in which both partners can be 'penetrating' or 'receptive' in sexual activities. Where this was alluded to in the interviews, most disliked this kind of relationship. For example, Interviewee 2 said: 'I do not like reversible relationships. I do not want to find the *seme*'s and *uke*'s role reversed.' Interviewee 8 concurred: 'I do not like the *uke* to take the *seme* role'. Some participants suggest that a reversible relationship would spoil their enjoyment because it would disrupt the expected storyline. For instance, Interviewee 18 observed, 'When I read *Yaoi* stories, fiction or manga and find the *seme* and *uke* role not as I expect, I feel unwell. I do not like that.' It seems that 'reversibility' could be interpreted as a disruption of the implied binary relationship but, interestingly, two interviewees were not averse to reversible relationships. For example, Interviewee 14 said that 'the *seme* and *uke* should be equal in various ways including the top-bottom role. The reversible role should be normal.'

Link to Quantitative Analysis

I selected for analysis survey question: *Which specific elements do you particularly enjoy in BL?*, analysing responses for four relevant elements from a list of nine provided. Survey responses by culture and gender for two of these – cross-dressing and gender change - are provided in Table 10. Participants could endorse as many elements as they liked, hence Table 10 reports the percentage of each group who endorsed each element.

Table 3. 10: Which specific elements do you particularly enjoy in BL? - Chinese and Anglophone survey % response by gender

	Female		Male	
	Chinese (N=949)	Anglo (N=1203)	Chinese (N=120)	Anglo (N=268)
Cross-dressing	25.70%	45.55%	9.20%	40.30%
Gender change	14.90%	16.29%	16.70%	19.78%

Chi-square tests of independence were calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of (a) Chinese women and Chinese men and (b) Chinese women and Anglophone women for each of the two elements. The relation between variables was significant for the following contrasts. Chinese women were more likely to endorse cross-dressing (N=244; 25.70%) than Chinese men (N=11; 9.20%), x2 (1, N=1069) = 16.05, p<.001, Cramer's V is .12 (small effect); Anglophone women were more likely to endorse cross-dressing (N=548, 45.55%) than Chinese women (N=244, 25.70%), x2 (1, N=2152) = 89.80, p<.001, Cramer's V is .20 (small effect).

The statistical analysis of this survey question: *Which specific elements do you particularly enjoy in BL?,* supports the theme from the qualitative analysis '*Dislike reversible relationship*' in that gender change is not highly endorsed by any of the three contrasted groups. However, it is Chinese women who like cross-dressing relatively more than Chinese men, but less so than Anglophone women who still do not endorse cross-dressing highly.

Theme 5: *Gay Relationships in Reality* (8 normalise; 2 open-minded; 2 normalise/open-minded; 1 reject)

Of the 20 interviewees, 13 provided information about their opinion of gay relationships in reality. Eight were considered to normalise gay relationships, two to be open-minded, another two to both normalise and be open-minded, and one to reject gay relationships in reality. Interviewee 4 provides an example of (hetero-)normalising gay relationships as being little different from those between

men and women: ‘I prefer *Yaoi* stories to represent the realistic homosexual world: not too fantasy. But I still think a beautiful romantic story will be same for homosexuals.’ As another example, Interviewee 15 supports the normalisation of gay relationships through public acceptance: ‘I am in strong opposition to restriction on homosexual topics or issues in public media by the authorities.’ Interviewee 6 explains how *Yaoi* has made her more open-minded: ‘After reading *Yaoi* stories, I recognized different sexual orientations in the world and it makes me better accept different things and makes me more open-minded.’ And Interviewee 20 considers this characteristic of fans: ‘I think *fujoshi* are more open-minded because they can accept different things, no matter what sexual orientation or other things.’ Some interviewees expressed both normalising and open-minded perspectives, such as Interviewee 5 who said: ‘The *Yaoi* story is the pathway of possibility to understanding and knowing the real LGBT group. It made me for the first time pay attention to homosexual groups.’ However, one participant, Interviewee 3, although a reader and creator of *Yaoi* for 10 years, said: ‘I reject homosexual relationships in real life. I think family responsibility is the most important thing.’

Link to Quantitative Analysis

I selected for analysis the survey question: *How acceptable are male-male sexual relationship to you in real life?* Survey responses by culture and gender are provided in Table 11.

Table 3. 11: How acceptable are male-male sexual relationships to you in real life? - Chinese and Anglophone survey % response by gender

	Female		Male	
	Chinese (N=949)	Anglo (N=1203)	Chinese (N=120)	Anglo (N=268)
Never	8.13%	0.58%	32.92%	0.75%
Sometimes	7.58%	1.91%	16.48%	2.61%
Often	5.65%	2.74%	6.59%	3.73%
Very often	24.79%	5.40%	18.68%	8.21%
Extensively	53.86%	89.36%	25.27%	84.70%

Mann-Whitney tests indicated that acceptability of male-male sexual relationships in real life was greater for Chinese women (Mdn=5.0) than for Chinese men (Mdn=2.5), U=32699.0 (z=-8.26), p<.001, according Cohen's effect size r =-.25 (small), but greater for Anglophone women (Mdn=5.0) than for Chinese women (Mdn=5.0), U=368467.5 (z=-18.11), p<.001, according Cohen's effect size r=-.33 (medium). The statistical analysis of this survey question: '*How acceptable are male-male sexual relationship to you in real life?*', supports the theme from the qualitative analysis, '*gay relationships in reality*', in that Chinese women are relatively accepting of male-male sexual relationships, if less so than are Anglophone women.

I also selected the survey question: *How acceptable are female-female sexual relationship to you in real life?* Survey responses by culture and gender are provided in Table 12.

Table 3. 12: How acceptable are female-female sexual relationships to you in real life? - Chinese and Anglophone survey % response by gender

	Female		Male	
	Chinese (N=949)	Anglo (N=1203)	Chinese (N=120)	Anglo (N=268)
Never	15.01%	1.25%	17.58%	2.24%
Sometimes	11.43%	3.66%	13.19%	0.75%
Often	9.5%	4.24%	7.69%	2.24%
Very often	24.24%	6.23%	14.29%	7.84%

Extensively	39.81%	89.28%	47.25%	82.46%

Mann-Whitney tests indicated that acceptability of female-female sexual relationships in real life did not differ between Chinese women (Mdn=4.0) and Chinese men (Mdn=4.0), U=56055.0 (z=-.29), p=.771, according Cohen's effect size r =-.0009 (trivial effect), but was greater for Anglophone women (Mdn=5.0) than for Chinese women (Mdn=4.0), U=312246.0 (z=-21.37), p<.001, according Cohen's effect size r =-.32 (medium effect). The statistical analysis of this survey question: '*How acceptable are female-female sexual relationship to you in real life?*', adds to the understanding of the theme from the qualitative analysis '*gay relationships in reality*' in that Chinese women's relative acceptance of gay relationships is limited to those between men, unlike Anglophone women.

Discussion

This chapter addresses the research question: *How do Chinese Yaoi fans read Yaoi stories?* I am particularly interested in discerning if there are a set of assumptions which colour fans understanding of this material. In line with a small research literature (e.g., Zhou et al., 2017), my study concurs that, in China, *Yaoi* tends to be read through a heteronormative frame. Specifically, my integrated analysis of female Chinese fan interviews and Sinophone and Anglophone survey data supports five themes comprising this heteronormative frame: social and family approval, everlasting romantic relationship, heteronormative couple, dislike reversible relationship, and gay relationships in reality.

Social and Family Approval

According to Chinese mainstream values, family is a constitutive unit of society and filial piety is its cornerstone. Moreover, as a collectivist culture, public acceptance is important and Chinese people pay a great deal of attention to how other people see them. As a result, a 'good' or 'serious' romantic relationship is one that is openly revealed and approved by parents and society. In terms of specific elements most enjoyed in BL, both Chinese and Anglophone fans provided the highest endorsement for marriage/wedding. This arguably reflects the continuing importance of love, romance and commitment in modern life (Keller, 2013). However, in China, the traditional understanding is that a marriage is first and foremost an agreement between families (Long, 2015) and filial piety requires that children, even as adults, be submissive to parents (Gu, 2015). This includes marrying an 'appropriate' person, given that both families will be deeply involved in the couple's life, and some parents even make the decisions with regard to their children's spouse (Wu, 2016). This is the context within which my Chinese interviewees enjoyed the *seme-uke* couple succeeding in their efforts to win social and family approval as an essential element conferring completion and perfection to the romance.

Although male pregnancy is not highly popular with Chinese or Anglophone participants, the gap in endorsement between 'marriage' and 'pregnancy' is much smaller for Chinese fans as is supported by the small effect size in favour of Chinese women on 'male pregnancy'. Sustaining the family through creating the next generation is a vital aspect of filial piety (Gu, 2015). Hence, for the Chinese, marriage implicates procreation and, in Chinese traditional family ethics, homosexuality is tolerated as long as it is not prejudicial to family continuity (Zhang, 2001). However, the assumption that gay people do not have children fuels criticism of homosexuality in contemporary China. Male pregnancy in *Yaoi* can be interpreted

as defusing this issue such that the obligations of heterosexuality can be satisfied within fantasy male-male relationships.

Another study in which I was invovled, which compared Chinese and Anglophone *Harry Potter Yaoi* fan fiction, also found that family approval for the *seme-uke* relationship played an essential role in Chinese, but not Anglophone, *Yaoi* (Madill, Zhao & Fan, 2018). And, to consolidate social approval, it seemed an important part of Chinese fan fiction that the couple have a grand wedding and produce children. Hence, regarding social and family approval, and the related phenomena of male-male marriage and male pregnancy, the preferences of Chinese *Yaoi* fans may support central expectations of heterosexuality in Chinese culture.

Everlasting Romantic Relationship

Analysis of the survey data showed that it is Chinese women who most preferred romantic *Yaoi* stories while the interview analysis illustrated how such fans liked the relationship to have its roots in childhood and to be maintained through the sacrifice or forgiveness of the *uke*, regardless of cost. Therefore, the couple that ultimately commit to each other forever appears to be an essential element of ideal romance for female Chinese *Yaoi* fans.

According to traditional Chinese morality, women are required to show unconditional tolerance, patience, and forgiveness towards their spouse – even for sexual misdemeanours. This perspective is still ingrained (Lin & Ho, 2009), although increasingly criticised (Wang & Abbott, 2013), and in contemporary China there is a 50% divorce rate for young couples with women initiating nearly 60% such separations, at least in Shanxian province where statistics are readily available (Li, 2013). This suggests that some young Chinese women may be taking more control of their life, but it is often at the cost of significant economic loss not suffered by their

male peers (Fincher, 2015). Arguably, the everlasting romantic relationship has become a potent fantasy as Chinese women like to see traditional values in *Yaoi* that are increasingly out of place in modern life but yet to be replaced with a satisfactory alternative.

Heteronormative Couple and Dislike Reversible Relationship

Possibly the most novel and subtle aspect of my findings is revealed in the combined implications of the themes 'Heteronormative couple' and 'Dislike reversible relationships'. First, female Chinese *Yaoi* fans showed a preference for masculine *semes* and masculine *ukes*. However, second, these fans also tended to want *semes* and *ukes* to remain in roles that mirror that of traditional heterosexual relationships (see for example, Madill, Zhao & Fan, 2018). These seemingly paradoxical findings make sense if I consider that female Chinese fans, at least, are reading *Yaoi* within a heteronormative frame. That is, as (predominantly) heterosexual women, they enjoy sexy stories about masculine men but also want these stories to portray a form of relationship they recognise and can read themselves into.

Research on *Yaoi* in the West concurs that fans tend to reject very feminine *ukes* but suggest, rather, that the *seme-uke* model differs from that of traditional heterosexual relationships in being more 'equal' (Pagliassotti, 2010). The culturally-differential interpretation is supported by the finding that, if they identified with a character, Chinese fans tended to do so in accord with their gender role (e.g., Chinese women tended to put themselves in the place of the *uke*) and did not also identify with reversible-types as did the Anglophone women. This is somewhat in tension with Chinese scholars, such as Chao (2016; Li, 2009; Zhang, 2015), who suggests that *Yaoi* stories "deconstruct the male/female binary" (p.71) whereby the female spectator practices a cross-gender gaze to identify with either the *seme* or *uke* and,

rather, suggests that the gender binary is a particular influence on Chinese fans reading. Chao (2016) also reports that the most common patterns in Chinese *Yaoi* are of a strong *seme* with a strong *uke* and of a strong *seme* with a weak *uke*: 'strong' and 'weak' referring to capacity, physical condition, and/or disposition of the character. While the 'strong-weak' pattern appears straightforward within my argument of a heteronomative frame in Chinese *Yaoi*, the 'strong-strong' combination recalls Radway's (1984) identification in heterosexual romantic fiction of heroines who, while independent and intelligent, maintain feminine traits (such as beauty, tenderness, and consideration) while searching for the 'right - stereotypically masculine - 'man' (see also Chao, 2016, Zhou et al., 2018).

Masculinity and femininity as opposites is a Western concept and very different from the traditional Chinese ideal man who combines both masculine and feminine traits called *Wen* and *Wu* (Kam, 2002). Moreover, in Chinese ethics, in the two of the three central relationship types – emperor and subject, father and son, and husband and wife – men can be positioned in both the superior and inferior role, with even the emperor in the son and subject role in his youth. Hence, a man with a soft, gentle, and deferential disposition is fitted into social norms and has a position in Chinese morality (Gu, 2015). Moreover, cross-dressing performers are common in East Asia, for example in Beijing Opera, Noh, and Kabuki, with the Chinese aesthetic appreciating feminine beauty in men (e.g., in the 'Dream of the Red Chamber' which is a classic of Chinese literature: Kang, 2016). Even now, androgynous male stars are popular in China, Japan, and Korea (Hsu, 2014). However, importantly, although Chinese culture accepts the 'effeminate man', the heteronormative order is affirmed in reality and in *Yaoi* fantasy.

Gay Relationships in Reality

Compared with Anglophone *Yaoi* fans, the Chinese showed relatively low acceptance of homosexual relationships in reality. However, Chinese *Yaoi* fans appear more accepting of homosexuality than are the Chinese general public. That is, an anonymous, random phone call survey (N=400), revealed that only around 20% of Chinese considered that homosexuality was not wrong at all, 30% that there was something wrong with homosexuality, 40% that homosexuality was completely wrong, and 10% were not sure (Li & Zheng, 2013). Moreover, research on Chinese university students (N=1762) showed that, while around 70% agreed homosexuality to be normal, only about 25% would accept homosexual friends and family (Liang & Hang, 2012).

More specifically, my study suggests that, of Chinese *Yaoi* fans, it is women who have the highest relative acceptance of gay relationships but that this tends to be limited to those between men: which is, perhaps, not surprising given that *Yaoi* focuses on male-male sexuality. However, my interviews suggest that the relative tolerance of male-male sexuality demonstrated by female Chinese fans may be in the direction of (hetero-)normalising, for example supporting the legalisation of same sex marriage. However, some interviewees also discussed the way in which, although they were initially shocked, *Yaoi* stories made them more open-minded towards male-male relationships that take a different form to the traditional relationship between men and women (see also Chen, 2014; Zhang, 2015).

These findings make sense given the conflicted situation vis-à-vis homosexuality in contemporary China. There is no state regulation or prohibition of homosexuality but also no encouragement by the authorities to mention, support, or show homosexuality in mainstream media. This provides the context within which the Chinese Netcasting Services Association (CNSA) - the biggest national-level

industry organisation – was able to publish audit standards forbidding representations of homosexuality (Keating, 2017). On the other hand, in the 21st century, there has been an exponential increase in the visibility of Chinese scholars of minority gender and sexuality, and academic interest both in support of minority rights (e.g., Gao, 2016; Ma, 2016), and reporting concern over destabilisation of traditional values (e.g., Guo, 2009). Hence, although less accepting of gay relationships in real life than their Anglophone counterparts, Chinese fans are reading *Yaoi* in a very different cultural context and demonstrating relative openness, if tending to a heteronormative frame supporting traditional values.

Evaluation and Conclusion

Although *Yaoi* is a female-oriented subculture, the large survey samples alongside the relatively small number of male respondents, made it important to consider effect size as well as significance levels because the former avoids confounding the size of the difference with the size of the samples. However, to lessen the chance of false positive results, I also had to limit the contrasts tested to gender within Chinese culture and women between Chinese and Anglophone culture. This meant that I made a decision not to explore other possible interesting contrasts (e.g., between non-heterosexual Chinese and Anglophone respondents). All interviews were with women. Hence, although the survey points to the heteronormative frame of Chinese *Yaoi* as not gender specific, I have no in-depth qualitative data on male Chinese fans. Many of the interviewees were my friends, or referred by friends, and this may affect the representative of the sample. For example, the mean age of interviewees is 23.5 years while for Chinese survey respondents it is 19.4 years. This period spans commencing to graduating from higher education during which outlook and focus may change. Finally, although I am a long-term *Yaoi* fan and Chinese national, so

bringing an insider perspective, my self-pilot interview (Participant 1) demonstrated me to be a relative outlier, meaning that I may have an outlook that differs from the majority of fans.

A huge strength of my study is that I am able to offer a perspective on Chinese *Yaoi* fans through contrasting them, at least on survey data, with their Anglophone counterparts and to my knowledge this is the first study to do so. Moreover, my research is particularly rigorous in having triangulated from qualitative and quantitative analysis. Specifically, I have demonstrated that, in addressing the research question: *How do Chinese Yaoi fans read Yaoi stories?*, the survey results support the thematic analysis that Chinese *Yaoi* fans tend to read *Yaoi* through a heteronomative frame and, importantly, that in comparison with Anglophone fans, this is differential to Chinese culture.

The following chapter now asks. *Who engages with Yaoi in China?*

Chapter 4: Who engages with *Yaoi* in China?

Although *Yaoi* originated in Japan, fans and researchers in different parts of the globe appear to see different meanings in it, have different concerns regarding its content and potential impact, and engage with and develop it in different ways. An important step in understanding these differences is to find out who engages with *Yaoi* in different areas of the world. Hence, this chapter explores who is the audience for *Yaoi* in China, what are its defining demographic characteristics, and how does the Chinese audience compare to the Anglophone audience?

Table 4.1 summarizes the existing research on *Yaoi* in that provides some information on who engages with *Yaoi* in Sinophone regions and in the West. Chinese studies were searched for on the main Chinese academic databases, CQVIP, Wanfang, and CNKI, English studies were searched for on google scholar due to *Yaoi* research crossing many academic disciplines. To avoid missing research from Taiwan and Hong Kong, the Chinese search include keywords ‘Boys’ Love’, ‘BL’, ‘tanbi/tanmei’, ‘fujoshi’, and ‘doujinshi.’ In addition, the literature search involved checking the reference section of relevant articles for further papers. Articles included in Table 1 list the studies that involved survey or interview research with the *Yaoi* audience.

The Sinophone population publications are listed first. For the purposes of this chapter ‘Sinophone populations/regions’ are those considered to constitute the Greater China Region: i.e., Mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macau. This is followed by the smaller number of available publications on Western populations, mostly Anglophone but including one article on a Swedish and one article on an Italian population.

Table 4. 1: Summary of participant demographics in Yaoi research on Sinophone and Western populations

Author	Date	Region	Recruitment strategy	Method	Sample size	Gender	Sexual orientation	Age (yrs)
Sinophone populations								
Wang	2017	Mainland China	snowball sampling	focus group discussion and interview	16	female (possible)	\	\
Gong	2017	China	snowball sampling	online interview	12	female	\	range 20-25
Zhang	2016	Mainland China	snowball sampling	online interview	15	female	heterosexual	\
Tang	2016	Mainland China	\	online interview	15 (one Japanese)	female	\	range 23-32
Zhao	2016	Mainland China	random	survey	980 (including general public)	75% male, 25% female	\	\
Yi Zhang	2015	Taiwan	snowball sample	interview	14	female	13 heterosexual, 1 not sure	range 18- 29, mean 23.18, mode 25
Chang	2015	Taiwan	snowball sampling	\	22	female	\	range 21-31, mean 25.5, mode 25
Huang	2015	Taiwan	snowball	interview	12 creators; 9 customers; 2 organizers	\	\	creators range 30-25, mean 27.5, mode 27; customers range 20-27, mean 24.7, mode 24
Yuelu Zhang	2015	Mainland China	random	survey	180 online BL fans, 182 paper survey general public	\	\	\
Dai	2014	Mainland China	random	survey	236	female	\	university students

Cui	2014	Mainland China	random	survey	434	female	\	born in 1980s and 1990s
Zhu & Cui	2014	Mainland China	\	interview	50	female	\	range 18-32
Hou & Xiao	2013	Mainland China	\	survey	278 *yaoi* fans and 284 non-*yaoi* fans	female	\	university students
Wu & Sun	2013	Mainland China	\	case study	1	female	possible homosexual	\
Liu	2013	Mainland China	snowball sampling	interview	6	female	\	14-17
Yao & Guo	2013	Mainland China	random	survey	530, 29.2% BL fans	79.4% female, 20.6% male	79.4% heterosexual	university students
Fran	2012	Taiwan	\	interview	30	female	\	\
Chen & Yang	2012	Mainland China	\	online survey	\	\	\	range 14-30; 14-20 81%
Liu & Tang	2012	Mainland China	\	interview	\	\		\
Zhu & Wang	2012	Mainland China	\	interview	10	female	\	range 20-29, mean 24.5, mode 24
Chou	2010	Taiwan	from internet comics and BL discussion forums	interview	17	female	\	range 18-28, mean 20
Li	2010	Taiwan	snowball sampling	interview	14	female	\	range 21-31, mean 25.9, mode 25
Li	2009	China	snowball sampling	survey	31	female	78% heterosexual, 13% bisexual, 9% not sure	mean 21.9
Zheng & Wu	2009	Mainland China	snowball sampling	interview	7	female	\	18-23

Yang Zhao	2008	Mainland China	snowball sampling	interview	not sure	\	\	university and high school students
Chang	2007	Taiwan	\	interview	21	18 female, 3 male	14 female hetero, 4 female bi; 2 male bi, 1 male homo	range female 20-26; male 16-22
Western populations								
Lilja & Wasshede	2017	Sweden	snowball sampling	interview	8	female	heterosexual	range 24-31 except one 15
Turner	2016	survey (North America, EU)	snowball sampling	interview & survey	25 interviewees 181 survey responses	interviewees (9 male,16 female); survey (male 18%, trans male 1%, 81% female)	intervieweescomplex fluid sexualities; survey (hetero-female 46%, bi-female 18%, homo-female 3%, hetero-male 4%, bi-male 7%, homo-male 10%, other 9%)	survey range 17-46+
Levi	2009	North America	\	survey	431	86.1% female, 9.8% male, 4.1 % other	(Male and female) 51% heterosexual, 31% bisexual, 6% homosexual, 8% other	Range 14+
Pagliassotti	2008	English-speaking EU	\	survey	478	89% female	47% hetero (180F, 3M), 25% bi (80F, 18 M), 4% gay (1F, 15M), 3% lesbian (12 F), 2% other (6F, 1M), 7% not interested in sex (28F), 10% don't know (38F, 1M), 2% prefer not to say (4F, 3M)	range 18-54

		Italian language survey	\	survey	315	28% female	62% hetero, 18% bi, 6% gay, 2% lesbian, 3% queer, 3% not interested in sex, 8% don't know, 2% prefer not to say	range 18-54
O'Brien	2008	USA	\	interview & survey	8 interview; 16 survey responses	8 female interviewee; 13 female	\	range 20-26; range 18-40

The research on *Yaoi* in Sinophone regions (N=26) and the West (N=5) which offers some empirical information on participant demographics began to be published about the same time: that is, in 2007-8. The Sinophone region research focuses on the audience in Mainland China (N=19, including two conducted in 'China' in which the authors at overseas' universities failed to specify the population in more detail) and Taiwan (N=7). The Western population research includes countries in North America (USA, Canada) and Europe (such as the UK, Sweden, and Italy). However, it can be difficult to know who completes an online survey and, in general, in this field, as can be seem from the table, the reporting of participant demographics is quite patchy. Sampling, when it is described in the articles, tends to be random or snow-ball, and data tends to be collected via interviews and surveys.

Where interviews have been conducted with Chinese or Taiwanese participants, and their gender is reported, all but one study (i.e., Zang, 2007) interviewed only women. Eight survey studies were identified in the Sinophone region articles – all in Mainland China - with sample size varying between 12 and 980. However, interestingly, the larger surveys on *Yaoi* in China have often targeted the general (student) population as opposed to *Yaoi* fans. Where fans have been surveyed, the largest N=278 (i.e., Hou & Xiao, 2013). Information on sexual orientation has not been collected routinely and, when reported, the percentage heterosexuality is high. University students are often sampled and the age range of participants is usually late teens and twenties.

As to Western population research providing demographic information one is an interview study of women (Lilja & Wasshede, 2017), two are surveys, and two are both interview and survey studies. Pagliassotti (2008) reports a relatively large sample size for an online survey (English-language N=478; Italian-language N=313)

which provides detailed demographic information. Moreover, in contrast to the Sinophone region research, the research on Western *Yaoi* fandom includes more male participants, reports a wider range of sexual orientation identifications, and a wider - specifically older - age range.

The general foci of these articles also provides an interesting context in which to consider the demographics of the Chinese and Western audiences. Chinese researchers sometimes demonstrate concern about the influence of *Yaoi* on readers' sexual orientation. In particular, they have attempted to show that *Yaoi* fans are 'at risk' of relinquishing or rejecting heterosexuality through engaging with material that beautifies homosexuality (e.g., Zhao, 2016). In fact, one publication documents the process of 'rectifying' a female *Yaoi* fan's sexual orientation through psychological counselling (Wu & Sun, 2013). Chinese researchers also voice concern that over-idealize stories of male-male romance makes it difficult for fans to commence or maintain a normal heterosexual relationship (e.g., Liu & Tang, 2012). In contrast, the Taiwanese research, which has emphasized small group interview analysis, has focused much more on the positive aspects of *Yaoi* culture such as its healing potential (Chang, 2015). Similarly, the English-language research, has tended to take a positive and pro-queer perspective towards *Yaoi* culture. For example, Turner (2016; details of interview sample provided in personal communication 18th May 2018) explores the potential for *Yaoi* to promote a queer-friendly perspective in readers and Lilja and Wasshede (2017) are interested in the positive, although possibly idealising, view of homosexuality in Japanese *Yaoi*.

This overview of the existing information on the demographics of the *Yaoi* audience in the Chinese-speaking and English-speaking world, demonstrate that demographic data is sparse and often poorly reported. In contrast, the data collected

through two almost identical online fandom surveys – one Sinophone and one Anglophone - covers a comprehensive number of relevant demographic variables and is the largest data set as yet to be collected in this field. The aim of this chapter is to explore who is the audience for *Yaoi* in China, what are its defining demographic characteristics, and how does the Chinese audience compare to the Anglophone audience? The surveys gather a lot of information of potential interest to addressing these aims, so four, more specific, research questions were developed to guide the analysis.

First, of central relevance to the aim, is to take into account that the Chinese and Anglophone participant are engaging with *Yaoi* from within very different cultural contexts. Hence, the first research questions is: *Are there differences between Chinese and Anglophone survey participants?* Second, Chinese fans interviewed for the broader research (Chapter 3) often appeared to minimise the intensity of their engagement with *Yaoi* even when they described consuming a lot of *Yaoi* and creating their own works. Early exploration of the data suggested that participants could be divided into 'avid' and casual' fans, hence I was intrigued to address the research question: *Are there differences between Chinese 'casual' and 'avid' BL*[24] *fans?* Third, my research presented in Chapter 3 provides evidence that *Yaoi* tends to be read through a heteronormative frame by Chinese fans. The survey collected information on the acceptability to participants of same-sex relationships in real life and early exploration of the data suggested that this could be used to label participants into three social outlooks: social conservatives, social liberals, and a small 'hybrid' group. This allows me to ask: *Are there differences between Chinese*

[24] BL stands for Boys' Love is an alternative designation for the genre otherwise known as '*Yaoi'* and, to remind the reader, is the terminology used in the surveys

BL fans by social outlook? Finally, due to the long political isolation between Mainland China and Hong Kong, and the differential development of the cultural context in these two regions, it was considered important and potentially illuminating to ask: *Are there differences between Chinese BL fans from Mainland China and from Hong Kong?*

Method

Described here are differences to the method as provided in Chapter 3. Additional survey data was collected after the analysis of data presented in Chapter 3 in which the Chinese survey N=1085 (here, N=1498) and the Anglophone survey N=1615 (here, N=1707) with data audit point 31st March 2017.

Survey Participant Additional Recruitment

Data analysed in this chapter were collected until 31st January 2018. Both online surveys remained open throughout the research and, in total, 200 paper copies of the Chinese survey were competed and transferred to the online version by the researcher. The researcher also solicited additional completions of the Chinese survey in a data collection visit to China during the late summer of 2017. The researcher visited Yunnan University, Yunnan University Dianchi College, Yunnan Normal University, Yunnan Arts University, The College of Arts and Science of Yunnan Normal University and Yunnan University of Finance and Economics in Kunming Yunnan province where she knows teaching staff through her personal networks.

The researcher explained the study and content of the survey to her contacts and she received their consent to invite students to take part in the study. Teaching staff provided an opportunity for the researcher to give a brief introduction about the study to students and to hand out leaflets from which they could directly scan a DR-

code to complete the survey on their phone. In total, the researcher gave 17 short personations at beginning of classes to explain the study and to answer questions at Yunnan Normal University, Yunnan University Dianchi Collage, and Yunnan Arts University. Some teaching staff preferred to run this session by themselves so, in these circumstances, the researcher provided them the leaflets.

Survey Data Cleaning

Data in each version of the survey (i.e., Sinophone and Anglophone) were cleaned by inspecting all free-form responses to the open-ended '*Other'* questions (where participants did not endorse a provided option) and re-coding, where possible, to one of the provided, positive options. This was considered valid when it was clear from the participant's free-form response that they could have endorsed a provided option. Data were also scrutinised to exclude inappropriate participants and data.

Five participants completing the Chinese survey were excluded because their response to question *What is your nationality?* indicated that they are not Chinese nationals (British N=3; Canadian N=1; Swiss N=1). A further 39 Sinophone participants were excluded because their responses suggested that they do not engage with *Yaoi*. Three criteria were used to exclude these participants. Excluded participants stated: (a) that they did not engage with *Yaoi* in response to the question *At what age did you start to engage with BL?*; (b) selected '*Not at all*' to question *How intensely are you a BL fan?* and (c) selected no formats, specific elements, story styles, or character types they liked. To explain why these three criteria were used together, due to the stigma associated with *Yaoi* in China, a statement that a participant did not engage with *Yaoi* and/or was not a fan was considered insufficient reason to exclude Sinophone participants if they otherwise demonstrated familiarity with the material.

Specific Chinese data was recoded ‘missing data’ for the following reasons: (a) when participants responded to question *What is your age in years?* with a symbol (e.g., / or ~) (N=11); (b) when (included) participants responded to question *At what age did you start to engage with BL?* with a statement that they did not engage with *Yaoi* or that they did not know or remember (N=132); and (c) when participants responded to question *At what age did you start to engage with BL?* with an age older than their response to the question *What is your age in years?*, the answer to *At what age did you start to engage with BL?* was coded ‘missing data’ (N=1). As described below, these latter two questions were used to create a new variable: *Duration of Engagement*. Thus, ‘missing data’ for *Duration of Engagement* included the participants who did not provide a current age and/or did not provide an acceptable starting age of engagement with *Yaoi* (N=139).

Seven Anglophone participants were excluded for providing obscene and/or irreverent responses throughout the survey and a further two who met the three criteria for exclusion as described above. Specific Anglophone data was recoded ‘missing data’ for the following reasons: (a) when participants responded to question *What is your age in years?* with a symbol (N=5); (b) when participants responded to question *At what age did you start to engage with BL?* with a symbol or response that they did not know (N=22); (c) when participants responded to question *At what age did you start to engage with BL?* with an age older than their response to the question *What is your age in years?,* the answer to *At what age did you start to engage with BL?* was coded ‘missing data’ (N=2). As before, the latter has implication for ‘missing data’ for new variable *Duration of Engagement* (N=29).

For the final data included in this chapter, the Anglophone survey N=1707 (including only participants who noted their first language to be English in order to

describe a properly cultural *Anglophone* demographic), The Chinese survey N=1498. Nationalities given in the Chinese survey are: Chinese (N=1464), Hong Kongese (N=33), Taiwanese (N=1). Country of current residence given in the Chinese survey are: Mainland China (N=1275 [including Macau N=4]), Hong Kong (N=198), Taiwan (N=2), UK (N=13), United States (N=4), Japan (N=3), Canada (N=1) and Netherlands (N=1).

Creation of Two New Variables

At the outset, two new variables were created. First, as in Chapter 3, responses to *What is your sexual orientation?* were recoded to two categories – '*Heterosexual'* and '*Nonheterosexual'* – the latter including responses *Bisexual*, *Homosexual/lesbian/gay*, *Not sure*, and *Other* (Chinese survey) and *Bisexual*, *Homosexual/lesbian/gay, Polysexual/Pansexual, Not sure, and Other* (Anglophone survey). This procedure helps manage the fact that option '*Polysexual/Pansexual'* was included only in the Anglophone survey.

Second, each participant response to *At what age did you start to engage with BL?* was subtracted from their response to *What is your age in years?* to create new variable *Duration of Engagement*. Whereas the youngest age of first engagement with *Yaoi* in the Anglophone survey is 5 years, four Sinophone participants gave an even younger age: 1 year (N=2), 3 years (N=1), 4 years (N=1). Although these responses seem unreasonable, each participant gave credible answers across the rest of the survey and it was decided not to recode these as 'missing data' because: (a) it is not clear how participants were interpreting the question; (b) it cannot be assumed that the Sinophone data will mirror the Anglophone; and, given this, (c) the small number will not overly skew the data if they are, for example, participant data entry errors.

Survey Analysis

Given the focus in this chapter on 'demographics', only certain survey questions were selected for analysis on the rationale that these items might inform understanding of who engages with *Yaoi* in China. Hence, the following 27 questions were selected from the 43-question surveys.

Demographics section

- *In what country are you living at the moment?* (free-form response)
- *What is your nationality?* (free-form response)
- *What is your age in years?* (free-form response, coded numerically)
- *What is your gender? ('Male', 'Female' and 'Other',* coded as 1 to 3)
    - *If you selected Other, please specify* (free-form response)
- *What is your highest educational level (including any educational programme you are currently undertaking)? ('Middle school', 'High school', 'Bachelor', 'Master' and 'Doctorate',* coded as 1 to 5)
- *What is your main occupation?* ('*Student', 'White collar (typically work in an office environment and paid a monthly salary)', 'Pink collar (typically services work involving customer interaction)', 'Blue collar (typically manual work building or maintaining something and paid a wage)', and 'Other',* coded as 1 to 5)
    - *If you selected Other, please specify* (free-form response)
- *What is your sexual orientation?* ('*Bisexual'*, '*Homosexual/lesbian/gay'*, '*Not sure'*, and '*Other')*
    - *If you selected Other, please specify* (free-form response)
    - Recoded '*Heterosexual'* and '*Nonheterosexual'*, coded as 1 and 2)

- *At what age did you start to engage with BL?* (free-from response, coded numerically)
    - *Duration of Engagement* (created by subtracting answer to *'At what age did you start to engage with BL?*' from answer to '*What is your age in years?',* coded numerically)
- *How did you first discover BL?* ('*Introduced to BL by others', 'Found BL by myself', 'Other',* coded as 1 and 2)
    - *If you selected Other, please specify* (free-form response)
- *How intensely are you a BL fan? (*5-point likert scale, '*Not at all', 'A bit', 'Quite', 'A lot'* '*Extensively',* coded as 1 to 5)
- *Do you create any BL works yourself? ('Yes'* and *'No'*, coded as 1 and 2)
- *Do you BL cosplay? ('Yes'* and *'No'*, coded as 1 and 2)
- *How acceptable are male-male sexual relationship to you in real life?* (5-point likert scale, '*Never', 'Sometimes, 'Often, 'Very often,* '*Always',* coded as 1 to 5)
- *How acceptable are female-female sexual relationship to you in real life?* (5-point likert scale, '*Never', 'Sometimes, 'Often, 'Very often,* '*Always',* coded as 1 to 5).

BL Materials section

- *What percentage of your spare time do you spend on BL? (*5-point likert scale, '*0-20%'* to '*81-100%',* coded as 1 to 5).

Feeling about BL section

- *I use BL terminology (e.g., 'moe', 'seme', 'uke') in general conversation. (*5-point likert scale, '*Never', 'Sometimes, 'Often', 'Very Often',* '*Extensively',* coded as 1 to 5)

    - *I'd be grateful if you'd explain your answer to me* (free-form response)
- *I like to classify people and things as different types of seme and uke. (5-point likert scale, 'Never', 'Sometimes, 'Often', 'Very Often', 'Extensively', coded as 1 to 5)*
    - *I'd be grateful if you'd explain your answer to me* (free-form response)
- *To what extent does it worry you that BL scanlations (fan translations) and fan-subbed BL anime are breaches of copyright? (5-point likert scale, 'Never', 'Sometimes, 'Often', 'Very Often', 'Extensively', coded as 1 to 5)*
    - *I'd be grateful if you'd explain your answer to me* (free-form response)
- *To what extent do you worry about legal issues in relation to the sexual content of BL? (5-point likert scale, 'Never', 'Sometimes, 'Often', 'Very Often', 'Extensively', coded as 1 to 5).*
    - *I'd be grateful if you'd explain your answer to me* (free-form response)

Social Relationships section

- *I discuss my interest in BL with people online. (5-point likert scale, 'Never', 'Sometimes, 'Often', 'Very Often', 'Extensively', coded as 1 to 5)*
- *I discuss my interest in BL with friends I know in person. (5-point likert scale, 'Never', 'Sometimes, 'Often', 'Very Often', 'Extensively', coded as 1 to 5)*
- *I discuss my interest in BL with members of my family. (5-point likert scale, 'Never', 'Sometimes, 'Often', 'Very Often', 'Extensively', coded as 1 to 5).*

Other Erotic Materials section

- *How frequently do you engage with male-male slash fiction? (5-point likert scale, 'Never', 'Sometimes, 'Often', 'Very Often', 'Extensively', coded as 1 to 5)*

- *How frequently do you engage with female-female slash fiction? (5-point likert scale, 'Never', 'Sometimes, 'Often', 'Very Often', 'Extensively', coded as 1 to 5)*
- *How frequently do you engage with heterosexual erotic materials (e.g., slash fiction, other fictions, videos, photographs, manga, anime)? (5-point likert scale, 'Never', 'Sometimes, 'Often', 'Very Often', 'Extensively', coded as 1 to 5)*
- *How frequently do you engage with non-slash female-female erotic materials (e.g., fictions, videos, photographs, manga, anime)? (5-point likert scale, 'Never', 'Sometimes, 'Often', 'Very Often', 'Extensively', coded as 1 to 5)*
- *How frequently do you engage with non-BL/non-slash male-male erotic materials probably designed for gay men (e.g., fictions, videos, photographs, manga, anime)? (5-point likert scale, 'Never', 'Sometimes, 'Often', 'Very Often', 'Extensively', coded as 1 to 5)*
- *How frequently do you engage with non-BL/non-slash BDSM materials (e.g., fictions, videos, photographs, manga, anime)? (5-point likert scale, 'Never', 'Sometimes, 'Often', 'Very Often', 'Extensively', coded as 1 to 5).*

Analysing a restricted number of survey questions selected for theoretical relevance to understand who engages with *Yaoi* helps minimise Type I errors (false positives) in the statistical analysis. To minimise Type I errors further, the demanding significance level of $p < .001$ was set. The Chi-Square test of independence was used to determine if two categorical variables are associated with one another for each observational unit. Because the likert scale response data are not normally distributed, non-parametric tests – the Mann-Whitney U and the Wilcoxon signed-rank tests - are used to test for differences in median between and within

groups, and the Spearman test is used to measure the strength and direction of association between two ranked variables.

Analysis

Descriptive and exploratory statistical analyses were conducted to address the following four research questions:

1. Are there differences between Chinese and Anglophone survey participants?
2. Are there differences between Chinese 'casual' and 'avid' BL fans?
3. Are there differences between Chinese BL fans by social outlook?
4. Are there differences between Chinese BL fans from Mainland China and from Hong Kong?

A restricted number of comparisons were made in order to guard against Type I errors. Summary tables of the exploratory statistical analysis results are provided at the beginning of each sub-section. Summary tables list the effect size of the contrasts tested - Cramer's V (Chi-square), Pearson's r (Mann-Whitney), rho (Spearman), $r = z/\sqrt{N}$ (Wilcoxon) - where a trivial effect size is <0.1, a small effect size is 0.1≤ 0.3, a medium effect size is 0.3≤0.5, and large effect size is 0.5≤ (Cohen, 1988).

Research question 1: Are there differences between Chinese and Anglophone survey participants?

The following survey questions were selected to explore possible basic, demographic differences between Chinese and Anglophone BL fandom as represented by survey participants: *What is your age in years?, What is your gender?, What is your sexual orientation?, At what age did you start to engage with BL?,* the created variable *Duration of Engagement, How did your first discover BL?, I discuss my interest in*

BL with friends I know in person, What is your highest educational level?, What is your main occupation?, Do you create any BL works yourself?, What percentage of your spare time do you spend on BL?, and *How intensely are you a BL fan?*

Figure 4. 1: What is your age in years? – Chinese survey % response bar graph

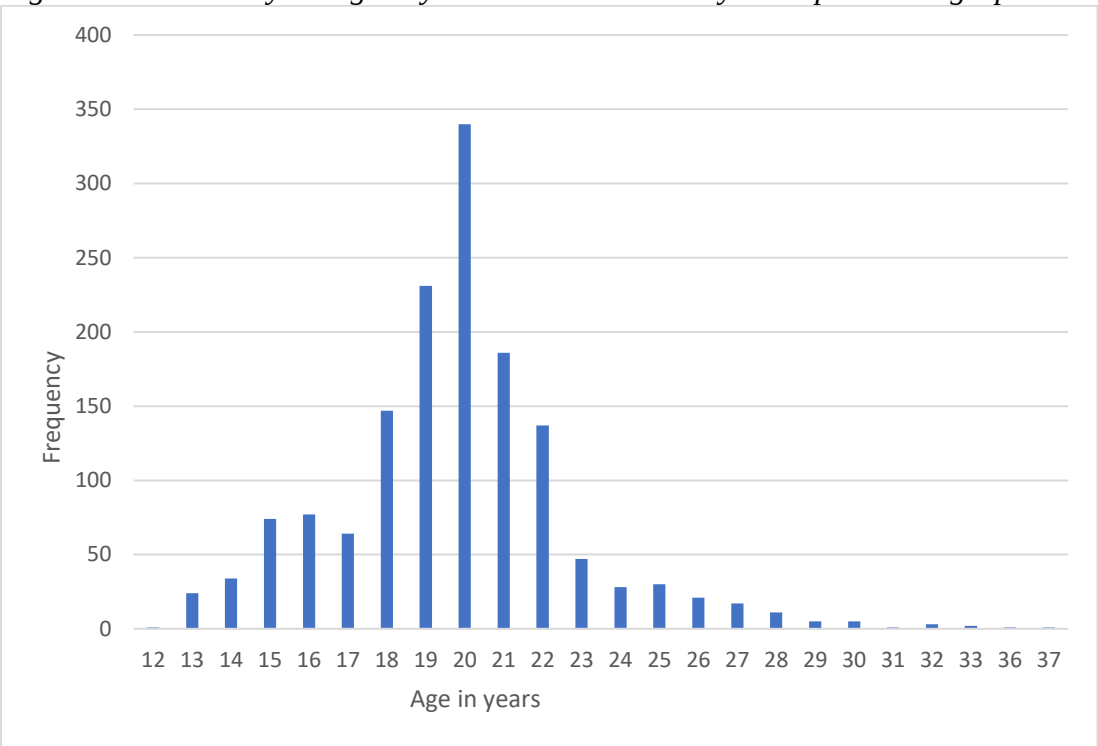
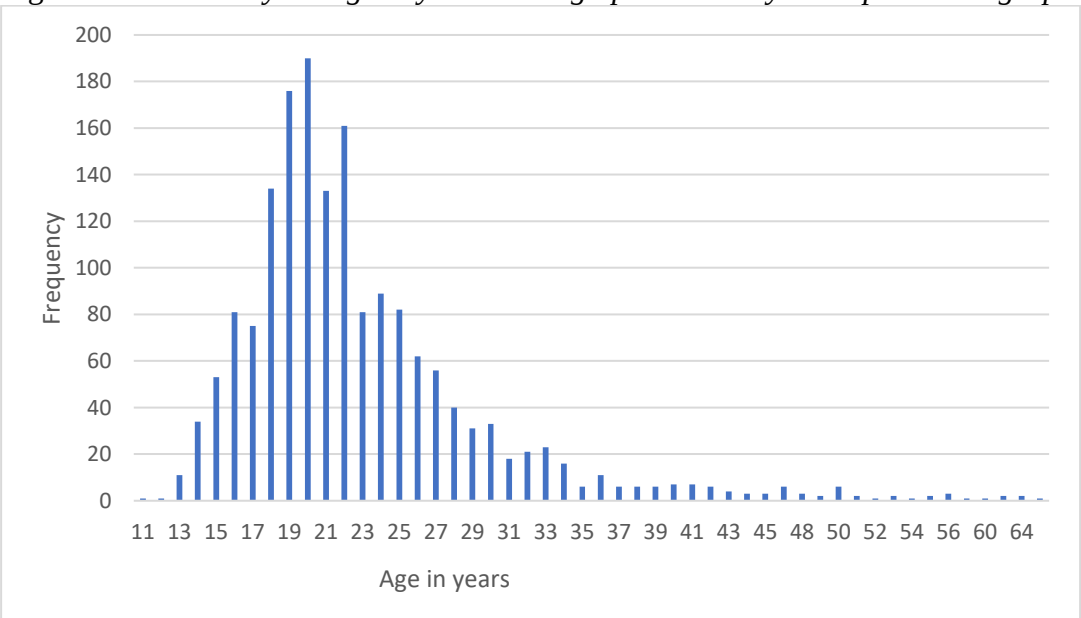


Figure 4. 2*: What is your age in years? – Anglophone survey % response bar graph*



A Mann-Whitney test indicated that Chinese participants were significantly younger than Anglophone participants (U=916873, p<.001), effect size r= 239 (small effect) (see *Figure 4.1* and *Figure 4.2*).

Table 4. 2a: What is your gender? - Chinese and Anglophone participants by frequency

	Male	Female	Other	Total
Chinese	167	1315	16	1498
Anglophone	283	1273	151	1707
Total	450	2588	167	3205

Table 4. 2b: What is your gender? – Chinese and Anglophone participants % response

	Male (N=450)	Female (N=2588)	Other (N=167)
Chinese	37.1%	50.8%	9.6%
Anglophone	62.9%	49.2%	90.4%

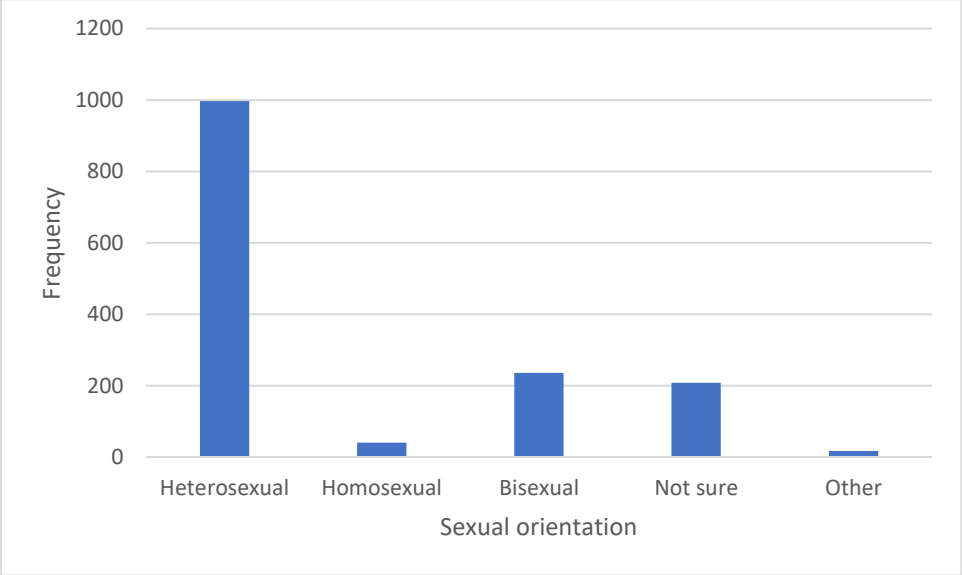
A Chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of gender categories for Chinese and Anglophone participants (see *Table 4.2.a* and *Table 4.2.b*). Anglophone participants had the highest percentage endorsement of '*Male'* (N=283, 62.9%) and '*Other'* (N=151, 90.4%), while endorsement of '*Female'* was very similar, x^2 (2, N=3205) = 125.70, p<.001, Cramer's V is .199 (small effect).

Regarding the Chinese other-gendered group (N=16), the following free-form responses were provided to describe their gender: minimal gender identity (N=4), Xiuji[25] (N=4), hentai[26] (N=1), Futa[27] (N=1). Due to the small number of Chinese

[25] Or Hideyoshi (Japanese pronunciation) - a character from Japanese anime *Baka and Test* in ACG culture, put in gender means neither male nor female.
[26] 'Perverse'
[27] Or Futanari, means dual, or double, in ACG culture, tends to mean pure hermaphroditism, put in gender means both male and female.

other-gendered participants, they were excluded from some of the following analyses involving gender and this is indicated in a footnote where relevant. In terms of sexual orientation, the Chinese other-gendered group (N=16) described their sexual orientation in the following ways: '*Heterosexual'* (N=4), '*Homosexual'* (N=1), '*Bisexual'* (N=6), and '*Not sure'* (N=3), and '*Other'* (N=2; both responses interpreted as indicating 'asexual').

Figure 4. 3: What is your sexual orientation? - Chinese survey frequency response bar graph



Survey responses indicate that the majority of Chinese participants identified as '*Heterosexual' (*see *Figure 4.3)*. A small number indicated '*Other'* (N=17). The two who are 'other-gendered' and who have an '*Other'* sexual orientation, as stated above, both indicated that they were 'asexual'. Of the remaining 15 who indicated they were either 'male' or 'female' and who endorsed '*Other'* sexual orientation, the open text responses are interpreted as follows: pansexual (N=5), asexual (N=4), "Single dog" (N=1), no explanation (N=5).

Figure 4. 4: What is your sexual orientation? - Anglophone survey frequency response bar graph

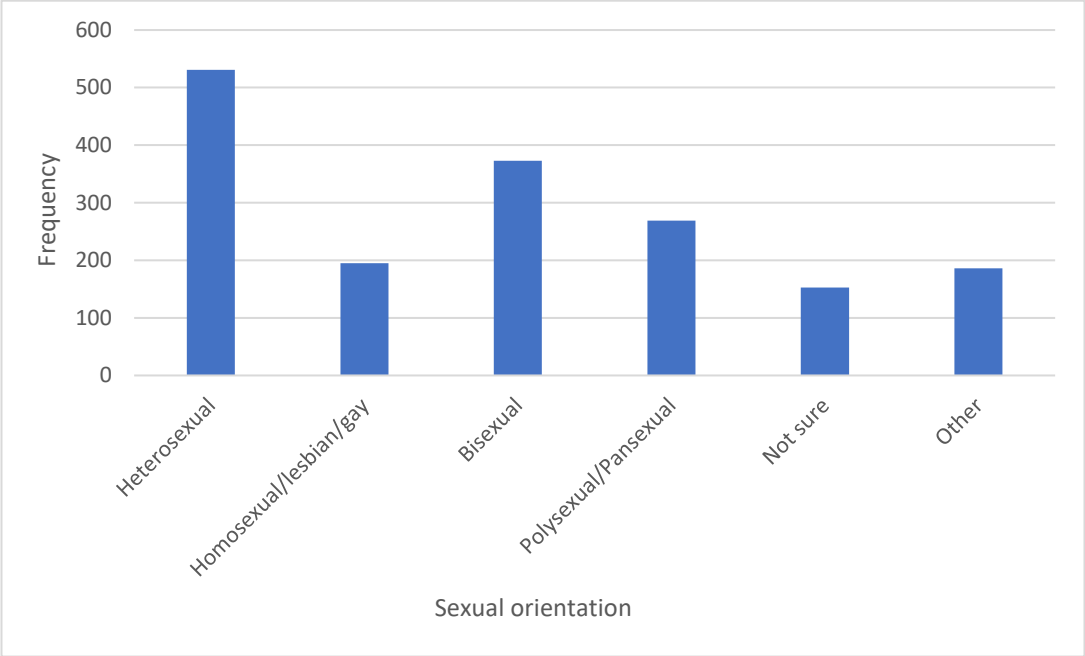


Table 4. 3: What is your sexual orientation? - Chinese and Anglophone participants % response

	Heterosexual (N=1527)	Non-heterosexual (N=1678)
Chinese	65.2%	29.9%
Anglophone	34.8%	70.1%

A Chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing heterosexual and nonheterosexual groups of Chinese and Anglophone participants (see *Table 4.3*). Chinese participants have the highest percentage endorsement of '*Heterosexual'* (N=996, 65.2%); x^2 (1, N=3205) = 400.40, p<.001, Cramer's V is .353 (medium effect).

Figure 4. 5: At what age did you start to engage with BL?- Chinese survey frequency response bar graph

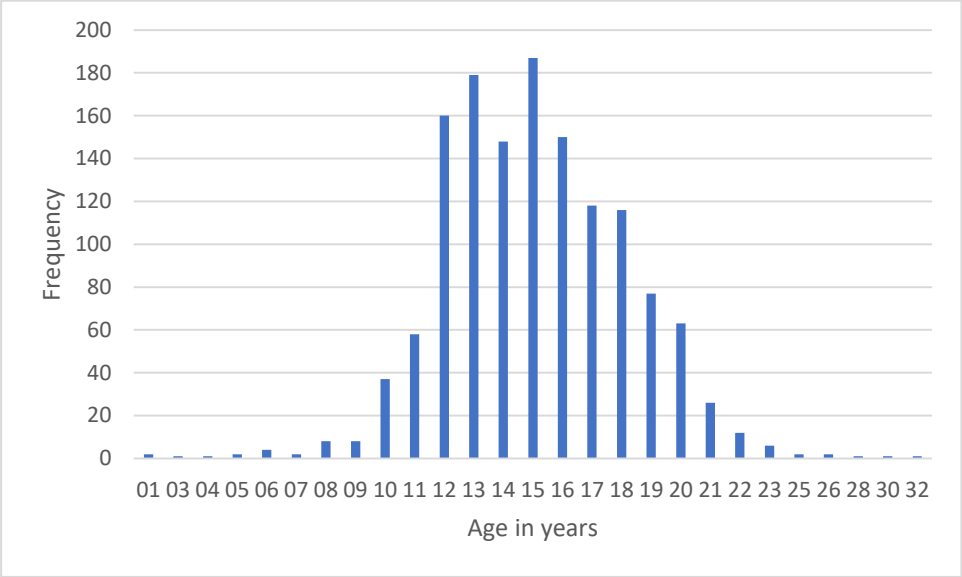
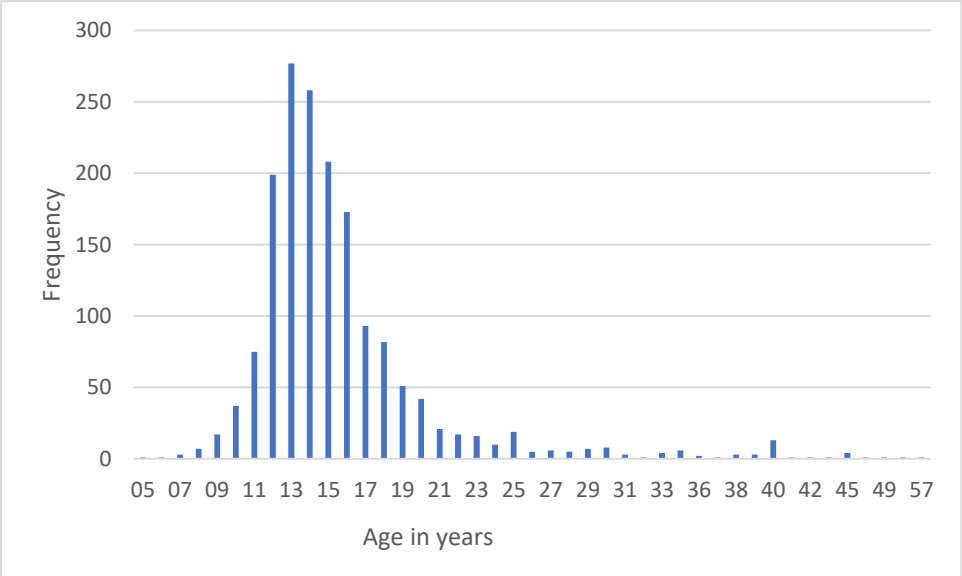


Figure 4. 6: At what age did you start to engage with BL?- Anglophone survey frequency response bar graph



A Mann-Whitney test indicated that Chinese participants were not significantly different from Anglophone participants in terms of the age at which they first started to engage with BL (U=1109732.5, p=.056), effect size r= .035 (trivial effect) (see *Figure 4.5* and *Figure 4.6*).

Figure 4. 7: Duration of Engagement - Chinese survey frequency response bar graph

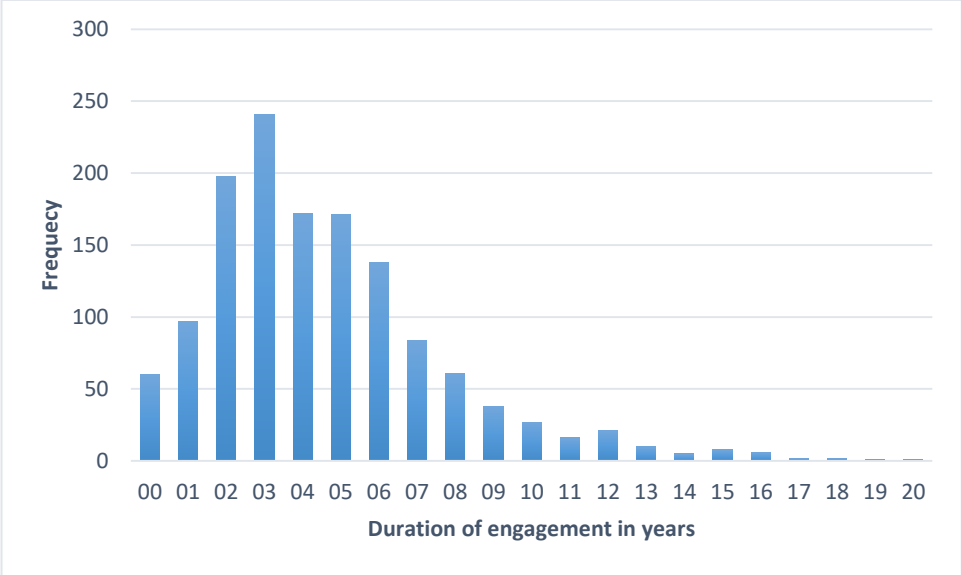
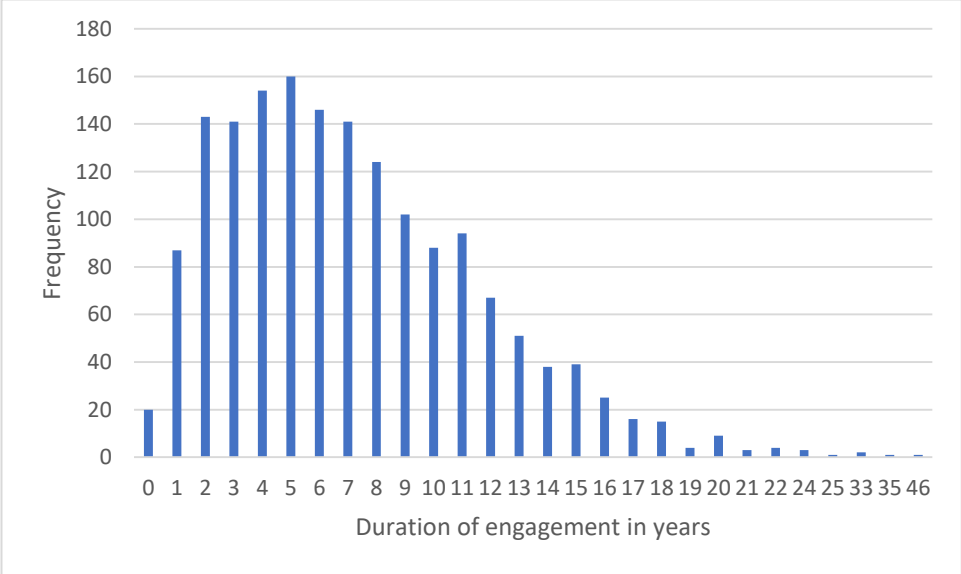


Figure 4. 8: Duration of Engagement - Anglophone survey frequency response bar graph



A Mann-Whitney test indicated that Chinese participants had significantly shorter duration of engagement with BL than did Anglophone participants (U=740664, p<.001), effect size r= .303 (medium effect) (see *Figure 4.7* and *Figure 4.8*).

Table 4. 4: How did you first discover BL? – Chinese and Anglophone survey % response

	Introduced to BL by others (N=1134)	Found BL by myself (N=1925)	Other (N=146)
Chinese	61.99%	34.13%	94.52%
Anglophone	38.01%	65.87%	5.48%

A Chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing being introduced BL by others and finding BL by myself for Chinese and Anglophone participants (see *Table 4.4*). Chinese participants were more commonly '*Introduced to BL by others'* (N=703, 61.99%) while Anglophone participants more commonly *'Found BL by myself'* (N=1268, 65.87%), x^2 (1, N=3205) = 362.84, p<.001, Cramer's V is .336 (medium effect).

As to the response '*Other*' (Chinese N=138; Anglophone N=8), free-form explanations from Anglophone participants (N=8) indicated that they were not sure or did not remember how they first discovered BL. Chinese participants were much less likely to provide a free-form explanation (N=45) and, when they did, indicated that they were not sure or did not remember how they first discovered BL (N=3), but many to the opportunity to state here that they do not engage with BL (N=42).

Table 4. 5: I discuss my interest in BL with friends I know in person – Chinese and Anglophone survey % response

	Never (N=757)	Sometimes (N=1044)	Often (N=539)	Very Often (N=447)	Extensively (N=418)
Chinese	59.84%	34.39%	48.98%	49.22%	48.33%
Anglophone	40.16%	65.61%	51.02%	50.78%	51.67%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that Chinese participants were not significantly more likely to discuss BL with friends known in person than were Anglophone participants (U=1224393.5, p=.033), effect size r= 0.037 (trivial effect) (see *Table 4.5*).

Possible bias in Chinese survey sample Exploratory statistical analysis reveals a possible bias in the Sinophone sample through the comparative analysis of the Chinese and Anglophone survey responses to questions: *What is your highest educational level (including any educational programme you are currently undertaking)?* and *What is your main occupation?* (*Tables 4.6 a&b and 4.7 a&b*).

Table 4. 6a: What is your highest educational level? - Chinese and Anglophone survey % response

	Chinese	Anglo
	(N=1498)	(N=1707)
Middle School	5.50%	1.50%
High School	16.70%	38.70%
Bachelor	74.30%	50.80%
Master	3.10%	7.40%
Doctorate	0.50%	1.60%

Table 4.6b: What is your highest educational level? - Chinese and Anglophone survey % response

	Middle School (N=108)	High School (N=910)	Bachelor (N=1980)	Master (N=172)	Doctorate (N=35)
Chinese	75.93%	27.47%	56.21%	26.74%	20.00%
Anglophone	24.07%	72.53%	43.79%	73.26%	80.00%

A Chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of highest education level for Chinese and Anglophone participants. Chinese participants had the highest percentage endorsement of '*Middle School'* (N=82, 75.93%) and '*Bachelor'* (N=1113, 56.21%), x^2 (4, N=3205) = 281.70, p<.001, Cramer's V is .296 (small effect).

Table 4. 7a: What is your main occupation? - Chinese and Anglophone survey % response

	Chinese (N=1498)	Anglo (N=1707)
Student	89.70%	57.10%
White Collar	6.80%	19.20%
Pink Collar	1.50%	16.20%
Blue Collar	0.30%	2.90%
Other	1.80%	4.60%

Table 4.7b: What is your main occupation? - Chinese and Anglophone survey % response

	Student (N=2318)	White Collar (N=430)	Pink Collar (N=298)	Blue Collar (N=53)	Other (N=106)
Chinese	57.94%	23.72%	7.38%	7.55%	25.47%
Anglophone	42.06%	76.28%	92.62%	92.45%	74.53%

A Chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of main occupation for Chinese and Anglophone participants. Chinese participants had the highest percentage endorsement of '*Student'* (N=1343, 57.94%), x^2 (4, N=3205) = 445.68, p<.001, Cramer's V is .373 (medium effect). As to participants endorsing '*Other*,' their free-form responses indicated that most were unemployed, or looking for work, while, in addition for Anglophone participants, some indicated that they are homemakers.

A possible impact of, and evidence for, a bias in the Chinese sample was the percentage indicating low engagement on questions: *Do you create any BL works yourself?, Do you BL cosplay?, What percentage of your spare time do you spend on BL?* and *How intensely are you a BL fan?* (Tables 4.8 a&b- 4.11a&b).

Table 4. 8a: Do you create any BL works yourself? - Chinese and Anglophone survey % response

	Chinese (N=1498)	Anglo (N=1707)
No	82.00%	53.10%
Yes	18.00%	46.90%

Table 4.8b: Do you create any BL works yourself? - Chinese and Anglophone survey % response

	No (N=2135)	Yes (N=1070)
Chinese	57.56%	25.14%
Anglophone	42.44%	74.86%

A Chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency of creating BL works between Chinese and Anglophone participants. Chinese participants had the highest percentage endorsement of '*No'* (N=1229, 57.56%), x^2 (1, N=3205) = 301.02, p<.001, Cramer's V is .306 (medium effect).

Table 4. 9a: Do you BL cosplay? - Chinese and Anglophone survey % response

	Chinese (N=1498)	Anglo (N=1707)
No	92.1%	83.3%
Yes	7.9%	16.7%

Table 4.9b: Do you BL cosplay? - Chinese and Anglophone survey % response

	No (N=2801)	Yes (N=404)
Chinese	49.23%	29.46%
Anglophone	50.77%	70.54%

A Chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing frequency of engagement in BL cosplay for Chinese and Anglophone participants. Anglophone

participants had the highest percentage endorsement of '*Yes'* (N=285, 70.54%), x^2 (1, N=3205) = 55.48, p<.001, Cramer's V is .132 (small effect).

Table 4. 10a: What percentage of your spare time do you spend on BL? - Chinese and Anglophone survey % response

	Chinese (N=1498)	Anglo (N=1707)
1-20%	52.2%	31.7%
21-40%	16.8%	23.7%
41-60%	15.1%	22.3%
61-80%	10.5%	15.7%
81-100%	5.4%	6.7%

Table 4.10b: What percentage of your spare time do you spend on BL? - Chinese and Anglophone survey % response

	1-20% (N=1323)	21-40% (N=656)	41-60% (N=606)	61-80% (N=425)	81-100% (N=195)
Chinese	59.11%	38.41%	37.29%	36.94%	41.54%
Anglophone	40.89%	61.59%	62.71%	63.06%	58.46%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that Chinese participants spend significantly less of their spare time on BL than did Anglophone participants (U=1017990, p<.001), effect size r= 0.184 (small effect).

Table 4. 11a: How intensely are you a BL fan? - Chinese and Anglophone survey % response

	Chinese (N=1498)	Anglo (N=1707)
Not at all	14.0%	1.8%
A bit	23.0%	12.1%
Quite	12.1%	21.1%
A lot	19.4%	31.1%
Extremely	31.4%	34.0%

Table 4.11b: How intensely are you a BL fan? - Chinese and Anglophone survey % response

	Not at all (N=239)	A bit (N=551)	Quite (N=543)	A lot (N=820)	Extremely (N=1052)
Chinese	87.45%	62.61%	33.52%	35.49%	44.78%
Anglophone	12.55%	37.39%	66.82%	64.51%	55.23%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that Chinese participants were significantly less intensely a BL fan than were Anglophone participants (U=1042691, p<.001), effect size r= 0.165 (small effect).

To test if the strongest potential bias in the Chinese sample (i.e., high number of *students* in the Chinese sample [medium effect] compared to the Anglophone sample) has an impact on the results, *within* sample comparison of students versus non-students for both Chinese and Anglophone data were conducted on the above four questions. The rationale for conducting *within* sample comparisons is that only a within sample difference between students and non-students would be evidence suggestive of a potential *within* culture impact of this variable. Hence, eight relevant comparisons were performed as follows, first on the Chinese sample and then on the Anglophone sample for comparison purposes.

Table 4. 12: Do you create any BL works yourself? - Chinese student and non-student survey % response

	No (N=1229)	Yes (N=269)
Student	90.81%	84.39%
Non-student	9.19%	15.61%

A Chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency of creating BL works for Chinese student and non-student participants. The difference is not significant, x^2 (1, N=1498) = 9.802, p=.002, Cramer's V is .081 (no effect).

Table 4. 13: Do you BL cosplay? - Chinese student and non-student survey % response

	No (N=1379)	Yes (N=119)
Student	90.28%	82.35%
Non-student	9.72%	17.65%

A Chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing frequency of engagement in BL cosplay for Chinese student and non-student participants. The difference is not significant, x^2 (1, N=1498) = 7.426, p=.006, Cramer's V is .070 (no effect).

Table 4. 14: What percentage of your spare time do you spend on BL? - Chinese student and non-student survey % response

	1-20% (N=782)	21-40% (N=252)	41-60% (N=226)	61-80% (N=157)	81-100% (N=81)
Student	94.2%	82.9%	86.3%	87.9%	79.0%
Non-student	5.8%	17.1%	13.7%	12.1%	21.0%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that Chinese student participants spend significantly less of their spare time on BL than do non-student participants (U=66517.00, p<.001), effect size r= 0.145 (small effect).

Table 4. 15: How intensely are you a BL fan? - Chinese student and non-student survey % response

	Not at all (N=209)	A bit (N=345)	Quite (N=182)	A lot (N=291)	Extremely (N=471)
Student	97.1%	94.8%	93.4%	89.0%	81.3%
Non-student	2.9%	5.2%	6.6%	10.7%	18.7%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that Chinese student participants were significantly less intensely a BL fan than were non-student participants (U=77772.500, p<.001), effect size r= 0.196 (small effect).

Table 4. 16: Do you create any BL works yourself? – Anglophone student and non-student survey % response

	No	Yes
	(N=906)	(N=801)
Student	59.93%	53.93%
Non-student	40.07%	46.07%

A Chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency of creating BL works for Anglophone student and non-student participants. The difference is not significant, x^2 (1, N=1707) = 6.251, p=.012, Cramer's V is .061 (no effect).

Table 4. 17: Do you BL cosplay? – Anglophone student and non-student survey % response

	No	Yes
	(N=1422)	(N=285)
Student	51.17%	56.84%
Non-student	42.83%	43.16%

A Chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing frequency of engagement in BL cosplay for Anglophone student and non-student participants. The difference is not significant, x^2 (1, N=1707) = 7.426, p=.918, Cramer's V is .002 (no effect).

Table 4. 18: What percentage of your spare time do you spend on BL? – Anglophone student and non-student survey % response

	1-20%	21-40%	41-60%	61-80%	81-100%
	(N=541)	(N=404)	(N=380)	(N=268)	(N=114)
Student	58.8%	52.2%	57.9%	56.7%	64.9%
Non-student	41.2%	47.8%	42.1%	43.3%	35.1%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that Anglophone student participants spend a bit more of their spare time on BL than do on-student participants, but the difference is not significant (U=3552652.500, p=.667).

Table 4. 19: How intensely are you a BL fan? - Anglophone student and non-student survey % response

	Not at all (N=30)	A bit (N=206)	Quite (N=361)	A lot (N=529)	Extremely (N=581)
Student	76.7%	64.1%	59.0%	54.8%	54.6%
Non-student	23.2%	35.9%	41.0%	45.2%	45.4%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that Anglophone student participants were a little less intensely a BL fan than were non-student participants, but the difference is not significant (U=330168.500, p=.006).

Hence, whereas the Anglophone student and non-student participants are no different on these four questions, the Chinese students participants spend significantly less of their spare time on BL (small effect) and are significantly less intensely a BL fan (small effect) than are Chinese participants who are not students. The same four question were there used to explore potential differences between Chinese and Anglophone student participants.

Table 4. 20: Do you create any BL works yourself? – Chinese and Anglophone student survey % response

	No	Yes
	(N=1659)	(N=659)
Chinese	67.3%	34.4%
Anglophone	32.7%	65.6%

A Chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing frequency of creating BL works for Chinese and Anglophone students. Chines student participants had significantly less frequency endorsement of creating BL works than did Anglophone student participants, $x2$ (1, N=2318) = 208.511, $p<.001$, Cramer's V is .300 (medium effect).

Table 4. 21*: Do you BL cosplay? – Chinese and Anglophone student survey % response*

	No (N=2058)	Yes (N=260)
Chinese	60.5%	37.7%
Anglophone	39.5%	62.3%

A Chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing frequency of engagement in BL cosplay for Chinese and Anglophone students. Chinese student participants had significantly less frequency endorsement of cosplay than did Anglophone student participants, x2 (1, N=2318) = 49.255, p<.001, Cramer's V is .146 (small effect).

Table 4. 22: What percentage of your spare time do you spend on BL? - Chinese and Anglophone student survey % response

	1-20% (N=1055)	21-40% (N=420)	41-60% (N=415)	61-80% (N=290)	81-100% (N=138)
Chinese	69.9%	49.8%	47.0%	47.6%	46.4%
Anglophone	30.1%	50.2%	53.0%	52.4%	53.6%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that Chinese student participants spend significant less of their spare time on BL than do Anglophone student participants (U=504181.500, p<.001), effect size r= 0.178 (small effect).

Table 4. 23: How intensely are you a BL fan? – Chinese and Anglophone student survey % response

	Not at all (N=226)	A bit (N=459)	Quite (N=383)	A lot (N=550)	Extremely (N=700)
Chinese	89.8%	71.2%	44.4%	47.3%	54.7%
Anglophone	10.2%	28.8%	55.6%	52.7%	45.3%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that Chinese student participants were significantly less intensity a BL fan than were Anglophone student participants (U=521992.000, p<.001), effect size r= 0.208 (small effect).

Hence, on all four questions, Chinese student participants were significantly less involved in BL culture than were Anglophone student participants. This, alongside the finding that Chinese student participants are also less involved in BL culture than are Chinese non-student participants (whereas the Anglophone participants do not differ in their involvement in BL culture according to student status) suggests that our Chinese student sample is distinctive in relation to BL and may constitute a bias towards low engagement.

Table 4. 24: Are there differences between Chinese and Anglophone survey participants? - Summary statistical results

Survey question	**Direction of difference**	**Effect size**
What is your sexual orientation?	Chinese ↑heterosexual	Medium
Duration of Engagement	Chinese shorter	Medium
How did you first discover BL?	Chinese ↑by others	Medium
What is your main occupation?	Chinese ↑student	Medium
Do you create any BL works yourself?	Chinese ↑no	Medium
What is your age in years?	Chinese younger	Small
What is your gender?	Anglophone ↑male ↑other	Small
What is your highest educational level?	Chinese ↑middle school ↑bachelor	Small
Do you BL cosplay?	Anglophone ↑yes	Small
What percentage of your spare time do you spend on BL?	Chinese less	Small
How intensely are you a BL fan?	Chinese less	Small
At what age did you start to engage with BL?	No significant difference	/
I discuss my interest in BL with friends I know in person.	No significant difference	/

Discussion 1: Are there differences between Chinese and Anglophone survey participants? The predominance of Chinese middle school and Bachelor students – and younger participants who, due to their age, have engaged with *Yaoi* for a relatively short time - may have happened because much of the Chinese survey recruitment was via presentations at Chinese universities whereas almost all Anglophone survey recruitment was via the internet. An associated possible effect is

the lower fandom intensity reported by the Chinese participants (small effect). In fact, substantiating that the differential recruitment strategy had an impact is the relatively high number of Chinese participants excluded in data cleaning due to responses indicating lack of engagement with *Yaoi* (Chinese N=39; Anglophone N=2). This may have occurred because Chinese students thought they were obliged to complete the survey or tried to be helpful by doing so even though they do not engage with *Yaoi*. Hence, the demographic analysis offered in this chapter needs to be interpreted in the light of a possible recruitment bias in the Sinophone sample towards students who might be characterised as 'casual' rather than 'avid' fans of *Yaoi*.

On the other hand, rather than a recruitment bias, it could be that these findings reveal an important difference with there being a more casual audience for *Yaoi* in China than in the Anglophone West. Chinese high school and university students have limited free time compared with those in many Western countries (Burtrymowicz, 2011; Hays, 2012). Chinese high school students typically have at least eight classes between 8am and 6pm, from Monday to Saturday, and most also have evening classes. In addition, Chinese university students have twenty to forty classes per week depending on their grade and department. Hence, Chinese students have very little free time to spend on their interests, including *Yaoi*, whether in reading and watching or in creating original works and engaging in cosplay (medium effect).

In relation to the lower engagement in cosplay reported in the Sinophone sample, additional interpretations are also possible (small effect). For example, the majority of Chinese high schools do not allow students to use make-up and most universities do not encourage it (ChinaHush, 2010). Hence, since cosplay requires

quite a high level of skill with make-up, many young Chinese people may feel disinclined to take part. Moreover, many young Chinese people may not be able to afford cosmetics and costumes linked to the lack of time they have to earn money through a part-time job. In addition, while recruiting at Chinese manga events, the researcher spoke to a survey participant who dressed-up but did not cosplay. She said that she thought her Asian face did not fit cosplay well, even with make-up, because she could not modify her appearance to look similar enough to the characters she liked. She also said that some Caucasian fans made really beautiful cosplay photographs with their bigger eyes, higher nose, and deeper and smaller contour of face. Hence, she said that, while she felt happy to dress-up, she did not want to cosplay. Although this is only one person, it is an interesting perspective on why some Chinese participants at least may have indicated to engage less in cosplay than did the Anglophone.

Yaoi culture got going in the Anglophone West during the 1980s (Pagliassotti, 2008) but did not develop in China until around the late 1990s (Wei, 2014). Hence, the shorter history of *Yaoi* in China could also help account for the younger Chinese fans and their shorter duration of engagement as compared to the Anglophone fans (medium effect). However, interestingly, the results show that there is no significant difference in the age of first engagement with *Yaoi* between the Chinese and Anglophone participants: Chinese fans around 16 years old and Anglophone fans around 15 years old. This suggests that first interest in erotica, such as *Yaoi*, may be linked to psycho-sexual development in which culture plays only a small part when the material is readily available. Erikson (1959) suggests that development from infancy to adulthood occurs in eight stages. Between 13-19 years is the stage called ‘Identity Confusion’ in which teenagers have the task of

developing a stable sense of self, including a sexual identity (Kail & Cavanaugh, 2004; Richard, 1983). *Yaoi* materials may appeal to this age group as one way of exploring different kinds of romantic and sexual relationships and identities during this important developmental stage. Chinese fans and researchers sometimes express concern that people are engaging with *Yaoi* at an increasingly young age (Zhang, 2015). However, the fact that there is no significant difference in age of first engagement across the two very different contexts studied here provides some evidence that a relatively robust cross-cultural development stage is operating.

The Chinese participants were significantly more heterosexual and female and less likely to identify as 'other' gendered as were the Anglophone participants (medium effect). Chinese mainstream culture and society sustains a social conservativism that highlights traditional family values, heterosexual ideology, and patriotism and the Chinese authorities and official media emphasize and promote 'the family' as the essential unit of society and of social stability (Mu, 2012). This social context is relevant to the fact that there were many less men in the Chinese sample compared to the Anglophone sample. In China there is huge pressure for men and women to conform to normative gendered social roles commensurate with conservative expectations. Male *Yaoi* fans, almost by definition, challenge mainstream gender expectation since *Yaoi* is strongly identified as female-orientated. Moreover, male-male erotica implicates the possibility that male reader are homosexual. Hence, within a strongly social conservative environment, Chinese men may be particularly unwilling to engage with – or to admit to engage with – *Yaoi* materials.

Further, Chinese traditional perspectives declare that filial piety is the most important trait that individuals should develop and demonstrate. In this context, non-

heterosexual ideas and behaviours are frowned upon because of their potential to undermine these traditional values. However, due to increasing internationalization and the influence of western culture, homosexuality no longer deemed illegal or a mental illness in China (Jeffreys & Yu, 2015).

Even if Chinese authorities approach homosexuality with some apparent ambivalence, Chinese films exploring queer issues have achieved great success on the international stage. Given that there is a huge film industry in Mainland China and Hong Kong, it is rare for these to focus on homosexuality and gender-queer issues: only seven from mainland China although, at 27, a few more made in Hong Kong (Zhang, 2014). However, interestingly, with four of these films winning important awards from international film festivals, this corpus demonstrates an extremely high success rate. *Farewell My Concubine* won the and FIPRESCI Prize at Cannes Film Festival in 1993, the best Foreign Film in Cesar Awards in 1994, the Best Foreign Language Film at Golden Globe Awards, is the only Chinese film to date awarded the Palme d'Or and other many unbeaten achievements. *East Palace, West Palace* won the Best Director and the Best Scriptwriter at Mardel Plata in 1996. *Happy Together* won the Best Director and nominated Palme d'Or at Cannes Film Festival in 1997, and other awards in Hong Kong and Taiwan film festivals. And *Spring Fever* won the Best Screenplay at the 2009 Cannes Film Festival. Even given this massive international recognition, none of these films have been released through official channels to the Chinese public due to the extreme difficulty processing this approval through top level leaders. Organizers even removed *Farewell My Concubine* from the release list of the 2018 Beijing Film Festival although it is recognized as the greatest Chinese film ever made and the New York Times included it in their 2015 list of the top one hundred greatest films in the world.

The strong emphasis on the family and on filial piety can be powerfully conveyed and perpetuated by the influence of elders on young Chinese people. In particular, a new youth culture such as *Yaoi* with its focus on same sex relationships and erotic contents is very difficult for Chinese elders to accept and, in consequence, it has a very problematic reputation in China (Ren, 2012). According to traditional values, non-heterosexual relationships are a risk to the creation of the next generation of children, as marriageable women who want to remain single for longer than expected. For example, Leta, Hong and Chen (2015) suggests that Chinese single women in their middle to late 20s experience much anxiety and stress from the social and familial pressure to marry and risk being denigrated as 'leftover women' for failing to comply with the designated gender and sexual roles of wife and mother. Historically, when polygamy operated in China, homosexuality was not a concern for the production of the next generation. However, with modernisation, monogamy has been widely accepted and practiced in China with an increasing rise in homophobia and even 'single-phobia' (Fincher, 2015). Although heterosexual ideology is so strong in Chinese mainstream culture, and Chinese fans were showed significantly more conformity to sexual and gender norms, Chinese *Yaoi* fans still demonstrated a reasonable amount of non-conformity, particularly with regard to sexuality, This provides evidence that *Yaoi* fans include many people resistant towards and searching for alternatives to heteronormative modes of relating.

Chinese social conservativism and involves a focus on collectivism which emphasizes cohesiveness among individuals and the prioritization of the group over self (Oyserman, 1993). This contrasts most Anglophone cultures which tend to value individualism such that people are, within limits, encouraged to follow their own priorities and to value difference. This might help me understand that, while the

Chinese and Anglophone fans were equally reticent to discuss *Yaoi* with friends they know in person, Chinese fans were more likely to have been introduced to *Yaoi* by others. Given that *Yaoi* is predominantly an online sub-culture in China and the West, it might be unlikely that one would chose to risk revealing this probably stigmatised erotic interest to people in one's daily life. However, it might be also particularly important for young Chinese people to know that their interests are shared with others because such convergence brings a feeling of safety and acceptability within collectivist culture.

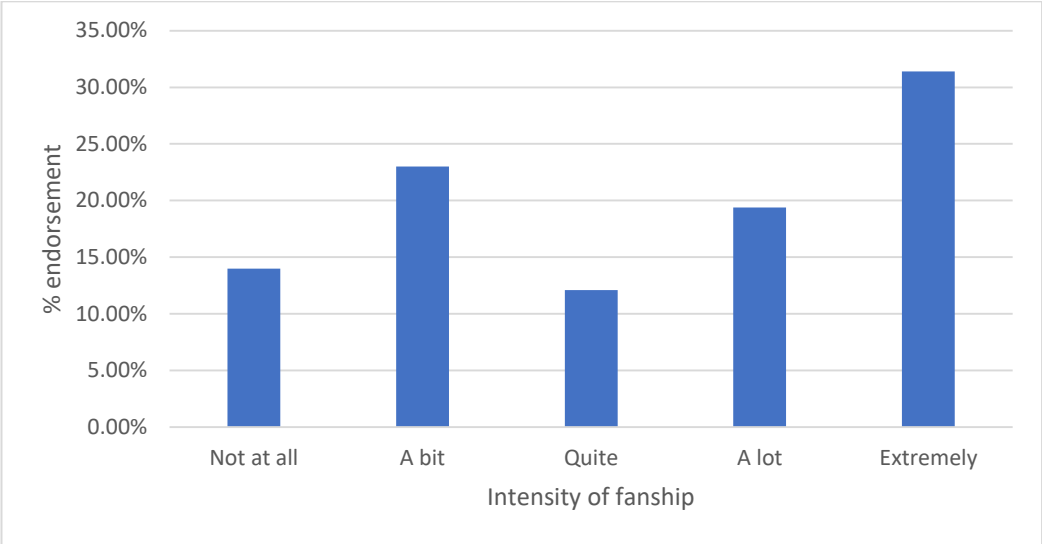
Research question 2: Are there differences between Chinese 'casual' and 'avid' BL fans?

As described above, there is a possible recruitment bias in the Sinophone sample towards participants who might be characterised as '*casual'* rather than '*avid'* fans of *Yaoi*. Indeed, response frequency and cumulative percentage to the question *How intensely are you a BL fan?* Suggests the validity of dividing participants meaningfully into two groups: '*casual'* fans ('*not at all'*, '*a bit'*, '*quite'*: cumulative percentage 49.1%) and '*avid'* fans ('*a lot'*, '*extremely'*: cumulative percentage 50.9%) (Table 4.13; Figure 4.9). Hence, a new, second-order, variable *Fanship Intensity* was created consisting of the two groups – '*casual'* and '*avid'* fans - from responses to the question *How intensely are you a BL fan?*

Table 4. 25: How intensely are you a BL fan? – Chinese survey % response and cumulative percentage

	Chinese (N=1498)	Cumulative percentage
Not at all	14.0%	14.0%
A bit	23.0%	37.0%
Quite	12.1%	49.1%
A lot	19.4%	68.6%
Extremely	31.4%	100.0%

Figure 4. 9: How intensely are you a BL fan? – Chinese survey % response bar graph



The following survey questions were selected for further exploration with regard to *Fanship Intensity* as having the possibility of differentiating '*casual'* and '*avid'* fans in terms of: (a) gender and sexual orientation: *What is your gender?* and *'What is your sexual orientation?*; and (b) activity: *Do you create any BL works yourself?, Do you BL cosplay?, What percentage of your spare time do you spend on BL?, I use BL terminology (e.g., 'moe', 'seme', 'uke') in general conversation, I like to classify people and things as different types of seme and uke, I discuss my interest in BL with people online, I discuss my interest in BL with friends I know in person, I discuss my interest in BL with members of my family, How frequently do you engage with male-male slash fiction?,* and the created variable *Duration of Engagement* (Tables 4.26- 4.36).

Table 4. 26: Gender by sexual orientation - Chinese survey % response by two fanship intensity categories[28]

	Male		Female	
	Heterosexual (N=107)	Nonheterosexual (N=60)	Heterosexual (N=885)	Nonheterosexual (N=430)
Casual fans	91.6%	46.7%	54.2%	28.6%
Avid fans	8.4%	53.3%	45.8%	71.4%

A Chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency assignment of Chinese male and female, heterosexual and non-heterosexual participants to two categories of *Fanship Intensity*. Chinese heterosexual male and heterosexual female participants were mostly '*Casual fans'* (male N=98, 91.6%; female N=480, 54.2%) and Chinese nonheterosexual male and nonheterosexual female participants were mostly avid fans (male N=32 53.3%; female N=307, 71.4%), x^2 (3, N=1482) = 159.04, p<.001, Cramer's V is .328 (medium effect).

Table 4. 27: Do you create any BL works yourself? - Chinese survey % response by two fanship intensity categories

	Yes (N=269)	No (N=1229)
Casual fan	13.75%	56.88%
Avid fan	86.25%	43.12%

A Chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of creating BL works for the two categories of *Fanship Intensity*. Avid fans had the highest percentage endorsement of '*yes'* (N=232, 86.25%), x^2 (1, N=1498) = 164.19, p<.001, Cramer's V is .331 (medium effect).

[28] Excluding the 16 Chinese 'other-gendered' participants

Table 4. 28: Do you BL cosplay? - Chinese survey % response by two fanship intensity categories

	No (N=1379)	Yes (N=119)
Casual fan	50.69%	31.09%
Avid fan	49.31%	68.91%

A Chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of engaging in BL cosplay for the two categories of *Fanship Intensity*. Avid fans had the highest percentage endorsement of '*yes'* (N=82, 68.91%), x^2 (1, N=1498) = 16.83, p<.001, Cramer's V is .106 (small effect).

Table 4. 29: What percentage of your spare time do you spend on BL? - Chinese survey % response by two fanship intensity categories

	1-20% (N=782)	21-40% (N=252)	41-60% (N=226)	61-80% (N=157)	81-100% (N=81)
Casual fan	79.03%	28.17%	12.83%	8.28%	6.17%
Avid fan	20.97%	71.83%	87.17%	91.72%	93.83%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that avid Chinese fans spent significantly more of their spare time on BL than casual Chinese fans (U=93209, p<.001), effect size r=. 627 (large effect).

Table 4. 30: I use BL terminology (e.g., 'moe', 'seme', 'uke') in general conversation - Chinese survey % response by two fanship intensity categories

	Never (N=303)	Sometimes (N=370)	Often (N=315)	Very often (N=242)	Extensively (N=268)
Casual fan	82.18%	64.05%	43.81%	26.03%	18.28%
Avid fan	17.82%	35.95%	56.19%	73.97%	81.72%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that avid Chinese fans were significantly more likely to use BL terminology in general conversation than do casual Chinese fans (U=133843.5, p<.001), effect size r=. 462 (medium effect).

A free-form response question linked to this question stated: *I'd be grateful if you'd explain your answer to me*. A written response was provided by a total of 96 Chinese participants. Comments from participants endorsing '*Never'* (N=13), indicated that they disliked using this kind of terminology or were not interested in doing so. Those endorsing '*Sometimes'* (N=27) or '*Often'* (N=23), indicated that they used BL terminology depending on the situation or the person to whom they are speaking and some also mentioned that the terminology might make some people feel uncomfortable. Those endorsing '*Very often'* (N=13) or '*Extensively'* (N=2), included remarks on being influenced by the use of such terminology in the media: e.g., "This terminology is very popular online. I like to use them to describe the ideal and popular characters", its usefulness: e.g., "I cannot find any better word to describe some person or something", and familiarity "those words were deeply in my life. I've been 'abusing' them for long time."

Table 4. 31: I like to classify people and things as different types of seme and uke - Chinese survey % response by two fanship intensity categories

	Never (N=584)	Sometimes (N=391)	Often (N=253)	Very often (N=145)	Extensively (N=125)
Casual fan	71.40%	43.99%	38.74%	19.31%	16.80%
Avid fan	28.60%	56.01%	61.26%	80.69%	83.20%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that avid Chinese fans were significantly more likely to classify people and things as different types of seme and uke than did casual Chinese fans (U=159496.5, p<.001), effect size r=. 390 (medium effect).

A free-form response question linked to this question stated: *I like to classify people and things as different types of seme and uke*. A written response was provided by a total of 70 Chinese participants. Comments from participants endorsing '*Never'* (N=25), indicated that they were not interested in doing so or felt

it not respecting others. Those endorsing '*Sometimes'* (N=25) and '*Often'* (N=7) indicated that they used *seme* or *uke* to classify people or things very occasionally, would say 'This man looked like a uke', or it was a joke on very close friend, and one participant said that she would use it on studying maths and history. Those endorsing '*Very often'* (N=7) or '*Extensively'* (N=6), said they enjoyed to play with those words because it was really funny, or some statement such as "The difficult textbook is an S[29] seme" or "I classified all my male classmates as seme or uke".

Table 4. 32: I discuss my interest in BL with people online - Chinese survey % response by two fanship intensity categories

	Never (N=591)	Sometimes (N=342)	Often (N=228)	Very often (N=183)	Extensively (N=154)
Casual fan	80.03%	42.69%	32.46%	13.66%	11.69%
Avid fan	19.97%	57.31%	67.54%	86.34%	88.31%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that avid Chinese fans were significantly more likely to discuss BL with people online than did casual Chinese fans (U=114544, p<.001), effect size r=. 534 (large effect).

Table 4. 33: I discuss my interest in BL with friends I know in person - Chinese survey % response by two fanship intensity categories

	Never (N=453)	Sometimes (N=359)	Often (N=264)	Very often (N=220)	Extensively (N=202)
Casual fan	85.87%	55.71%	30.30%	19.09%	12.38%
Avid fan	14.13%	44.29%	69.70%	80.91%	87.62%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that avid Chinese fans were significantly more likely to discuss BL with friends known in person than did casual Chinese fans (U=104017, p<.001), effect size r=. 559 (large effect).

[29] As in 'S&M'

Table 4. 34: I discuss my interest in BL with members of my family - Chinese survey % response by two fanship intensity categories

	Never (N=1173)	Sometimes (N=210)	Often (N=69)	Very often (N=21)	Extensively (N=25)
Casual fan	58.23%	30.00%	28.99%	28.57%	36.00%
Avid fan	41.77%	70.00%	71.01%	71.43%	64.00%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that avid Chinese fans were significantly more likely to discuss BL with family members than did casual Chinese fans (U=234347, p<.001), effect size r=. 198 (small effect).

Table 4. 35: How frequently do you engage with male-male slash fiction? - Chinese survey % response by two fanship intensity categories

	Never (N=385)	Sometimes (N=381)	Often (N=304)	Very often (N=225)	Extensively (N=160)
Casual fan	84.94%	57.74%	36.18%	15.56%	10.00%
Avid fan	15.06%	42.26%	63.82%	84.44%	90.00%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that avid Chinese fans were significantly more likely to engage with male-male slash fiction than did casual Chinese fans (U=103293, p<.001), effect size r=. 541 (large effect).

Table 4. 36: Duration of Engagement - Chinese survey % response by two fanship intensity categories[30]

	Short (0-2yrs) (N=355)	Medium (3-6yrs) (N=721)	Long (7+yrs) (N=283)
Casual fan	63.38%	41.47%	31.80%
Avid fan	36.62%	58.53%	68.20%

[30] Data provided by 'short', 'medium' and 'long' because of the large number of data points

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that avid Chinese fans had significantly longer duration of engagement with BL than did casual Chinese fans (U=133736, p<.001), effect size r=. 3.70 (medium effect).

Table 4. 37: Are there differences between Chinese 'casual' and 'avid' BL fans? – Summary statistical results

Survey question	**Direction of difference**	**Effect size**
What percentage of your spare time do you spend on BL?	Avid more	Large
I discuss my interest in BL with people online.	Avid more likely	Large
I discuss my interest in BL with friends I know in person.	Avid more likely	Large
How frequently do you engage with male-male slash fiction.	Avid more	Large
'Gender by sexual orientation'	Avid ↑nonheterosexual males and ↑nonheterosexual females	Medium
Do you create any BL works yourself?	Avid ↑yes	Medium
I use BL terminology (e.g., 'moe', 'seme', 'uke') in general conversation.	Avid more likely	Medium
I like to classify people and things as different types of seme and uke.	Avid more likely	Medium
Duration of Engagement	Avid longer	Medium
Do you BL cosplay?	Avid ↑yes	Small
I discuss my interest in BL with members of my family.	Avid more likely	Small

Discussion 2: Are there differences between Chinese 'casual' and 'avid' BL fans?

The analysis comparing causal and avid Chinese *Yaoi* fans demonstrates excellent consistency between self-reported fan behaviour and fanship intensity. Avid fans have a deeper and more extensive engagement with *Yaoi* (large effect). They spend more of their spare time on *Yaoi*-related activities, remain in the fandom longer, are more likely to create original *Yaoi* work (medium effectize), and draw *Yaoi* into their daily life discussing their interest with people online (large effect), with real-life friends (large effect), and their family (small effect). They are also more likely to

use, and play with, *Yaoi* terminology in general conversation (medium effect). These links between fandom intensity and behaviour provide evidence supporting the care and candour with which participants completed the survey and, in turn, the validity of result.

Avid fans include more self-identifying nonheterosexual males and nonheterosexual females (large effect) and are more likely to engage with male-male slash fiction (large effect). Slash fiction started in Anglophone culture in the 1970s from Star Trek fan works and spread to other fandoms (Kustritz, 2003) and tends to be more sexually explicit than *Yaoi* stories available to the general public in China. Moreover, slash fiction often does not maintain a seme/uke role division with clear masculine and feminine traits and so can be particularly challenging to mainstream gender and relational norms (Zhou, Paul, & Sherman, 2017). Hence, avid fans not only appears to be a 'queerer' demographic than are casual fans but also to read *Yaoi* more queerly.

Avid fans are more likely to cosplay, create their own *Yaoi* work, and to discuss their interest in *Yaoi* with members of their family. These results may be connected in relation to economic issues. Survey responses demonstrate that Chinese participants are predominantly high school and university students and, hence, who will be, in the main, dependent on their family for economic support and accommodation. Engaging in cosplay requires money, preparation, and absences to attend events so, even if not explicitly paid for by the family, is likely to be noticed and to require some explanation. Given the respect accorded elders in Chinese society and the social and economic influence parents have over their young adult offspring (Fincher, Hong, and Chen 2015), it may be that avid *Yaoi* fans who engage in fandom-related activities such as cosplay, are more likely to live in socially liberal

families who are more comfortable with non-conformist positions and provide the context in which their children have the confidence to discuss their interest in *Yaoi* with others.

Avid fans may also use their interest in *Yaoi* to create works for economic profit and to support their other fandom activities. The majority of *Yaoi* works are serialized in online platforms. The biggest is called 'Youyaoqi' (http://www.u17.com/) with more than six million registered members, on average 0.8 million daily visitor (Chinese Culture Newspaper, 2015), and on which, of the top ten popular manga, five are *Yaoi* works with ten to fifty million hits. Rather than directly employing any of the large number of amateur authors, companies commonly sign contracts for serialized works from which the author can obtain income according to number of reads and comments. Authors can also be provided economic support through website vouchers by readers and, on some websites, can be provided money directly from fans.

Yaoi has been very successful and had a powerful influence in China while this has, itself, shaped *Yaoi* culture. Because of the economic interest involved, *Yaoi* culture has been greatly commercialized and an increasing number of professional writers and mangakas create *Yaoi* works. However, due to country-wide regulations (Mou, Wu, & Atkin 2016; Peng, 2016), periodic checking of online content is conducted and *Yaoi* work is vulnerable to deletion due to sexual content, sensitive words, or 'other reason' which is sometimes not specified. As a result, many *Yaoi* authors, and related workers such as editors, try to keep their works, either manga or fiction, in the format of long serials and with content acceptable to the widest readership in order to obtain the most economic benefits or even to have a chance to live on the proceeds. In fact, a large number of creators use the '*Yaoi'* tag to promote

the work when the content may involve only a close friendship between the male characters. Hence, a central feature of Chinese *Yaoi* culture is about attracting a general public audience, as opposed to maintaining a unique in-group identity, and many *Yaoi* works have been drawn into the mainstream and away from more sexually-explicit and queer content. In this way, the Chinese *Yaoi* audience is likely to include a large number of casual fans who are less interested in the more challenging 'slash' variants with which the more avid fans engage.

Question 3: Are there differences between Chinese BL fans by social outlook?

A new, second-order, theoretical variable – *Social Outlook* - was created from Chinese participants responses to two questions: *How acceptable are male-male sexual relationships to you in real life?* and *How acceptable are female-female sexual relationships to you in real life?* The Spearman correlation in the response of Chinese participants to each question is significant (rho=.686, N=1498, p<.001), effect size (rho) is.686 (large effect). This means that participants tended to answer the two questions in a very similar way and, hence, suggests the validity of integrating response to the two questions in order to categorise participants on a theoretical underlying characteristic: here, *Social Outlook*. Response frequency and cumulative percentage suggests that responses to each question could be divided into two kinds of *Social Outlook*: '*Conservative'* ('*Never'*, '*Sometimes'*, '*Often'*: cumulative percentage 34.2% [male-male], 44.6% [female-female]) and '*Liberal'* ('*Very often'*, '*Always'*: cumulative percentage 65.8% [male-male], 55.4% [female-female]) (Table 4.38 and 4.39; Figure 4.10 and 4.11).

Table 4. 38: How acceptable are male-male sexual relationships to you in real life? – Chinese survey % response and cumulative percentage

	Chinese (N=1498)	Cumulative percentage
Never	15.2%	15.2%
Sometimes	11.1%	26.4%
Often	7.9%	34.2%
Very often	23.5%	57.7%
Always	42.3%	100.0%

Figure 4. 10: How acceptable are male-male sexual relationships to you in real life? - Chinese survey % response bar graph

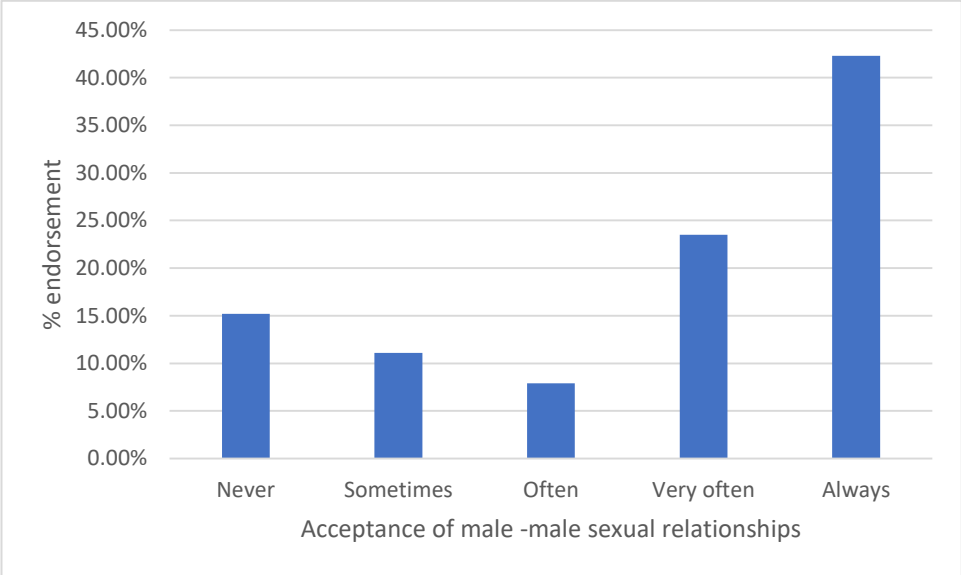
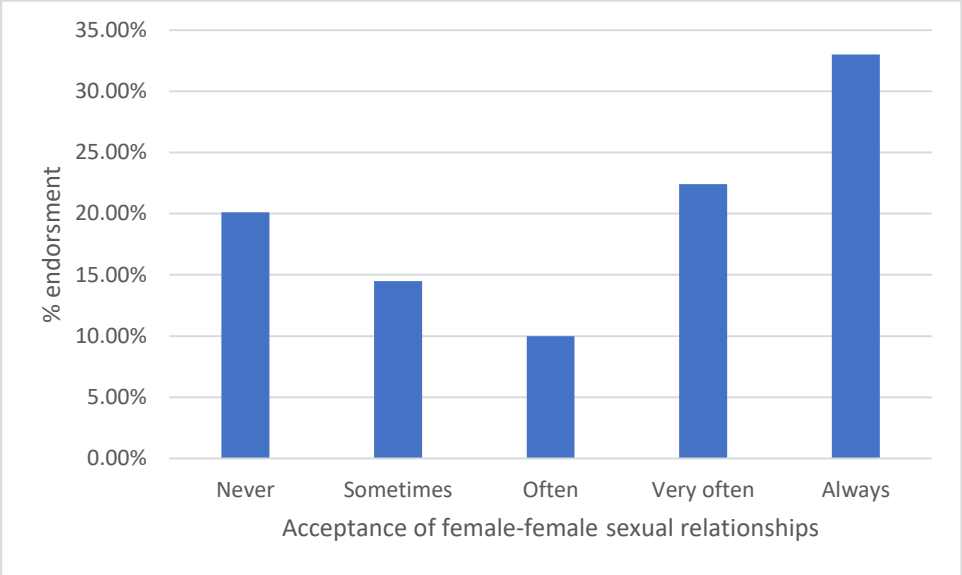


Table 4. 39: How acceptable are female-female sexual relationships to you in real life? – Chinese survey % response and cumulative percentage

	Chinese (N=1498)	Cumulative percentage
Never	20.1%	20.1%
Sometimes	14.5%	34.6%
Often	10.0%	44.6%
Very often	22.4%	67.0%
Always	33.0%	100.0%

Figure 4. 11: How acceptable are female-female sexual relationships to you in real life? - Chinese survey % response bar graph



The response of each Chinese participant to these two questions was inspected and, on this basis, each assigned to one of three *Social Outlook* categories: '*Conservative'*, '*Liberal'*, or '*Hybrid'*. Participants coded '*Conservative'* responded '*Never'*, '*Sometimes'* or '*Often'* to both questions about the acceptability of male-male and female-female sexual relationships in real life (N=454). Participants coded '*Liberal'* responded '*Very often'* or '*Always'* to both questions (N=770). Participants coded '*Hybrid'* responded '*Never'*, '*Sometimes'* or '*Often'* to one question but '*Very often'* or '*Always'* to the other (N=274). A Wilcoxon signed-rank test indicated that Chinese participants were significantly more accepting of male-male sexual relationships in real life ('*Very often'* and '*Always'* N=985) than of female-female sexual relationships in real life ('*Very often'* and '*Always'* N=668) (z=-10.435, p<.001), effect size .270 (small effect).

The relevance of creating a new, second-order, theoretical variable *Social Outlook* with three categories from participant responses to these two questions for the Chinese sample is supported by comparison to the pattern of response to the same

questions by the Anglophone sample which, on the criteria employed, suggest an overwhelmingly consistent '*Liberal' Social Outlook* (Figures 4.12 and 4.13).

Figure 4. 12: How acceptable are male-male sexual relationships to you in real life? - Anglophone survey % response bar graph

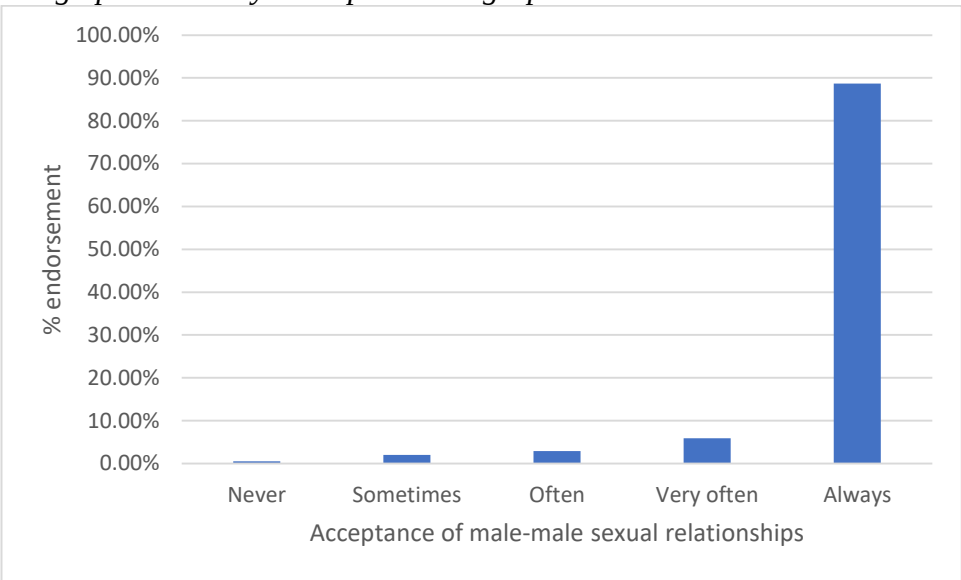
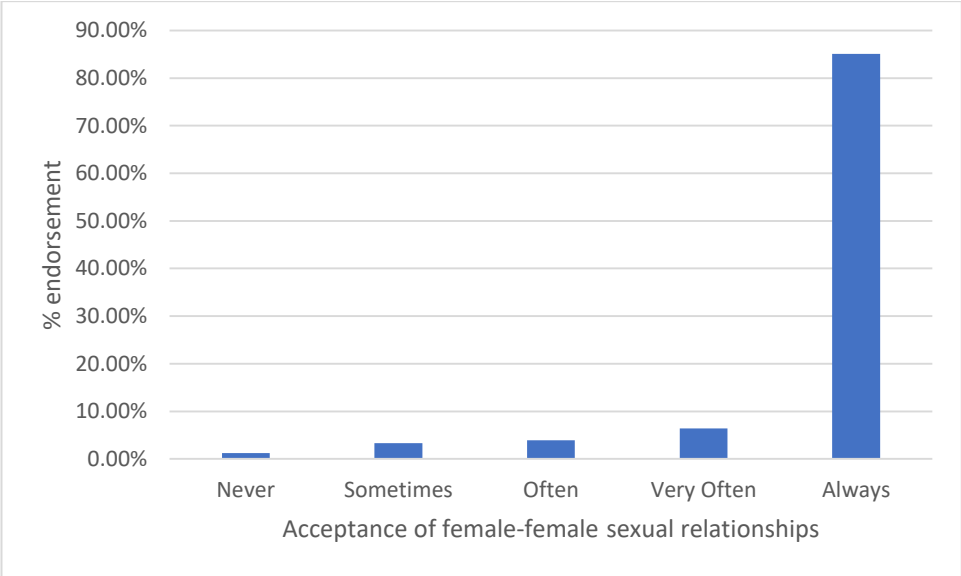


Figure 4. 13: How acceptable are female-female sexual relationships to you in real life? - Anglophone survey % response bar graph



Survey questions were selected for further exploration with regard to *Social Outlook* as having the possibility of differentiating Chinese '*Conservative*' and '*Liberal'* BL fans in terms of identity, attitude, and engagement with erotic material.

'*Hybrid'* fans are explored separately as not constituting, by definition, a consistent – or possibly cohesive - social outlook group.

The identity of Conservative and Liberal Chinese BL fans The following survey questions were selected for further exploration with regard to *Social Outlook* as having the possibility of differentiating '*Conservative*' and '*Liberal'* BL fans in terms of identity: *What is your gender?, What is your sexual orientation?,* and *How intensely are you a BL fan?. (Table 4.40-4.43)*

Table 4. 40: Gender by sexual orientation - Chinese survey % response by two social outlook categories[31]

	Male		Female	
	Heterosexual (N=81)	Non-heterosexual (N=43)	Heterosexual (N=703)	Non-heterosexual (N=385)
Conservative	77.8%	23.3%	48.2%	10.9%
Liberal	22.2%	76.7%	51.8%	89.1%

A Chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency assignment of Chinese male and female, heterosexual and non-heterosexual participants to two categories of *Social Outlook.* Heterosexual men were most likely to be '*Conservative'* (N=63, 77.8%), while non-heterosexual men (N=33, 76.7%) and women (Heterosexual N=364, 51.8%; Non-heterosexual N=343, 89.1%) – and particularly non-heterosexual people - were more likely to be '*Liberal',* x^2 (3, N=1212) = 210.51, p<.001, Cramer's V is .471 (medium effect).

[31] Excluding the 16 Chinese 'other-gendered' participants

Table 4. 41: How intensely are you a BL fan? - Chinese survey % response by two social outlook categories

	Not at all (N=164)	A bit (N=270)	Quite (N=132)	A lot (N=206)	Extremely (N=366)
Conservative	78.7%	65.6%	48.5%	10.2%	7.9%
Liberal	21.3%	34.4%	51.5%	89.8%	92.1%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that *Liberal* participants were significantly more intensely a BL fan than were '*Conservative'* participants (U=187578, p<.001), effect size r=.891 (large effect) (see Table 4.40).

The attitude of Conservative and Liberal Chinese BL fans The following survey questions were selected for further exploration with regard to *Social Outlook* as having the possibility of differentiating '*Conservative*' and '*Liberal'* fans in terms of attitude: *To what extent does it worry you that BL scanlations (fan translations) and fan-subbed BL anime are breaches of copyright?* and *To what extent do you worry about legal issues in relation to the sexual content of BL?*

Table 4. 42: To what extent does it worry you that BL scanlations (fan translations) and fan-subbed BL anime are breaches of copyright? - Chinese survey % response by two social outlook categories

	Never (N=333)	Sometimes (N=265)	Often (N=721)	Very often (N=165)	Extensively (N=104)
Conservative	67.3%	42.3%	18.5%	12.7%	12.5%
Liberal	32.7%	57.7%	81.5%	87.3%	87.5%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that '*Liberal'* participants were significantly more likely to worry about BL scanlations and fan-subbed BL anime breaching of copyright than did '*Conservative'* participants (U=100661, p<.001), effect size r=.402 (medium effect).

A free-form response question linked to this question stated: *I'd be grateful if you'd explain your answer to me*. A written response was provided by a total of 97

Chinese participants. Participants endorsing '*Never'* (N=27) or '*Sometimes'* (N=8), indicated that they "did not care", "did not think about it', and some provided opinions such that "if copyright has been protected, nothing would be available, especially for manga." Participants endorsing '*Often'* (N=21) or '*Very often'* (N=16), tended to express their willingness to protect copyright and support authors but with reservations: e.g., "I am willing to support to protect copyright and happy to pay for those materials, but many of them are not even able to legally publish." Participants endorsing '*Extensively'* (N=25), sometimes commented that, as authors, they worry about plagiarism because, since BL fiction is not condoned within the legal system, it is very difficult to protect their own creative work. Others suggested that copyright breach is often used by the authorities as a reason to delete fan-subbed or fan-translated materials from the internet, while not providing access to the legitimate originals.

Table 4. 43: To what extent do you worry about legal issues in relation to the sexual content of BL? - Chinese survey % response by two social outlook categories

	Never (N=293)	Sometimes (N=233)	Often (N=221)	Very often (N=191)	Extensively (N=200)
Conservative	61.1%	48.9%	27.6%	18.8%	15.0%
Liberal	38.9%	51.1%	72.4%	81.2%	85.0%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that '*Liberal'* participants were significantly more likely to worry about legal issue in relation to the sexual content of BL than did '*Conservative'* participants (U=112348, p<.001), effect size r=.343 (medium effect).

A free-form response question linked to this question stated: *I'd be grateful if you'd explain your answer to me*. A written response was provided by a total of 80 Chinese participants. Participants endorsing '*Never'* (N=30) and '*Sometimes'* (N=13), indicated that they "did not care," expressed some dissatisfaction in that, for

example, “It is odd that sexual contents are illegal theoretically but for the great authors or famous literature it seems to be OK” or acknowledged the current situation: e.g., “Yaoi is not really legal in China. I do not want make any comment for this question.” Participants endorsing ‘*Often*’ (N=11), ‘*Very often*’ (N=20), or ‘*Extensively’* (N=6) provided a variety of comments. Some proposed that the apparently increasingly young audience and ‘deviant’ and ‘immoral’ *Yaoi* contents might need to be regulated. On the other hand, others emphasized the normality of sexuality within romantic relationships and the greater acceptance of sexual content in heterosexual stories. In addition, participants also mentioned concern about the official regulation, for example, “The authorities have a dodgy and ambiguous attitude toward homosexuality and *Yaoi* that it is not inhibited or protect” or lamenting “I cannot see the day that the adult materials (not for under 18) would be published in China.”

The engagement of Conservative and Liberal Chinese BL fans with <u>other erotic materials</u> The following – optional answer - survey questions were selected for further exploration with regard to *Social Outlook* as having the possibility of differentiating ‘*Conservative*’ and ‘*Liberal’* fans in terms of engagement with erotic materials: *How frequently do you engage with male-male slash fiction?, How frequently do you engage with female-female slash fiction?, How frequently do you engage with heterosexual erotic materials (e.g., slash fiction, other fictions, videos, photographs, manga, anime)?, How frequently do you engage with non-slash female-female erotic materials (e.g., fictions, videos, photographs, manga, anime)?, How frequently do you engage with non-BL/non-slash male-male erotic materials probably designed for gay men (e.g., fictions, videos, photographs, manga,*

anime)?, and *How frequently do you engage with non-BL/non-slash BDSM materials (e.g., fictions, videos, photographs, manga, anime)?(Table 4.44-4.49)*

Table 4. 44: How frequently do you engage with male-male slash fiction? - Chinese survey % response by two social outlook categories

	Never (N=313)	Sometimes (N=302)	Often (N=238)	Very often (N=166)	Extensively (N=125)
Conservative	75.1%	42.4%	17.6%	8.4%	4.0%
Liberal	24.9%	57.6%	82.4%	91.6%	96.0%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that '*Liberal'* participants were significantly more likely to engage with male-male slash fiction than did '*Conservative'* participants (U=62734.5, p<.001), effect size r=.567 (large effect).

Table 4. 45: How frequently do you engage with female-female slash fiction? - Chinese survey % response by two social outlook categories

	Never (N=541)	Sometimes (N=427)	Often (N=132)	Very often (N=29)	Extensively (N=15)
Conservative	50.1%	26.9%	24.2%	13.8%	13.3%
Liberal	49.9%	73.1%	75.8%	86.2%	86.7%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that '*Liberal'* participants were significantly more likely to engage with female-female slash fiction than did '*Conservative'* participants (U=143173.5, p<.001), effect size r=.156 (small effect).

Table 4. 46: How frequently do you engage with heterosexual erotic materials (e.g., slash fiction, other fictions, videos, photographs, manga, anime)? - Chinese survey % response by two social outlook categories

	Never (N=257)	Sometimes (N=532)	Often (N=231)	Very often (N=94)	Extensively (N=30)
Conservative	61.1%	34.0%	23.4%	24.5%	30.0%
Liberal	38.9%	66.0%	76.6%	75.5%	70.0%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that '*Liberal'* participants were significantly more likely to engage with heterosexual erotic materials than did '*Conservative'* participants (U=127233, p<.001), effect size r=.233 (small effect).

Table 4. 47: How frequently do you engage with non-BL/non-slash male-male erotic materials probably designed for gay men (e.g., fictions, videos, photographs, manga, anime)? - Chinese survey % response by two social outlook categories

	Never (N=381)	Sometimes (N=427)	Often (N=195)	Very often (N=97)	Extensively (N=44)
Conservative	61.7%	30.0%	19.0%	16.5%	18.2%
Liberal	38.3%	70.0%	81.0%	83.5%	81.8%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that '*Liberal'* participants were significantly more likely to engage with non-BL/non-slash male-male erotic materials than did '*Conservative'* participants (U=99665.5, p<.001), effect size r=.368 (medium effect).

Table 4. 48*: How frequently do you engage with non-slash female-female erotic materials (e.g., fictions, videos, photographs, manga, anime)? - Chinese survey % response by two social outlook categories*

	Never (N=527)	Sometimes (N=394)	Often (N=121)	Very often (N=37)	Extensively (N=20)
Conservative	47.9%	28.9%	20.7%	10.8%	35.0%
Liberal	52.1%	71.1%	79.3%	89.2%	65.0%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that '*Liberal'* participants were significantly more likely to engage with non-slash female-female erotic materials than did '*Conservative* participants (U=141452.5, p<.001), effect size r=.141 (small effect).

Table 4. 49: How frequently do you engage with non-BL/non-slash BDSM materials (e.g., fictions, videos, photographs, manga, anime)? - Chinese survey % response by two social outlook categories

	Never (N=622)	Sometimes (N=329)	Often (N=141)	Very often (N=39)	Extensively (N=17)
Conservative	45.0%	29.8%	22.7%	23.1%	35.3%

Liberal	55.0%	70.2%	77.3%	76.9%	64.7%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that '*Liberal'* participants were significantly more likely to engage with BDSM materials than did '*Conservative'* participants (U=127404.5, p<.001), effect size r=.217 (small effect).

Due to the potential sensitivity of the questions in section 'Other erotic materials', and the fact that it included questions beyond *Yaoi*, participants could submit the survey without completing this section. Missing data on these questions, therefore, may provide information of interest with regard to the research question *Are there differences between Chinese BL fans by social outlook?* (Table 4.39).

Table 4. 50: Missing data for other erotic materials questions by total endorsement and three social outlook categories

	Endorsement	Missing data	Social Outlook		
	(N=1498)	(N=1498)	Conservative (N=454)	Liberal (N=770)	Hybrid N=274)
Male-male slash fiction	1455	43	15	20	8
	97.10%	2.90%	3.30%	2.60%	2.92%
Female-female slash fiction	1447	51	20	21	10
	96.60%	3.40%	4.41%	2.72%	3.65%
Heterosexual erotic materials	1439	59	19	26	14
	96.10%	3.90%	4.19%	3.38%	5.11%
Non-BL/slash male-male erotic materials	1430	68	22	32	13
	95.50%	4.50%	4.85%	4.16%	4.74%
Non-slash female-female erotic materials	1427	71	26	33	12
	95.30%	4.70%	5.73%	4.29%	4.38%
BDSM	1418	80	29	35	15
	94.70%	5.30%	6.39%	4.54%	5.47%

Total frequency of missing data for each question in section 'Other erotic materials' increases in the same order of question presentation. The questions in this section were ordered by the researcher's perception of increasing sensitivity (i.e., from

'softer core' to 'harder core' materials). In terms of *Social Outlook*, '*Liberal'* participants showed consistently lowest percentage of missing data.

How is the 'Hybrid social outlook' group constituted? As stated above, '*Hybrid'* fans are explored separately as not constituting, by definition, a consistent social outlook group. Individual responses for '*Hybrid'* participants were inspected on questions *How acceptable are male-male sexual relationship to you in real life?* and *How acceptable are female-female sexual relationship to you in real life?* and each assigned to one of five sub-types as follows (Table 4.50-4.51):

(a) '*Soft Conservative m/m'*: accept male-male sexual relationships in real life (endorsed '*Very often*' or '*Always'*) but do not accept female-female sexual relationships in real life (endorsed '*Never'*);

(b) '*Soft Liberal m/m'*: accept male-male sexual relationships in real life (endorsed '*Very often*' or '*Always'*) and have some acceptance of female-female sexual relationships in real life (endorsed '*Sometimes'* or '*Often'*);

(c) '*Soft Conservative f/f'*: accept female-female sexual relationships in real life (endorsed '*Very often'* or '*Always'*) but do not accepted male-male sexual relationships in real life (endorsed '*Never'*);

(d) '*Soft Liberal f/f'*: accept female-female sexual relationships in real life (endorsed '*Very often'* or '*Always'*) and have some acceptance of male-male sexual relationships in real life (endorsed '*Sometimes'* or '*Often'*);

(e) '*Mixed'*: endorsed '*Often'* or '*Very often'* in acceptance of male-male and female-female sexual relationships in real life. Notably, no Chinese participant selected '*Often'* or '*Very often*' in response to both questions.

Table 4. 51: Frequency and percentage of Chinese Hybrid social outlook participants by sub-type

	Frequency	Percent
Soft Conservative m/m	62	22.7%
Soft Liberal m/m	110	40.3%
Soft Conservative f/f	25	9.2%
Soft Liberal f/f	26	9.5%
Mixed	50	18.3%
Total	273	100.0%

Table 4. 52: Gender by sexual orientation – Chinese survey % responses by five sub-types of Hybrid social outlook[32]

	Male		Female	
	Heterosexual	Nonheterosexual	Heterosexual	Nonheterosexual
Soft Conservative m/m	3.8%	17.6%	28.7%	13.3%
Soft Liberal m/m	7.7%	23.5%	47.0%	42.2%
Soft Conservative f/f	53.8%	23.5%	1.1%	4.4%
Soft Liberal f/f	34.6%	23.5%	4.4%	8.9%
Mixed	0.0%	11.8%	18.8%	31.1%

A Chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency assignment of Chinese '*Hybrid'* social outlook, male and female, heterosexual and non-heterosexual participants to five subgroups. Male heterosexual participants were likely to have some tolerance of female-female sexual relationships in real life and to reject male-male sexual relationships in real life ('*Soft Conservative f/f'*, N=14, 53.8%), while female heterosexual and nonheterosexual participants were likely to have some tolerance of male-male sexual relationships in real life and to reject female-female sexual relationships in real life (heterosexual female '*Soft Liberal m/m'*, N=85, 47.0%; nonheterosexual female '*Soft Liberal m/m',* N=19 42.2%), x^2 (1, N=269) = 137.041, p<.001, Cramer's V is .741 (large effect).

[32] Excluding the 16 Chinese 'other-gendered' participants

Table 4. 53: Are there differences between Chinese BL fans by social outlook? – Summary statistical results

Survey question		**Direction of difference**	**Effect size**
Creation of variable 'Social Outlook'			
How acceptable are male-male sexual relationships to you in real life? and *How acceptable are female-female sexual relationships to you in real life?*		Correlation	Large
How acceptable are male-male sexual relationships to you in real life? versus *How acceptable are female-female sexual relationships to you in real life?*		↑Male-male	Small
Conservative vs. liberal social outlook			
Identity	*How intensely are you a BL fan?*	Liberal more	Large
	'Gender x sexual orientation'	Nonheterosexual ↑Liberal; female ↑Liberal	Medium
Attitude	*To what extent does it worry you that BL scanlations (fan translations) and fan-subbed BL anime are breaches of copyright?*	Liberal more	Medium
	To what extent do you worry about legal issues in relation to the sexual content of BL?	Liberal more	Medium
Other erotic materials	*How frequently do you engage with male-male slash fiction?*	Liberal more	Large
	How frequently do you engage with non-slash male-male erotic materials (e.g., fictions, videos, photographs, manga, anime)?	Liberal more	Medium
	How frequently do you engage with female-female slash fiction?	Liberal more	Small
	How frequently do you engage with heterosexual erotic materials (e.g., slash fiction, other fictions, videos, photographs, manga, anime)?	Liberal more	Small
	How frequently do you engage with non-BL/non-slash female-female erotic materials probably designed for gay men (e.g., fictions, videos, photographs, manga, anime)?	Liberal more	Small
	How frequently do you engage with non-BL/non-slash BDSM materials (e.g., fictions, videos, photographs, manga, anime)?	Liberal more	Small
	'*Missing data'*	Liberal less	/
Hybrid sub-group			
'*Gender x sexual orientation'*		Heterosexual male ↑Soft Conservative f/f; heterosexual female ↑Soft Liberal m/m; nonheterosexual ↑Soft Liberal m/m	Large

Discussion 3: Are there differences between Chinese BL fans by social outlook? To my knowledge, in Mainland China there has been no national investigation on attitude towards same-sex relationships and the very small amount of research that has been conducted has tended to focus on specific regions and groups – mainly students. In terms of prevalence, Xu, Shi, Hu, and Wei, (2004), estimate a male homosexual population in Hangzhou of 1-2%, of whom only 0.58% were open about their sexual orientation. Zhang (2006) investigated the sexual orientation, and attitudes toward homosexual groups, of under- and postgraduate students from medical universities in Shanxi. In this study, 2.4% participants identified as homosexual or bisexual and 90% reported being very sure of their heterosexuality. Participants also reported an interestingly differential level of tolerance of homosexuality, acceptance tending to reduce as intimacy of social relationship increased: strangers (53.6%), idols (27.6%), classmates (27.2%), friends (26.3%), teachers (21.6%), senior officer (21.3%), and family members (19.9%). Only 18.8% accepted homosexuality in all of these groups, and 36.3% rejected homosexuality across the board. Finally, Li and Zheng (2013) found that female university students tend to be more tolerant of both male and female homosexuality than were men, and that the more 'feminine' male students were more tolerant of homosexuality than were those who were more stereotypically masculine.

Chinese mainstream culture is socially conservative in that accepted morality stresses family values, filial piety, and that it is one's social responsibility to reproduce the next generation in order to maintain social stability and continuity. These values are propagated through the Chinese mainstream media. Hence, both heterosexual and non-heterosexual people, especially Chinese women, face much

pressure to satisfy these expectations even if it is not in-line with their own wishes. For example, a highly interesting survey of 922 homosexual Mainland Chinese people (Li, Dai, & Gao, 2014) revealed that 50% felt pressurised by family, with ensuing felt personal responsibility, to have child, and 30% of them intended to marriage, or had already got married, to maintain a superficial – or even real - heterosexual lifestyle.

Clearly, general university students in Mainland China show much lower acceptance of same sex relationships than do the Chinese participants in my *Yaoi* fandom survey (even if Chinese *Yaoi* fans show relatively lower tolerance than do Anglophone *Yaoi* fans: see Chapter 3). Importantly, the high correlation between acceptance of male-male and of female-female sexual relationships in the Sinophone survey demonstrates an overall consistent attitude towards same sex relationships and provides excellent confidence in this result (large effect). Possibly linked to the higher level of tolerance in my Chinese survey participants than in the general Chinese population, the *Yaoi* fans include a much high percentage of non-heterosexual identifications than the limited research suggests is prevalent in the general population in Mainland China. Thus, even if Chinese *Yaoi* tends to be read within a heterosexual frame (see Chapter 3), there is an argument that its attraction, at least for some fans, is its value and meaning as a queer text. It follows that Chinese *Yaoi* fans in general espouse a more social liberalism than does mainstream Chinese culture by having greater tolerance or, and personal identification with, non-hegemonic sexualities.

Comparing male-male and female-female sexual relationships in real life, Chinese participants showed significantly higher acceptance of male-male sexual relationships (small effect). Obviously, *Yaoi* materials represented male-male

relationship, if often highly unrealistic, and, hence, it might not be surprising that the audience is, possibly, more comfortable with and accustomed to, this form of same-sex relationship. Of the very few Chinese studies investigating attitude to same-sex relationships, Wang (2013) found greater acceptance of female-female as compared to male-male relationships in a university student population. However, noteworthy, is the fact that there were more male than female participants in Wang's study. In my study, there are many more *female* participants and my results show that, overall, my participants were more accepting of non-heterosexual behaviour in the *opposite* sex. This might be interpreted as showing how heterosexual-identifying people, while intellectually tolerant of non-heterosexuality to some degree, may feel more anxious about sex-same sexuality that might implicate them personally on some level.

The 'Hybrid' group participants, by definition, hold inconsistent attitudes toward male-male and female-female sexual relationships in real life. However, in this group also, male-male relationships are more acceptable and gender identity drives attitude (large effect). That is, male-male and female-female sexual relationships respectively were greater tolerated by participants of the opposite sex.

Intense *Yaoi* fans are more likely to be socially liberal (large effect) and, it may be argued, demonstrate this, at least to some extent, through their *Yaoi* fanship. That is, they evidence their relative acceptance of non-heterosexual sexuality -and possibly non-traditional gender positions - through their intense engagement with *Yaoi*, and push the boundaries of attempts by the authorities to limit their activities (Li, 2016). The non-heterosexual identifying participants are more socially liberal as a group than are the heterosexual participants and the women as a group more socially liberal than are the men (medium effect). The former result is commensurate with non-heterosexual people's willingness to express a non-traditional sexual

identity within a socially conservative society, such as is China. The latter result may be linked to the fact that men in general tend to be a more causal audience of *Yaoi* in China, while the avid male fans are more likely to be non-heterosexual, because of their gender/sexuality be engaging in this erotic material in a less submissive manner than are the women and, hence, apart from their sexuality, may be more likely to espouse socially conservative values.

The socially liberal participants demonstrate more concern with regard breaches of copyright and legal in relation to the sexual content of Yaoi than do the socially conservative participants (medium effects). This finding may be a result of the association between social liberalism and greater fanship intensity such that the more liberal fans tend to be more involved in *Yaoi* culture and, hence, potentially impacted by, or exposed to, legal issues to a greater extent than the more, generally, social conservative, casual fans. This interpretation is supported by the explanatory comments provided by some participants. In-line with its increasing economic influence, *Yaoi* works have been subject to plagiarism and breach of contract disputes and some fans were worried with regard to the lack of protection of authors given *Yaoi's* ambiguous legal status in China (Dou, 2017; Wen, 2017).

On the other hand, interestingly, while some of the more concerned participants were critical of the negative attitude of authorities towards non-hegemonic sexuality, they often also supported the tight regulation of online erotic material in order to protect young people from deviant behaviour. The sense that erotic materials are harmful is perpetuated in the Chinese public media and general morality but one can also perceive in some comments by participants the phenomenon of hypocrisy in which individuals perceive themselves to be less vulnerable than average to the seemingly harmful influence of pornography than are

others (Alicke, Klotz, Breitenbecher, David, Yurak, Tricia, Vredenburg, & Debbie, 1995).

The last section of the survey involved six, non-compulsory, questions on 'Other erotic materials.' '*Liberal'* participants showed consistently lowest percentage of missing data. Moreover, although frequency of stated engagement was generally low, '*Liberal'* participants reported engaging more frequently in all types of erotic material than did '*Conservative'* participants. The gap between '*Liberal'* and '*Conservative'* participants is largest for male-male erotica (slash and non-slash), smaller for heterosexual and BDSM erotica, and smallest for female-female erotica (slash and non-slash), the decreasing gap accounted for most likely by a 'floor effect' of reported low to zero engagement.

It is unknown if participants interpreted these questions in the same way and, placed at the end of the survey, some may have failed to complete them merely due to fatigue. However, results suggest, in line with broadly liberal values, at least greater willingness of '*Liberal'* participants to at least respond to these questions than the '*Conservative.'* In Mainland China there is a strong assumption that erotic materials have a harmful influence and an attempt to avoid sexually-related words in both official and unofficial circumstances. For example, recently is quoted in the Chinese Daily News (2018) as describing a case of illegal parking in which the people involved were having sex as "doing some indescribable thing" and, as a result, 'indescribable thing' has quickly become a standard euphemism.

It is no surprise, perhaps, that the '*Liberal' Yaoi* participants responded as engaging more frequently with male-male slash fiction (large effect) and non-slash male-male erotic materials probably designed for gay men (medium effect) than did the '*Conservative'* participants given (a) the superficial similarity of the material and (b)

the finding, reported and discussed above that '*Liberal'* participants may tend to read *Yaoi* more 'queerly'.

Although *Yaoi* often portrays unrealistic male-male relationships, '*Liberal'* fans may be relatively open to other erotic material with thematic similarity. In particular, male-male slash fiction might be considered a sub-category or sister genre of *Yaoi* which focuses on the sexual relationship between characters from a canon original (Kustritz, 2003). '*Liberal'* participants tend to identify as the more avid *Yaoi* fans and, hence, potentially also more comfortable expressing their erotic interests. Engagement with male-male erotica probably designed for gay men may also be relatively high due to non-heterosexual- identifying men in the sample, even though non-heterosexual males endorsed a quite a low frequency of engagement with such material, although more than did the heterosexual male participants.

The final four questions in the 'Other erotic materials' section of the survey asked about frequency of engagement with female-female slash fiction, heterosexual erotic materials, non-BL/non-slash female-female erotic materials, and non-BL/non-slash BDSM materials. Endorsement of all was relative low but '*Liberal'* participants also responded as engaging in all these forms of erotic material more frequently than did the '*Conservative'* participants (small effects). The relative lack of engagement with female-female erotica across the board is in-line with the reported low acceptance of female-female sexual relationships in the survey. Moreover, BDSM was reported as having the lowest frequency engagement of all types of erotic materials listed in the survey commensurate with its status as a minority fetish.

In China, officially majority network platforms, such as *Weibo*, LOFTER, or *Jinjiang*, declare that they identify pornography based on explicit description of, but also implicit references - such as innuendo - to, sexual organs, sexual behaviours, or

orgasm through words or images not designed for education or reaching the status of high level arts, the latter clearly consisting of culturally-recognised masterpieces rather than a product of contemporary popular culture. For example, in April 2018, LOFTER reposted regulations on the prohibition of pornographic material which includes both explicit and implicit representation of sexuality, even wife-swapping, one-night-stands, and sexual products such as condoms. With this very broad concept of pornography, and highly conservative social environment of Mainland China, it is likely that many participants under-reported their consumption of pornography, particularly '*Conservative'* participants, who research suggests might be unwilling to report this activity (Wright, Tokunaga, Kraus, 2015). Thus, the data on frequency of engagement with 'Other erotic materials' is probably multifaceted and difficult to interpret.

There is a very small amount of empirical research on the consumption of pornography in Mainland China. This research indicates a there to be much less consumption of online pornography in rural as opposed to urban China. For example, Wang and Zeng (2009) found that *urban university students* were more familiar with the internet and more commonly consumed online pornography than people in rural areas. However, research on university students provides the most reasonable comparison with the current study and it is reported that around half of university students have engaged with pornography in Shanghai (N=1423) and Chengdu (N=2017), with around 6% consuming such materials quite often in Shanghai (Shen, 2012; Wang & Zeng 2009). These findings are surprisingly close to those of 'sexually liberal' countries. For example, Livingstone and Bober (2004) report that 67% of UK children aged 9-19 years (N=1511) had engaged with online pornography; Grubbs, Volk, Exline and Pargament (2015) report that only 15% of

college students in the USA (N=532) had engaged with pornography online less than 3 times within past month; and Lim, Agius, Carrotte, Vella, and Hellard (2017) report that 87% of Australians aged 15-29 years (N=941) have engaged with pornography. A very limited number of research studies do imply some increase in liberal attitudes to sexuality in Mainland China (Shen, 2009), but the majority of pornography research in China is focused on the harmful factors and obscenity issues (e.g., Li, 2017; Zhang, 2017).

Research Question 4: Are there differences between Chinese participants from Mainland China and from Hong Kong?

The questions *In what country are you living at the moment?* and *What is your nationality?* were used to code Chinese participants as being from '*Mainland China'*, '*Hong Kong*', or '*Neither'*. Participants were coded as being from *Mainland China* if they indicated that they are: (a) currently living in Mainland China (including Macau, N=4); and (b) are Chinese nationals (total N=1275). Participants were coded as being from *Hong Kong* if the indicated that they are: (a) currently living in Hong Kong; and/or (b) are Hong Kong nationals (N=33) (total N=198). All other Chinese participants were coded as '*Neither'* and subsequently excluded from this part of the analysis: Taiwanese or living in Taiwan (N=2) and Chinese nationals living abroad (N=23: UK, America, Canada, Netherlands, and Japan). Participants from Mainland China were compared with participants from Hong Kong on gender, sexual orientation, and Social Outlook. (Table 4.54a&b - 4.55a&b)

Table 4. 54a: Mainland China and Hong Kong - Chinese survey % responses gender by sexual orientation[33]

		Mainland China (N=1275)	Hong Kong (N=198)
Male	Heterosexual	8.30%	0.50%
	Nonheterosexual	4.20%	3.00%
Female	Heterosexual	60.10%	57.60%
	Nonheterosexual	27.40%	38.90%

Table 4.54b: Mainland China and Hong Kong - Chinese survey % responses gender by sexual orientation[34]

	Male		Female	
	Heterosexual (N=106)	Nonheterosexual (N=59)	Heterosexual (N=872)	Nonheterosexual (N=422)
Mainland China	99.1%	89.8%	86.9%	81.8%
Hong Kong	0.9%	10.2%	13.1%	18.2%

A Chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency of Chinese male and female, heterosexual and non-heterosexual participants from Mainland China and Hong Kong. Nonheterosexual females were relatively highly represented in the group from Hong Kong (N=77, 38.9%), x^2 (3, N=1459) =23.04, p<.001, Cramer's V is .126 (small effect).

'Other-gendered' people are excluded from this analysis however, one participant from Hong Kong and 14 from Mainland China described themselves in this way. The free-form response from the participant from Hong Kong was "minimal gender identity". The free-form response for 'Other-gendered' participants from Mainland China (N=14, see also earlier in the chapter) were: Xiuji (N=4), hentai (N=1), Futa (N=1), no explanation (N=8).

[33] Excluding the 16 Chinese 'other-gendered' participants
[34] Excluding the 16 Chinese 'other-gendered' participants

Table 4. 55a: Mainland China and Hong Kong - Chinese survey % responses by three social outlook categories

	Conservative (N=453)	Liberal (N=750)	Hybrid (N=270)
Mainland China	96.7%	80.1%	86.6%
Hong Kong	3.3%	19.6%	13.4%

Table 4.55b: Mainland China and Hong Kong - Chinese survey % responses by three social outlook categories

	Conservative (N=453)	Liberal (N=750)	Hybrid (N=270)
Mainland China	438	603	234
	34.4%	47.3%	18.4%
Hong Kong	15	147	36
	7.6%	74.2%	18.2%

A Chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency of Chinese participants from Mainland China and Hong Kong by three Social Outlook categories. Participants from Hong Kong were relatively more Liberal than those from Mainland China (N=147, 74.2%), x^2 (2, N=1473) =23.04, p<.001, Cramer's V is .209 (small effect).

Table 4. 56: Are there differences between Chinese BL fans from Mainland China and from Hong Kong? - Summary statistical results

Survey question	**Direction of difference**	**Effect size**
'Gender x sexual orientation'	Hong Kong ↑Nonheterosexual female	Small
'Social Outlook'	Hong Kong ↑Liberal	Small

Discussion 4: Are there differences between Chinese participants from Mainland China and from Hong Kong? Compared to participants from Mainland China, those from Hong Kong included more nonheterosexual women (small effect) and more 'Liberal' participants (small effect). Hong Kong became a colony of the British Empire after the First Opium War in 1842 (Carroll, 2007) and the UK ruled

Hong Kong for more than 150 years. Hence, Hong Kong modernised under Western regulations with its first Higher Education Institutes built in 1911 (Chu, 2005), Kai Tak Airport in 1924 (Wordie, 2007), and was the first of the Four 'Asia Tiger Economies' in the 1950s (Buckley, 1997). In 1997, Hong Kong was formally returned to China as a special administrative region, with China guaranteeing to maintain Hong Kong's economic and political systems. Thus, Hong Kong kept its own legislative and judicial system based on common law from the territory's time as a British colony rather than Chinese national law (Gittings, 2009 Tam et al., 2012). In addition, the British-style education has grounded modern Hong Kong's social and cultural environment in the values of individualism, liberty and the rule of law (Carroll, 2007). Due to its political isolation from Mainland China, Hong Kong also avoided the Chinese Civil War, the 'Great Leap Forward', and the Cultural Revolution. This very Westernised cultural context, helps makes sense of the relative social liberalism of the Hong Kong participants, including the identification of significantly more female participants from Hong Kong with nonhegemonic sexualities. These findings may also have been influenced by the fact that Hong Kong participants were recruited predominantly from online Yaoi communities which probably include more avid fans who, as discussed above, tend to be more socially liberal in their outlook and identifications than are casual fans.

Conclusions

The aim of this chapter is to explore who is the audience for Yaoi in China, what are its defining demographic characteristics, and how does the Chinese audience compare to the Anglophone audience? It commenced with an overview of the existing information on the demographics of the *Yaoi* audience in the Chinese-speaking and English-speaking world. It was demonstrated that data is sparse and

often poorly reported. In contrast, my data collected through two almost identical online fandom surveys covers a comprehensive number of relevant demographic variables and is the largest data set as yet to be collected in this field. This allowed me to explore my four specific research questions and produce new knowledge about the Sinophone and Anglophone audience of BL/*Yaoi*. A discussion section for findings for each research question has been provided above. I summarise the essence of these findings below with respect to my four research questions.

1. Yes -there are differences between Chinese and Anglophone survey participants.

The main differences are that the Chinese survey included more women and heterosexual-identifying participants, more students (middle school and bachelor), were younger (current age), but did not differ in the age at which they started to engage with *Yaoi* than the Anglophone participants. Moreover, Chinese participants tended to engage with *Yaoi* for a shorter duration, to be introduced to *Yaoi* by others, spent less time on it, identified less as a *Yaoi* fan, and were less likely to create their own *Yaoi* works or to engage in *Yaoi* cosplay.

2. Yes - there are differences between Chinese 'casual' and 'avid' BL fans.

The main differences are that avid fans are more accepting of same-sex relationships in real life, spent more time on *Yaoi*, engaged more with male-male slash fiction, were more likely to create their own *Yaoi* works and to engage in *Yaoi* cosplay, and had a longer duration of engagement with *Yaoi* than the casual fans. Further, compared with casual fans, avid fans were more likely to discuss *Yaoi* with people online, with friends, and family members, more likely to use *Yaoi* terminology in general conversation and classify people and things as different types of *seme* and *uke*.

3. Yes – there are differences between Chinese BL fans by social outlook. The main differences are that, compared with '*Conservative'* fans, '*Liberal'* fans included more nonheterosexual and more female participants, and were more likely to identify as a *Yaoi* fan. Moreover, '*Liberal'* fans tended to be more concerned about legal issues around copyright and the sexual content of *Yaoi*, and to engage in different kinds of erotic material.

4. Yes – there are differences between Chinese BL fans from Mainland China and from Hong Kong.

The main differences are that participants from Hong Kong tended to be more socially liberal and to include more nonheterosexual female participants than those from Mainland China.

In conclusion, this chapter provides the most comprehensive information available to date on who engages with *Yaoi* in China. Comparisons between Chinese and Anglophone fans, casual and avid fans, 'conservative' and 'liberal' fans, and between fans from Mainland China and Hong Kong, fans demonstrated consistent differences in terms of their identifications and, fanship, and other *Yaoi*-related, activities. Although it is likely that the social and cultural background of fans influences their identifications and activities, it is also likely that there is reciprocal influence on fans through their engagement in *Yaoi* culture, particularly if they are avid fans. Although *Yaoi* materials, particular in China, often perpetuate a heteronormaitve ideology (see Chapter 3), fans may still benefited from engagement with elements that challenge, if only implicitly, hegemonic norms and in this way be encouraged to think critically about the complexities of human sexuality, diverse ways of living and loving, and the implications of censorship.

Addendum

It is noted in this chapter that there is a predominance of Chinese middle school and Bachelor students and that this may have happened because much of the Chinese survey recruitment was via presentations at Chinese universities whereas almost all Anglophone survey recruitment was via the internet. This possible recruitment bias may have unduly affected findings because Chinese student participants are significantly less involved in *Yaoi* culture than are Anglophone student participants. Moreover, Chinese student participants are less involved in *Yaoi* culture than are Chinese non-student participants. In contrast, Anglophone participants do not differ in their involvement in *Yaoi* culture according to student status. All this suggests that our Chinese student sample is distinctive in relation to *Yaoi* and may constitute a bias. An alternative is that our sample is a fair representation of the *Yaoi* fandom in China and that the Chinese fandom is distinct from the Anglophone fandom in having a higher proportion of low-engaged, student fans than does the Anglophone fandom.

Since writing this chapter, I have tested this alternative. My hypothesis is many more participants will be recruited via Chinese universities than via Anglophone universities. To do so, the Anglophone survey was promoted explicitly through Anglophone universities over about a 6 week period from 1st February 2019. My supervisor used her academic contacts, and those of colleagues in the School of Psychology, to request via e-mail that the Anglophone survey be distributed to students. The following university departments participated in the UK: Aston University, Psychology postgraduates; University of Leeds, English students; Manchester Metropolitan University, Art students; University of Huddersfield, Psychology students; Birkbeck University, Psychology students; University of Bath,

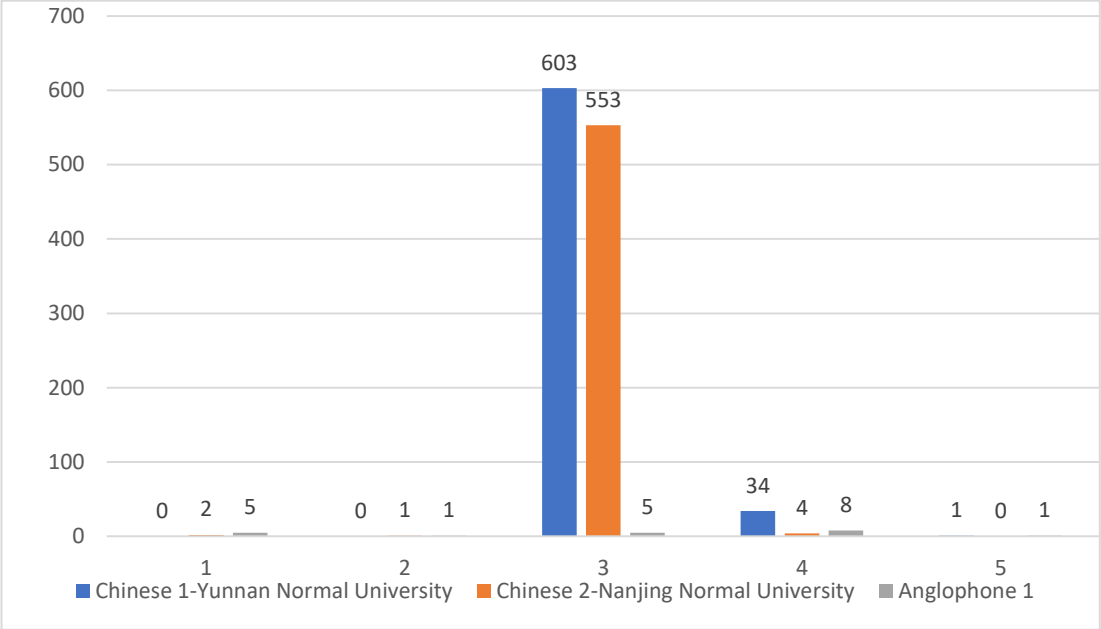
Management students. The following university departments participated in Australia: University of Western Sydney, Psychology students; Deakin University, psychology students; Monash University, Psychology students; Queensland University of Technology, Psychology and Game Design students; University of Wollongong, Sociology students. The following university department participated in New Zealand: Victoria University of Wellington, Psychology students. The following university department participated in the USA: University of Michigan, Medical students;

The Anglophone university participation pattern was contrasted with two example university recruitment periods in China: at Yunnan Normal University during October 2017 and Nanjing Normal University during March 2018. At Yunnan Normal University, I asked lecturers in Literature and Chinese department to provide leaflets to students with a DR-code to the Chinese survey. At Nanjing Normal University, an academic contact distributed a link to the Chinese survey to his psychology study group and asked them to distribute further to other students.

Table 4. 57: Number of participants before, during and after university recruitment periods in China (2 example periods) and Anglophone countries (one period only)

	Before		During	After	
Month	1	2	3	4	5
Chinese 1-Yunnan Normal University	0	0	603	34	1
Chinese 2-Nanjing Normal University	2	1	553	4	0
Anglophone 1	5	1	5	8	1

Figure 4. 14: Number of participants before, during and after university recruitment periods in China (2 example periods) and Anglophone countries (one period only)



As the table and graph show, there are no clear difference before, during, and after the intensive recruitment to the survey via Anglophone universities. Interestingly, four of the six participants in months before university recruitment were French speakers living in France and, presumably, completed the survey due to my presence with my supervisor as invited speakers at a *Yaoi* convention - Y-Con - in Paris. In contrast, the two example university recruitment periods in China produced a huge response with few participants in the two prior months. Hence, hypothesis is upheld: that is, many more participants were recruited via Chinese universities than via Anglophone universities. This suggests that a broad demographic of young people in China is familiar with *Yaoi* and that, in contrast, *Yaoi* is a more specialised interest in Anglophone cultures. It also provides evidence that the differential recruitment strategy for the Chinese and Anglophone surveys were appropriate to the different cultures and did not constitute a recruitment bias.

Chapter 5: Engagement with the sexual content of *Yaoi* in Chinese and Anglophone contexts

Yaoi materials present male-male romantic and sexual relationships. Recently, Chinese authorities have taken an increasingly antipathetic position towards homosexuality, and as a result also *Yaoi,* while bestowing a high value on traditional family values. For example, the China Television Derma Production Industry Association issued the General Rules for the Contents of Television Series on 31st December 2015 which prohibited the portrayal of non-heterosexuality or 'immorality' including homosexuality, bisexuality, transgender, extramarital relationships, wife swapping, and other activities associated with sexual liberty. As a result, in 2016, the online *Yaoi* serial 'Addicted' has been banned, and many other online *Yaoi* serials have faced extremely harsh examination and been stopped from release.

In China all formal publications are required to be reviewed and registered by the related government department and to receive a permit before publication. Thus, most self-published material – as most *Yaoi* - is illegal in China. *Yaoi* materials often involve explicit sexual content in written and/or visual form. In Chinese society, officially, authorities do not allow materials with sexual contents and the position is that any sexually-related content is equivalent to 'pornography', except where it is considered to be high literature or classical arts. In western contexts, 'softer' forms of sexual material appear much more acceptable. According to the Oxford dictionary, the World Encyclopaedia indicates that 'pornography' explicitly presents erotic behaviour which intentionally stimulates sexual arousal and involves demeaning activity (Philip, 2014). Moreover, some forms of feminism, (e.g., MacKinnon & Dworkin. 1997) emphasize the ways in which pornography relates scenarios of

abuse, exploitation, objectification, and degradation. Further, in the UK and US the legal regulation of sexual material focuses predominantly on the extreme forms such as child pornography (Cane & Conaghan, 2009).

In the Chinese context, almost all sexual description or representation in *Yaoi* could be identified as pornographic. Hence, *Yaoi* materials are vulnerable when authorities implement online 'clean-ups' during which website owners or the managers of network platforms are instructed to delete problematic materials. That is, official notices regarding online checking and clearing are issued which are passed on by network platforms to their users requesting that users delete or lock relevant content. More serious online checking tend to occur throughout the summer and winter school holidays and proceeding important national events.

Although individuals and the media face severe online checking, online sexual materials never completely disappear. This is partly due to the sheer mass of online contents. However, users have also developed strategies to dodge online checking. Although some manual checking is conducted, the basic approach of Chinese online checking is automated search for 'sensitive' words related to sexual description or other issues deemed problematic. Hence, one main technique is for users to employ homophones of sexual-related words. Homophones are common in Chinese and individual homophones can re-combined into new phrases. The new phrase may be in literal form meaningless or nonsense - just some mispronounced characters using abbreviation based on the Chinese phonetic alphabet - .but has its own special meaning in specific contexts. However, although alternative words have been developed, they are quickly added to the checking system. So some authors directly use images in order to avoid word checking when they want to refer to sexual acts in their fiction.

To insure passing the checking, some authors not only use image version to carry on their fiction, also released it in opposite directions. Another strategy is for authors to post their fiction to different network platforms, such as AO3 or weibo, and only leave the link in LOFTER. LOFTER is a Chinese social network website and microblogging which is similar to Tumblr, maintains many essential yaoi fan communities. Authors can release fiction, mangas, drawings or any formats and kinds of works. But LOFTER has very rigorous rules for sexual contents. So that authors avoid to leaving their fiction directly by words on the website which maintain serious contents checking.

Chinese *Yaoi* authors and audience have enjoyed a certain complacency in being able, in the main, to manage online checking for sexual contents. However, *Yaoi* material has been subject to criticism by researchers. For example, Wang (2017) suggests that *Yaoi* culture sneers at and parodies the mainstream too much, Zheng (2017) is concerned that the culture may have a bad influence on young people's sexual identity and views about gender, and Wang (2010) criticizes the unrealistic and pornographic sexual contents. Chinese mainstream media has a negative attitude toward Japanese ACG culture in general. The basic assumption in Chinese society that sexual contents are harmful and immoral has placed the Chinese fandom in a risky situation. Between 2011 and 2017 there were five cases of *Yaoi* authors being arrested for spreading pornographic materials online with unregistered and unapproved publications. A Chinese sexuality scholar - Professor Yinhe Li – who supported such authors and was critical of the limits placed on freedom of expression on Weibo (a Chinese social media platform, similar to twitter) was banned from post anything online for months. Most recently, April 2018, the official regulation account of Sina Weibo announced that Weibo would eliminate all *Yaoi*

manga, fiction, and other sexual materials related to homosexuality, with tags like "fu (腐)", "ji (基)", "danmei (耽美)", "benzi (本子)", and "LGBT". This lead to more than one hundred accounts being locked and an uncountable number of post being deleted (Xingzhou net, 2018).

As can be seen from this short introduction to the situation vis-à-vis *Yaoi* as a form of sexual material in Chinese and Anglophone context the cultural context and associated risks are quite different.

Method

Described here are differences to the method as provided in Chapter 4. Additional survey data was collected after the analysis of data presented in Chapter 4 in which the Chinese survey N=1498 (here, N=1922) and the Anglophone survey N=1707 (here, N=1715) with data audit point 31st January 2018.

Survey Participant Additional Recruitment

Data analysed in this chapter were collected until 10th September 2018. Both online surveys remained open throughout the research and, in total, paper copies of the Chinese survey were competed and transferred to the online version by the researcher. The additional Chinese data collected between 31st January and 10th September 2018 were secured by providing the link to the Chinese survey to further contacts in China - Professor. Liu (Dongbei University of Finance and Economics), Professor Fan (Henan University) and Dr Xu (Nanjing Normal University)- who kindly promoted the survey to their students. The Anglophone survey was not actively advertised during this latest period and the additional participants presumably found the link through already-exiting channels

Survey Data Cleaning

Data in each version of the survey (i.e., Sinophone and Anglophone) were cleaned using the same procedure as described in Chapter 4. No new Sinophone survey participants were excluded because their response to question *What is your nationality?* A further 52 Sinophone participants were excluded because their responses suggested that they do not engage with *Yaoi*. Three criteria were used to exclude these participants. Excluded participants stated: (a) that they did not engage with *Yaoi* in response to the question *At what age did you start to engage with BL?*; (b) selected '*Not at all*' to question *How intensely are you a BL fan?* and (c) selected no formats, specific elements, story styles, or character types they liked.

Specific new Chinese data was recoded 'missing data' for the following reasons: (a) when participants responded to question *What is your age in years?* with a symbol (e.g., / or ~) (N=1); (b) when (included) participants responded to question *At what age did you start to engage with BL?* with a statement that they did not engage with *Yaoi* or that they did not know or remember, and they provided answers as 'middle school' or 'high school' (N=13); and (c) when participants responded to question *At what age did you start to engage with BL?* with an age older than their response to the question *What is your age in years?*, the answer to *At what age did you start to engage with BL?* was coded 'missing data' (N=1). As described in Chapter 4, these latter two questions were used to create a new variable: *Duration of Engagement*. Thus, 'missing data' for *Duration of Engagement* included the participants who did not provide a current age and/or did not provide an acceptable starting age of engagement with *Yaoi* (N=23).

All ten new Anglophone participants were included and all completed the survey completely and without the need to code for 'missing data'.

For the final data included in this chapter, the Chinese survey N=1922 and the Anglophone survey N=1715 (including only participants who noted their first language to be English in order to describe a properly cultural *Anglophone* demographic). In total, the nationalities given in the Chinese survey are: Chinese (N=1883), Hong Kongese (N=38), and Taiwanese (N=1). In total, country of current residence given in the Chinese survey are: Mainland China (N=1697, including Macau N=4]), Hong Kong (N=198), Taiwan (N=2), UK (N=12), United States (N=5), Japan (N=3), Canada (N=2), Netherlands (N=1), Australia (N=1), and Germany (N=1).

The nationalities given in the Anglophone survey are: USA (N=774), UK (N=331), Australian (N=73), New Zealand (N=12), Canadian (N=64), German (N=9), Italian (N=3), Polish (N=3), Portuguese (N=3), Ukraine (N=2), Chinese (N=26, including Taiwanese N=2), Filipina (N=26), Hmong (N=2), Indian (N=5), Indonesian (N=3), Korean (N=10), Malaysian (N=11), Mexican (N=8), Puerto Rican (N=4), Singaporean (N=25), South African (N=3), Vietnamese (N=12), Thai (N=2) and N=1 for multiple other nationalities. Country of current residence given in the Anglophone survey are: USA (N=1109), UK (N=333), Australia (N=96), Canada (N=83), New Zealand (N=14), India (N=2), Italy (N=3), Japan (N=9), Malaysia (N=7), Philippines (N=20), Singapore (N=25), South Africa (N=3), United Arab Emirates (N=2) and N=1 for multiple other countries.

Creation of Three New Variables

At the outset, three new variables were created. First, as in Chapters 3 and 4, responses to *What is your sexual orientation?* were recoded to two categories – '*Heterosexual'* and '*Nonheterosexual'* – the latter including responses *Bisexual*, *Homosexual/lesbian/gay*, *Not sure*, and *Other* (Chinese survey) and *Bisexual*,

Homosexual/lesbian/gay, Polysexual/Pansexual, Not sure, and Other (Anglophone survey).This procedure helps manage the fact that option '*Polysexual/Pansexual'* was included only in the Anglophone survey. Second, each participant response to *At what age did you start to engage with BL?* was subtracted from their response to *What is your age in years?* to create new variable *Duration of Engagement*. Third, as reported in Chapter 4, response frequency and cumulative percentage to the question *How intensely are you a BL fan?* suggests the validity of dividing participants meaningfully into two groups: '*casual'* fans ('*not at all'*, '*a bit'*, '*quite'*) and '*avid'* fans ('*a lot'*, '*extremely'*). Hence, a new, second-order, variable *Fandom Intensity* was created consisting of the two groups – '*casual'* and '*avid'* fans - from responses to the question *How intensely are you a BL fan?* There are no changes to report with regard to data in these respects as described in Chapter 4.

Survey Analysis

Given the focus in this chapter on 'sexual content', only certain survey questions were selected for analysis on the rationale that these items might inform understanding of who engages with *Yaoi* in China. Hence, the following 16 questions were selected from the 43-question surveys.

Demographics section

- *What is your nationality?* (free-form response)
- *What is your gender? ('Male', 'Female' and 'Other',* coded as 1 to 3)
    - *If you selected Other, please specify* (free-form response)
- *What is your sexual orientation?* ('*Bisexual'*, '*Homosexual/lesbian/gay', 'Polysexual/Pansexual'* [Anglophone only],*'Not sure', and 'Other')*
    - *If you selected Other, please specify* (free-form response)
    - Recoded '*Heterosexual'* and '*Nonheterosexual'*, coded as 1 and 2)

- *How intensely are you a BL fan? (*5-point likert scale, '*Not at all', 'A bit', 'Quite', 'A lot'* '*Extensively',* coded as 1 to 5)

Feeling about BL section (the first three, in this chapter, referred to as 'storylines')

- *I like BL stories that are mostly romance and no sex.* (5-point likert scale, *'Never', 'Sometimes, 'Often', 'Very Often', 'Extensively',* coded as 1 to 5)
- *I like BL stories with 'implicit relationships' (i.e., not clear if the seme and uke are lovers or just friends).*(5-point likert scale, *'Never', 'Sometimes, 'Often', 'Very Often', 'Extensively',* coded as 1 to 5).
- I like BL stories with explicit sex.(5-point likert scale, '*Never', 'Sometimes, 'Often', 'Very Often', 'Extensively*', coded as 1 to 5).
- *Which 'incestual' sexual relationships do you particularly enjoy in BL? (Select all that apply or leave blank if you don't particularly enjoy incestual sexual relationships in BL):*
    - *Father/son (seme/uke) - Type of incestual sexual relationship: blood, adoptive, step, in-law;*
    - *Son/father (seme/uke) - Type of incestual sexual relationship: blood, adoptive, step, in-law;*
    - *Brothers - Type of incestual sexual relationship: blood, adoptive, step, in-law;*
    - *Uncle/nephew (seme/uke) - Type of incestual sexual relationship: blood, adoptive, step, in-law;*
    - *Nephew/uncle (seme/uke) - Type of incestual sexual relationship: blood, adoptive, step, in-law.*
- *Which 'risque' sexual content do you particularly enjoy in BL?*

    - *Animal-animal sex (including humanoid beings with animal features), BDSM, Binding, Group sex, Human-animal sex (including humanoid beings with animal features), Human-mechanoid sex (e.g., robot and android), Mechanoid-mechanoid sex, Rape, Role play sex, Sex toys, Tentacle sex, Underage sex (both partners underage), Underage sex (one underage and one older partner), None of the above, Other.*
    - *If you selected Other, please specify* (free-form response)
- *To what extent do you worry about legal issues in relation to the sexual content of BL?* (5-point likert scale, *'Never', 'Sometimes, 'Often', 'Very Often', 'Extensively',* coded as 1 to 5).
    - *I'd be grateful if you'd explain your answer to me* (free-form response)

Other Erotic Materials section

- *How frequently do you engage with male-male slash fiction?* (5-point likert scale, *'Never', 'Sometimes, 'Often', 'Very Often', 'Extensively',* coded as 1 to 5)
- *How frequently do you engage with female-female slash fiction?* (5-point likert scale, *'Never', 'Sometimes, 'Often', 'Very Often', 'Extensively',* coded as 1 to 5)
- *How frequently do you engage with heterosexual erotic materials (e.g., slash fiction, other fictions, videos, photographs, manga, anime)?* (5-point likert scale, *'Never', 'Sometimes, 'Often', 'Very Often', 'Extensively',* coded as 1 to 5)
- *How frequently do you engage with non-slash female-female erotic materials (e.g., fictions, videos, photographs, manga, anime)?* (5-point likert scale, *'Never', 'Sometimes, 'Often', 'Very Often', 'Extensively',* coded as 1 to 5)

- *How frequently do you engage with non-BL/non-slash male-male erotic materials probably designed for gay men (e.g., fictions, videos, photographs, manga, anime)?* (5-point likert scale, *'Never', 'Sometimes, 'Often', 'Very Often', 'Extensively'*, coded as 1 to 5)
- *How frequently do you engage with non-BL/non-slash BDSM materials (e.g., fictions, videos, photographs, manga, anime)?* (5-point likert scale, *'Never', 'Sometimes, 'Often', 'Very Often', 'Extensively',* coded as 1 to 5).

Analysing a restricted number of survey questions selected for theoretical relevance to understand who engages with *Yaoi* helps minimise Type I errors (false positives) in the statistical analysis. To minimise Type I errors further, the demanding significance level of $p < .001$ was set. Categorical Principle Component Analysis (CATPCA) was used to inspect the underlying structure in the form of 'components' of the Chinese and Anglophone data in response to the multiple answer questions. CATPCA is a data reduction technique used when the data is categorical (i.e., ordinal or nominal), or variables of mixed measurement (i.e., ordinal, nominal, or numeric), and does not assume a linear relationship between data (Manisera et al., 2010), The Chi-Square test of independence was used to determine if two categorical variables are associated with one another for each observational unit. Because the likert scale response data are not normally distributed, the non-parametric test Mann-Whitney U was used to test for differences in median between and within groups.

Analysis

Statistical analyses were conducted and, where relevant, the content of free-form response reported to address the following six research questions:

1. Research question 1: Risqué sexual content

a) Which risqué sexual content do Chinese and Anglophone participants particularly enjoy in BL and does this differ between cultures?

b) Are there sub-demographics in Chinese and in Anglophone culture who enjoy particular forms of risqué sexual content in BL and do these forms relate also to enjoyment of particular storylines and concern with legal issues?

2. Research question 2: 'Incestual' sexual relationships

a) Which 'incestual' sexual relationships do Chinese and Anglophone participants particularly enjoy in BL and does this differ between cultures?

b) Are there sub-demographics in Chinese and in Anglophone culture who enjoy particular forms of 'incestual' sexual relationships in BLdo these forms relate also to enjoyment of particular storylines and concern with legal issues?

3. Research question 3: Other erotic materials

a) What other erotic materials do Chinese and Anglophone participants engage with and does this differ between cultures?

b) Are there sub-demographics in Chinese and Anglophone culture who engage with particular forms of other erotic materials do these forms relate also to enjoyment of particular storylines and concern with legal issues?

A summary table of key results is provided at the beginning of the discussion section related to each research question. Where relevant, summary tables list: (a) the differences in the component structures of the CATPCA for the Chinese and Anglophone data, and (b) the effect size of the contrasts tested - Cramer's V (Chi-Square), Pearson's r (Mann-Whitney) - where a trivial effect size is <0.1, a small

effect size is 0.1≤ 0.3, a medium effect size is 0.3≤0.5, and large effect size is 0.5≤ (Cohen, 1988).

Research question 1a: Which 'risqué' sexual content do Chinese and Anglophone participants particularly enjoy in BL and does this differ between cultures?

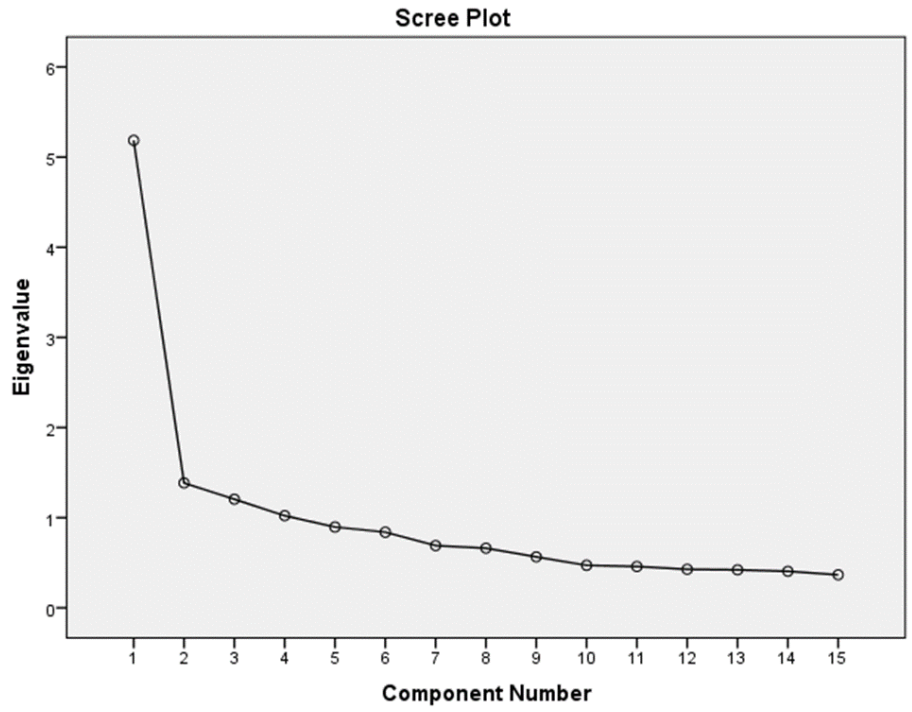
Analysed in this section is the multiple response question: *Which 'risqué' sexual content do you particular enjoy in BL?* Participants were able to select as many response option as they wanted. Hence, each option was coded as individual binary-nominal type question (1=no, 2=yes). The 15 provided responses were: animal-animal sex (including humanoid beings with animal features); BDSM; binding; group sex; human-animal sex (including humanoid beings with animal features); human-mechanoid sex (e.g., robot and android); mechanoid-mechanoid sex; rape; role play sex; sex toys; tentacle sex; underage sex (both partners underage); underage sex (one underage and one older partner); none of the above (plus free-form response); other (plus free-form response). Participants indicating 'other' were invited to provide a free-text explanation of their response. Twenty-four of the Chinese participants indicating 'other' explained that they did not like the risqué sexual contents and preferred the normal and warm sexual relationship. Nine of the Anglophone participants indicating 'other' explained that preferred respectful, normal and sweet sexual relationship. Hence, all of these responses were recoded 'none of the above.'

To perform CATPCA, the SPSS 21.0 Categorises Module has been applied. This reduces a data set - consisting of many variables with complicated correlational patterns - to a smaller number of relatively uncorrelated components each of which consists of relatively highly inter-correlated variables. Deciding the most meaningful number of components involves consideration of 'eigenvalue' which indicate the

amount by which a component has been stretched in a geometrical transformation. The 'elbow' point of the scree plot (eigenvalue by component) and 'percentage variance accounted for' (PVAF) are the most important indictors of fit for the principle components (i.e., most meaningful reduction of the data set with regard to semi-independent inter-correlations of variables) (Linting et. al., 2007; Linting & Van der Kooij, 2012). CATPCA was undertaken on the Chinese and Anglophone responses to *Which 'risqué' sexual content do you particular enjoy in BL?*

CATPCA of the 'risqué' sexual content Chinese data The scree plot of the Chinese data demonstrate that eigenvalues start to level-off (i.e.., the 'elbow') after the second component (Figure 1).

Figure 5. 1: Scree plot of Chinese responses to Which 'risqué' sexual content do you particular enjoy in BL?



Although it is important to inspect the scree plot, Kaiser's criterion is the most common technique in deciding the number of meaningful components and it recommends retaining all with an eigenvalue above 1. Field (2006) indicates that the

Kaiser criterion is reliable when simple size above N=250 and the Chinese sample is N=1922. This means that the decision was made to retain components 1-4. (Component 5 has an eigenvalue of .897).

The total PVAF across the four components account for 58.65% of total variance in response of the Chinese participants to *Which 'risqué' sexual content do you particular enjoy in BL?* (Table 1). This is close to the 60% of explained variance suggested for a 'good' factor analysis by Hair et. al (2013). Unrotated, component 1 accounts for the largest PVAF at 34.57%, with components 2-4 accounting respectively for 9.23%, 8.03%, and 6.81%. Cronbach's alpha is a measure of internal consistency, with a coefficient of .70 or higher considered acceptable in the social sciences. So, unrotated, only component 1 has good internal consistency.

Table 5. 1: Variance accounted for in the four components retained in the Chinese responses to Which 'risqué' sexual content do you particular enjoy in BL?

	Unrotated solution			Rotated solution[a]		
Component	Cronbach's Alpha	Eigenvalue	PVAF	Cronbach's Alpha	Eigenvalue	PVAF
1	.865	5.186	34.57	.844	3.767	25.12
2	.298	1.385	9.23	.738	2.123	14.15
3	.182	1.205	8.03	.720	1.840	12.25
4	.023	1.022	6.81	.087	1.069	7.13
Total	.95[b]	8.80	58.65	.95	8.80	58.65

a. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.
b. Total Cronbach's Alpha is based on the total Eigenvalue.

Without changing fit, an orthogonal, varimax rotation can produce the most structurally-simple solution in which each variable loads as highly as possible on only one component. A simplified solution was, indeed, produced through rotation for the Chinese data. In the rotated solution: (i) all four components retain an eigenvalue above 1; (ii) PVAF is redistributed in such a way as to maintain the strength of component 1 while improving that of the three smaller components:

25.12%, 14.15%, 12.25% and 7.13% respectively, and; (iii) Cronbach's Alpha is now above .7 for components 1, 2, and 3 indicating that all three now have an acceptable level of internal consistency. In the rotated solution, component 4 still has very low internal consistency but, despite this, the variable loadings, as described below, allow component 4 to be interpreted meaningfully.

Loading of each variable on each component is indicated by the Pearson correlation, the value of which ranges between -1 and 1 (Linting et. al., 2007; Linting & Van der Kooij, 2012). The loadings of each variable on the rotated components is shown in Table 2. In this context, variable 'none' can be interpreted as 'no particular enjoyment of risqué content in BL'.

Table 5. 2: Rotated component loading from 4-dimensional CATPCA on 15 variables in the Chinese responses to Which 'risqué' sexual content do you particular enjoy in BL?

Variable	1 BDSM Specialist	2 Mechanoid/Animal Sex Specialist	3 Underage Sex Specialist	4 Minority Fetish Specialist
Animal-animal sex	.425	**.506**	.156	.000
BDSM	**.595**	.171	.151	-.075
Binding	**.751**	.052	.161	-.045
Group sex	**.530**	.040	.430	.001
Human-animal sex	.476	**.474**	.128	.062
Human-mechanoid sex	.137	**.826**	.094	.010
Mechanoid-mechanoid sex	.068	**.809**	.154	.006
Rape	**.652**	-.073	.363	.001
Role play sex	**.608**	.248	-.097	.052
Sex toys	**.716**	.185	.144	-.077
Tentacle sex	**.596**	.188	.278	-.027
Underage sex (both)	.110	.220	**.821**	-.025
Underage sex (one)	.232	.142	**.787**	.032
None	**-.637**	-.260	.002	-.368
Other	-.061	.000	.008	**.954**

Note: Highest loading per variable in bold

Components derived from CATPCA are interpretable in light of the variables loading most highly on each. The variables loading most highly on component 1 are:

BDSM, binding, group sex, rape, role play sex, sex toys, tentacle sex, and a negative loading for ‘none’. The thematic similarity of the variables loading on component 1 suggest that it denotes a ‘BDSM Specialist’ enjoyment in risqué sexual content in BL. The variables leading most highly on component 2 are: animal-animal sex, human-animal sex, human-mechanoid sex and mechanoid-mechanoid sex. The thematic similarity of these variables, and high loading of human-animal sex on component 2, lead to the decision to include human-animal sex in component 2 even though it has a very slightly higher loading in component 1, The variable loadings suggest that component 2 strongly denotes a ‘Mechanoid/Animal Sex Specialist’ enjoyment in risqué sexual content in BL The variables loading most highly on component 3 are: underage sex (both) and underage sex (one). This suggests that component 3 strongly denotes an ‘Underage Sex Specialist’ enjoyment in risqué sexual content in BL

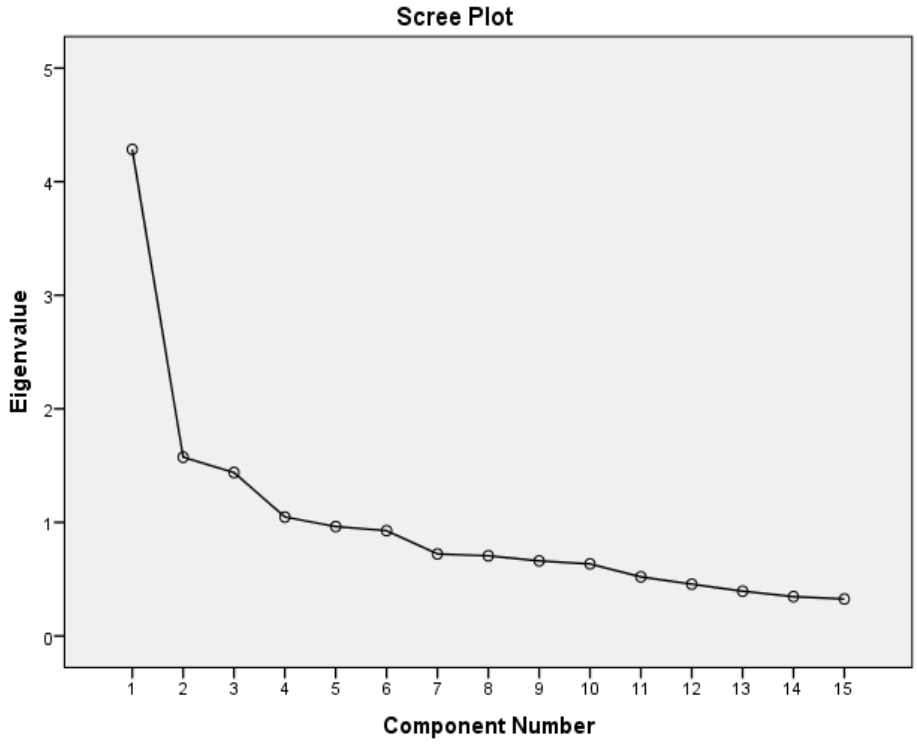
Even though Cronbach’s Alpha (.087) indicates very low internal consistency, the fact that the only variable loading highly – and it loads extremely highly - on component 4 is ‘other,’ makes this component interpretable meaningfully. That is, component 4 is interpretable as denoting an ‘‘Other’ Risqué Sex Specialist’ enjoyment in risqué sexual content in BL, but in ways not covered by the options provided in the survey. Participants indicating ‘other’ were invited to provide a free-text explanation of their response (N=49): depends on the story and how author present the story (N=9), ABO[35] (N=5), aphrodisiacs (N=4), cross

[35]Alpha/Beta/Omega: a fanwork kink trope in which, amongst other characteristics themes, Alphas are dominant and can impregnate Omegas, while Betas are subordinate to Alphas

dressing (N=4), gekokuj[36] (N=4), younger seme and older uke (N=4), special scenario (N=3), uniform play (N=3), group sex with one uke (N=2), human-ghost relationship (N=2), sex during male pregnancy (N=2), special relationship, such as teacher-student, or supervisor and subordinate (N=2), unfaithful relationship (N=2), omorashi[37] (N=1), one character plays both seme and uke role (N=1) and incest (N=1).

CATPCA of 'risqué' sexual content Anglophone data The scree plot of the Anglophone data, like that of the Chinese data, demonstrate that eigenvalues start to level-off (i.e.., the 'elbow') after the second component (Figure 2).

Figure 5. 2: Scree plot of Anglophone responses to Which 'risqué' sexual content do you particular enjoy in BL?



[36] Meaning that the person who is normally in the 'lower' position takes over the superior role, such as a subordinate seme and dominant uke.
[37] Arousal from having a full urinary bladder or a sexual attraction to someone experiencing this feeling.

Although it is important to inspect the scree plot, Kaiser's is the most common technique in deciding the number of meaningful components and it rec criterion ommends retaining all with an eigenvalue above 1. The Kaiser criterion is reliable when simple size above N=250 and the Anglophone sample is N=1713. Hence, as with the Chinese data, the decision was made to retain components 1-4. (Component 5 has an eigenvalue of .963). The total PVAF across the four components account for 55.63% of total variance in response of the Anglophone participants to *Which 'risqué' sexual content do you particular enjoy in BL?* (Table 3). This is a little lower than the Chinese CATPCA, but reasonably close to the 60% of explained variance suggested for a 'good' factor analysis. Unrotated, component 1 accounts for the largest PVAF at 28.56%, with components 2-4 accounting respectively for 10.49%, 9.59%, and 6.98%. Cronbach's alpha indicates that, although four components are retained on the basis of eigenvalue, unrotated only component 1 has good internal consistency.

Table 5. 3: Variance accounted for in the four components retained in the Anglophone responses to Which 'risqué' sexual content do you particular enjoy in BL?

	Unrotated solution			Rotated solution[a]		
Component	Cronbach's Alpha	Eigenvalue	PVAF	Cronbach's Alpha	Eigenvalue	PVAF
1	.821	4.284	28.560	.772	2.935	19.567
2	.391	1.574	10.492	.663	1.870	12.464
3	.327	1.439	9.593	.641	1.856	12.372
4	.048	1.047	6.982	.617	1.684	11.224
Total	.94[b]	8.34	55.63	.94	8.34	55.63

a. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.
b. Total Cronbach's Alpha is based on the total Eigenvalue.

A simplified solution was produced through rotation for the Anglophone data. In the rotated solution: (i) all four components retain an eigenvalue above 1; (ii)

PVAF is redistributed in such a way as to maintain the strength of component 1 while improving that of the three smaller components: 19.57%, 12.46%, 12.37% and 11.22% respectively, and; (iii) Cronbach's Alpha remains above .7 for components 1 and improves to just below .7 for components 2, 3, and 4 indicating reasonable, but not ideal, levels of internal consistency. Despite this, the variable loadings on components 2, 3, and 4, as described below, allow them to be interpreted meaningfully.

The loadings of each variable on the rotated components is shown in Table 4.

Table 5. 4: Rotated component loading from 4-dimensional CATPCA on 15 variables in the Anglophone responses to Which 'risqué' sexual content do you particular enjoy in BL?

Variable	1 BDSM Specialist	2 Animal Sex Specialist	3 Underage Sex Specialist	4 Minority Fetish Specialist
Animal-animal sex	.146	**.805**	.143	.104
BDSM	**.765**	-.017	.066	.083
Binding	**.675**	.052	.071	.105
Group sex	**.472**	-.076	.200	.348
Human-animal sex	.120	**.812**	.217	.121
Human-mechanoid sex	.184	.409	-.024	**.638**
Mechanoid-mechanoid sex	.123	.361	-.028	**.723**
Rape	.299	-.057	**.500**	.251
Role play sex	**.618**	.230	.100	-.024
Sex toys	**.732**	.150	.045	.085
Tentacle sex	.365	.189	.071	**.439**
Underage sex (both)	.110	.210	**.818**	.029
Underage sex (one)	.118	.189	**.855**	-.007
None	**-.640**	-.143	-.227	-.015
Other	-.098	-.201	.136	**.570**

Note: Highest loading per variable in bold

Components derived from CATPCA are interpretable in light of the variables loading most highly on each. The variables loading most highly on component 1 are: BDSM, binding, group sex, role play sex, sex toys, and a negative loading for 'none'. The thematic similarity of the variables loading on component 1 suggest that it denotes a 'BDSM Specialist' enjoyment in risqué sexual content in BL. The

variables leading most highly on component 2 are: animal-animal sex and human-animal sex. This suggest that component 2 strongly denotes an 'Animal Sex Specialist' enjoyment in risqué sexual content in BL. The variables loading most highly on component 3 are: rape, underage sex (both), and underage sex (one). This suggest that component 3 denotes an 'Underage Sex Specialist' enjoyment in risqué sexual content in BL. The variables loading most highly on component 4 are: human-mechanoid sex, mechanoid-mechanoid sex, tentacle sex, and other. This suggests that component 4 denotes a 'Mechanoid Sex & 'Other' Risqué Sex Specialist enjoyment in risqué sexual content in BL.

Participants indicating 'other' were invited to provide a free-text explanation of their response (N=88): 'mild form' rape or SM, such as dubious consent, forced waiting, pet play sex, bondage without violence or strongly against one's will (N=14), other animal and non-human related sex including mythological creatures, aliens, vampires, werewolves or fairies (N=9), depends on the stories or authors (N=8), blood, violence, and gore/guro[38] (N=7), the meaning of 'underage' (N=5), special kind of relationship such as teacher-pupil (N=5), liking almost everything (N=4), special scenario such as public sex (N=4), food play sex (N=3), seme becoming an uke (N=3), ABO (N=2), aphrodisiacs (N=2), feet (N=2), fetish (N=2), first time (N=2), fisting (N=2), male pregnancy (N=2), arse pissing (N=1), dirty talk (N=1), fellatio (N=1), gender bending (N=1), humiliation (N=1), laboratory-based sex (N=1), masturbation (N=1), omorashi (N=1), sex in water (N=1), switching (N=1), triangular relationship (N=1) and voyeurism (N=1).

[38] Eroticism and the grotesque

Discussion 1a: Which 'risqué' sexual content do Chinese and Anglophone participants particularly enjoy in BL and does this differ between cultures?

There is, possibly, surprising similarity between the Chinese and Anglophone CATPCA given that the populations are so distinct. The shaded boxes in table 5 indicate differences in the component structure.

Table 5. 5: Comparison of component structure of Chinese and Anglophone 'risqué' sexual content CATPCAs

Variable	Chinese	Anglo	Chinese	Anglo	Chinese	Anglo	Chinese	Anglo
	1 BDSM Specialist	1 BDSM Specialist	2 Mechanoid/Animal Sex Specialist	2 Animal Sex Specialist	3 Underage Sex Specialist	3 Underage Sex Specialist	4 Minority Fetish Specialist	4 Minority Fetish Specialist
Animal-animal sex	.425	.146	**.506**	**.805**	.156	.143	.000	.104
BDSM	**.595**	**.765**	.171	-.017	.151	.066	-.075	.083
Binding	**.751**	**.675**	.052	.052	.161	.071	-.045	.105
Group sex	**.530**	**.472**	.040	-.076	.430	.200	.001	.348
Human-animal sex	.476	.120	**.474**	**.812**	.128	.217	.062	.121
Human-mechanoid sex	.137	.184	**.826**	.409	.094	-.024	.010	**.638**
Mechanoid-mechanoid sex	.068	.123	**.809**	.361	.154	-.028	.006	**.723**
Rape	**.652**	.299	-.073	-.057	.363	**.500**	.001	.251
Role play sex	**.608**	**.618**	.248	.230	-.097	.100	.052	-.024
Sex toys	**.716**	**.732**	.185	.150	.144	.045	-.077	.085
Tentacle sex	**.596**	.365	.188	.189	.278	.071	-.027	**.439**
Underage sex (both)	.110	.110	.220	.210	**.821**	**.818**	-.025	.029
Underage sex (one)	.232	.118	.142	.189	**.787**	**.855**	.032	-.007
None	**-.637**	**-.640**	-.260	-.143	.002	-.227	-.368	-.015
Other	-.061	-.098	.000	-.201	.008	.136	**.954**	**.570**

For both Chinese and Anglophone participants, BDSM was the most popular risqué sexual content cluster. The BDSM Specialist component includes the widest range of elements for risqué sex from the playful, such as ‘sex toys’ to the relatively hardcore, such as ‘binding’. BDSM themes are quite common in *Yaoi* and tend to be presented in romantic ways and to include humour (Arunrangsiwed, Ounpipat, & Cheachainart, 2018). An example is the very popular manga *Yarichin Bitch Club* by Tanaka Ogeretsu which has been adapted into a three-episode OVA animation. This portrays sex toys, role play, group sex, ‘dubious consent’ activities, and binding, while being narrated in funny way, without serious, extreme or hardcore connotations.

‘Animal sex’ was the second most popular cluster for both Chinese and Anglophone participants, although with differences that are discussed in detail below, Animal elements are another very common theme in *Yaoi* and includes reference to cosplay-style animal ears or tails, but also mythological-related or the supernatural storylines and characters. Animal elements function to increase the cuteness and lovability of characters, or their strength of passion, and in these ways is very distinct from portrayal of real sexual acts between humans and animals which is considered extreme, and illegal, pornography in some jurisdictions including the UK (Madill, 2015).

Underage Sex Specialists was the third popular component for both groups, although social assumption regarding the definition of ‘underage sex’ are likely different t between Chinese and Anglophone participants. Again, ‘underage’ characters in *Yaoi* must be considered very distinct from real child pornography in

that the traditions of *Yaoi* are to exaggerate the youth and cuteness of personages to inspire love and feeling of protection.

Although death penalty for rape underage girl exists in Chinese Criminal Law for long time, the most execution cases involved in murder rather than only sexual criminal no matter whether the age and the number of victims. A recent news mentioned that the Henan High Court approved execution for a serious sexual criminal Zhao Zhiyong who raped 25 female victims, all under 18 years old and 14 of them were under 14 years old (Yan, 2019). Further, there were other two cases about multiple underage girls being raped but not murdered which the Chinese Highest Court approved the death penalty in past five years. That demonstrates Chinese authority increasingly seriously treats sexual criminal, especially involving in underage victims. This can be a difficult mix when sexual elements are added to a story and the fandom is very split on the acceptability of such material (Madill, 2015; Zanghellini, 2009).

Finally, the fourth component, for each group was the Minority Fetish Specialist. This component consist of a variety of discrete, uncommon preferences with little consistency other than that they are minority interests which might be considered unusual enough to merit the description ‘fetish’ as in everyday, non-medicalised usage.

Having considered the similarities between the risqué sexual content between the two groups, the following paragraphs will discuss the differences.

Rape is a relatively common, but controversial, theme in *Yaoi*, presented through physical and/or psychological coercion and unclear consent. *Yaoi* has been criticised both by fans and researchers for its apparent portrayal of rape (Wang, 2016) while others have argued that rape is explored in these materials clearly as a

sexual fantasy and with little or no real-world implication (Fermin, 2010; Jones, 2003; McLelland, 2007). Original Japanese 'no climax, no resolution, no meaning' manga essentially are very short stories in which unclear, or partial, consent can be used to progress the narrative. However, even in long *Yaoi* novels which are more characteristic of Chinese danmei, unclear consent or rape is not uncommon and can function to sexualise the relationship between characters given that the male protagonists are often assumed to be straight.

Rape is understood and legislated differently across the world. According to the World Health Organization (2002) and in UK law, rape is a type of sexual assault in which an offense is committed through performing sexual intercourse or other forms of sexual penetration without the consent of the other person. The act may be carried out by physical force, other form of coercion, and/or as an abuse, and the victim may be unconscious, incapacitated, and/or be unable to offer legitimate consent due to intellectual disability or by being below the legal age of consent (i.e., statutory rape). In Anglophone countries such as Australia, Candia, UK, and USA the age of consent varies from 16 to 18 years old and can vary according to whether the act is homosexual or heterosexual. For example, in the UK the age of consent for men-with-men has been lowered from 21 years to 18 years and then, more recently, brought into line with the heterosexual age of consent of 16 years but the law is still mute on female-female sex. In Candia, there is the unequal age of consent for hetero- and homosexual acts, with the age of consent for homosexual anal sex eighteen years (Canada Criminal Code (R.S.C., 1985, c. C-46, http://sexualrightsdatabase.org/static/country-398.html). In most states of Australia, the age of consent is consistent, but Queensland requires that men having sex with

men must be older than 18 years (https://aifs.gov.au/cfca/publications/age-consent-laws).

In most East Asian areas, the age of consent is slightly younger but does vary also within country: in Japan (https://www.quora.com/Why-is-the-age-of-consent-so-low-in-Japan) and South Korea it is 13 years old (elaw.klri.re.kr); Mainland China 14 years old, Hong Kong (Human rights Report: China, 2009) and Taiwan 16 years old (ROC Criminal Law, Article 227, 227–1 229–1). In Japan and China, the law is mute on same sex activity. However, in China, while child molestation has been set into criminal law to protect underage girls and boys, the more serious crime of sexual *assault* – involving sexual intercourse – is only applicable to girls (Gong & Li, 2013).

The fact that 'rape' appears in Chinese 'BDSM Specialist' but in Anglophone 'Underage Sex Specialist' is interpretable in terms of cultural differences. Whereas in both Anglophone countries and the Chinese Mainland, statutory rape is legislated against, it appears less recognized in China by offenders or victims and their families and is relevant only to girls. Recent reports state that there were 3174 child victims of sexual assault (associated with only 1779 cases) between 2013-17 (Protection of Girls Organization, 2018; Xu, 2019). The offenders tend to be acquaintances, commit sexual assaults repeatedly, and families are likely to make settlement in private: the latter accounting for the relatively low number of case recorded. Thus, although sexual assault on children below the age of consent is being given increasing attention in China, the connection between underage sex and rape – particularly of boys - is not strong in the public mind.

Traditionally, animism plays a fundamental role in the cultural logic of East Asia, including China, Japan and Korea. This involves the idea that, not only

animals, but objects and ‘things’ can develop, or have human-like qualities and aspirations. For example, according Chinese and Japanese myths, legends, and fairy tales, no matter who - a human, an animal, a tree, or a stone - becoming a god is a process of learning and practice (Birrell,1993). Even monsters, spirits, and other supernatural beings can be evil, kind, and/or divine. This basic logic influences how animals, objects, and even the natural environments is viewed in East Asia (Wolfram, 2003).

Although mechanoids may seem very different from natural beings, in actual manga and danmei stories, mechanoid characters are more like super-smart and knowledgeable monsters, sharing features such as long life and, starting from innocent and naive traits and unfamiliar with human society, but with great capacity to learn. Moreover, in most Chinese and Japanese stories, the premise for involving artificial intelligence (AI) can be very simple. For example, there are many fan fictions about a real young Chinese actor, whose family name ‘仝’ can be separated into two characters - 人工- meaning ‘human artificial’ in which he is portrayed as an AI robot. Further, when AlphaGo (a computer programme) played a five-game match against Lee Sedol (the best human player), fans created arts in which AlphaGo immediately fell in love with Lee. In contrast, most Anglophone stories associated with mechanoids have a much more complex premise and storyline.

The difference might be explained by the relatively short history of science fiction in China. Science fiction developed in Anglophone countries (Arthur, 1976; Matthew, 2001), with the first AI character traced back to Samuel Butler’s Erewhon in 1872 (Gunn, 1988). Although Chinese science fiction has achieved a respectable reputation, until recently the Chinese audience has been unfamiliar with its internal logic and genre conventions. Although some human-like crafts, like puppets or dolls,

can become animate and intelligent in Chinese and Japanese folk tales, the characters can more properly be considered ‘alive’ rather than AI. Hence, it is the analogy between sprints or monsters and AI which is, possibly, is the easiest way to present mechanoid characters to a Chinese audience.

The existence of the Anglophone ‘Animal Sex Specialist’ is interesting to consider. In Christian cultures, the boundary between god, human, animals, and objects appears to be much more definite that in East Asia. This may be related to the way in which most Anglophone countries have well established laws recognising animals as a special category warranting protection (Shapiro, 1990). In fact, animal rights are a basic ethical principle in Anglophone countries with a long legal history with sophisticated philosophical foundations (Vallentyne, 2005). Non-human humanitarianism has been paid less attention in Sinophone cultures, and Chinese, Japanese and Korean authorities have few regulations with regard to livestock and pets, and only rare animals are protected from poaching and smuggling (Trent, Edwards, Felt, & O’Meara, 2005).

In particular, human-animal sex is considered strictly taboo in Christianity (Aggrawal, 2009) and this has infused Anglophone cultures. Sexual contact with animals has been illegal since 1558 in England and Wales and is illegal and/or defined as extreme pornography in most states of America, Australia (Legislation relating to pornography in Australia), Canada (Criminal Code, Section 160), New Zealand (Crimes Act 1961), and the UK (Sexual Offences Act 2003). In contrast, animal sex is unregulated in Chinese society and, even though historical records exist, such activities, or their discussion, would not appear in any mainstream formal media. Animal-related sex is common in *Yaoi* stories, but is rarely portrayed as intercourse with a ‘real’ animal. More usually the characters presents with only some

animal features, or to morph between human and animal form. However, the taboo and crime of zoophilia might still be implicated for an Anglophone audience.

Impacted by cultural context, in most Chinese, Japanese and Korean *Yaoi*, the boundary between human and non-human – including animals, spirits, monsters and 'mechanoids' - is relatively flexible and innocuous. On the other hand, the strict boundary between the human and animal in Anglophone cultures, and the long history of science fiction, may account for the distinction found in the Anglophone data between animal sex as a 'major specialism' and mechanoid sex as a 'minority fetish'.

Tentacle sex commonly appeared in Japanese erotic arts, the Dream of the Fisherman's Wife is the most famous image which is a women having sex with two octopus in 1814 (Uhlenbeck, Margarita, Ellis, & Amy, 2005). Danielle Talerico suggested the image highly associated with the famous story of Princess Tamatori who stolen a pearl from the dragon god of the sea who can transfer into human appearance (Miller, 2004). The dragon god and his army including octopus chased Tamatrori and she cuts open her won breast to expel the army by her blood and hidden the pearl inside then escapes but dies soon after arriving at the land. Regarding the fundamental role of animism in Japanese culture, the octopus less be considered as unconscious animal by which had conversation between two octopus and between the women and octopus. And the tentacles would not be considered as a separated part from the octopus and be identified as the alternative part of genital body part rather than a non-living object. Although there is rare directly sexual contents in Chinese myth or tales, the animism ideology is still quite common in general perceiving about which animal or objects might engage in sex with a human. Regarding the usual scene presenting tentacle sex in Chinese yaoi story, the

protagonist as trees, lianas, or octopus are able to control or manipulate the tentacles. The tentacles tended to be interpreted as a kinds of sex toys or alternative of penis, rather than any independent objects. In addition, the trees, lianas, octopus or any other creatures with tentacles would be taken into account as a human like creature.

For Anglophone yaoi fans, tentacles plays very different roles, which is more like a non-living object and more similar to mechanoid rather than a living creature. Clearly, regarding the firm and clear boundary between human and non-human characters in Anglophone context, any creatures with tentacles is difficulty to be considered as a human or any human-like creature and the tentacles more like a non-living parts or non-genital body parts. Statistically, the tentacles and mechanoid sex has been grouped together, as to the free response from participants who endorsed tentacles and mechanoid sex, Anglophone participants reported that also preferred on male pregnancy, public sex, ABO, aphrodisiacs, pet play, and particularly non-human characters including alien, fully animals, demon, and other myth creatures. In terms of the preference in other non-human characters of fetish group participants, Anglophone participants possibly understand the object, like mechanoid, tentacles or aliens, myth creatures in similar ways, which clearly is not human even showing personality or humanity in stories.

Research question 1b: Are there sub-demographics in Chinese and in Anglophone culture who enjoy particular forms of risqué sexual content in BL and do these forms relate also to enjoyment of particular storylines and concern with legal issues?

In order to explore if a sub-demographic is associated with each risqué' sexual content CATPCA component, participants were identified who had endorsed **all** of the highest loading, 'key' variables on each of the components as shown in table 6.

Where more than three variables are highly endorsed, only the top three variables were selected.

Table 5. 6: Key variables in order of importance for each 'risqué' sexual content CATPCA component by culture used to identify engaged demographic

	Component 1 Key variables	Component 2 Key variables	Component 3 Key variables	Component 4 Key variables
Chinese	Binding Sex toys Rape	Human-mechonaid sex Mechanoid-mechanoid sex Animal-animal sex	Underage sex (both) Underage sex (one)	Other
Anglo-phone	BDSM Sex toys Binding	Human-animal sex Animal-animal sex	Underage sex (one) Underage sex (both) Rape	Mechanoid-mechanoid sex Human-mechanoid sex Other

Using endorsement of all key variables as shown in table x, table x provides information on the percentage of Chinese and Anglophone participants engaging with each CATPCA 'risqué sex' component by gender and sexual orientation.

Table 5. 7: Percentage of Chinese and Anglophone BL fandom engaging with each CATPCA 'risqué sex' component by gender and sexual orientation

C	% of Chinese (n=1922)						% of Anglophone (n=1715)					
	Total	Male	Female	Other	Het.	Non-het.	Total	Male	Female	Other	Het.	Non-het.
1	9.9% (n=191)	0.7% (n=14)	8.8% (n=169)	0.4% (n=8)	4.4% (n=85)	5.5% (n=106)	31.4% (n=538)	4.3% (n=73)	23.6% (n=404)	3.6% (n=61)	8.6% (n=148)	22.7% (n=390)
2	5.0% (n=97)	0.3% (n=6)	4.5% (n=86)	0.3% (n=5)	1.8% (n=35)	3.2% (n=62)	22.2% (n=380)	4.0% (n=68)	16.2% (n=277)	2.0% (n=35)	6.1% (n=104)	16.1% (n=276)
3	6.0% (n=115)	1.2% (n=23)	4.5% (n=87)	0.3% (n=5)	2.1% (n=41)	3.9% (n=74)	12.1% (n=207)	1.9% (n=32)	9.1% (n=156)	1.1% (n=19)	3.2% (n=55)	8.9% (n=152)
4	7.6% (n=146)	0.9% (n=18)	6.6% (n=127)	0.05% (n=1)	5.3% (n=101)	2.3% (n=45)	1.5% (n=25)	0.3% (n=5)	0.93% (n=16)	0.2% (n=4)	0.3% (n=5)	1.2% (n=20)

Table 7 demonstrates that a much high percentage of Anglophone participants engage with risqué sexual contents than do Chinese participants: 31.4% compared to 9.9% for BDSM (component 1), 22.2% compared to 5% for Animal Sex (component 2), and 12.1% compared to 6% for Underage Sex (component 3). The only difference to this pattern is with Minority Fetish (component 4), which is engaged with by 7.6% of the Chinese participants but only 1.5% of the Anglophone. This latter point might suggest that the risqué sex categories provided in the survey were a little better suited to *Yaoi* as engaged with in Anglophone as opposed to Chinese culture given that 'Other'(with an open response option) constituted the Minority Fetish component for the Chinese sample much more strongly than for the Anglophone (Table 8) .

Table 5. 8: Comparison of component structure of Chinese and Anglophone 'risqué' sexual content CATPCAs

	Component 1	Component 2	Component 3	Component 4
Chinese	Binding, Sex toys, Rape, Role play sex, BDSM, Tentacle sex, Group sex,	Human-mechanoid sex, Mechanoid-mechanoid sex, Animal-animal sex, Human-animal sex,	Underage sex (both), Underage (one)	Other
Anglophone	BDSM, Sex toys, Binding, Role play sex, Group sex,	Animal-animal sex, Human-animal sex	Underage sex (one), Underage sex (both),	Mechanoid-mechanoid sex, Human-mechanoid sex, Tentacle sex, other

The Chi-Square test of independence was used to determine if any of three categorical demographic variables – gender (male, female, other), sexual orientation (heterosexual, nonheterosexual), and fandom intensity (casual, avid) are associated with each of the four components within cultural group. The Mann-Whitney was used to test for differences in median on the likert scale storyline variables (*I like BL stories that are mostly romance and no sex, I like BL stories with 'implicit relationships', I like BL stories with explicit sex*), and likert scale variable *To what extent do you worry about legal issues in relation to the sexual content of BL?* within cultural group in relation to endorsement of each of the four components. To avoid type 1 errors (false positives) a high significance level was set (i.e., .001).

Following are the Chi-Square and Mann-Whitney analyses of Chinese CATPCA 'risqué sex' components by gender, sexual orientation, fandom intensity, storylines, and concern with legal issues.

Table 5. 9: Chinese component 1 BDSM Specialist by gender

	Male (n=213, 11.1%)	Female (n=1691, 88.0%)	Other (n=18, 0.9%)
Yes (n=191)	7.3%	88.5%	4.2%
No (n=1731)	11.5%	87.9%	0.6%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Chinese component 1 BDSM Specialist by gender. Male participants had lower percentage endorsement (7.3%) than the male population of all Chinese participants (11.1%) and 'other' gendered participants had higher percentage endorsement (4.2%) than 'other' gendered participants population of all Chinese participants (0.9%), x^2 (1, N=1922) = 26.648, p<.001, Cramer's V is .118 (small effect).

Table 5. 10: Chinese component 1 BDSM Specialist by sexual orientation

	Heterosexual (n=1237, 64.4%)	Nonheterosexual (n=685, 35.6%)
Yes (n=191)	44.5%	55.5%
No (n=1731)	66.6%	33.4%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Chinese component 1 BDSM Specialist by sexual orientation. Heterosexual participants had lower percentage endorsement (44.5%) than the heterosexual population of all Chinese participants (64.4%) and nonheterosexual participants had higher percentage endorsement (55.5%) than the nonheterosexual population of all Chinese participants (35.6%), x^2 (1, N=1922) = 36.457, p<.001, Cramer's V is .138 (small effect).

Table 5. 11: Chinese component 1 BDSM Specialist by fandom intensity

	Casual (n=906, 47.1%)	Avid (n=1016, 52.9%)
Yes (n=191)	23.6%	76.4%
No (n=1731)	49.7%	50.3%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Chinese component 1 BDSM Specialist by fandom intensity. Casual fan participants had lower percentage endorsement (23.6%) than the casual fan population of all Chinese participants (47.1%) and avid fan participants had higher percentage endorsement (76.4%) than the avid fan population of all Chinese participants (52.9%), x^2 (1, N=1922) = 47.315, p<.001, Cramer's V is .157 (small effect).

Table 5. 12: Chinese component 1 BDSM Specialist by storyline - romance no sex

	Never (n=131, 6.8%)	Sometimes (n=310, 16.1%)	Often (n=446, 23.2%)	Very often (n=681, 35.4%)	Always (n=354, 18.4%)
Yes (n=191)	6.8%	16.2%	39.8%	27.7%	9.4%
No (n=1713)	6.8%	16.1%	21.4%	36.3%	19.4%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese component 1 BDSM Specialist were significantly less likely to endorse storylines which are mostly romance and no sex than participants who did not endorse component 1 (U=138408.000, p < .001), r = .087 (trivial effect).

Table 5. 13: Chinese component 1 BDSM Specialist by storyline—implicit relationships

	Never (n=536, 27.9%)	Sometimes (n=603, 31.4%)	Often (n=443, 23.0%)	Very often (n=220, 11.4%)	Always (n=120, 6.2%)
Yes (n=191)	26.3%	25.6%	24.1%	7.3%	6.8%
No (n=1713)	28.1%	30.9%	22.9%	11.9%	6.2%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese component 1 BDSM Specialist were not significantly different from participants who

did not endorse component 1 with respect to storylines with implicit relationships (U=162586.500, p = .669).

Table 5. 14: Chinese component 1 BDSM Specialist by storyline - explicit sex

	Never (n=342, 17.8%)	Sometimes (n=500, 26.0%)	Often (n=452, 23.5%)	Very often (n=377, 19.6%)	Always (n=251, 13.1%)
Yes (n=191)	5.6%	15.9%	24.6%	28.9%	25.0%
No (n=1713)	21.9%	29.4%	23.2%	16.5%	9.0%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese component 1 BDSM Specialist were significantly more likely to endorse storylines with explicit sex than participants who did not endorse component 1 (U=89593.000, p < .001), r = .243 (small effect).

Table 5. 15: Chinese component 1 BDSM Specialist by legal concern

	Never (n=422, 22.0%)	Sometimes (n=370, 19.3%)	Often (n=409, 21.3%)	Very often (n=364, 18.9%)	Always (n=357, 18.6%)
Yes (n=191)	18.3%	15.7%	18.8%	18.8%	28.3%
No (n=1713)	22.4%	19.6%	21.5%	18.9%	17.5%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese component 1 BDSM Specialist were not significantly different from participants who did not endorse component 1 with respect to concern about legal issues in relation to the sexual content of BL (U=143455.500, p = .002).

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Table 5. 16: Chinese component 2 Mechanoid/Animal Sex Specialist by gender

	Male (n=213, 11.1%)	Female (n=1691, 88.0%)	Other (n=18, 0.9%)
Yes (n=97)	6.2%	88.7%	5.2%
No (n=1825)	11.3%	87.9%	0.7%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Chinese component 2 Mechanoid/Animal Sex Specialist by gender. Male participants had lower percentage endorsement (6.2%) than the male population of all Chinese participants (11.1%) and 'other' gendered participants had higher percentage endorsement (5.2%) than the 'other' gendered population of all Chinese participants (0.9%), x^2 (1, N=1922) = 21.624, p<.001, Cramer's V is .106 (small effect).

Table 5. 17: Chinese component 2 Mechanoid/Animal Sex Specialist by sexual orientation

	Heterosexual (n=1237, 64.4%)	Nonheterosexual (n=685, 35.6%)
Yes (n=97)	36.1%	63.9%
No (n=1825)	65.9%	34.1%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Chinese component 2 Mechanoid/Animal Sex Specialist by sexual orientation. Heterosexual participants had lower percentage endorsement (36.1%) than the heterosexual population of all Chinese participants (64.4%) and nonheterosexual participants had higher percentage endorsement (63.9%) than the nonheterosexual population of all Chinese participants (35.6%), x^2 (1, N=1922) = 36.612, p<.001, Cramer's V is .136 (small effect).

Table 5. 18: Chinese component 2 Mechanoid/Animal Sex Specialist by fandom intensity

	Casual (n=906, 47.1%)	Avid (n=1016, 52.9%)
Yes (n=97)	17.5%	82.5%
No (n=1852)	48.7%	51.3%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Chinese component 2 Mechanoid/Animal Sex Specialist by fandom

intensity. Casual fan participants had lower percentage endorsement (17.5%) than the casual fan population of all Chinese participants (47.1%) and avid fan participants had higher percentage endsement (82.5%) than the avid fan population of all Chinese participants (52.9%), x^2 (1, N=1922) = 35.95, p<.001, Cramer's V is .137 (small effect).

Table 5. 19: Chinese component 2 Mechanoid/Animal Sex Specialist by storyline - romance no sex

	Never (n=131, 6.8%)	Sometimes (n=310, 16.1%)	Often (n=446, 23.2%)	Very often (n=681, 35.4%)	Always (n=354, 18.4%)
Yes (n=97)	11.3%	12.4%	30.9%	39.2%	6.2%
No (n=1825)	6.6%	16.3%	22.8%	35.2%	19.1%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese component 2 Mechanoid/Animal Sex Specialist were not significantly different from participants who did not endorse component 2 with respect to storylines which are mostly romance and no sex (U=76483.000, p = .019).

Table 5. 20: Chinese component 2 Mechanoid/Animal Sex Specialist by storyline - implicit relationships

	Never (n=536, 27.9%)	Sometimes (n=603, 31.4%)	Often (n=443, 23.0%)	Very often (n=220, 11.4%)	Always (n=120, 6.2%)
Yes (n=191)	22.7%	36.1%	26.8%	11.3%	3.1%
No (n=1713)	28.2%	31.1%	22.8%	11.5%	6.4%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese component 2 Mechanoid/Animal Sex Specialist were not significantly different from participants were did not endorse component 2 with respect to storylines with implicit relationships (U=86950.000, p = .761).

Table 5. 21: Chinese component 2 Mechanoid/Animal Sex Specialist by storyline - explicit sex

	Never (n=342, 17.8%)	Sometimes (n=500, 26.0%)	Often (n=452, 23.5%)	Very often (n=377, 19.6%)	Always (n=251, 13.1%)
Yes (n=97)	6.2%	9.3%	32.0%	19.6%	33.0%
No (n=1825)	18.4%	26.9%	23.1%	19.6%	12.0%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese component 2 Mechanoid/Animal Sex Specialist were significantly more likely to endorse storylines with explicit sex than participants who did not endorse component 2 ($U=56612.000$, $p < .001$), $r = .140$ (small effect).

Table 5. 22: Chinese component 2 Mechanoid/Animal Sex Specialist by legal concern

	Never (n=422, 22.0%)	Sometimes (n=370, 19.3%)	Often (n=409, 21.3%)	Very often (n=364, 18.9%)	Always (n=357, 18.6%)
Yes (n=97)	11.3%	9.3%	13.4%	27.8%	38.1%
No (n=1825)	22.5%	19.8%	21.7%	18.5%	17.5%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese component 2 Mechanoid/Animal Sex Specialist were significantly more concerned about legal issues in relation to the sexual content of BL than participants who did not endorse component 2 ($U=59140.000$, $p < .001$), $r = .128$ (small effect).

Table 5. 23: Chinese component 3 Underage Sex Specialist by gender

	Male (n=213, 11.1%)	Female (n=1691, 88.0%)	Other (n=19, 0.9%)
Yes (n=115)	20.0%	75.7%	4.3%
No (n=1807)	10.5%	88.8%	0.7%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Chinese component 3 Underage Sex Specialist by gender. Male

participants had higher percentage endorsement (20.0%) than the male population of all Chinese participants (11.1%), female participants had lower percentage endorsement (75.7%) than the female population of all Chinese participants (88.0%), and 'other' gendered participants had higher percentage endorsement (4.3%) than the 'other' gendered population of all Chinese participants (0.9%), x^2 (1, N=1922) = 26.090, p<.001, Cramer's V is .117 (small effect).

Table 5. 24: Chinese component 3 Underage Sex Specialist by sexual orientation

	Heterosexual (n=1237, 64.4%)	Nonheterosexual (n=685, 35.6%)
Yes (n=115)	35.7%	64.3%
No (n=1807)	66.2%	33.8%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Chinese component 3 Underage Sex Specialist by sexual orientation. Heterosexual participants had lower percentage endorsement (35.7%) than the heterosexual population of all Chinese participants (64.4%) and nonheterosexual participants had higher percentage endorsement (64.3%) than the nonheterosexual population of all Chinese participants (35.6%), x^2 (1, N=1922) = 43.948, p<.001, Cramer's V is .151 (small effect).

Table 5. 25: Chinese component 3 Underage Sex Specialist by fandom intensity

	Casual (n=906, 47.1%)	Avid (n=1016, 52.9%)
Yes (n=115)	29.6%	70.4%
No (n=1807)	48.3%	51.7%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Chinese component 3 Underage Sex Specialist by fandom intensity. Casual fan participants had lower percentage endorsement (29.6%) than the casual fan population of all Chinese participants (47.1%) and avid fan participants had higher percentage endorsement (70.4%) than the avid fan population of all Chinese

participants (52.9%), x^2 (1, N=1922) = 15.159, p<.001, Cramer's V is .089 (small effect).

Table 5. 26: Chinese component 3 Underage Sex Specialist by storyline - romance no sex

	Never (n=131, 6.8%)	Sometimes (n=310, 16.1%)	Often (n=446, 23.2%)	Very often (n=681, 35.4%)	Always (n=354, 18.4%)
Yes (n=97)	6.1%	20.0%	39.1%	25.2%	9.6%
No (n=1825)	6.9%	15.9%	22.2%	36.1%	19.0%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese component 3 Underage Sex Specialist were significantly less likely to endorse storylines which are mostly romance and no sex than participants who did not endorse component 3 (U=85096.500, p < .001), r = .077 (trivial effect).

Table 5. 27: Chinese component 3 Underage Sex Specialist by storyline - implicit relationships

	Never (n=536, 27.9%)	Sometimes (n=603, 31.4%)	Often (n=443, 23.0%)	Very often (n=220, 11.4%)	Always (n=120, 6.2%)
Yes (n=115)	15.7%	32.2%	31.3%	11.3%	9.6%
No (n=1807)	28.7%	31.3%	22.5%	11.5%	6.0%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese component 3 Underage Sex Specialist were not significantly different from participants who did not endorse component 3 with respect to liking storylines with implicit relationships (U=87150.000, p = .003).

Table 5. 28: Chinese component 3 Underage Sex Specialist by storyline - explicit sex

	Never (n=342, 17.8%)	Sometimes (n=500, 26.0%)	Often (n=452, 23.5%)	Very often (n=377, 19.6%)	Always (n=251, 13.1%)
Yes (n=115)	5.2%	12.2%	20.0%	27.0%	35.7%
No (n=1807)	18.6%	26.9%	23.7%	19.1%	11.6%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese component 3 Underage Sex Specialist were significantly more likely to endorse storylines with explicit sex than those who did not endorse component 3 ($U=60925.500$, $p < .001$), $r = .174$ (small effect).

Table 5. 29: Chinese component 3 Underage Sex Specialist by legal concern

	Never (n=422, 22.0%)	Sometimes (n=370, 19.3%)	Often (n=409, 21.3%)	Very often (n=364, 18.9%)	Always (n=357, 18.6%)
Yes (n=115)	20.0%	19.1%	20.0%	16.5%	24.3%
No (n=1807)	22.1%	19.3%	21.4%	19.1%	18.2%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese component 3 Underage Sex Specialist were not significantly different from participants who did not endorse component 3 with respect to concern about legal issues in relation to the sexual content of BL ($U=98196.000$, $p = .313$).

Table 5. 30: Chinese component 4 Minority Fetish Specialist by gender

	Male (n=213, 11.1%)	Female (n=1691, 88.0%)	Other (n=19, 0.9%)
Yes (n=147)	12.3%	87.0%	0.7%
No (n=1776)	11.0%	88.1%	1.0%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Chinese component 4 Minority Fetish Specialist by gender. The differences were not significant, x^2 (1, N=1922) = .346, p= .841, Cramer's V is .013 (no effect).

Table 5. 31: Chinese component 4 Minority Fetish Specialist by sexual orientation

	Heterosexual (n=1237, 64.4%)	Nonheterosexual (n=685, 35.6%)
Yes (n=146)	69.2%	30.8%
No (n=1776)	30.8%	36.0%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Chinese component 4 Minority Fetish Specialist by sexual orientation. The differences were not significant, x^2 (1, N=1922) = 1.599, p=.210, Cramer's V is .029 (no effect).

Table 5. 32: Chinese component 4 Minority Fetish Specialist by fandom intensity

	Casual (n=906, 47.1%)	Avid (n=1016, 52.9%)
Yes (n=146)	46.6%	53.4%
No (n=1776)	47.2%	52.8%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Chinese component 4 Minority Fetish Specialist by fandom intensity. The differences were not significant, x^2 (1, N=1922) = .020, p = .887, Cramer's V is .003 (no effect).

Table 5. 33: Chinese component 4 Minority Fetish Specialist by storyline - romance no sex

	Never (n=131, 6.8%)	Sometimes (n=310, 16.1%)	Often (n=446, 23.2%)	Very often (n=681, 35.4%)	Always (n=354, 18.4%)
Yes (n=146)	9.6%	17.8%	16.4%	32.2%	24.0%
No (n=1776)	6.6%	16.0%	23.2%	35.7%	18.0%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese component 4 Minority Fetish Specialist were not significantly different from

participants who did not endorse component 4 with respect to liking storylines that are mostly romance no sex (U=126897.500, p = .659).

Table 5. 34: Chinese component 4 Minority Fetish Specialist by storyline - implicit relationships

	Never (n=536, 27.9%)	Sometimes (n=603, 31.4%)	Often (n=443, 23.0%)	Very often (n=220, 11.4%)	Always (n=120, 6.2%)
Yes (n=146)	28.1%	30.8%	19.2%	14.4%	7.5%
No (n=1776)	27.9%	31.4%	23.4%	11.2%	6.1%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese component 4 Minority Fetish Specialist were not significantly different from participants who did not endorse component 4 with respect to liking storylines with implicit relationships (U=127170.500, p = .691).

Table 5. 35: Chinese component 4 Minority Fetish Specialist by storyline - explicit sex

	Never (n=342, 17.8%)	Sometimes (n=500, 26.0%)	Often (n=452, 23.5%)	Very often (n=377, 19.6%)	Always (n=251, 13.1%)
Yes (n=146)	19.9.%	28.8%	20.5%	17.8%	13.0%
No (n=1776)	17.6%	25.8%	23.8%	19.8%	13.1%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese component 4 Minority Fetish Specialist were not significantly different from those who did not endorse component 4 with respect to liking storylines with explicit sex (U=123883.500, p = .360).

Table 5. 36: Chinese component 4 Minority Fetish Specialist by legal concern

	Never (n=422, 22.0%)	Sometimes (n=370, 19.3%)	Often (n=409, 21.3%)	Very often (n=364, 18.9%)	Always (n=357, 18.6%)

Yes (n=146)	21.2%	23.3%	16.4%	19.9%	19.2%
No (n=1776)	22.0%	18.9%	21.7%	18.9%	18.5%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese component 4 Minority Fetish Specialist were not significantly different from those who did not endorse component 4 with respect to concern about legal issues in relation to the sexual content of BL (U=129362.000, p = .964).

Following are the Chi-Square analyses of the Anglophone CATPCA 'risqué sex' components by gender, sexual orientation, fandom intensity, storylines, and concern with legal issues.

Table 5. 37: Anglophone component 1 BDSM Specialist by gender

	Male (n=283, 16.5%)	Female (n=1281, 74.7%)	Other (n=151, 8.8%)
Yes (n=538)	13.6%	75.1%	11.3%
No (n=1177)	17.8%	74.5%	7.6%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Anglophone component 1 BDSM Specialist by gender. The differences were not significant, x^2 (1, N=1715) = 9.818, p=.008, Cramer's V is .076 (no effect).

Table 5. 38: Anglophone component 1 BDSM Specialist by sexual orientation

	Heterosexual (n=536, 31.3%)	Nonheterosexual (n=1179, 68.7%)
Yes (n=538)	27.5%	72.5%
No (n=1177)	33.0%	67.0%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Anglophone component 1 BDSM Specialist by sexual orientation. The differences were not significant, x^2 (1, N=1715) = 5.11, p=.024, Cramer's V is .055 (no effect).

Table 5. 39: Anglophone component 1 BDSM Specialist by fandom intensity

	Casual (n=598, 34.9%)	Avid (n=1117, 65.1%)
Yes (n=538)	22.5%	77.5%
No (n=1177)	40.5%	65.1%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Anglophone component 1 BDSM Specialist by fandom intensity. Casual fan participants had lower percentage endorsement (22.5%) than casual fan population of all Anglophone participants (34.9%) and avid fan participants had higher percentage endorsement (77.5%) than the avid fan population of all Anglophone participants (65.1%), x^2 (1, N=1715) = 52.887, p<.001, Cramer's V is .176 (small effect).

Table 5. 40: Anglophone component 1 BDSM Specialist by storyline - romance no sex

	Never (n=45, 2.6%)	Sometimes (n=737, 43.0%)	Often (n=506, 29.5%)	Very often (n=313, 18.3%)	Always (n=114, 6.6%)
Yes (n=538)	2.8%	50.7%	27.0%	13.6%	5.9%
No (n=1177)	2.5%	39.4%	30.7%	20.4%	7.0%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Anglophone component 1 BDSM Specialist were significantly less likely to endorse storylines that are mostly romance and no sex than participants who do not endorse component 1 (U=277080.500, p < .001), r = .106 (small effect).

Table 5. 41: Anglophone component 1 BDSM Specialist by storyline - implicit relationships

	Never (n=194, 11.3%)	Sometimes (n=857, 50.0%)	Often (n=389, 23.2%)	Very often (n=207, 12.1%)	Always (n=59, 3.4%)
Yes (n=538)	11.0%	49.1%	23.4%	12.3%	4.3%

No (n=1177)	11.5%	50.4%	23.1%	12.0%	3.1%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Anglophone component 1 BDSM Specialist are not significantly different from those who did not endorse component 1 with respect to liking storylines with implicit relationships (U=309153.500, p = .398).

Table 5. 42: Anglophone component 1 BDSM Specialist by storyline - explicit sex

	Never (n=41, 2.4%)	Sometimes (n=315, 18.4%)	Often (n=380, 22.2%)	Very often (n=515, 30.0%)	Always (n=464, 27.1%)
Yes (n=538)	19.9.%	7.8%	15.4%	32.0%	44.8%
No (n=1177)	17.6%	23.2%	25.2%	29.1%	18.9%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Anglophone component 1 BDSM Specialist were significantly more likely to endorse storylines with explicit sex than participants who did not endorse component 1 (U=196008.500, p < .001), r = .316 (medium effect).

*Table 5. 43: A*nglophone *component 1 BDSM Specialist by legal concern*

	Never (n=762, 44.4%)	Sometimes (n=652, 38.0%)	Often (n=186, 10.8%)	Very often (n=71, 4.1%)	Always (n=44, 2.6%)
Yes (n=146)	45.5%	38.2%	10.2%	4.5%	2.2%
No (n=1776)	43.9%	37.5%	11.1%	4.0%	2.7%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Anglophone component 1 BDSM Specialist were not significantly different from participants who did not endorse component 1 with respect to concern about legal issues in relation to the sexual content of BL (U= 310852.000, p = .513).

Table 5. 44: Anglophone component 2 Animal Sex Specialist by gender

	Male (n=283, 16.5%)	Female (n=1281, 74.7%)	Other (n=151, 8.8%)
Yes (n=380)	17.9%	72.9%	9.2%
No (n=1335)	16.18%	75.2%	8.7%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Anglophone component 2 Animal Sex Specialist by gender. The differences were not significant, x^2 (1, N=1715) = .877, p=.647, Cramer's V is .023 (no effect).

Table 5. 45: Anglophone component 2 Animal Sex Specialist by sexual orientation

	Heterosexual (n=536, 31.3%)	Nonheterosexual (n=1179, 68.7%)
Yes (n=380)	27.4%	72.6%
No (n=1335)	32.4%	67.6%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Anglophone component 2 Animal Sex Specialist by sexual orientation. The differences were not significant, x2 (1, N=1715) = 3.430, p= .069, Cramer's V is .045 (no effect).

Table 5. 46: Anglophone component 2 Animal Sex Specialist by fandom intensity

	Casual (n=598, 34.9%)	Avid (n=1117, 65.1%)
Yes (n=380)	18.4%	81.6%
No (n=1335)	39.6%	60.4%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Anglophone component 2 Animal Sex Specialist by fandom intensity. Casual fan participants had lower percentage endorsement (18.4%) than the casual fan population of all Anglophone participants (34.9%) and avid fan participants had higher percentage endorsement (81.6%) than the avid fan population

of all Anglophone participants (65.1%), x^2 (1, N=1715) = 52.887, p<.001, Cramer's V is .176 (small effect).

Table 5. 47: Anglophone component 2 Animal Sex Specialist by storyline - romance no sex

	Never (n=45, 2.6%)	Sometimes (n=737, 43.0%)	Often (n=506, 29.5%)	Very often (n=313, 18.3%)	Always (n=114, 6.6%)
Yes (n=380)	2.9%	45.0%	28.7%	17.4%	6.1%
No (n=1335)	2.5%	42.4%	29.7%	18.5%	6.8%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Anglophone component 2 Animal Sex Specialist were not significantly different from participants who did not endorse component 2 with respect to liking storylines that are mostly romance and no sex (U=245042.500, p = .284).

Table 5. 48: Anglophone component 2 Animal Sex Specialist by storyline - implicit relationships

	Never (n=194, 11.3%)	Sometimes (n=857, 50.0%)	Often (n=389, 23.2%)	Very often (n=207, 12.1%)	Always (n=59, 3.4%)
Yes (n=380)	9.5%	50.0%	21.8%	14.2%	4.5%
No (n=1335)	11.8%	50.0%	23.6%	11.5%	3.1%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Anglophone component 2 Animal Sex Specialist were not significantly different from participants who did not endorse component 2 with respect to storylines with implicit relationships (U=241494.500, p = .124).

Table 5. 49: Anglophone component 2 Animal Sex Specialist by storyline - explicit sex

	Never (n=41, 2.4%)	Sometimes (n=315, 18.4%)	Often (n=380, 22.2%)	Very often (n=515, 30.0%)	Always (n=464, 27.1%)
Yes (n=380)	0.3%	10.5%	18.2%	32.6%	38.4%
No (n=1355)	3.0%	20.6%	23.3%	29.3%	23.8%

A Mann-Whitney test indicate that participants who endorsed Anglophone component 2 Animal Sex Specialist were significantly more likely to endorse storylines with explicit sex than participants who did not endorse component 2 ($U=196008.500$, $p < .001$), $r = .174$ (small effect).

Table 5. 50: Anglophone component 2 Animal Sex Specialist by legal concern

	Never (n=762, 44.4%)	Sometimes (n=652, 38.0%)	Often (n=186, 10.8%)	Very often (n=71, 4.1%)	Always (n=44, 2.6%)
Yes (n=380)	46.3%	35.8%	10.0%	3.9%	3.9%
No (n=1355)	43.9%	38.7%	11.1%	4.2%	2.2%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Anglophone component 2 Animal Sex Specialist, were not significantly different from participants who did not endorse component 2 with respect to concern about legal issues in relation to the sexual content of BL ($U= 250017.000$, $p = .645$).

Table 5. 51: Anglophone component 3 Underage Sex Specialist by gender

	Male (n=283, 16.5%)	Female (n=1281, 74.7%)	Other (n=151, 8.8%)
Yes (n=207)	15.5%	75.4%	9.2%
No (n=1508)	16.6%	74.6%	8.8%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Anglophone component 3 Underage Sex Specialist by gender. The

differences were not significant, x^2 (1, N=1715) = .207, p=.902, Cramer's V is .011 (no effect).

Table 5. 52: Anglophone component 3 Underage Sex Specialist by sexual orientation

	Heterosexual (n=536, 31.3%)	Nonheterosexual (n=1179, 68.7%)
Yes (n=207)	26.6%	73.4%
No (n=1508)	31.9%	68.1%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Anglophone component 3 Underage Sex Specialist by sexual orientation. The differences were not significant, x^2 (1, N=1715) = 2.403, p=.129, Cramer's V is .037 (no effect).

Table 5. 53: Anglophone component 3 Underage Sex Specialist by fandom intensity

	Casual (n=598, 34.9%)	Avid (n=1117, 65.1%)
Yes (n=538)	14.0%	86.0%
No (n=1177)	37.7%	62.3%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Anglophone component 3 Underage Sex Specialist by fandom intensity. Casual fan participants had lower percentage endorsement (14.0%) than the casual fan population of all Anglophone participants (34.9%) and avid fan participants had higher percentage endorsement (86.0%) than the avid fan population of all Anglophone participants (65.1%), x^2 (1, N=1715) = 45.102, p<.001, Cramer's V is .162 (small effect).

Table 5. 54: Anglophone component 3 Underage Sex Specialist by storyline - romance no sex

	Never (n=45, 2.6%)	Sometimes (n=737, 43.0%)	Often (n=506, 29.5%)	Very often (n=313, 18.3%)	Always (n=114, 6.6%)
Yes (n=207)	3.4%	49.3%	23.7%	19.3%	4.3%
No (n=1508)	2.5%	42.1%	30.3%	18.1%	7.0%

A Mann-Whitney indicated that participants who endorsed Anglophone component 3 Underage Sex Specialist were not significantly different from participants who did not endorse component 3 with respect to storylines which are mostly romance and no sex (U=144327.000, p = .062).

Table 5. 55: Anglophone component 3 Underage Sex Specialist by storyline - implicit relationships

	Never (n=194, 11.3%)	Sometimes (n=857, 50.0%)	Often (n=389, 23.2%)	Very often (n=207, 12.1%)	Always (n=59, 3.4%)
Yes (n=207)	8.7%	46.4%	25.6%	12.1%	7.2%
No (n=1508)	11.7%	50.5%	22.9%	12.1%	2.9%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Anglophone component 3 Underage Sex Specialist were not significantly different from participants who did not endorse component 3 with respect to storylines with implicit relationships (U=141729.500, p = .021).

Table 5. 56: Anglophone component 3 Underage Sex Specialist by storyline - explicit sex

	Never (n=41, 2.4%)	Sometimes (n=315, 18.4%)	Often (n=380, 22.2%)	Very often (n=515, 30.0%)	Always (n=464, 27.1%)
Yes (n=207)	0.0%	7.2%	12.6%	28.0%	52.2%
No (n=1508)	2.7%	19.9%	23.5%	30.3%	23.6%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Anglophone component 3 Underage Sex Specialist were significantly more likely to endorse storylines with explicit sex than participants who did not endorse component 3 (U=98620.000, p < .001), r = .215 (small effect).

Table 5. 57: Anglophone component 3 Underage Sex Specialist by legal concern

	Never (n=762, 44.4%)	Sometimes (n=652, 38.0%)	Often (n=186, 10.8%)	Very often (n=71, 4.1%)	Always (n=44, 2.6%)
Yes (n=207)	53.1%	33.8%	9.2%	2.4%	1.4%
No (n=1508)	43.2%	38.6%	11.1%	4.4%	2.7%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Anglophone component 3 Underage Sex Specialist were not significantly different from participants who did not endorse component 3 with respect to concern about legal issues in relation to the sexual content of BL (U=141729.500, p = .021).

Table 5. 58: Anglophone component 4Minority Fetish Sex Specialist by gender

	Male (n=213, 16.5%)	Female (n=1731, 74.7%)	Other (n=191, 8.8%)
Yes (n=25)	20.0%	64.0%	16.0%
No (n=1690)	16.4%	74.9%	8.8%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Anglophone component 4 Minority Fetish Sex Specialist by gender. The differences were not significant, x^2 (1, N=1715) = 2.068, p= .369, Cramer's V is .035 (no effect).

Table 5. 59: Anglophone component 4 Minority Fetish Sex Specialist by sexual orientation

	Heterosexual (n=536, 31.3%)	Nonheterosexual (n=1179, 68.7%)
Yes (n=25)	20.0%	80.0%
No (n=1690)	31.4%	68.6%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Anglophone component 4 Minority Fetish Sex Specialist by sexual orientation. The differences were not significant, x^2 (1, N=1715) = 1.495, p=.221, Cramer's V is .030 (no effect).

Table 5. 60: Anglophone component 4 Minority Fetish Sex Specialist by fandom intensity

	Casual (n=598, 34.9%)	Avid (n=1117, 65.1%)
Yes (n=25)	16.0%	84.0%
No (n=1690)	35.1%	64.9%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Anglophone component 4 Minority Fetish Sex Specialist by fandom intensity. The differences were not significant, x^2 (1, N=1715) = 3.977, p= .056, Cramer's V is .048 (no effect).

Table 5. 61: Anglophone component 4 Minority Fetish Sex Specialist by storyline - romance no sex

	Never (n=45, 2.6%)	Sometimes (n=737, 43.0%)	Often (n=506, 29.5%)	Very often (n=313, 18.3%)	Always (n=114, 6.6%)
Yes (n=25)	4.0%	40.0%	40.0%	12.0%	4.0%
No (n=1690)	2.6%	43.0%	29.3%	18.3%	6.7%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Anglophone component 4 Minority Fetish Sex Specialist were not significantly different from participants who did not endorse component 4 with respect to storylines which are mostly romance and no sex (U=20186.500, p = .685).

Table 5. 62: Anglophone component 4 Minority Fetish Sex Specialist by storyline - implicit relationships

	Never (n=194, 11.3%)	Sometimes (n=857, 50.0%)	Often (n=389, 23.2%)	Very often (n=207, 12.1%)	Always (n=59, 3.4%)
Yes (n=25)	16.0%	48.0%	28.0%	4.0%	4.0%
No (n=1690)	11.2%	50.0%	23.1%	12.2%	3.4%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Anglophone component 4 Minority Fetish Sex Specialist were not significantly different from participants who did not endorse component 4 with respect to storylines with implicit relationships (U=19533.500, p = .485).

Table 5. 63: Anglophone component 4 Minority Fetish Sex Specialist by storyline - explicit sex

	Never (n=41, 2.4%)	Sometimes (n=315, 18.4%)	Often (n=380, 22.2%)	Very often (n=515, 30.0%)	Always (n=464, 27.1%)
Yes (n=25)	0.0%	24.0%	4.0%	24.0%	48.0%
No (n=1690)	2.4%	18.3%	22.4%	30.1%	26.7%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Anglophone component 4 Minority Fetish Sex Specialist, were not significantly different from participants who did not endorse component 4 with respect to storylines with explicit sex (U=17068.500, p = .088).

Table 5. 64: Anglophone component 4 Minority Fetish Sex Specialist by legal concern

	Never (n=762, 44.4%)	Sometimes (n=652, 38.0%)	Often (n=186, 10.8%)	Very often (n=71, 4.1%)	Always (n=44, 2.6%)
Yes (n=25)	48.0%	24.0%	12.0%	16.0%	0.0%
No (n=1690)	44.4%	38.2%	10.8%	4.0%	2.6%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Anglophone component 4 Minority Fetish Sex Specialist were not significantly different from participants who did not endorse component 4 with respect to concern about legal issues in relation to the sexual content of BL (U=20399.500, p = .750).

Discussion 1b: Are there sub-demographics in Chinese and in Anglophone culture who enjoy particular forms of risqué sexual content in BL and do these forms relate also to enjoyment of particular storylines and concern with legal issues?

Table 65 list the effect size and direction of the contrasts tested where a trivial effect size is <0.1, small effect size is 0.1≤ 0.3, a medium effect size is 0.3≤0.5, and large effect size is 0.5≤ (Cohen, 1988).

Table 5. 65: Summary statistical results for Chinese and Anglophone demographic, storyline, and legal concern associated with each CATPCA 'risqué sex' component

Component	Variables	Chinese		Anglophone	
		Effect size	Direction	Effect size	Direction
1	Gender	Small	Male↓ Other↑	/	/
	Sexual orientation	Small	Het↓ Non-het↑	/	/
	Fandom intensity	Small	Casual↓ Avid↑	Small	Casual↓ Avid↑
	Romance no sex	Trivial	↓	Small	↓
	Implicit relationship	/	/	/	/
	Explicit sex	Small	↑	Medium	↑
	Legal concern	/	/	/	/
2	Gender	Small	Male↓ Other↑	/	/
	Sexual orientation	Small	Het↓ Non-het↑	/	/
	Fandom intensity	Small	Casual↓ Avid↑	Small	Casual↓ Avid↑
	Romance no sex	/	/	/	/
	Implicit relationship	/	/	/	/
	Explicit sex	Small	↑	Small	↑
	Legal concern	Small	↑	/	/
3	Gender	Small	Male↑ Female↓ Other↑	/	/
	Sexual orientation	Small	Het↓ Non-het↑	/	/
	Fandom intensity	Small	Casual↓ Avid↑	Small	Casual↓ Avid↑
	Romance no sex	Trivial	↓	/	/
	Implicit relationship	/	/	/	/
	Explicit sex	Small	↑	Small	↑
	Legal concern	/	/	/	/
4	Gender	/	/	/	/
	Sexual orientation	/	/	/	/
	Fandom intensity	/	/	/	/
	Romance no sex	/	/	/	/
	Implicit relationship	/	/	/	/
	Explicit sex	/	/	/	/
	Legal concern	/	/	/	/

Overall, for both the Chinese and Anglophone *Yaoi* audience, it is the avid fans who most like risqué sexual content and, unsurprisingly, those who like explicitly sexual

stories also tend to prefer risqué sexual content. There is no difference in gender and sexual orientation for Anglophone audiences, but the queer Chinese audiences more like risqué sex. This pattern is typified by the strongest component: BDSM Specialist.

Yaoi materials provide a forum for the exploration of diverse sexual material so it is interesting that it is the avid, as opposed to causal fans, who are particularly attracted to the more risqué elements. This suggests that risqué sexual elements of *Yaoi* are a motivation in maintaining a deep interest in the genre. This is somewhat confirmed by Zsila et al. (2017) who found that of ten factors explaining the motivation to consume *Yaoi* in Hungry the fourth largest was that it is 'arousing/sexually titillating.'

BDSM portrays a wide range of sexual behaviours with 'binding' loading highly in this component for both cultures. There is no current literature on BDSM content in *Yaoi*, however, "(a) commonly accepted general belief is that 10% of American adults are involved or interested in BDSM activities" (Cruz at al., 2019, p.177). BDSM is therefore a relatively mainstream sexual interest, at least in one large Anglophone country. Moreover, the global popularity since 2011 of the book and film *Fifty Shades of Grey* – which itself was a fan fiction – may have extended the concept of BDSM for a mainstream audience. Hence, the fact that BDSM Specialist is the largest risqué content component in our sample for both cultures appears to reflect the increasing acceptability of, at least BDSM-lite, erotica.

Chapter 4 demonstrates that the Anglophone *Yaoi* audience is predominantly nonheterosexual whereas the Chinese is predominantly heterosexual. This might explain why there an association between sexual orientation and liking of risqué sexual content for the Chinese participants. China maintains a conservative society in

which mainstream morality does not condone explicit sexual material and family values play a fundamental role in daily life (Wang & Zeng, 2009). Queer-identifying individuals and groups may be less likely to align themselves with mainstream family values and to explore diverse sexual material which violates conservative social norms.

Chinese participants who liked risqué sexual contents demonstrated higher concern about legal issues compared to Anglophone participants in all four components while this reached statistical significance for only Mechanoid/Animal Sex Specialist (Component 2). Although in China there are no specific legal regulations involving sexual contact with animals or 'objects', the Chinese authorities do maintain rigorous restrictions on sexually explicit materials (Li, 2017) and the animal sex scenario in *Yaoi* may be perceived intuitively as particularly sanctionable. In the Anglophone context, while real sexual contact with animals is illegal in many Western countries under 'extreme pornography' legislation, in Yaoi human-animal sex is clearly imaginary and legal restrictions for this kind of material tends to focus on representations of children (Merdian, Curtis, Thakker, Wilson, & Boer, 2011; Morgan & Lambie, 2019; Steely, Bensel, Bratton & Lytle, 2018;).

Underage Sex Specialist (Component 3) is particularly attractive to Chinese male, other-gendered, and nonheterosexual participants. Young characters generally present less masculine gender traits in both visual and narrative forms, having a small, androgynous body and innocent demeanour (Pagliassotti, 2010). Hence, it may not be surprising that, particularly in a strongly patriarchal society such as China, young characters might be attractive to male readers because this kind of sexual contents might be consumed in a similar way to heterosexual sexual contents.

On the other hand, the androgynous presentation of boys in Yaoi may resonate with an ideal self and/or gender non-conformity of other-gendered fans.

Finally, Minority Fetish Specialist (component 4), appears to be too small to identify a clear demographic and consists of a non-cohesive group of individuals with a variety of different minority sexual interests.

Research question 2a: Which 'incestual' sexual relationships do Chinese and Anglophone participants particularly enjoy in BL and does this differ between cultures?

Analysed in this section is the multiple responses question: *Which 'incestual' sexual relationships do you particularly enjoy in BL?* Participants were able to select as many responses options as they wanted. Hence, each option was coded as individual binary-nominal type question (1=no, 2 =yes). The 20 provided responses were:

(a) father/son (seme/uke): blood, adoptive, step, in-law;

(b) son/father (seme/uke): blood, adoptive, step, in-law;

(c) brothers: blood, adoptive, step, in-law;

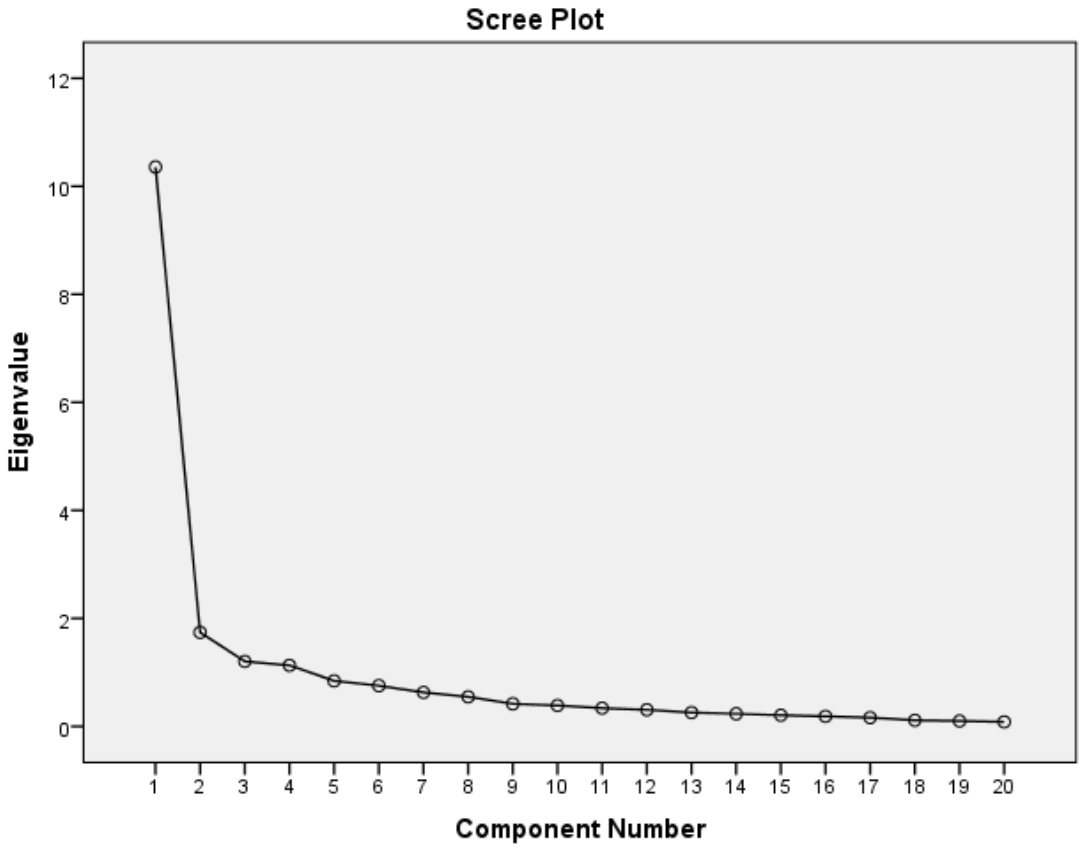
(d) uncle/nephew (seme/uke):-blood, adoptive, step, in-law;

(e) nephew/uncle (seme/uke): blood, adoptive, step, in-law.

No space was provided for participants to explain their response or provide other views. To perform CATPCA, the SPSS 21.0 Categorises Module has been applied as described earlier.

CATPCA of the 'incestual' sexual relationships Chinese data The scree plot of the Chinese data demonstrate that eigenvalues start to level-off (i.e.., the ‘elbow’) after the second component (Figure 3).

Figure 5. 3: Scree plot of Chinese responses to Which 'incestual' sexual relationships do you particularly enjoy in BL?



Although it is important to inspect the scree plot, Kaiser's criterion is the most common technique in deciding the number of meaningful components and it recommends retaining all with an eigenvalue above 1. Field (2006) indicates that the Kaiser criterion is reliable when simple size above N=250 and the Chinese sample is N=1922. This means that the decision was made to retain components 1-4. (Component 5 has an eigenvalue of .843).The total PVAF across the four components account for72.25% of total variance in response of the Chinese participants to *Which 'incestual' sexual relationships do you particularly enjoy in BL?*(Table 66). This is much higher than the 60% of explained variance suggested for a 'good' factor analysis by Hair and Black (2013). Unrotated, component 1 accounts for the largest PVAF at 51.78%, with components 2-4 accounting respectively for 8.70%, 6.02%, and 5.65%. Cronbach's alpha is a measure of internal

consistency, with a coefficient of .70 or higher considered acceptable in the social sciences. So, unrotated, only component 1 has good internal consistency.

Table 5. 66: Variance accounted for in the four components retained in the Chinese responses to Which 'incestual' sexual relationships do you particularly enjoy in BL?

	Unrotated solution			Rotated solution[a]		
Component	Cronbach's Alpha	Eigenvalue	PVAF %	Cronbach's Alpha	Eigenvalue	PVAF %
1	.951	10.357	51.783	.928	4.313	21.566
2	.448	1.741	8.704	.931	4.302	21.512
3	.178	1.204	6.019	.904	3.385	16.924
4	.122	1.131	5.645	.886	2.432	12.158
Total	.980[b]	14.432	72.159	.980	14.432	72.159

a. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.
b. Total Cronbach's Alpha is based on the total Eigenvalue.

Without changing fit, an orthogonal, varimax rotation can produce the most structurally-simple solution in which each variable loads as highly as possible on only one component. A simplified solution was, indeed, produced through rotation for the Chinese data. In the rotated solution: (i) all four components retain an eigenvalue above 1; (ii) PVAF is redistributed in such a way as to maintain the strength of component 1 while improving that of the three smaller components: 21.57%, 21.51%, 16.92% and 12.16% respectively, and; (iii) Cronbach's Alpha is now above .7 for all components indicating that all now have an acceptable level of internal consistency.

Loading of each variable on each component is indicated by the Pearson correlation, the value of which ranges between -1 and 1 (Linting et. al., 2007; Linting & Van der Kooij, 2012). The loadings of each variable on the rotated components is shown in Table 67.

Table 5. 67: Rotated component loading from 4-dimensional CATPCA on 20 variables in the Chinese responses to Which 'incestual' sexual relationships do you particularly enjoy in BL?

Variable	1a*	1b	2	3
	NON-BLOOD		BLOOD	BROTHER
	ADOPTIVE	STEP/IN-LAW		
Blood father/son	.101	.229	**.790**	.053
Adoptive father/son	**.724**	.174	.238	.223
Step father/son	.471	**.535**	.276	.170
In-law father/son	.171	**.769**	.300	.140
Blood son/father	.163	.300	**.767**	.020
Adoptive son/father	**.738**	.234	.205	.170
Step son/father	.494	**.541**	.291	.120
In-law son/father	.207	**.773**	.315	.106
Blood brothers	.108	.084	**.620**	.578
Adoptive brothers	.490	.078	.049	**.699**
Step brothers	.315	.251	.095	**.771**
In-law brothers	.126	.491	.136	**.719**
Blood uncle/nephew	.301	.255	**.737**	.150
Adoptive uncle/nephew	**.794**	.266	.151	.201
Step uncle/nephew	**.547**	.537	.209	.269
In-law uncle/nephew	.290	**.759**	.215	.249
Blood nephew/uncle	.344	.278	**.727**	.124
Adoptive nephew/uncle	**.809**	.266	.180	.183
Step nephew/uncle	**.574**	.535	.212	.219
In-law nephew/uncle	.313	**.745**	.218	.218

**Labelled 1a and 1b to make comparison easier with the Anglophone analysis*
Note: Highest loading per variable in bold

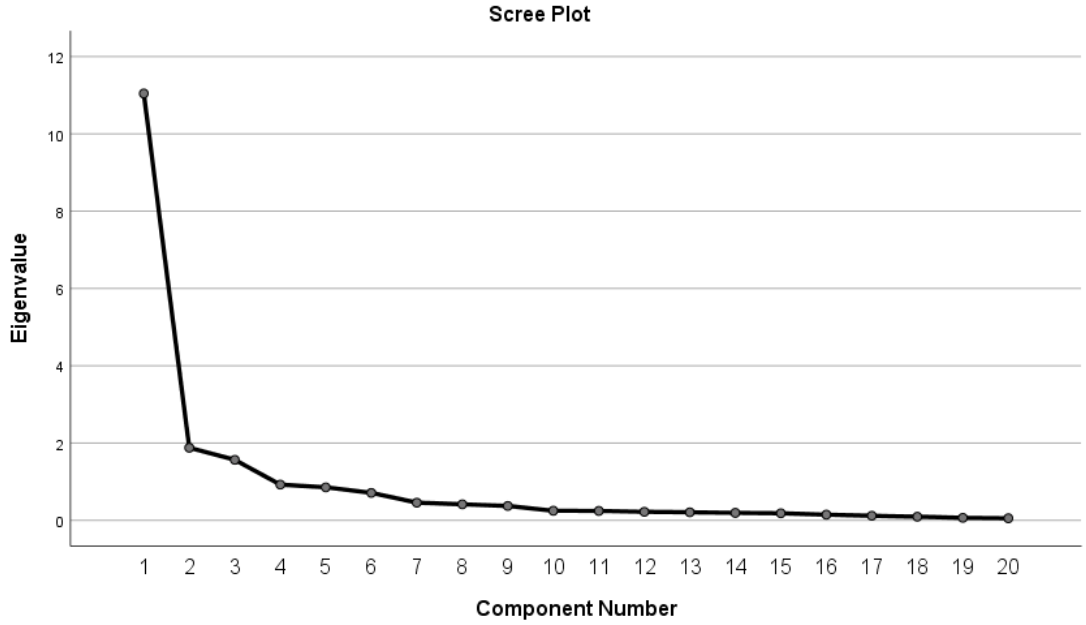
Components derived from CATPCA are interpretable in light of the variables loading most highly on each. The variables loading most highly on component 1a are: adoptive father/son, adoptive son/father, adoptive uncle/nephew, step uncle/nephew, adoptive nephew/uncle, step nephew/uncle. The similarities of the variables loading on component 1a suggest that it denotes enjoyment of 'Adoptive' incestual sexual relationships in BL. The variables loading most highly on component 1b are: step father/son, in-law father/son, step son/father, in-law son/father, in-law uncle/nephew, in-law nephew/uncle. The similarity of the

variables loading on component 1b suggest that it denotes enjoyment of ‘Step/In-law’ incestual sexual relationships in BL. Because of the similarity of variables loading on components 1a and 1b – and to make comparison easier with the Anglophone analysis below – it has been decided to label them 1a and 1b under a higher-order label denoted enjoyment of ‘Non-Blood’ incestual relationships in BL. The variables loading most highly on component2 are: blood father/son, blood son/father, blood brothers, blood uncle/nephew, and blood nephew/uncle relationship. The similarity of variables loading on component 2 suggest that it denotes enjoyment of ‘Blood’ incestual relationships in BL. The variables loading most highly on component3 are: adoptive brothers, step brothers, and in-law brothers. The similarity of variable loading on component 3 suggest that it denotes enjoyment of ‘Brother’ incestual relationships in BL.

CATPCA of the 'incestual' sexual relationships Anglophones data

The scree plot of the Anglophone data demonstrate that eigenvalues start to level-off (i.e.., the ‘elbow’) after the second component (Figure 4).

Figure 5. 4: Scree plot of Anglophone responses to Which 'incestual' sexual relationships do you particularly enjoy in BL?



Although it is important to inspect the scree plot, Kaiser's criterion is the most common technique in deciding the number of meaningful components and it recommends retaining all with an eigenvalue above 1. The Kaiser criterion is reliable when simple size above N=250 and the Anglophone sample is N=1713. Hence, the decision was made to retain components 1-3. (Component 4 has an eigenvalue of .924). The total PVAF across the three components account for 72.44% of total variance in response of the Anglophone participants to *Which 'incestual' sexual relationships do you particularly enjoy in BL?* (Table 68). This is a much higher than the 60% of explained variance suggested for a 'good' factor analysis. Unrotated, component 1 accounts for the largest PVAF at 55.22%, with components 2-3 accounting respectively for 9.39%, and 7.83%. Cronbach's alpha indicates that, although three components are retained on the basis of eigenvalue, unrotated only component 1 has good internal consistency.

Table 5. 68: Variance accounted for in the four components retained in the Anglophone responses to Which 'incestual' sexual relationships do you particularly enjoy in BL?

	Unrotated solution			Rotated solution[a]		
Component	Cronbach's Alpha	Eigenvalue	PVAF %	Cronbach's Alpha	Eigenvalue	PVAF
1	.958	11.043	55.215	.949	7.180	35.901
2	.492	1.878	9.391	.921	3.806	19.032
3	.380	1.566	7.831	.902	3.501	17.504
Total	.980[b]	14.487	72.437	.980	14.487	72.437

a. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.
b. Total Cronbach's Alpha is based on the total Eigenvalue.

A simplified solution was produced through rotation for the Anglophone data. In the rotated solution: (i) all three components retain an eigenvalue above 1; (ii) PVAF is redistributed in such a way as to maintain the strength of component 1

while improving that of the two smaller components: 35.90%, 19.03% and 17.50% respectively, and; (iii) Cronbach's Alpha is now above .7 for all components indicating that all now have an acceptable level of internal consistency.

The loadings of each variable on the rotated components is shown in Table 69.

Table 5. 69: Rotated component loading from 3-dimensional CATPCA on 20 variables in the Anglophone responses to Which 'incestual' sexual relationships do you particularly enjoy in BL?

	1	2	3
Variable	NON-BLOOD	BLOOD	BROTHER
Blood father/son	.112	**.833**	.209
Adoptive father/son	.489	**.508**	.353
Step father/son	**.579**	.452	.337
In-law father/son	**.659**	.331	.316
Blood son/father	.276	**.812**	.071
Adoptive son/father	**.648**	.451	.171
Step son/father	**.701**	.394	.197
In-law son/father	**.754**	.266	.205
Blood bothers	.090	.392	**.737**
Adoptive bothers	.253	.107	**.855**
Step bothers	.263	.104	**.872**
In-law bothers	.358	.075	**.800**
Blood uncle/nephew	.375	**.690**	.175
Adoptive uncle/nephew	**.752**	.279	.268
Step uncle/nephew	**.795**	.221	.266
In-law uncle/nephew	**.815**	.182	.261
Blood nephew/uncle	.426	**.707**	.069
Adoptive nephew/uncle	**.808**	.258	.165
Step nephew/uncle	**.857**	.222	.163
In-law nephew/uncle	**.873**	.141	.170

Note: Highest loading per variable in bold

Components derived from CATPCA are interpretable in light of the variables loading most highly on each. The variables loading most highly on component 1 are: step father/son, in-law father/son, adoptive son/father, step son/father, in-law

son/father, adoptive uncle/nephew, step uncle/nephew, in-law uncle/nephew, adoptive nephew/uncle, step nephew/uncle, and in-law nephew/uncle. The similarity of variables loading on component 1 suggests that they denote enjoyment of ‘Non-blood’ incestual relationships in BL. The variables loading most highly on components 2 are: blood father/son, adoptive father/son, blood son/father, blood uncle/nephew, and blood nephew/uncle. The similarity of variables loading on component 2 suggest that they denote enjoyment of ‘Blood’ incestual relationships in BL The variables loading most highly on component 3 are: blood brothers, adoptive brothers, step brothers, and in-law brothers. The similarity of variables loading on component 3 suggests that they denote enjoyment of ‘Brother’ incestual relationships in BL.

Discussion 2a: Which 'incestual' sexual relationships do Chinese and Anglophone participants particularly enjoy in BL and does this differ between cultures?

There is, possibly, surprising similarity between the Chinese and Anglophone CATPCA given that the populations are so distinct. There is, possibly, surprising similarity between the Chinese and Anglophone CATPCA given that the populations are so distinct. The shaded boxes in table 70 indicate differences in the component structure.

Table 5. 70: Comparison of component structure of Chinese and Anglophone 'incestual' sexual relationship CATPCAs

Variable	Chinese 1a Non-blood Adoptive	Anglo 1 Non-blood	Chinese 1b Non-blood Step/In-law	Anglo / /	Chinese 2 Blood	Anglo 2 Blood	Chinese 3 Brother	Anglo 3 Brother
Blood father/son	.101	.112	.229	**/**	**.790**	**.833**	.053	.209
Adoptive father/son	**.724**	.489	.174	/	.238	**.508**	.223	.353
Step father/son	.471	**.579**	**.535**	/	.276	.452	.170	.337
In-law father/son	.171	**.659**	**.769**	/	.300	.331	.140	.316
Blood son/father	.163	.276	.300	**/**	**.767**	**.812**	.020	.071
Adoptive son/father	**.738**	**.648**	.234	/	.205	.451	.170	.171
Step son/father	.494	**.701**	**.541**	/	.291	.394	.120	.197
In-law son/father	.207	**.754**	**.773**	/	.315	.266	.106	.205
Blood brothers	.108	.090	.084	**/**	**.620**	.392	.578	**.737**
Adoptive brothers	.490	.253	.078	/	.049	.107	**.699**	**.855**
Step brothers	.315	.263	.251	/	.095	.104	**.771**	**.872**
In-law brothers	.126	.358	.491	/	.136	.075	**.719**	**.800**
Blood uncle/nephew	.301	.375	.255	**/**	**.737**	**.690**	.150	.175
Adoptive uncle/nephew	**.794**	**.752**	.266	/	.151	.279	.201	.268
Step uncle/nephew	**.547**	**.795**	.537	/	.209	.221	.269	.266
In-law uncle/nephew	.290	**.815**	**.759**	/	.215	.182	.249	.261
Blood nephew/uncle	.344	.426	.278	**/**	**.727**	**.707**	.124	.069
Adoptive nephew/uncle	**.809**	**.808**	.266	/	.180	.258	.183	.165
Step nephew/uncle	**.574**	**.857**	.535	/	.212	.222	.219	.163
In-law nephew/uncle	.313	**.873**	**.745**	/	.218	.141	.218	.170

For both Anglophone and Chinese *Yaoi* fans, in terms of the portrayal of 'incest' relationships, there is a clear preference hierarchy: non-blood relationships are most popular, followed by blood *inter*generational, followed by brothers, which are a close *intra*generational relationship. That is, the closer the incest relationship becomes, the smaller the group with which it is popular. Hence, although 'incest' relationships, appear deviant, the group of fans expressing a liking for this material still demonstrate preference for the less conventionally perverse relationships. It may be that 'incest' in *Yaoi* is a technique for forging particularly close and intimate relations rather than always portraying deliberately deviant sexuality. For example, where a visual representation of the protagonists are provided, such as in the very popular manga *Kirepap*, the father and son look to be peers.

As a group, Chinese participants distinguish non-blood adoptive and non-blood in-law/step relative relationships while, as a group, the Anglophone participants do not and combine these into one 'non-blood relationship' cluster. This is likely due to the greater family hierarchy and structure which is traditional in Chinese culture which differentiates very clearly family position and roles (Wu, 2014). Anglophone participants understand adoptive father/son sexual relationship to be like a blood relationship while, in the Chinese data, it clusters with other non-blood relationships. The difference in perceived closeness of adoptive father/son relationships may be related to adoption traditions and process in the two regions.

In most Anglophone countries, adoption is via authorised institutions and involves a long approval process. For example, in the UK, the adoption approval process normally takes six months (GOV.UK). Adoption is relatively well accepted and common, and involves about 2% of children in the USA. This means that every one in six people has personal experience of an adoption relationship, be it as an

adoptee, adopter, relative, friend, classmate, colleague, or teacher. Moreover, importantly, in Anglophone regions, adoption tends to occur at a young age. That is, in 2011 the UK, 62% of children adopted were aged between one to four years old and, in the USA 2002-2012, around half of adopted children were under five years old. The acceptability, frequency, and young age of adopted children could mean that adoptive child-parent relationships appear little different to blood child-parent relationships in Anglophone regions. In contrasts, adoptions more commonly occurs between relative families, than between strangers, in China although, for this reason, accurate data is unavailable. Even so, Jia and Lei (2011) argue that adoptees can find it difficult to build a strong relationship with either their adoptive or blood parents. Hence, adoptive child-parent relationships may be understood to be quite distant in Chinese regions. Moreover, the very fact of inter-family adoption in China makes the distinction ‘adopted’ and ‘blood’, the latter interpreted as first-degree relative, particularly important.

It is possibly not surprising that adoptive and in-law uncle/nephew or nephew/uncle relationship: that is, the non-blood ‘incestual’ relationships, appear reasonably acceptable for both the Chinese and Anglophone: However, interestingly, while the Chinese differentiate ‘adoptive’ and ‘in-law’ relationships they are clustered together by the Anglophone.

Differentiation in types of non-blood relationships may be particularly important in Chinese culture for traditional reasons. Specifically, in a strongly patriarchal culture, continuing the father’s blood line plays an essential role, while non-blood family members are clearly distinguished. In contemporary China, although powerful clan traditions require every man to continue his family into the next generation, in poor and enclosed environments it is difficulty to attract eligible

women as wives. Hence, adopting girls into the family as wives-in-waiting for a son is often the easier choice. This custom, called '*Tongyangxi'* remained popular until relatively recently (Wolf, 1980) and still exists in some specific areas of Mainland China. For example, there is a '*Tongyangxi'* village where over 600 girls were adopted as future wives between 1987 and 1988. A visiting reporter stated that the youngest adoptive girl was only 3 years old, which strongly suggested that this custom was still alive. Concerned about social issues such as child trafficking and domestic violence, authorities tried to intervene (Jiang, 2008). Hence, for the Chinese, a sexual relationship between adoptive relatives, as opposed to in-laws, has very different, and possibly very specific, social resonances.

Finally, the Anglophone cluster all kinds of brother relationships together while the Chinese differentiate blood brothers. As stated above, in a strongly patriarchal culture, the father's blood line is highly important and, hence, non-blood family members are clearly distinguished. In contrast, the Anglophone participants may be more focused on the *close, obligated, peer* relationship typified by brothers and relatively less on whether-or-not this is a blood relationship.

Research question 2b: Are there sub-demographics in Chinese and in Anglophone culture who enjoy particular forms of 'incestual' sexual relationships in BL and do these forms relate also to enjoyment of particular storylines and concern with legal issues?

In order to explore if a sub-demographic is associated with each 'incestual' sexual relationship CATPCA component, participants were identified who had endorsed **all** of the highest loading, 'key' variables on each of the components as shown in table

72. Where more than three variables are highly endorsed, only the top three variables were selected.

Table 5. 71: Key variables in order of importance for each incest relationship CATPCA component by culture used to identify engaged demographic

	Component 1a Key variables	Component 1b Key variables	Component 2 Key variables	Component 3 Key variables
Chinese	Adoptive nephew/uncle Adoptive uncle/nephew Adoptive son/father	In-law son/father In-law father/son In-law uncle/nephew	Blood father/son Blood son/father Blood uncle/nephew	Step brothers In-law brothers Adoptive brothers
Anglo-phone	In-law nephew/uncle Step nephew/uncle In-law uncle/nephew		Blood father/son Blood son/father Blood nephew/uncle	Step brothers Adoptive brothers In-law brothers

Using endorsement of all key variables as shown in table 71, table 72 provides information on the percentage of Chinese and Anglophone participants engaging with each CATPCA incest relationship by gender and sexual orientation.

Table 5. 72 All variables in order of importance for each incest relationship CATPCA component by culture used to identify engaged demographic

	Component 1a	Component 1b	Component 2	Component 3
Chinese	Adoptive nephew/uncle, Adoptive uncle/nephew, Adoptive son/father, Adoptive father/son, Step nephew/uncle, Step uncle/nephew,	In-law son/father, In-law father/son, In-law uncle/nephew, In-law nephew/uncle Step father/son, Step son/father,	Blood father/son, Blood son/father, Blood uncle/nephew, Blood nephew/uncle, Blood brothers,	Step brothers, In-law brothers, Adoptive brothers
Anglophone	In-law nephew/uncle, Step nephew/uncle, In-law uncle/nephew, Adoptive nephew/uncle, Step uncle/nephew, In-law son/father, Adoptive uncle/nephew, Step son/father, In-law father/son, Adoptive son/father, Step father/son,	/	Blood father/son, Blood son/father, Blood nephew/uncle Blood uncle/nephew, Adoptive father/son,	Step brothers, Adoptive brothers, In-law brothers, Blood brothers,

Table 5. 73: Percentage of Chinese and Anglophone BL fandom engaging with each CATPCA incest relationship component by gender and sexual orientation

C	% of Chinese (n=1922)						% of Anglophone (n=1715)					
	Total	Male	Female	Other	Het.	Non-het.	Total	Male	Female	Other	Het.	Non-het.
1a	21.3% (n=409)	1.2% (n=23)	19.9% (n=382)	0.2% (n=4)	12.5% (n=240)	8.8% (n=169)	12.1% (n=207)	1.1% (n=17)	9.7% (n=167)	1.2% (n=21)	3.7% (n=64)	8.4% (n=143)
1b	10.5% (n=201)	0.7% (n=13)	9.6% (n=184)	0.2% (n=4)	5.2% (n=99)	5.3% (n=102)						
2	10.3% (n=198)	0.9% (n=18)	9.1% (n=175)	0.3% (n=5)	5.0% (n=97)	5.3% (n=101)	5.7% (n=98)	0.7% (n=12)	4.3% (n=74)	0.7% (n=12)	1.3% (n=23)	4.4% (n=75)
3	25.2% (n=484)	1.5% (n=29)	23.2% (n=446)	0.5% (n=9)	12.3% (n=236)	12.9% (n=248)	30.7% (n=527)	4.6% (n=79)	23.0% (n=395)	3.1% (n=53)	8.0% (n=138)	22.7% (n=389)

Table 73 shows that a high percentage of Chinese participants engage with incest relationships more than do Anglophone participants: 21.3% (Adoptive) and 10.5% (Step/In-Law) compared to 12.1% for Non-Blood Relationships (component 1) and 10.3% compared to 5.7% for Blood Relationships. The only difference to this pattern is with Brother Relationships (component 3), which is engaged with by 30.7% of the Anglophone participants and 25.2% of Chinese participants, although this is still the highest endorsed component for the Chinese.

The Chi-Square test of independence was used to determine if any of three categorical demographic variables – gender (male, female, other), sexual orientation (heterosexual, nonheterosexual), and fandom intensity (casual, avid) are associated with each of the four components within cultural group. The Mann-Whitney was used to test for differences in median on the likert scale storyline variables (*I like BL stories that are mostly romance and no sex, I like BL stories with 'implicit relationships', I like BL stories with explicit sex*), and likert scale variable *To what*

extent do you worry about legal issues in relation to the sexual content of BL? within cultural group in relation to endorsement of each of the four components. To avoid type 1 errors (false positives) a high significance level was set (i.e., .001).

Following are the Chi-Square and Mann-Whitney analyses of Chinese CATPCA incest relationship components by gender, sexual orientation, fandom intensity, storylines, and concern with legal issues.

Table 5. 74: Chinese component 1a Non-Blood Adoptive Relationships by gender

	Male (n=213, 11.1%)	Female (n=1691, 88.0%)	Other (n=18, 0.9%)
Yes (n=409)	5.6%	93.4%	1.0%
No(n=1513)	12.6%	86.5%	0.9%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Chinese component 1a Non-Blood Adoptive Relationships by gender. Male participants had lower percentage endorsement (5.6%) than the male population of all Chinese participants (11.1%) and female participants had higher percentage endorsement (93.4%) than the female population of all Chinese participants (88.0%), x^2 (2, N=1922) = 15.713, p<.001, Cramer's V is .090 (small effect).

Table 5. 75: Chinese component 1a Non-Blood Adoptive Relationships by sexual orientation

	Heterosexual (n=1237, 64.4%)	Nonheterosexual (n=685, 35.6%)
Yes (n=409)	58.7%	41.3%
No (n=1513)	65.9%	34.1%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Chinese component 1a Non-Blood Adoptive Relationships by sexual

orientation. The difference is not significant, x^2 (1, N=1922) = 7.309, p=.007, Cramer's V is .062 (no effect).

Table 5. 76: Chinese component 1a Non-Blood Adoptive Relationships by fandom intensity

	Casual (n=906, 47.1%)	Avid (n=1016, 52.9%)
Yes (n=409)	21.3%	78.7%
No (n=1513)	54.1%	45.9%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Chinese component 1a Non-Blood Adoptive Relationships by fandom intensity. Casual fans had lower percentage endorsement (21.3%) than the casual fan population of all Chinese participants (47.1%) and avid fans had higher percentage endorsement (78.7%) than the avid fan population of all Chinese participants (52.9%), x^2 (1, N=1922) = 139.513, p<.001, Cramer's V is .269 (small effect).

Table 5. 77: Chinese component 1a Non-Blood Adoptive Relationships by storyline - romance no sex

	Never (n=131, 6.8%)	Sometimes (n=310, 16.1%)	Often (n=446, 23.2%)	Very often (n=681, 35.4%)	Always (n=354, 18.4%)
Yes (n=409)	4.4%	12.7%	28.4%	38.9%	15.1%
No (n=1513)	7.5%	17.1%	21.8%	34.5%	19.2%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese component 1a Non-Blood Adoptive Relationships were not significantly different from participants who did not endorse component 1a in relations to storylines which are mostly romance and no sex (U=302530.000, p = .474).

Table 5. 78: Chinese component 1a Non-Blood Adoptive Relationships by storyline - implicit relationships

	Never (n=536, 27.9%)	Sometimes (n=603, 31.4%)	Often (n=443, 23.0%)	Very often (n=220, 11.4%)	Always (n=120, 6.2%)
Yes (n=409)	28.6%	32.8%	24.2%	8.6%	5.9%
No (n=1513)	27.7%	31.0%	22.%	12.2%	6.3%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese component 1a Non-Blood Adoptive Relationships were not significantly different from participants who did not endorse component 1a with respect to storylines with implicit relationships (U=298538.000, p = .259).

Table 5. 79: Chinese component 1a Non-Blood Adoptive Relationships by storyline - explicit sex

	Never (n=342, 17.8%)	Sometimes (n=500, 26.0%)	Often (n=452, 23.5%)	Very often (n=377, 19.6%)	Always (n=251, 13.1%)
Yes (n=409)	6.8.%	20.0%	24.2%	24.9%	24.0%
No (n=1513)	20.8%	27.6%	23.3%	18.2%	10.1%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese component1a Non-Blood Adoptive Relationships were significantly more likely to endorse storylines with explicit sex than participants who did not endorse component 1a (U=216121.500, p < .001), r = .219 (small effect).

Table 5. 80: Chinese component 1a Non-Blood Adoptive Relationships by legal concern

	Never (n=422, 22.0%)	Sometimes (n=370, 19.3%)	Often (n=409, 21.3%)	Very often (n=364, 18.9%)	Always (n=357, 18.6%)
Yes (n=146)	11.0%	13.2%	20.%	24.7%	30.3%
No (n=1776)	24.9%	20.9%	21.4%	17.4%	15.4%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese component1a Non-Blood Adoptive Relationships were significantly more concerned about legal issues in relation to the sexual content of BL than participants who did not endorse component 1a (U=219600.000, $p < .001$), $r = .210$ (small effect).

Table 5. 81: Chinese component 1b Step/In-Law Relationships by gender

	Male (n=213, 11.1%)	Female (n=1691, 88.0%)	Other (n=18, 0.9%)
Yes (n=201)	6.5%	91.5%	2.0%
No (n=1721)	11.6%	87.6%	0.8%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Chinese component 1b Step/In-Law Relationships by gender. The difference is not significant, x^2 (2, N=1922) = 7.297, p<.001, Cramer's V is .062 (no effect).

Table 5. 82: Chinese component 1b Step/In-Law Relationships by sexual orientation

	Heterosexual (n=1237, 64.4%)	Nonheterosexual (n=685, 35.6%)
Yes (n=201)	49.3%	50.7%
No (n=1721)	66.1%	33.9%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Chinese component 1b Step/In-Law Relationship by sexual orientation. Heterosexual participants had lower percentage endorsement (49.3%) than the heterosexual population of all Chinese participants (64.4%) and nonheterosexual participants had higher percentage endorsement (50.7%) than the nonheterosexual population of all Chinese participants (35.6%), x^2 (1, N=1922) = 22.332, p<.001, Cramer's V is .108 (small effect).

Table 5. 83: Chinese component 1b Step/In-Law Relationships by fandom intensity

	Casual (n=906, 47.1%)	Avid (n=1016, 52.9%)
Yes (n=201)	17.9%	82.1%
No (n=1721)	50.6%	49.4%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Chinese component 2 Step/In-Law Relationships by fandom intensity. Casual fans had lower percentage endorsement (17.9%) than the casual fan population of all Chinese participants (47.1%) and avid fans had higher percentage endorsement (82.1%) than the avid fan population of all Chinese participants (52.9%), x^2 (1, N=1922) = 76.957, p<.001, Cramer's V is .200 (small effect).

Table 5. 84: Chinese component 1b Step/In-Law Relationships by storyline - romance no sex

	Never (n=131, 6.8%)	Sometimes (n=310, 16.1%)	Often (n=446, 23.2%)	Very often (n=681, 35.4%)	Always (n=354, 18.4%)
Yes (n=201)	6.0%	13.9%	30.3%	34.8%	14.9%
No (n=1721)	6.9%	16.4%	22.4%	35.5%	18.8%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese component 1b Step/In-Law Relationships were not significantly different from participants who did not endorse component 1a with respect to storylines which are mostly romance and no sex (U=167372.500, p = .437).

Table 5. 85: Chinese component 1b Step/In-Law Relationships by storyline - implicit relationships

	Never (n=536, 27.9%)	Sometimes (n=603, 31.4%)	Often (n=443, 23.0%)	Very often (n=220, 11.4%)	Always (n=120, 6.2%)
Yes (n=201)	30.3%	32.3%	22.2%	7.5%	7.0%
No (n=1721)	27.6%	31.3%	23.1%	11.9%	6.2%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese component 1b Step/In-Law Relationships were not significantly different from participants who did not endorse component 1a with respect to storylines with implicit relationships (U=164616.000, p = .246).

Table 5. 86: Chinese component 1b Step/In-Law Relationships by storyline - explicit sex

	Never (n=342, 17.8%)	Sometimes (n=500, 26.0%)	Often (n=452, 23.5%)	Very often (n=377, 19.6%)	Always (n=251, 13.1%)
Yes (n=201)	7.0%	20.0%	20.9%	24.9%	34.8%
No (n=1721)	19.1%	27.6%	23.8%	19.0%	10.5%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese component1b Step/In-Law Relationships were significantly more likely to endorse storylines with explicit sex than participants who did not endorse component 1b (U=104191.500, p < .001), r = .216 (small effect).

Table 5. 87: Chinese component 1b Step/In-Law Relationships by legal concern

	Never (n=422, 22.0%)	Sometimes (n=370, 19.3%)	Often (n=409, 21.3%)	Very often (n=364, 18.9%)	Always (n=357, 18.6%)
Yes (n=201)	14.9%	8.5%	16.4%	22.4%	37.8%
No (n=1721)	22.8%	20.5%	21.8%	18.5%	16.3%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese component1b Step/In-Law Relationships were significantly more concerned about legal issues in relation to the sexual content of BL than participants who did not endorse component 1b (U=121847.000, p < .001), r = .160 (small effect).

Table 5. 88: Chinese component 2 Blood Relationships by gender

	Male (n=213, 11.1%)	Female (n=1691, 88.0%)	Other (n=19, 0.9%)
Yes (n=198)	9.1%	88.4%	2.5%
No (n=1724)	11.3%	87.9%	0.8%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Chinese component 2 Blood Relationships by gender. The difference is not significant, x^2 (2, N=1922) = 6.743, p= .034, Cramer's V is .059 (no effect).

Table 5. 89: Chinese component 2 Blood Relationships by sexual orientation

	Heterosexual (n=1237, 64.4%)	Nonheterosexual (n=685, 35.6%)
Yes (n=198)	49.0%	51.0%
No (n=1724)	66.1%	33.9%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Chinese component 2 Blood Relationships by sexual orientation. Heterosexual participants had lower percentage endorsement (49.0%) than the heterosexual population of all Chinese participants (64.4%) and nonheterosexual participants had higher percentage endorsement (51.0%) than the nonheterosexual population of all Chinese participants (35.6%), x^2 (1, N=1922) = 22.734, p<.001, Cramer's V is .109 (small effect).

Table 5. 90: Chinese component 2 Blood Relationships by fandom intensity

	Casual (n=906, 47.1%)	Avid (n=1016, 52.9%)
Yes (n=198)	22.2%	77.8%
No (n=1724)	50.0%	50.0%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Chinese component 2 Blood Relationships by fandom intensity. Casual fans had lower percentage endorsement (22.2%) than the casual fan

population of all Chinese participants (47.1%) and avid fans had higher percentage endorsement (77.8%) than the avid fan population of all Chinese participants (52.9%), x^2 (1, N=1922)= 54.996, p<.001, Cramer's V is .169 (small effect).

Table 5. 91: Chinese component 2 Blood Relationships by storyline - romance no sex

	Never (n=131, 6.8%)	Sometimes (n=310, 16.1%)	Often (n=446, 23.2%)	Very often (n=681, 35.4%)	Always (n=354, 18.4%)
Yes (n=198)	6.1%	14.1%	30.3%	35.4%	14.1%
No (n=1724)	6.9%	16.4%	22.4%	35.4%	18.9%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese component 2 Blood Relationships were not significantly different from participants who did not endorse component 2 with respect to storylines that are mostly romance and no sex (U=163817.000, p = .337).

Table 5. 92: Chinese component 2 Blood Relationships by storyline - implicit relationships

	Never (n=536, 27.9%)	Sometimes (n=603, 31.4%)	Often (n=443, 23.0%)	Very often (n=220, 11.4%)	Always (n=120, 6.2%)
Yes (n=198)	35.4%	27.8%	22.7%	6.6%	7.6%
No (n=1724)	27.0%	31.8%	23.1%	12.0%	6.1%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese component 2 Blood Relationships were not significantly different from participants who did not endorse component 2 with respect to storylines with implicit relationships (U=156363.000, p = .045).

Table 5. 93: Chinese component 2 Blood Relationships by storyline - explicit sex

	Never (n=342, 17.8%)	Sometimes (n=500, 26.0%)	Often (n=452, 23.5%)	Very often (n=377, 19.6%)	Always (n=251, 13.1%)
Yes (n=198)	6.1%	16.2%	23.7%	25.3%	28.8%
No (n=1724)	19.1%	27.1%	23.5%	19.0%	11.3%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese component 2 Blood Relationships, were significantly more likely to endorse storylines with explicit sex than participants who did not endorse component 2 ($U=113236.500$, $p < .001$), $r = .181$ (small effect).

Table 5. 94: Chinese component 2 blood relationship by legal concern

	Never (n=422, 22.0%)	Sometimes (n=370, 19.3%)	Often (n=409, 21.3%)	Very often (n=364, 18.9%)	Always (n=357, 18.6%)
Yes (n=201)	15.7%	8.1%	19.7%	24.2%	32.5%
No (n=1721)	22.7%	20.5%	21.5%	18.3%	17.0%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese component 2 Blood Relationships were significantly more concerned about legal issues in relation to the sexual content of BL than participants who did not endorse component 2 ($U=127869.500$, $p < .001$), $r = .135$ (small effect).

Table 5. 95: Chinese component 3 Brother Relationships by gender

	Male (n=213, 11.1%)	Female (n=1691, 88.0%)	Other (n=19, 0.9%)
Yes (n=484)	6.0%	92.1%	1.9%
No (n=1438)	12.8%	86.6%	0.6%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Chinese component 3 Brother Relationships by gender. Male participants had lower percentage endorsement (6.0%) than the male population of

all Chinese participants (11.1%), female participants had higher percentage endorsement (92.1%) than the female population of all Chinese participants (88.0%), and 'other' gendered participants had higher percentage endorsement (1.9%) than the 'other' gendered population of all Chinese participants (0.9%), x^2 (2, N=1922) = 22.288, p<.001, Cramer's V is .108 (small effect).

Table 5. 96: Chinese component 3 Brother Relationships by sexual orientation

	Heterosexual (n=1237, 64.4%)	Nonheterosexual (n=685, 35.6%)
Yes (n=484)	48.8%	51.2%
No (n=1438)	69.6%	30.4%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Chinese component 3 Brother Relationships by sexual orientation. Heterosexual participants had lower percentage endorsement (48.8%) than the heterosexual population of all Chinese participants (64.4%) and nonheterosexual participants had higher percentage endorsement (51.2%) than the nonheterosexual population of all Chinese participants (35.6%), x^2 (1, N=1922) = 68.631, p<.001, Cramer's V is .189 (small effect).

Table 5. 97: Chinese component 3 Brother Relationships by fandom intensity

	Casual (n=906, 47.1%)	Avid (n=1016, 52.9%)
Yes (n=484)	22.5%	77.5%
No (n=1438)	55.4%	44.6%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Chinese component 3 Brother Relationships by fandom intensity. Casual fans had lower percentage endorsement (22.5%) than the casual fan population of all Chinese participants (47.1%) and avid fans had higher percentage

endorsement (77.5%) than the avid fan population of all Chinese participants (52.9%), x^2 (1, N=1922)= 157.333, p<.001, Cramer's V is .286 (small effect).

Table 5. 98: Chinese component 3 Brother Relationships by storyline - romance no sex

	Never (n=131, 6.8%)	Sometimes (n=310, 16.1%)	Often (n=446, 23.2%)	Very often (n=681, 35.4%)	Always (n=354, 18.4%)
Yes (n=484)	3.5%	14.0%	31.8%	36.2%	14.5%
No (n=1483)	7.9%	16.8%	20.3%	35.2%	19.7%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese component 3 Brother Relationships were not significantly different from participants who did not endorse component 3 with respect to storylines which are mostly romance and no sex (U=342652.000, p = .600).

Table 5. 99: Chinese component 3 Brother Relationships by storyline - implicit relationships

	Never (n=536, 27.9%)	Sometimes (n=603, 31.4%)	Often (n=443, 23.0%)	Very often (n=220, 11.4%)	Always (n=120, 6.2%)
Yes (n=484)	28.7%	31.6%	25.8%	8.7%	5.2%
No (n=1438)	27.6%	31.3%	22.1%	12.4%	6.6%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese component 3 Brother Relationships were not significantly different from participants who did not endorse component 3 with respect to storylines with implicit relationships (U=335938.000, p = .237).

Table 5. 100: Chinese component 3 Brother Relationships by storyline - explicit sex

	Never (n=342, 17.8%)	Sometimes (n=500, 26.0%)	Often (n=452, 23.5%)	Very often (n=377, 19.6%)	Always (n=251, 13.1%)
Yes (n=484)	5.6%	15.9%	24.6%	28.9%	25.0%
No (n=1438)	21.9%	29.4%	23.2%	16.5%	9.0%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese component 3 Brother Relationships were significantly more likely to endorse storylines with explicit sex than participants who did not endorse component 3 (U=210900.500, $p < .001$), $r = .303$ (medium effect).

Table 5. 101: Chinese component 3 Brother Relationship by legal concern

	Never (n=422, 22.0%)	Sometimes (n=370, 19.3%)	Often (n=409, 21.3%)	Very often (n=364, 18.9%)	Always (n=357, 18.6%)
Yes (n=484)	11.2%	11.6%	20.5%	24.8%	32.0%
No (n=1438)	25.6%	21.8%	21.6%	17.0%	14.0%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese component 3 Brother Relationships were significantly more concerned about legal issues in relation to the sexual content of BL than participants who did not endorse component 3 (U=210900.500, $p < .001$), $r = .254$ (small effect).

Following are the Chi-Square analyses of the Anglophone CATPCA incest relationship components by gender, sexual orientation, fandom intensity, storylines, and concern with legal issues.

Table 5. 102: Anglophone component 1 Non-Blood Relationships by gender

	Male (n=283, 16.5%)	Female (n=1281, 74.7%)	Other (n=151, 8.8%)
Yes (n=207)	9.2%	80.7%	10.1%
No (n=1508)	17.5%	73.9%	8.6%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Anglophone component 1 Non-Blood Relationships by gender. The difference is not significant, x^2 (1, N=1715) = 9.258, p=.010, Cramer's V is .073 (no effect).

Table 5. 103: Anglophone component 1 Non-Blood Relationship by sexual orientation

	Heterosexual (n=536, 31.3%)	Nonheterosexual (n=1179, 68.7%)
Yes (n=207)	30.9%	69.1%
No (n=1508)	31.3%	68.7%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Anglophone component 1 Non-Blood Relationships by sexual orientation. The difference is not significant, x^2 (1, N=1715) = .012, p=.912, Cramer's V is .003 (no effect).

Table 5. 104: Anglophone component 1 Non-Blood Relationships by fandom intensity

	Casual (n=598, 34.9%)	Avid (n=1117, 65.1%)
Yes (n=207)	13.5%	86.5%
No (n=1508)	37.8%	62.2%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Anglophone component 1 Non-Blood Relationships by fandom intensity. Casual fans had lower percentage endorsement (13.5%) than the casual fan population of all Anglophone participants (34.9%) and avid fans had higher percentage endorsement (86.5%) than the avid fan population of all Anglophone participants (65.1%), x^2 (1, N=1715) = 47.216, p<.001, Cramer's V is .166 (small effect).

Table 5. 105: Anglophone component 1 Non-Blood Relationships by storyline - romance no sex

	Never (n=131, 6.8%)	Sometimes (n=310, 16.1%)	Often (n=446, 23.2%)	Very often (n=681, 35.4%)	Always (n=354, 18.4%)
Yes (n=484)	3.5%	14.0%	31.8%	36.2%	14.5%
No (n=1483)	7.9%	16.8%	20.3%	35.2%	19.7%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Anglophone component 1 Non-Blood Relationships were not significantly different from participants who did not endorse component 1 with respect to storylines which are mostly romance and no sex (U=144677.000, p = .070).

Table 5. 106: Anglophone component 1 Non-Blood Relationships by storyline - implicit relationships

	Never (n=536, 27.9%)	Sometimes (n=603, 31.4%)	Often (n=443, 23.0%)	Very often (n=220, 11.4%)	Always (n=120, 6.2%)
Yes (n=484)	28.7%	31.6%	25.8%	8.7%	5.2%
No (n=1438)	27.6%	31.3%	22.1%	12.4%	6.6%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Anglophone component 1 Non-Blood Relationships were not significantly different from participants who did not endorse component 1 with respect to storylines with implicit relationships (U=141881.000, p = .022).

Table 5. 107: Anglophone component 1 Non-Blood Relationships by storyline - explicit sex

	Never (n=342, 17.8%)	Sometimes (n=500, 26.0%)	Often (n=452, 23.5%)	Very often (n=377, 19.6%)	Always (n=251, 13.1%)
Yes (n=484)	5.6%	15.9%	24.6%	28.9%	25.0%
No (n=1438)	21.9%	29.4%	23.2%	16.5%	9.0%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Anglophone component 1 Non-Blood Relationships were significantly more likely to endorse storylines with explicit sex than participants who did not endorse component 1 (U=110416.000, p < .001), r = .171 (small effect).

Table 5. 108: Anglophone component 1 Non-Blood relationships by legal concern

	Never (n=422, 22.0%)	Sometimes (n=370, 19.3%)	Often (n=409, 21.3%)	Very often (n=364, 18.9%)	Always (n=357, 18.6%)
Yes (n=484)	11.2%	11.6%	20.5%	24.8%	32.0%
No (n=1438)	25.6%	21.8%	21.6%	17.0%	14.0%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Anglophone component 1 Non-Blood Relationships were significantly more concerned about legal issues in relation to the sexual content of BL than participants who did not endorse component 1 (U=136471.500, p < .001), r = .077 (trivial effect).

Table 5. 109: Anglophone component 2 Blood Relationships by gender

	Male (n=283, 16.5%)	Female (n=1281, 74.7%)	Other (n=151, 8.8%)
Yes (n=98)	12.2%	75.5%	12.2%
No (n=1617)	16.8%	74.6%	8.6%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Anglophone component 2 Blood Relationships by gender. The difference is not significant, x^2 (1, N=1715) = 2.548, p=.280, Cramer's V is .039 (no effect).

Table 5. 110: Anglophone component 2 Blood Relationships by sexual orientation

	Heterosexual (n=536, 31.3%)	Nonheterosexual (n=1179, 68.7%)
Yes (n=98)	23.5%	76.5%
No (n=1617)	31.7%	68.3%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Anglophone component 2 Blood Relationships by sexual orientation. The difference is not significant, x^2 (1, N=1715) = 2.931, p=.087, Cramer's V is .041 (no effect).

Table 5. 111: Anglophone component 2 Blood Relationships by fandom intensity

	Casual (n=598, 34.9%)	Avid (n=1117, 65.1%)
Yes (n=98)	9.2%	90.8%
No (n=1617)	36.4%	63.6%

A Chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Anglophone component 2 Blood Relationships by fandom intensity. Casual fans had lower percentage endorsement (9.2%) than the casual fan population of all Anglophone participants (34.9%) and avid fans had higher percentage endorsement (90.8%) than the avid fan population of all Anglophone participants (65.1%), x2 (1, N=1715) = 30.194, p<.001, Cramer's V is .133 (small effect).

Table 5. 112: Anglophone component 2 Blood Relationships by storyline - romance no sex

	Never (n=45, 2.6%)	Sometimes (n=737, 43.0%)	Often (n=506, 29.5%)	Very often (n=313, 18.3%)	Always (n=114, 6.6%)
Yes (n=98)	3.1%	46.0%	28.6%	18.2%	3.1%
No (n=1617)	2.6%	42.7%	29.7%	18.4%	6.9%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Anglophone component 2 Blood Relationships were not significantly different from participants who did not endorse component 2 with respect to storylines which are mostly romance and not sex (U=72441.500, p = .266).

Table 5. 113: Anglophone component 2 Blood Relationships by storylines - implicit relationships

	Never (n=194, 11.3%)	Sometimes (n=857, 50.0%)	Often (n=398, 23.2%)	Very often (n=207, 12.1%)	Always (n=59, 3.4%)
Yes (n=98)	10.2%	40.8%	27.6%	18.4%	3.1%
No (n=1617)	11.4%	50.5%	22.9%	11.7%	3.5%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Anglophone component 2 Blood Relationships were not significantly different from participants who did not endorse component 2 with respect to storylines with implicit relationships (U=70646.500, p = .052).

Table 5. 114: Anglophone component 2 Blood Relationships by storyline - explicit sex

.

	Never (n=41, 2.4%)	Sometimes (n=315 18.4%)	Often (n=380, 22.2%)	Very often (n=515, 30.0%)	Always (n=464, 27.1%)
Yes (n=98)	0.0%	2.0%	15.3%	26.5%	56.1%
No (n=1617)	2.5%	19.4%	22.6%	30.2%	25.3%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Anglophone component 2 Blood Relationships were significantly more likely to endorse storylines with explicit sex than participants who did not endorse component 2 (U=47285.000, p < .001), r = .168 (small effect).

Table 5. 115: Anglophone component 2 Blood relationship by legal concern

	Never (n=762, 44.4%)	Sometimes (n=652, 38.0%)	Often (n=186, 10.8%)	Very often (n=71, 4.1%)	Always (n=44, 2.6%)
Yes (n=98)	52.0%	30.6%	13.3%	2.0%	2.0%
No (n=1617)	44.0%	38.5%	10.7%	4.3%	2.6%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Anglophone component 2 Blood Relationships were not significantly different from participants who did not endorse component 2 with respect to concern about legal issues in relation to the sexual content of BL (U=73517.000, p = .194).

Table 5. 116: Anglophone component 3 Brother Relationships by gender

	Male (n=213, 16.5%)	Female (n=1731, 74.7%)	Other (n=191, 8.8%)
Yes (n=527)	15.0%	75.0%	10.1%
No (n=1188)	17.2%	74.6%	8.2%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Anglophone component 3 Brother Relationships by gender. The difference is not significant, x^2 (1, N=1715) = 2.414, p= .299, Cramer's V is .038 (no effect).

Table 5. 117: Anglophone component 3 Brother Relationships by sexual orientation

	Heterosexual (n=536, 31.3%)	Nonheterosexual (n=1179, 68.7%)
Yes (n=527)	26.2%	73.8%
No (n=1188)	33.5%	66.5%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Anglophone component 3 Brother Relationships by sexual orientation. The difference is not significant, x^2 (1, N=1715) = 9.093, p=.003, Cramer's V is .073 (no effect).

Table 5. 118: Anglophone component 3 Brother Relationships by fandom intensity

	Casual (n=598, 34.9%)	Avid (n=1117, 65.1%)
Yes (n=527)	22.2%	77.8%
No (n=1188)	40.5%	59.5%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Anglophone component 3 Brother Relationships by fandom intensity. Casual fans had lower percentage endorsement (22.2%) than the casual fan population of all Anglophone participants (34.9%) and avid fans had higher percentage endorsement (77.8%) than the avid fan population of all Anglophone participants (65.1%), x^2 (1, N=1715) = 53.756, p<.001, Cramer's V is .177 (small effect).

Table 5. 119: Anglophone component 3 Brother Relationships by storyline - romance no sex

	Never (n=45, 2.6%)	Sometimes (n=737, 43.0%)	Often (n=506, 29.5%)	Very often (n=313, 18.3%)	Always (n=114, 6.6%)
Yes (n=527)	1.9%	48.2%	28.7%	15.2%	6.1%
No (n=1188)	2.9%	40.7%	29.9%	19.6%	6.9%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Anglophone component 3 Brother Relationships were not significantly different from participants who did not endorse component 3 with respect to storylines which are mostly romance and no sex (U=291290.500, p = .015).

Table 5. 120: Anglophone component 3 Brother Relationships by storyline - implicit relationships

	Never (n=194, 11.3%)	Sometimes (n=857, 50.0%)	Often (n=398, 23.2%)	Very often (n=207, 12.1%)	Always (n=59, 3.4%)
Yes (n=527)	8.3%	51.8%	22.8%	13.3%	3.8%
No (n=1188)	12.6%	49.2%	23.4%	11.5%	3.3%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Anglophone component 3 Brother Relationships were not significantly different from participants

who did not endorse component 3 with respect to storylines with implicit relationships (U=298345.000, p = .094).

Table 5. 121: Anglophone component 3 Brother Relationships by storyline - explicit sex

	Never (n=41, 2.4%)	Sometimes (n=315 18.4%)	Often (n=380, 22.2%)	Very often (n=515, 30.0%)	Always (n=464, 27.1%)
Yes (n=527)	0.4%	12.5%	19.9%	30.0%	37.2%
No (n=1188)	3.3%	21.0%	23.1%	30.1%	22.6%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Anglophone component 3 Brother Relationships were significantly more likely to endorse storylines with explicit sex than participants who did not endorse component 3 (U=246827.000, p < .001), r = .175 (small effect).

Table 5. 122: Anglophone component 3 brother relationship by legal concern

	Never (n=762, 44.4%)	Sometimes (n=652, 38.0%)	Often (n=186, 10.8%)	Very often (n=71, 4.1%)	Always (n=44, 2.6%)
Yes (n=98)	51.0%	35.3%	9.1%	3.8%	1.7%
No (n=1617)	41.0%	39.2%	11.6%	4.3%	2.9%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Anglophone component 3 Brother Relationships were significantly more concerned about legal issues in relation to the sexual content of BL than participants who did not endorse component 3 (U=284370.500, p = .001), r = .079 (trivial effect).

In the ‘key variables’ table above (Table 71), the three highest weighted variables for each component did not include ‘blood brothers’. This is accounted for by the splitting of ‘blood brothers’ across components 2 and 3, as can be seen from the ‘component structure’ table (Table 72), with ‘blood bothers’ falling into Chinese

component 2 (Blood) but into Anglophone component 3 (Brothers). Given the particular peer intimacy of the blood brother relationship, and the fact that the variable has not appeared in our demographic analysis so far, additional analysis was conducted to identify the demographic endorsing this one particular item by gender, sexual orientation and fandom intensity.

Table 5. 123: Chinese variable 'blood brother relationships' by gender

	Male (n=213, 11.1%)	Female (n=1691, 88.0%)	Other (n=19, 0.9%)
Yes (n=739)	7.0%	91.3%	1.6%
No (n=1183)	13.6%	85.9%	0.5%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Chinese variable 'blood brother relationships' by gender. Male participants had lower percentage endorsement (7.0%) than the male population of all Chinese participants (11.1%), female participants had higher percentage endorsement (91.3%) than the female population of all Chinese participants (88.0%), and 'other' gendered participants had higher percentage endorsement (1.6%) than the 'other' gendered population of all Chinese participants (0.9%), x^2 (2, N=1922) = 25.327, $p < .001$, Cramer's V is .115 (small effect).

Table 5. 124: Chinese variable 'blood brother relationships' by sexual orientation

	Heterosexual (n=1237, 64.4%)	Nonheterosexual (n=685, 35.6%)
Yes (n=739)	49.8%	50.2%
No (n=1183)	73.5%	26.5%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Chinese variable 'blood brother relationships' by sexual orientation. Heterosexual participants had lower percentage endorsement (49.8%) than the heterosexual population of all Chinese participants (64.4%) and nonheterosexual

participants had higher percentage endorsement (50.2%) than the nonheterosexual population of all Chinese participants (35.6%), x^2 (1, N=1922) = 111.010, p < .001, Cramer's V is .240 (small effect).

Table 5. 125: Chinese variable 'blood brother relationships' by fandom intensity

	Casual (n=906, 47.1%)	Avid (n=1016, 52.9%)
Yes (n=739)	25.7%	74.3%
No (n=1183)	60.5%	39.5%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Chinese variable 'blood brother relationships' by fandom intensity. Casual fans had lower percentage endorsement (25.7%) than the casual fan population of all Chinese participants (47.1%) and avid fans had higher percentage endorsement (74.3%) than the avid fan population of all Chinese participants (52.9%), x^2 (1, N=1922) = 221.238, p<.001, Cramer's V is .339 (medium effect).

Table 5. 126: Chinese variable 'blood brother relationships' by storyline - romance no sex

	Never (n=131, 6.8%)	Sometimes (n=310, 16.1%)	Often (n=446, 23.2%)	Very often (n=681, 35.4%)	Always (n=354, 18.4%)
Yes (n=739)	3.5%	16.0%	31.4%	35.3%	13.8%
No (n=1183)	8.9%	16.2%	18.1%	35.5%	21.3%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese variable blood brother relationships were not significantly different from participants who did not endorse blood brothers with respect to storylines which are mostly romance and no sex (U=414806.000, p = .051).

Table 5. 127: Chinese variable 'blood brother relationships' by storyline - implicit relationships

	Never (n=536, 27.9%)	Sometimes (n=603, 31.4%)	Often (n=443, 23.0%)	Very often (n=220, 11.4%)	Always (n=120, 6.2%)
Yes (n=739)	29.5%	31.5%	24.8%	8.8%	5.4%
No (n=1183)	26.9%	31.3%	22.0%	13.1%	6.8%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese variable blood brother relationships were not significantly different from participants did not endorse blood brothers with respect to storylines with implicit relationships (U=413932.500, p = .043).

Table 5. 128: Chinese variable 'blood brother relationships' by storyline - explicit sex

	Never (n=342, 17.8%)	Sometimes (n=500, 26.0%)	Often (n=452, 23.5%)	Very often (n=377, 19.6%)	Always (n=251, 13.1%)
Yes (n=729)	5.3%	19.1%	24.6%	29.1%	21.9%
No (n=1183)	25.6%	30.3%	22.8%	13.7%	7.5%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese variable blood brother relationships were significantly more likely to endorse storylines with explicit sex than participants who did not endorse blood brothers (U=253010.000, p < .001), r = .363 (medium effect).

Table 5. 129: Chinese variable 'blood brother relationships' by legal concern

	Never (n=422, 22.0%)	Sometimes (n=370, 19.3%)	Often (n=409, 21.3%)	Very often (n=364, 18.9%)	Always (n=357, 18.6%)
Yes (n=729)	13.0%	13.7%	22.3%	23.7%	27.3%
No (n=1183)	27.6%	22.7%	20.6%	16.0%	13.1%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese blood brother relationships were significantly more concerned about legal issues in relation

to the sexual content of BL than participants who did not endorse blood brothers (U=307100.000, $p < .001$), $r = .256$ (small effect).

Table 5. 130: Anglophone variable 'blood brother relationships' by gender

	Male (n=283, 16.5%)	Female (n=1281, 74.7%)	Other (n=151, 8.8%)
Yes (n=611)	14.7%	75.5%	9.8%
No (n=1104)	17.5%	74.3%	8.2%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Anglophone variable 'blood brother relationships' by gender. The difference is not significant, x^2 (1, N=1715) = 2.989, p = .042, Cramer's V is .224 (no effect).

Table 5. 131: Anglophone variable 'blood brother relationships' by sexual orientation

	Heterosexual (n=536, 31.3%)	Nonheterosexual (n=1179, 68.7%)
Yes (n=611)	24.5%	75.5%
No (n=1104)	35.0%	65.0%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Anglophone variable 'blood brother relationships' by sexual orientation. Heterosexual participants had lower percentage endorsement (24.5%) than the heterosexual participants of all Anglophone participants (31.3%) and nonheterosexual participants (75.5%) had higher endorsement in blood brother than the nonheterosexual population of all Anglophone participants (68.7%), x^2 (1, N=1715) = 19.853, $p < .001$, Cramer's V is .108 (small effect).

Table 5. 132: Anglophone variable 'blood brother relationships' by fandom intensity

	Casual (n=598, 34.9%)	Avid (n=1117, 65.1%)
Yes (n=611)	20.9%	79.1%

No (n=1104)	42.6%	57.4%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Anglophone variable 'blood brother relationships' by fandom intensity. Casual fans had lower percentage endorsement (20.9%) than the casual fan population of all Anglophone participants (34.9%) and avid fans had higher percentage endorsement (79.1%) than the avid fan population of all Anglophone participants (65.1%), x^2 (1, N=1715) = 80.977, p < .001, Cramer's V is .217 (small effect).

Table 5. 133: Anglophone variable 'blood brother relationships' by storyline - romance no sex

	Never (n=45, 2.6%)	Sometimes (n=737, 43.0%)	Often (n=506, 29.5%)	Very often (n=313, 18.3%)	Always (n=114, 6.6%)
Yes (n=611)	2.1%	47.5%	29.0%	16.0%	5.2%
No (n=1104)	2.9%	40.5%	29.8%	19.4%	7.4%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Anglophone variable blood brother relationships were not significantly different from participants who did not endorse blood brothers with respect to storylines that are mostly romance and no sex (U=312803.500, p = .008).

Table 5. 134: Anglophone variable 'blood brother relationships' by storyline - implicit relationships

	Never (n=194, 11.3%)	Sometimes (n=857, 50.0%)	Often (n=389, 23.2%)	Very often (n=207, 12.1%)	Always (n=59, 3.4%)
Yes (n=611)	8.3%	48.1%	24.1%	15.5%	3.9%
No (n=1104)	13.0%	51.0%	22.7%	10.1%	3.2%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Anglophone variable blood brother relationships were significantly more likely to endorse storylines with implicit relationships than participants who did not endorse blood brothers (U=301553.000, $p < .001$), $r = .095$ (trivial effect).

Table 5. 135: Anglophone variable 'blood brother relationships' by storyline - explicit sex

	Never (n=41, 2.4%)	Sometimes (n=315, 18.4%)	Often (n=380, 22.2%)	Very often (n=515, 30.0%)	Always (n=464, 27.1%)
Yes (n=611)	0.2%	10.5%	19.5%	32.6%	37.8%
No (n=1104)	3.6%	22.7%	23.9%	28.6%	21.1%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Anglophone variable blood brother relationships were significantly more likely to endorse storylines with explicit sex than participants who did not endorse blood brothers (U=244864.500, $p < .001$), $r = .235$ (small effect).

Table 5. 136: Anglophone variable 'blood brother relationships' by legal concern

	Never (n=762, 44.4%)	Sometimes (n=652, 38.0%)	Often (n=186, 10.8%)	Very often (n=71, 4.1%)	Always (n=44, 2.6%)
Yes (n=611)	50.4%	35.0%	8.8%	3.8%	2.0%
No (n=1104)	41.1%	39.7%	12.0%	4.3%	2.9%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Anglophone variable blood brother relationships significantly more concerned about legal issues in relation to the sexual content of BL than participants who did not endorse blood brothers (U= 302830.000, $p < .001$), effect size $r = .092$ (trivial effect).

Discussion 2b: Are there sub-demographics in Chinese and in Anglophone culture who enjoy particular forms of 'incestual' sexual relationships in BL and do these forms relate also to enjoyment of particular storylines and concern with legal issues?Table 137 list the effect size and direction of the contrasts tested where a trivial effect size is <0.1, small effect size is 0.1≤ 0.3, a medium effect size is 0.3≤0.5, and large effect size is 0.5≤ (Cohen, 1988).

Table 5. 137: Summary statistical results for Chinese and Anglophone demographic, storyline and legal concern associated with each CATPCA incest relationship component and the variable blood brother relationships

Component/Variable	Variables	Chinese		Anglophone	
		Effect size	Direction	Effect size	Direction
1a Non-blood Adoptive; Non-blood	Gender	Small	Male↓ Female↑	/	/
	Sexual orientation	/	/	/	/
	Fandom intensity	Small	Casual↓ Avid↑	Small	Casual↓ Avid↑
	Romance no sex	/	/	/	/
	Implicit relationship	/	/	/	/
	Explicit sex	Small	↑	Small	↑
	Legal concern	Small	↑	Trivial	↑
1b Non-blood Step/In-law	Gender	/	/		
	Sexual orientation	Small	Het↓ Non-het↑		
	Fandom intensity	Small	Casual↓ Avid↑		
	Romance no sex	/	/		
	Implicit relationship	/	/		
	Explicit sex	Small	↑		
	Legal concern	Small	↑		
2 Blood	Gender	/	/	/	/
	Sexual orientation	Small	Het↓ Non-het↑	/	/
	Fandom intensity	Small	Casual↓ Avid↑	Small	Casual↓ Avid↑
	Romance no sex	/	/	/	/
	Implicit relationship	/	/	/	/
	Explicit sex	Small	↑	/	/
	Legal concern	Small	↑	/	/
3 Brother	Gender	Small	Male↓ Female↑ Other↑	/	/
	Sexual orientation	Small	Het↓ Non-het↑	/	/
	Fandom intensity	Small	Casual↓ Avid↑	Small	Casual↓ Avid↑
	Romance no sex	/	/	/	/
	Implicit relationship	/	/	/	/
	Explicit sex	Medium	↑	Small	↑
	Legal concern	Small	↑	Trivial	↑
Blood bro	Gender	Small	Male↓ Female↑ Other↑	/	/
	Sexual orientation	Small	Het↓ Non-het↑	Small	Het↓ Non-het↑
	Fandom intensity	Medium	Casual↓ Avid↑	Small	Casual↓ Avid↑
	Romance no sex	/	/	/	/
	Implicit relationship	/	/	Trivial	↑
	Explicit sex	Medium	↑	Small	↑
	Legal concern	Small	↑	Trivial	↑

The demographic patterns with respect to incest relationship components is very similar to that of the risqué sexual components (see Discussion 2b above). That

is, for both the Chinese and Anglophone *Yaoi* audience, it is the avid fans who most like incest relationships and, for all incest relationship components, the Chinese but not the Anglophone participants are concerned about legal issue. Moreover, unsurprisingly, those who like explicitly sexual stories also tend to prefer incest relationships - although this pattern does not hold for Anglophone participants with respect to the 'Blood' component. As, explored earlier, the latter may be explained by blood incest being particularly taboo in Anglophone culture. And, for the Chinese, nonheterosexual participants are more likely to like incest relationships - although this pattern does not hold with respect to the Non-blood/Adoptive component. The latter may be explained by non-blood/adoptive relationships being less socially taboo and, hence, relatively palatable to the heterosexual audience.

Compared to casual fans, avid fans are more likely to be familiar with the tropes and theme of the *Yaoi* genre, including the need to create intimacy situations in these stories. In this way 'incest' relationships may be understood by avid fans as the fantasy of a specially intense and close romance as opposed to the presentation of a perverse sexual relationship per se. For example, the Japanese manga *Sumanai!! Masumi-kun* by Kaname Itsuki about father-son-in-law relationship created an intimacy situation by having the daughter/wife run away from home. Another example, is *Not Equal* by Reibua Ire about a father-son relationship narrated via a time-travel story in which the son got to know his father when his father was fourteen years old. Both these popular *Yaoi* manga present an incest relationship theme very much softened through contextualisation, ambiguous age in the drawing style, and romantic plots lines.

For Chinese participants, female participants are more likely to like Non-blood/adoptive and Brother relationships. Both imply a naturally intimacy and might

be close to the better known trope of ‘childhood sweethearts’ in romance fiction - which is very much associated with being a genre for women (Ohmann, 2019) – while offering particularly complex and completing plot dilemmas. In East Asian romance stories (i.e., China, Japan, and Korea), childhood sweethearts play a central role. The theme is often one of growing up together, developing a very close friendship, which includes in time a physical attraction from this natural affinity. For example, the Japanese collections *The Tales of Ise* and *Yamato Monogatari* both bring together stories of childhood sweethearts. Moreover, famous Chinese poet Li Bai’s *Changganxing* conveys a wife missing her husband and recalling their childhood time together. However, even real incest relationship play an important role in East Asian romantic stories. For example, *Thunderstorm* by Cao Yu is one of the most important plays of Chinese modern literature associated with the incest relationship between a son and his step-mother. Moreover, *Autumn in My Heart,* is an extremely popular and influencial South Korean television romance between brother and sister which drew an audience of 42% in Korea but also huge ratings in Mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Japan. In the same way as suggested in *Yaoi*, this kind of incest relationship may be very attractive to a mass audience for the romance of overcoming barriers to love rather than for the taboo themes.

Finally, interestingly, participants who endorse blood brother relationships typify the demographic audience for *Yaoi* incest relationships in their culture. That is, the audience for blood brother relationships in China are more likely to be an avid fan, like stories with explicit sex, have legal concerns, nonhetersexual, and female. And the Anglophone audience for blood brother relationships are more likely to be an avid fan, like stories with explicit sex, and nonheterosexual (the latter the only break in cultural pattern). The fact that that blood brother relationships are, arguably,

the closest and possibly most taboo form of incest relationship - in being both first-degree relatives and *intra*generational - may explain why its audience brings together the core features of each culture's incest relationship audience. The particularly taboo nature of blood-brother relationships for an Anglphone audience might explain its particular resonance or nonhetersexual, Anglophone *Yaoi* fans.

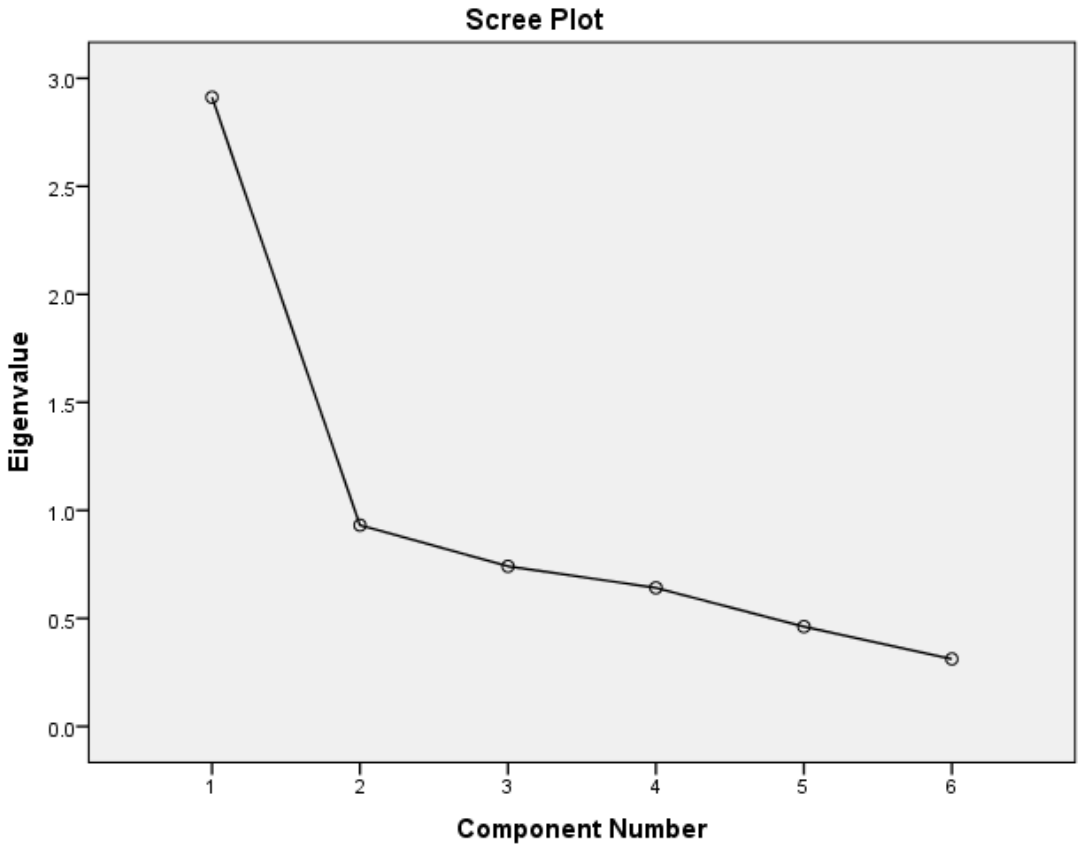
Research question 3a: What other erotic materials do Chinese and Anglophone participants engage with and does this differ between cultures?

Analysed in this section is the five likert-scale responses (*Never', 'Sometimes, 'Often', 'Very Often', 'Extensively'*) for questions: *How frequently do you engage with male-male slash fiction?; How frequently do you engage with female-female slash fiction?;How frequently do you engage with heterosexual erotic materials (e.g., slash fiction, other fictions, videos, photographs, manga, anime)?*; *How frequently do you engage with non-slash female-female erotic materials (e.g., fictions, videos, photographs, manga, anime)?*; *How frequently do you engage with non-BL/non-slash male-male erotic materials probably designed for gay men (e.g., fictions, videos, photographs, manga, anime)?;How frequently do you engage with non-BL/non-slash BDSM materials (e.g., fictions, videos, photographs, manga, anime)?*. No space was provided for participants to explain their response or provide other views. To perform CATPCA, the SPSS 21.0 Categorises Module has been applied as described earlier.

CATPCA of engagement with other erotic materials for Chinese data

The scree plot of the Chinese data demonstrate that eigenvalues start to level-off (i.e.., the 'elbow') after the second component (Figure 5).

Figure 5. 5: Scree plot of Chinese responses to what other erotic materials do you engage?



Although it is important to inspect the scree plot, Kaiser's criterion is the most common technique in deciding the number of meaningful components and it recommends retaining all with an eigenvalue above 1. Field (2006) indicates that the Kaiser criterion is reliable when simple size above N=250 and the Chinese sample is N=1922. This means that the decision was made to retain components 1 and 2, although component 2 falls a little short at an eigenvalue of .959. The total PVAF across the two components accounts for 64.055% of total variance (Table 138). This is higher than the 60% explained variance suggested for a 'good' factor analysis by Hair and Black (2013).

Table 5. 138: Variance accounted for in the four components retained in the Chinese responses to what other erotic materials do you engage?

Component	Unrotated solution			Rotated solution[a]		
	Cronbach's Alpha	Eigenvalue	PVAF %	Cronbach's Alpha	Eigenvalue	PVAF %
1	.806	3.045	48.531	.744	2.148	/
2	-.051	0.959	15.524	.695	1.856	/
Total	.900[b]	4.004	64.055	.900	4.004	64.055

a. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.
b. Total Cronbach's Alpha is based on the total Eigenvalue.

Without changing fit, an orthogonal, varimax rotation can produce the most structurally-simple solution in which each variable loads as highly as possible on only one component. A simplified solution was, indeed, produced through rotation for the Chinese data. In the rotated solution: (i)the two components have an eigenvalue above 1; (ii) the PVAF values are missing because SPSS does not calculate these when the eigenvalue for component 2 is below 1 and; (iii) Cronbach's Alpha is now around .7 for both components indicating that both now have an acceptable level of internal consistency.

Table 5. 139: Rotated component loading for2-dimensional CATPCA on 6 variables in the Chinese responses to What other erotic materials do you engage?

	1	2
Variables	Other erotic materials	Male-male slash fiction
Male-male slash fiction	.632	**.666**
Female-female slash fiction	**.690**	-.371
Heterosexual erotic materials	**.681**	.279
Non-slash/non-BL male-male erotic materials	**780**	.208
Non-slash female-female erotic materials	**.774**	-.444
Non-slash/non-BL BDSM	**.706**	-.245

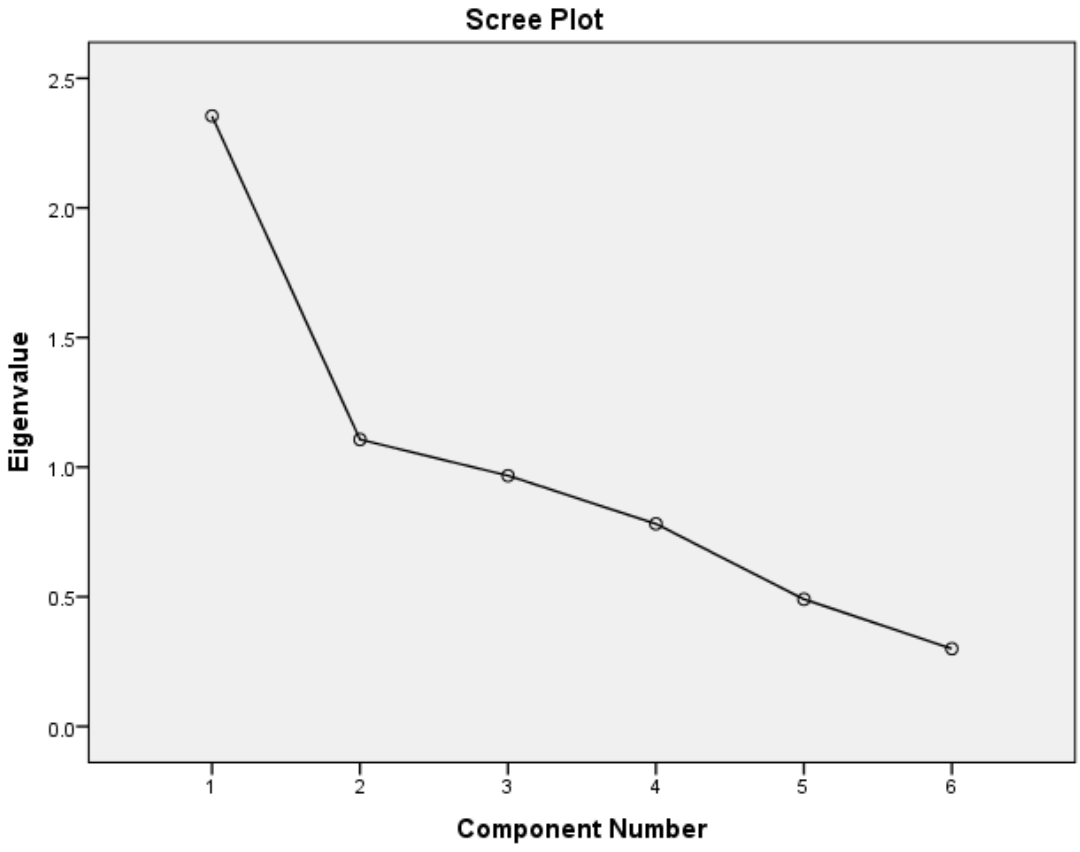
Note: Highest loading per variable in bold

Components derived from CATPCA are interpretable in light of the variables loading most highly on each. The variables loading most highly on component 1 are: female-female slash fiction, non-slash female erotic materials, non-slash/non-BL BDSM. The similarity of variables loading on component 1 suggests that they denote engagement with Female-female erotica and BDSM. The variables loading most highly on components 2 are: male-male slash fiction, heterosexual erotic materials, and non-slash/non-BL male-male erotic materials. The similarity of variables loading on component 2 suggests that they denote engagement with Male-male and heterosexual erotica.

CATPCA of engagement with other erotic materials for Anglophone data

The scree plot of the Anglophone data demonstrate that eigenvalues start to level-off (i.e.., the 'elbow') after the second component (Figure 6).

Figure 5. 6: Scree plot of Anglophone responses to What other erotic materials do you engage?



Although it is important to inspect the scree plot, Kaiser's criterion is the most common technique in deciding the number of meaningful components and it recommends retaining all with an eigenvalue above 1. The Kaiser criterion is reliable when simple size above N=250 and the Anglophone sample is N=1713. Hence, the decision was made to retain components 1 and 2. (Component 3 has an eigenvalue of .995). The total PVAF across the two components accounts for 57.687% of total variance (Table 140). This is near to the 60% of explained variance suggested for a 'good' factor analysis. Unrotated, component 1 accounts for the largest PVAF at 39.242%, with components 2 accounting respectively for 18.446%. Cronbach's alpha indicates that, although two components are retained on the basis of eigenvalue, unrotated only component 1 has reasonable internal consistency.

Table 5. 140: Variance accounted for in the two components retained in the Anglophone responses to What other erotic materials do you engage?

	Unrotated solution			Rotated solution[a]		
Component	Cronbach's Alpha	Eigenvalue	PVAF %	Cronbach's Alpha	Eigenvalue	PVAF
1	.691	2.359	39.242	.609	1.849	31.136
2	.147	1.139	18.446	.556	1.649	26.552
Total	.857[b]	3.489	57.687	.857	3.498	57.687

a. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.
b. Total Cronbach's Alpha is based on the total Eigenvalue.

A simplified solution was produced through rotation for the Anglophone data. In the rotated solution: (i) both two components retain an eigenvalue above 1; (ii) PVAF is redistributed in such a way as to maintain the strength of component 1 while improving that of the smaller component to 26.552% and; (iii) Cronbach's Alpha is now near to .7 for both components, although the internal consistency of

both components is rather weak. The loadings of each variable on the rotated components is shown in Table 141.

Table 5. 141: Rotated component loading for2-dimensional CATPCA on the 6 variables in the Anglophone responses to What other erotic materials do you engage?

Variable	1 Other erotic materials	2 Non-slash/non-BL male-male erotic materials
Male-male slash fiction	**.460**	.069
Female-female slash fiction	**.701**	-.570
Heterosexual erotic materials	**.584**	-.076
Non-slash/non-BL male-male erotic materials	.576	**.643**
Non-slash female-female erotic materials	**.726**	-.393
Non-slash/non-BL BDSM materials	**.674**	.486

Note: Highest loading per variable in bold

Components derived from CATPCA are interpretable in light of the variables loading most highly on each. The variables loading most highly on component 1 are: female-female slash fiction, heterosexual erotic materials, non-slash female-female erotic materials. The similarity of variables loading on component 1 suggests that they denote engagement with Female-female and heterosexual erotica. The variables loading most highly on components 2 are: male-male slash fiction, non-slash/non-BL male-male erotic materials, and non-slash/non-BL BDSM materials. The similarity of variables loading on component 2 suggests that they denote engagement with Male-male erotica and BDSM.

Discussion 3a: What other erotic materials do Chinese and Anglophone participants engage with and does this differ between cultures? There is,

possibly, surprising similarity between the Chinese and Anglophone CATPCA given that the populations are so distinct. The shaded boxes in table 142 indicate differences in the component structure.

Table 5. 142: Comparison of component structure of Chinese and Anglophone other erotic materials CATPCAs

Variables	Chinese 1 Other erotic materials	Anglophone 1 Other erotic materials	Chinese 2 Male-male slash fiction	Anglophone 2 Non-slash/non-BL male-male erotic materials
Male-male slash fiction	.632	.460	.666	.069
Female-female slash fiction	.690	.701	-.371	-.570
Heterosexual erotic materials	.681	.584	.279	-.076
Non-slash/non-BL male-male erotic materials	.780	.576	.208	.643
Non-slash female-female erotic materials	.774	.726	-.444	-.393
Non-slash/non-BL BDSM	.706	.674	-.245	.486

Chinese participants, as *Yaoi* fans, identified male-male slash fiction as a special type of erotic material, while clustering all other erotic materials together. This is likely due to the highly regulated and stigmatized situation with regard to pornography in China, which has been discussed in detail throughout. Even as *Yaoi* fans, the Chinese demonstrate a cautious attitude towards erotic materials and give very low endorsement to each kind of 'other erotic material' (variables) provided in the survey. On the other hand, Anglophone participants identified the non-slash/non-BL male-male erotic materials - essentially 'gay porn' for gay men. - as a special

type of erotic material. This may be influenced by the relatively large proportion of nonheterosexual men in the Anglophone group.

Research question 3b: Are there sub-demographics in Chinese and Anglophone culture who engage with particular forms of other erotic materials and do these forms relate also to enjoyment of particular storylines and concern with legal issues?

In order to explore if a sub-demographic is associated with engagement with other erotic material CATPCA components, participants were identified who had endorsed **all** of the highest loading, 'key' variables on each of the components as shown in table 143.

Table 5. 143: Key variables in order of importance for each other erotic materials CATPCA component by culture used to identify engaged demographic

	Component 1	Component 2
Chinese	Non-slash/non-BL male-male erotic materials Non-slash female-female erotic materials Non-slash/non-BL BDSM	Male-male slash fiction
Anglophone	Non-slash female-female erotic materials Female-female slash fiction Non-slash/non-BL BDSM	Non-slash/non-BL male-male erotic material

Using endorsement of all key variables as shown in table 143, table144 below provides information on the percentage of Chinese and Anglophone participants engaging with each CATPCA other erotic materials by gender and sexual orientation.

Table 5. 144: Percentage of Chinese and Anglophone BL fandom engaging with each CATPCA other erotic materials components by gender and sexual orientation

C	% of Chinese (n=1804, n=1834)						% of Anglophone (n=1707, n=1680)					
	Total	Male	Female	Other	Het.	Non-het.	Total	Male	Female	Other	Het.	Non-het.
1	32.6% (n=588)	4.5% (n=81)	27.5% (n=496)	0.6% (n=11)	16.6% (n=300)	16.0% (n=288)	35.4% (n=604)	4.7% (n=81)	26.5% (n=453)	4.1% (n=70)	6.5% (n=111)	28.9% (n=493)
2	77.7% (n=1425)	6.5% (n=120)	70.4% (n=1291)	0.8% (n=14)	45.6% (n=837)	32.1% (n=588)	78.2% (n=1314)	14.3% (n=241)	56.3% (n=946)	7.6% (n=127)	21.7% (n=365)	56.5% (n=949)

For ethical reasons, because the survey was about BL, participants were allowed to skip all or any of the questions in the 'Other Erotic Materials' section of the survey. It is therefore interesting to compare the Chinese and Anglophone participants' completion of this section. Table 145 summarises: (a) the number of each sample who skipped the question and what percent of the total sample that number represents; and (b) the number of each sample who responded 'never' and what percent of the total sample - minus the number who skipped that question – that number represents.

Table 5. 145: Summary descriptive results for Chinese and Anglophone participants who skipped and endorsed 'never' for each question in the Other Erotic Materials section

	Chinese		Anglophone	
	Skip	Never	Skip	Never
Male-male slash	N=88, 4.6%	N=409, 22.3%	N=14, .8%	N=169, 9.9%
Female-female slash	N=100, 5.2%	N=889, 48.8%	N=15, .9%	N=672, 39.5%
Heterosexual	N=112, 5.8%	N=347, 19.2%	N=15, .9%	N=261, 15.4%
Non-BL/non-slash male-male	N=126, 6.6%	N=540, 30.1%	N=35, 2.0%	N=366, 21.8%
Non-slash female-female	N=130, 6.8%	N=916, 51.1%	N=39, 2.3%	N=687, 41.0%
BDSM	N=143, 7.4 %	N=940, 52.8 %	N=34, 2.0%	N=632, 37.5 %

From table 145, I can observe that Chinese participants were more likely than were the Anglophone to skip questions and to endorse 'never' in the Other Erotic Materials section of the survey.

The Chi-Square test of independence was used to determine if any of three categorical demographic variables – gender (male, female, other), sexual orientation (heterosexual, nonheterosexual), and fandom intensity (casual, avid) are associated with each of the two components within cultural group. The Mann-Whitney was used to test for differences in median on the likert scale storyline variables (*I like BL stories that are mostly romance and no sex, I like BL stories with 'implicit relationships', I like BL stories with explicit sex*), and likert scale variable *To what extent do you worry about legal issues in relation to the sexual content of BL?* within cultural group in relation to endorsement of each of the two components. To avoid type 1 errors (false positives) a high significance level was set (i.e., .001). Endorsement of a component included participants who endorsed any of 'sometimes', 'often', 'very often', and 'extensively' in all three key variables

associated with that component (see Table 145 above). Participants who skipped any of the questions in section 'Other Erotic Materials' were coded as missing data.

Table 5. 146: Key variables in order of importance for each other erotic materials CATPCA component by culture used to identify engaged demographic

	Component 1	Component 2
Chinese	Non-slash/non-BL male-male erotic materials Non-slash female-female erotic materials Non-slash/non-BL BDSM	Male-male slash fiction
Anglophone	Non-slash female-female erotic materials Female-female slash fiction Non-slash/non-BL BDSM	Non-slash/non-BL male-male erotic material

Following are the Chi-Square and Mann-Whitney analyses of Chinese CATPCA other erotic materials components by gender, sexual orientation, fandom intensity storylines, and concern with legal issues.

Table 5. 147: Chinese component 1 other erotica materials by gender

	Male (n=205, 11.4%)	Female (n=1581, 87.6%)	Other (n=18, 1.0%)
Yes (n=588)	13.8%	84.4%	1.9%
No (n=1216)	10.2%	89.2%	0.6%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Chinese component 1 other erotica by gender. Male participants had higher percentage endorsement (13.8%) than the male population of all Chinese participants (11.4%) and other gender participants had higher percentage endorsement (1.9%) than the other gender population of all Chinese participants (1.0%), x^2 (2, N=1804) = 12.202, p=.002, Cramer's V is .082 (virtual effect).

Table 5. 148: Chinese component 1 other erotica materials by sexual orientation

	Heterosexual (n=1152, 63.9%)	Nonheterosexual (n=652, 36.1%)
Yes (n=588)	51.0%	49.0%
No (n=1216)	70.1%	29.9%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Chinese component 1 other erotica materials by sexual orientation. Heterosexual participants had lower percentage endorsement (51.0%) than the heterosexual population of all Chinese participants (63.9%) and nonheterosexual participants had higher percentage endorsement (49.0%) than the nonheterosexual population of all Chinese participants (36.1%), x^2 (1, N=1804) = 62.291, p<.001, Cramer's V is .186 (small effect).

Table 5. 149: Chinese component 1 other erotica materials by fandom intensity

	Casual (n=834, 46.2%)	Avid (n=970, 53.8%)
Yes (n=588)	41.8%	58.2%
No (n=1216)	48.4%	51.6%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Chinese component 1 other erotica by fandom intensity. The difference is not significant, x^2 (1, N=1804) = 6.775, p= .009, Cramer's V is .061 (no effect).

Table 5. 150: Chinese component 1 other erotica materials by storyline - romance no sex

	Never (n=129, 7.2%)	Sometimes (n=291, 16.1%)	Often (n=422, 23.4%)	Very often (n=634, 35.1%)	Always (n=328 18.2%)
Yes (n=588)	6.5%	21.1%	28.9%	31.5%	12.1%
No (n=1216)	7.5%	13.7%	20.7%	36.9%	21.1%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese component 1 other erotica materials were significantly less likely to endorse storylines that are mostly romance and no sex than participants who did not endorse component 1 (U=301742.000, p < .001), r = .131 (small effect).

Table 5. 151: Chinese component 1 other erotica materials by storyline - implicit relationships

	Never (n=503, 27.9%)	Sometimes (n=568, 31.5%)	Often (n=420, 23.3%)	Very often (n=202, 11.2%)	Always (n=111, 6.1%)
Yes (n=588)	20.6%	30.3%	26.5%	12.9%	6.1%
No (n=1216)	31.4%	33.8%	21.7%	10.4%	6.2%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese component 1 other erotica materials were significantly more likely to endorse storylines with implicit relationships than those who did not endorse component 1 (U=317061.500, p < .001), r = .085 (trivial effect).

Table 5. 152: Chinese component 1 other erotica materials by storylines - explicit sex

	Never (n=314, 17.4%)	Sometimes (n=460, 25.5%)	Often (n=424, 23.5%)	Very often (n=361, 20.0%)	Always (n=245, 13.6%)
Yes (n=588)	9.9%	22.1%	25.3%	23.5%	19.2%
No (n=1216)	21.1%	27.1%	22.6%	18.3%	10.9%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese component 1 other erotica materials were significantly more likely to endorse storylines with explicit sex than participants who did not endorse component 1 (U=280897.500, p < .001), r = .178 (small effect).

Table 5. 153: Chinese component 1 other erotica materials by legal concern

	Never (n=398, 22.1%)	Sometimes (n=349, 19.3%)	Often (n=382, 21.2%)	Very often (n=337, 18.7%)	Always (n=338 18.7%)
Yes (n=588)	14.6%	21.1%	21.6%	19.6%	23.1%
No (n=1216)	25.7%	18.5%	21.0%	18.3%	16.6%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese component 1 other erotica materials were significantly more concerned about legal issues in relation to the sexual content of BL than participants who did not endorse component 1 (U=309077.500, $p < .001$), $r = .112$ (small effect).

Table 5. 154: Chinese component 2 Male-male slash fiction by gender

	Male (n=204, 11.1%)	Female (n=1612, 87.9%)	Other (n=18, 1.0%)
Yes (n=1425)	8.4%	90.6%	1.0%
No (n=409)	20.5%	78.5%	1.0%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Chinese component 2 Male-male slash fiction by gender. Female participants had higher percentage endorsement (90.6%) than the female population of all Chinese participants (87.9%), $x2$ (2, N=1843) = 47.250, $p < .001$, Cramer's V is .161 (small effect).

Table 5. 155: Chinese component 2 Male-male slash fiction by sexual orientation

	Heterosexual (n=1175, 64.1%)	Nonheterosexual (n=659, 35.9%)
Yes (n=1425)	58.7%	41.3%
No (n=409)	82.6%	17.4%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Chinese component 2 Male-male slash fiction by sexual orientation. Heterosexual participants had lower percentage endorsement (58.7%) than the

heterosexual population of all Chinese participants (64.1%) and nonheterosexual participants had higher percentage endorsement (41.3%) than the nonheterosexual population of all Chinese participants (35.9%), x^2 (1, N=1843) = 78.876, p < .001, Cramer's V is .207 (small effect).

Table 5. 156: Chinese component 2 Male-male slash fiction by fandom intensity

	Casual (n=854, 46.6%)	Avid (n=980, 53.4%)
Yes (n=1425)	36.6%	63.4%
No (n=409)	81.2%	18.8%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Chinese component 2 Male-male slash fiction by fandom intensity. Casual fans had lower percentage endorsement (36.6%) than the casual fan population of all Chinese participants (46.6%) and avid fans had higher percentage endorsement (63.4%) than the avid fan population of all Chinese participants (53.4%), x^2 (1, N=1834) = 253.392, p<.001, Cramer's V is .372 (medium effect).

Table 5. 157: Chinese component 2 Male-male slash by storyline - romance no sex

	Never (n=130, 7.1%)	Sometimes (n=293, 16.0%)	Often (n=425, 23.2%)	Very often (n=648, 35.2%)	Always (n=340, 18.5%)
Yes (n=1425)	4.1%	15.8%	26.5%	37.1%	16.6%
No (n=409)	17.6%	16.6%	11.5%	28.9%	25.4%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese component 2 Male-male slash fiction were not significantly different from participants who did not endorse component 2 with respect to storylines that are mostly romance and no sex (U=280944.000, p = .251).

Table 5. 158: Chinese component 2 Male-male slash fiction by storyline - implicit relationships

	Never (n=517, 28.2%)	Sometimes (n=574, 31.3%)	Often (n=426, 23.2%)	Very often (n=204, 11.1%)	Always (n=113, 6.2%)
Yes (n=1425)	26.2%	32.5%	24.7%	11.3%	5.3%
No (n=409)	35.2%	27.1%	18.1%	10.5%	9.0%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese component 2 Male-male and heterosexual erotica were not significantly different from participants who did not endorse component 2 with respect to storylines with implicit relationships (U=274708.000, p = .067).

Table 5. 159: Chinese component 2 Male-male slash fiction by storyline - explicit sex

	Never (n=320, 17.4%)	Sometimes (n=470, 25.6%)	Often (n=433, 23.6%)	Very often (n=363, 19.8%)	Always (n=248, 13.5%)
Yes (n=1425)	8.7%	25.1%	26.9%	23.4%	15.8%
No (n=409)	47.9%	27.4%	12.0%	7.1%	5.6%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese component 2 Male-male slash fiction were significantly more likely to endorse storylines with explicit sex than participants who did not endorse component 2 (U=139258.500, p < .001), effect size r = .384 (medium effect).

Table 5. 160: Chinese component 2 Male-male slash fiction by legal concern

	Never (n=406, 22.1%)	Sometimes (n=353, 19.2%)	Often (n=390, 21.3%)	Very often (n=344, 18.8%)	Always (n=341 18.6%)
Yes (n=599)	15.1%	18.7%	23.7%	21.1%	21.4%
No (n=1242)	46.7%	21.2%	12.7%	10.5%	8.8%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Chinese component 2 Male-male slash fiction were significantly more concerned about legal

issues in relation to the sexual content of BL than participants who did not endorse component 2 (U=172107.000, $p < .001$), $r = .301$ (medium effect).

Following are the chi-Square analyses of Anglophone CATPCA other erotic materials components by gender, sexual orientation, fandom intensity storylines, and concern with legal issues.

Table 5. 161: Anglophone component 1 other erotica by gender

	Male (n=283, 16.6%)	Female (n=1273, 74.6%)	Other (n=151, 8.8%)
Yes (n=604)	13.4%	75.0%	11.6%
No (n=1103)	18.3%	74.3%	7.3%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Anglophone component 1 other erotica by gender. Male participants had lower percentage endorsement (13.4%) than the male population of all Chinese participants (16.6%) and other gender participants had higher percentage endorsement (11.6%) than the other gender population of all Chinese participants (8.8%), x^2 (1, N=1707) =13.635, p=.001, Cramer's V is .089 (virtual effect).

Table 5. 162: Anglophone component 1 other erotica by sexual orientation

	Heterosexual (n=531, 31.1%)	Nonheterosexual (n=1176, 68.9%)
Yes (n=604)	18.4%	81.6%
No (n=1103)	38.1%	61.9%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Anglophone component 1 other erotica by sexual orientation. Heterosexual participants had lower percentage endorsement (18.4%) than heterosexual population of all Anglophone participants (31.1%) and nonheterosexual participants had higher percentage endorsement (81.6%) than the nonheterosexual

population of all Anglophone participants (68.9%), x^2 (1, N=1707) = 70.680, p<.001, Cramer's V is .203 (small effect).

Table 5. 163*: Anglophone component 1 other erotica by fandom intensity*

	Casual (n=593, 34.7%)	Avid (n=1114, 65.3%)
Yes (n=604)	32.6%	67.4%
No (n=1103)	35.9%	64.1%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Anglophone component 1Female-female and heterosexual erotica by fandom intensity. The differences were not significant, x^2 (1, N=1707) =1.859, p=.173, Cramer's V is .017 (no effect).

Table 5. 164: Anglophone component 1 other erotica by storyline - romance no sex

	Never (n=45, 2.6%)	Sometimes (n=731, 42.8%)	Often (n=505, 29.6%)	Very often (n=313, 18.3%)	Always (n=113, 6.6%)
Yes (n=604)	2.0%	38.7%	33.3%	19.2%	6.8%
No (n=1103)	3.0%	45.1%	27.6%	17.9%	6.5%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Anglophone component 1 other erotica were not significantly different from participants who did not endorse component 1 with respect to storylines which are mostly romance and no sex (U=311144.000, p = .017).

Table 5. 165: Anglophone component 1 other erotica by storyline - implicit relationships

	Never (n=192, 11.2%)	Sometimes (n=853 50.0%)	Often (n=389, 23.3%)	Very often (n=205, 12.0%)	Always (n=59, 3.5%)
Yes (n=604)	7.8%	46.2%	27.0%	14.6%	4.5%
No (n=1103)	13.1%	52.0%	20.3%	10.6%	2.9%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Anglophone component 1 other erotica were significantly more likely to endorse storylines with implicit relationships than participants who did not endorse component 1 (U=287478.000, p < .001), r = .122 (small effect).

Table 5. 166: Anglophone component 1 other erotica by storyline - explicit sex

	Never (n=41, 2.4%)	Sometimes (n=312, 18.3%)	Often (n=379, 22.2%)	Very often (n=512, 30.0%)	Always (n=463, 27.1%)
Yes (n=604)	1.5%	14.4%	21.5%	30.3%	32.3%
No (n=1103)	2.9%	20.4%	22.6%	29.8%	24.3%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Anglophone component 1 other erotica were significantly more likely to endorse storylines with explicit sex than participants who did not endorse component 1 (U=292245.000, p < .001), r = .105 (small effect).

Table 5. 167: Anglophone component 1 other erotica by legal concern

	Never (n=756, 44.3%)	Sometimes (n=651, 38.1%)	Often (n=186, 10.9%)	Very often (n=71, 4.1%)	Always (n=44, 2.5%)
Yes (n=604)	41.1%	39.4%	12.1%	4.3%	3.1%
No (n=1103)	46.1%	37.4%	10.2%	4.1%	2.2%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Anglophone component 1 Female-female and heterosexual erotica were not significantly different from participants who did not endorse component 1 with respect to concern about legal issues in relation to the sexual content of BL (U=313613.500, p = .031).

Table 5. 168: Anglophone component 2 Non-slash/non-BL male-male erotic material by gender

	Male (n=279, 16.6%)	Female (n=1252, 74.5%)	Other (n=149, 8.9%)
Yes (n=1314)	18.3%	72.0%	9.7%
No (n=366)	10.4%	83.6%	6.0%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Anglophone component 2 Non-slash/non-BL male-male erotic materi*al* by gender. Male participants had higher percentage endorsement (18.3%) than the male population of all Chinese participants (16.6%) and other gender participants had higher percentage endorsement (9.7%) than the other gender population of all Anglophone participants (8.9%), x^2 (2, N=1680) = 20.408, p < .001, Cramer's V is .110 (small effect).

Table 5. 169: Anglophone component 2 Non-slash/non-BL male-male erotic material by sexual orientation

	Heterosexual (n=521, 31.0%)	Nonheterosexual (n=1176, 69.0%)
Yes (n=1314)	27.8%	72.2%
No (n=366)	42.6%	57.4%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Anglophone component 2 Non-slash/non-BL male-male erotic material by sexual orientation. Heterosexual participants had lower percentage endorsement (27.8%) than the heterosexual population of all Anglophone participants (31.0%) and nonheterosexual participants had higher percentage endorsement (72.2%) than the nonheterosexual population of all Anglophone participants (69.0%), x^2 (1, N=1680) = 29.478, p<.001, Cramer's V is .132 (small effect).

Table 5. 170: Anglophone component 2 Non-slash/non-BL male-male erotic material by fandom intensity

	Casual (n=585, 34.8%)	Avid (n=1095, 65.2%)
Yes (n=1314)	31.7%	68.3%
No (n=366)	46.2%	53.8%

A Chi-Square test of independence was calculated comparing the frequency endorsement of Anglophone component 2 Non-slash/non-BL male-male erotic material by fandom intensity. Casual fan participants had lower percentage endorsement (31.7%) than the casual fan population of all Anglophone participants (34.8%) and avid fan participants had higher percentage endorsement (68.3%) than the avid fan population of all Anglophone participants (65.2%), x^2 (1, N=1680) = 26.577, $p < .001$, Cramer's V is .126 (small effect).

Table 5. 171: Anglophone component 2 Non-slash/non-BL male-male erotic material by storyline - romance no sex

	Never (n=44, 2.6%)	Sometimes (n=717, 42.7%)	Often (n=500, 29.8%)	Very often (n=306, 18.2%)	Always (n=113, 6.7%)
Yes (n=1314)	2.4%	44.4%	29.7%	17.4%	6.1%
No (n=366)	3.6%	36.3%	30.1%	21.0%	9.0%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Anglophone component 2 Non-slash/non-BL male-male erotic material were not significantly different from participants who did not endorse component 2 with respect to storylines that are mostly romance and no sex (U=220420.000, p = .010).

Table 5. 172: Anglophone component 2 Non-slash/non-BL male-male erotic material by storyline - implicit relationships

	Never (n=187, 11.1%)	Sometimes (n=842, 50.1%)	Often (n=389, 23.2%)	Very often (n=204, 12.1%)	Always (n=58, 3.5%)
Yes (n=1314)	10.4%	50.8%	22.9%	12.4%	3.4%
No (n=366)	13.7%	47.5%	24.0%	11.2%	3.6%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Anglophone component 2 Non-slash/non-BL male-male erotic material were not significantly different from participants who did not endorse component 2 with respect to storylines with implicit relationships (U=234940.000, p = .468).

Table 5. 173: Anglophone component 2 Non-slash/non-BL male-male erotic material by storyline - explicit sex

	Never (n=41, 2.4%)	Sometimes (n=305, 18.2%)	Often (n=369, 22.0%)	Very often (n=504, 30.0%)	Always (n=461, 27.4%)
Yes (n=1314)	.9%	15.9%	21.5%	31.4%	30.2%
No (n=366)	7.9%	26.2%	23.5%	24.9%	17.5%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Anglophone component 2 Non-slash/non-BL male-male erotic material were significantly more likely to endorse storylines with explicit sex than participants who did not endorse component 2 (U=178580.500, p < .001), r = .190 (small effect).

Table 5. 174: Anglophone component 2 Non-slash/non-BL male-male erotic material by legal concern

	Never (n=745, 44.3%)	Sometimes (n=640, 38.1%)	Often (n=182, 10.8%)	Very often (n=70, 4.2%)	Always (n=43, 2.6%)
Yes (n=1314)	43.5%	38.7%	11.0%	4.3%	2.4%
No (n=366)	47.5%	35.8%	10.1%	3.6%	3.0%

A Mann-Whitney test indicated that participants who endorsed Anglophone component 2 Non-slash/non-BL male-male erotic material were not significantly different from participants who did not endorse component 2 with respect to concern about legal issues in relation to the sexual content of BL (U=231033.500, p = .214).

Discussion 3b: Are there sub-demographics in Chinese and Anglophone culture who engage with particular forms of other erotic materials and do these forms relate also to enjoyment of particular storylines and concern with legal issues?

Table 175 list the effect size and direction of the contrasts tested where a trivial effect size is <0.1, small effect size is 0.1≤ 0.3, a medium effect size is 0.3≤0.5, and large effect size is 0.5≤ (Cohen, 1988).

Table 5. 175: Summary statistical results for Chinese and Anglophone demographic, storyline and legal concern associated with each CATPCA other erotic material component

Component	Variables	Chinese		Anglophone	
		Effect size	Direction	Effect size	Direction
1	Gender	Small	Male↑ Other↑	Trivial	Male↓ Other↑
	Sexual orientation	Small	Het↓ Non-het↑	Small	Het↓ Non-het↑
	Fandom intensity	/	/	/	/
	Romance no sex	Small	↓	/	/
	Implicit relationship	Trivial	↑	Small	↑
	Explicit sex	Small	↑	Small	↑
	Legal concern	Small	↑	/	/
2 C: Male-male slash fiction A: Non-slash/non-BL male-male erotic material	Gender	Small	Male↓ Female↑	Small	Male↑ Other↑
	Sexual orientation	Small	Het↓ Non-het↑	Small	Het↓ Non-het↑
	Fandom intensity	Medium	Casual↓ Avid↑	Small	Casual↓ Avid↑
	Romance no sex	/	/	/	/
	Implicit relationship	/	/	/	/
	Explicit sex	Medium	↑	Small	↑
	Legal concern	Medium	↑	/	/

For both components, as before and as explained above, the Chinese demonstrate legal concerns whereas the Anglophone do not. Component 1 for both

groups contains all but one type of pornographic material listed in the survey question. For the Chinese, the demographic who engage more generally with pornographic materials are men, other-gendered participants, nonheterosexual participants and those who like stories with explicit sex. Chinese authorities generally considers all pornographic materials to be harmful, so that all explicit sex materials are excoriated. Inline, mainstream media and public insist that the pornography is dangerous and it is consider to be a sexual offence to influence others to consume pornography (Hu & Hu, 2001). Women face particularly severe moral requirements, especially about sex. Even the Victoria's Secret Fashion Show has faced the controversy involving erotic and pornographic image by presenting women confidently expressing body image in underwear only (An, 2017). Therefore, women who consume sexually explicit material receive particular censure in China.

For the Anglophone, the demographic who engage more generally with pornographic materials are other-gendered participants, nonheterosexual participants, and those who like stories with explicit sex. This pattern may be due to the fact that the relatively large number of non-heterosexual male *Yaoi* fans in this group appear in component 2 and are not interested in the heterosexual or female-female erotica which make-up Anglophone component 1.

One possible anomalous result is that the Anglophone demographic who engage more generally with pornographic materials (component 1) also are likely to endorse Implicit Relationships stories. This association is statistically significant for the Chinese but the effect size is not meaningful. This is the first time this variable has provided an outcome. This result is difficult to interpret and may be spurious.

For the Chinese, component 2 consists of Male-male slash fiction. The demographic who endorse this variable consist of women, nonheterosexual

participants and, in particular, avid *Yaoi* fans and those who like stories with explicit sex. Male-male slash fiction can be understood as a type of *Yaoi* and, as such, to be a female-oriented genre. Popular with avid Chinese *Yaoi* fans who are likely to engage widely with this kind of material, I have demonstrated earlier an association with liking relatively explicit sexual content and with being nonheterosexual. For the Anglophone, component 2 consists of Non-slash/non-BL male-male erotic material, which is essentially ‘gay porn for gay men’. Unsurprisingly, the demographic who endorse this variable consist of men, other-gendered participants, nonheterosexual participants, avid fans, and those who like stories with explicit sex.

Conclusions

The most striking conclusion is the similarity in component structure for engagement with the sexual content of *Yaoi* across the Chinese and Anglophone contexts: specifically, for risqué sexual content, 'incestual' sexual relationships, and other erotic materials. Hence, the two distinct data sets function to validate each other while evidencing minor differences interpretable as cultural divergences.

In terms of risqué sexual content, BDSM is the largest componenott for both Chinese and Anglophone participants. There are two essential cultural differences. First, animism is a comfortable tradition for the Chinese but quite unusual for the Anglophone. Second, in an Anglophone context underage sex is analogous to rape, while a concept of underage sex is one that is still developing in China. In terms of 'incestual' sexual relationships, the Chinese focus on family rules and roles - such as adoptive, step, and in-law - while the Anglophone focus on the implications of intimacy afforded by brotherly bonds. Finally, in terms of other erotic materials, the Chinese demonstrate a cautious attitude suggesting very low engagement with them in line with legal prohibition and social stigma.

In terms of demographics, there are some consistent similarities and cultural differences in the *Yaoi* fans who enjoy risqué and 'incestual' sexual content. That is, for both groups, it is the avid fans who tend to consume this kind of content while, for the Chinese, this includes also more of the nonhetersexual participants. However, for Chinese participants, it was not necessary to be an avid *Yaoi* fan to be a consumer of other erotic material, and only the Chinese showed concern about legal issues across all forms of sexual content, again in line with legal prohibition and social stigma.

As relevant, and commented on throughout this research, Chinese culture is characterized by social conservativism, emphasizing collectivism, patriotism, family values, heterosexual hegemony and filial piety (Junren, & Wan. 2013). *Yaoi* subculture focusing, at least on the surface, on nonheteronormative romance and erotica is out of line with these values. Hence, it may be surprising that there exists a hugely developed and widely popular recreational market around adapted, or *Yaoi*-type, fictions online and on mainstream TV. However, this has been possible due to the strategy of meeting censorship requirements through deleted all sexually-explicit content and making same sex eroticism implicit. Hence, the large number of casual *Yaoi* fans in China is a result of compromises between censorship and the potential of a massive popular market. In contrast, in Anglophone countries, such as USA, UK, Australia, or New Zealand, the tendency toward social liberalism may actually have acted to contain Yaoi as acceptable minority interest with more explicit and risqué content, although within these cultures male-male eroticism is also seeping into popular culture.

Chapter 6: Conclusions and Reflections - Understanding *Yaoi*/Boys' Love Chinese Fandom

The problem tackled in this thesis is to understand the Chinese *Yaoi* fandom given that this is a genre of fiction in which production and consumption largely overlap and the material is ostensibly socially prohibited. Hence, the overarching aims are to explore in comparison with Anlgophone fans a) how Sinophone fans read *Yaoi*, b) examine who consumes *Yaoi* in Sinophone regions and, c) analysis how Sinophone fans engage with the sexual (ostensibly socially prohibited) content in *Yaoi*. These aim are operationalized through the following methodology and objectives:

- find and review the existing research literature on *Yaoi* in China (see Chapter 1);
- create, promote, and analyse the quantitative and qualitative data obtained from a survey of Chinese *Yaoi* fans (see Chapters 3, 4, and 5);
- undertake interviews with Chinese *Yaoi* fans and analyse this material with qualitative methods (see Chapter 3);
- integrate the existing research literature with the quantitative and qualitative findings from this study (see Chapter 3, 4, and 5);
- where appropriate, compare and contrast the findings from the Chinese and Anglophone *Yaoi* fandom surveys (See Chapter 3, 4, and 5).

Chapter 1 provides an introduction and a review of the existing research literature on *Yaoi* in China. Chapter 2 provides an overview of the methodologies involved. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 then report three extended research investigation, each chapter with its own introduction, method, analyses and discussions. That is, chapter 3 offers an analysis of the heteronormative frame in Chinese *Yaoi* through integrating female Chinese fan interviews with Sinophone and Anglophone survey data; chapter 4

addresses the question ‘who engages with *Yaoi* in China?’; and, finally, chapter 5 explores engagement with the sexual content of *Yaoi* in Chinese and Anglophone contexts. This final chapter of the thesis provides conclusions and reflections on this work.

Integrated conclusions of the three empirical investigations

A summary of the conclusions of each of the three empirical studies are as follows. The chapter 3 study which integrates female Chines fan interviews with the Sinophone and Anglophone survey data concludes that, in contrast to Anglophone *Yaoi*, a heteronormative frame powerfully influences Chinese *Yaoi* and its fandom. Specifically, the analysis concludes that Chinese *Yaoi* fans:

- consider approval from family and by society to be extremely important in *Yaoi* stories;
- particularly like romantic relationships in *Yaoi* that are exceptionally strong;
- particularly like male-male romantic relationships in *Yaoi* that fit the way of relating that is conventional in male-female relationships; and,
- are variable in how accepting they are of same sex relationships in real life and, as a group are much less accepting than are Anglophone *Yaoi* fans as a group, but appear to be more accepting than the general population in China.

The chapter 4 study which explores the demographics of Chinese *Yaoi* fandom concludes that, compared to Anglophone *Yaoi* fans, Chinese *Yaoi* fans include:

- more female and heterosexual people;
- more casual fans;
- people with a socially conservative, rather than socially liberal, outlook; and that,

- compared to *Yaoi* fans from Mainland China, those from Hong Kong include more female fans who identify as nonheterosexual and more people with a socially liberal outlook.

The chapter 5 study which explores engagement with the sexual content of *Yaoi*, concludes that, surprisingly given cultural differences Chinese and Anglophone Yaoi fans show very similar preference patterns for risqué sexual contents, incestual sexual relationships, and other erotic materials. The differences are that:

- the Chinese data showed clear differences between casual and avid fans, the latter more interested that the former in the sexual content of *Yaoi* material;
- with respect to incestual relationships, Chinese *Yaoi* fans are more focused on family roles and rule, while Anglophone fans are more focused on the intimacy potential;
- with respect to other erotica materials, Chinese *Yaoi* fans are less willing to answer these questions that are Anglophone *Yaoi* fans.

In summary, integrating these conclusions of the empirical research indicate that Chinese and Anglophone *Yaoi* fandom appears in some ways a global phenomenon in demonstrating highly consistent preference in the sexual content of this, in many ways, idiosyncratic genre of female-oriented male-male erotica. On the other hand, the two cultural contexts clearly shape the ways in which *Yaoi* is understood and engaged with in the two regions. Arguably, this is captured by the differences between China as a patriarchal, socially conservative cultural and Anglophone regions being, generally in comparison, more socially liberal cultures.

Strengths and limitations of this research

This research has many strengths. First, this work is based on the largest ever survey sample of *Yaoi* fandom for both regions, each consisting of nearly two thousand

participants. Moreover, it is the first that involves almost identical surveys in Chinese and English, which allows direct comparison, and covers thoroughly important features of *Yaoi* culture including demographics, feelings about *Yaoi*, social relationships, and engagement with other erotic material. The large sample size and broad range questions allowed comparative exploration of many important aspects of *Yaoi* culture and pattern of engagement across two major cultural regions of the world. This has revealed for the first time strong evidence for important similarities and differences in the global, yet culturally-flexible, phenomenon that is *Yaoi*.

Second, given that there is far-reaching regulations consisting of an almost blanket ban on pornographic materials in Mainland China, there is hardly any research on pornography consumption in the region. Hence, the current research is almost unique in collecting information on engagement in erotic and pornographic material in China, not just *Yaoi*, but *Yaoi* fans engagement also with other erotic material and with direct comparison with Anglophone *Yaoi* fans.

Third, the current research collected both qualitative and quantitative data via the survey and qualitative data via interviews with female Chinese *Yaoi* fans. A particular strength of this is that analysis of the different types of data - particularly the Chinese survey and interviews - validated each other as demonstrated in the chapter 3 study on the heteronormative frame in Chinese *Yaoi*. Moreover, in terms of validity, the two sets of survey data, while the participants were completely distinct, acted as a validity check of the sexual content preferences of *Yaoi* fans globally in that the component structures, as reported in chapter 5, were almost identical for the two populations for risqué sexual contents, incestual sexual relationships, and other erotic materials.

Finally, as reported in chapter 4, although the recruitment strategy in each

region was very different, this research provided evidence that this was appropriate and revealed an important cultural difference in how *Yaoi* manifests in China and Anglophone regions. Specifically, Chinese survey participants were approached mainly via Chinese universities and the Anglophone via relevant online communities commensurate with *Yaoi* being engaged with widely, but causally, in China and avidly as a niche interest in Anglophone regions.

There are also limitations to this work. First, although 20 quality interviewees were analysed (see chapter 3), other interview material with Chinese participants did not reach the required level of detail. That is, I conducted some e-mail interviews but the answers tended to be very short and it was decided not to include them in the research. In contrast, my supervisor conducted many long e-mail interviews with Anglophone *Yaoi* fans. However, the face-to-face interviews with Chinese *Yaoi* fans did work well and lasted between 40 minutes to more than two hours. This suggests a cultural difference in ways in which the two population like to engage with researchers.

Second, although the two surveys and interview data validate each other, and the survey questions were member checked, tested in my Masters, and revised for the doctoral work, the statistical analysis is limited to what is asked in the survey. For example, it did not include a question on 'ABO' (Alpha/Beta/Omega) stories which are quite popular now. The survey did, however, contain free-form response questions which allowed participants to comment on things not included in the survey, although Chinese participants used this much less than did the Anglophone.

Third, although the number of participants in the survey for each region was large, there was a slight imbalance between Chinese and Anglophone sample size. It is unlikely though that this had any impact on the statistical analyses.

Finally, data was collected over four years. It is possible that *Yaoi* culture has changed in some ways over this timeframe. For example, in China there is a contemporary trend for extremely prosperous *Yaoi* series which is contributing to the popularisation of the material. This kind of change is masked in the way in which the data was analysed and presented here.

Further research

This study opens the door to much more research that could be done on the topic of *Yaoi* in China. First, research could focus on the actual content of *Yaoi* materials and comparison could be undertaken on material from China, Japan and Anglophone regions, amongst others. Second, the Chinse and Anglophone surveys will be kept open and further recruitment pursued. This means that trends can be investigated in all content areas of the surveys from demographics, thorough feelings about Yaoi, social relationships, and engagement with other erotic material. Third, one section of the survey on the format of *Yaoi* engaged with (e.g., manga, novels, audio-recordings) was not analysed here. However, it is being analysed in collaboration with a visiting scholar from China with a background in economics to which I am contributing with my supervisor. Finally, the data from the survey is open to statistical modelling which would allow the exploration of different kinds of research questions and provide evidence of moderators and mediators along causal pathways. I intend to pursue this in the coming years.

Final conclusion

This research is based on the largest ever survey sample of *Yaoi* fandom in both China and Anglophone regions and is unique in allowing comparative analysis of the data from these almost identical surveys. It covers a large range of important aspects

of *Yaoi* and has demonstrated self-validation between the qualitative and quantitative findings and well as between the two surveys in terms of sexual content preferences for this idiosyncratic global phenomenon. Where there are cultural differences, this has been explored thoroughly and can be related in general to social conservativism of Chinese culture and the social liberalism of Anglophone regions.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Ethics Approval

-----Original Message-----
From: Ethics.Committee@webhost02h.leeds.ac.uk
[mailto:Ethics.Committee@webhost02h.leeds.ac.uk]
Sent: 30 October 2014 13:30
To: Anna Madill
Subject: Ethics form decision

Anna Madill
Institute of Psychological Sciences
University of Leeds
Leeds LS2 9JT
30-Oct-2014

Dear Anna Madill,

Title of study: Understanding the Chinese and Anglophone Boys' Love fandom

Ethics reference: 14-0210

I am pleased to inform you that the above research application has been reviewed by the IPS Research Ethics Committee and has been approved.
Please note that this approval only relates to the particular version of documentation supplied in this specific application (ref no: 14-0210; date approved: 30-Oct-2014). If you wish to make any amendments to the approved documentation, please note that all changes require ethical approval prior to implementation.

Please note: You are expected to keep a record of all your approved documentation, as well as documents such as sample consent forms, and other documents relating to the study. This should be kept in your study file, which should be readily available for audit purposes.
You will be given a two week notice period if your project is to be audited. There is a checklist listing examples of documents to be kept which is available at http://ris.leeds.ac.uk/EthicsAudits

Yours sincerely,
IPS Research Ethics Committee
(Chair: Donna Lloyd)

Appendix 2: Ethics Approval (revised for interview data collection in China)

From: Ethics.Committee@webhost02h.leeds.ac.uk
<Ethics.Committee@webhost02h.leeds.ac.uk>
Sent: Monday, November 30, 2015 4:19 PM
To: Anna Madill
Subject: Ethics form decision

Anna Madill
Institute of Psychological Sciences
University of Leeds
Leeds LS2 9JT
30-Nov-2015

Dear Anna Madill,

Title of study: Understanding the Chinese Boys' Love Fandom

Ethics reference: 15-0341

I am pleased to inform you that the above research application has been reviewed by the IPS Research Ethics Committee and has been approved.
Please note that this approval only relates to the particular version of documentation supplied in this specific application (ref no: 15-0341;
date approved: 30-Nov-2015). If you wish to make any amendments to the approved documentation, please note that all changes require ethical approval
prior to implementation.

Please note: You are expected to keep a record of all your approved documentation, as well as documents such as sample consent forms, and
other documents relating to the study. This should be kept in your study file, which should be readily available for audit purposes.
You will be given a two week notice period if your project is to be audited. There is a checklist listing examples of documents to be kept
which is available at http://ris.leeds.ac.uk/EthicsAudits

Yours sincerely,

IPS Research Ethics Committee
(Chair: Donna Lloyd)

Appendix 3 Safety Protocol for Risk Assessment

Research Interview Safety Protocol (Home Visit) Researcher Trainee and Research Tutor or Research Supervisor

- Researcher to pre-arrange call-in/call-out system with relevant safety contact a few days before each off-campus interview/fieldtrip to ensure safety contact is available.
- Should there be a time when relevant safety contact is unable to be the contact person then the researcher will arrange call-in/out system with a colleague/friend, who will also have access to the following protocol. The Researcher will subsequently inform relevant safety contact of the name of the person 'standing in'.
- Researcher will send a confidential email/provide a confidential written note of the location being attended to the relevant safety contact the day before the visit with details of the address she is to visit, the name of the person/event she is visiting, a contact phone no for that person/event, and the time the interview is to commence/dates of fieldwork and travel and accommodation arrangements.
- Relevant safety contact will confirm receipt of this information.
- On arriving at the address of the interview/event, Researcher will phone/text relevant safety contact) to say she is about to start the visit, and (if relevant) agree a time when the interview should be finished and she will call to say she has left the interview or, if at an event, check in to confirm safety at the end of every day.
- Researcher will explain to the interviewee before the start of the interview that the University insists on this call-in /call-out system and that if the interview over-runs she will need to make a quick phone call.
- Researcher will then phone relevant safety contact when the interview is finished, and she has left the house, at the pre-arranged time or, if at an event, make contact to confirm her safety at the end of every day.

- If the interview over-runs for any reason, the researcher will take a break from the interview and phone relevant safety contact to let her know this, and a second finish time will be agreed.
- If, on arrival at the address/event, the researcher has any concerns for her safety (location, environment, other persons at address, or interviewee), she will not proceed with the interview, informing the interviewee and relevant safety contact, return to base, and attempt to re-schedule the interview at an alternative location.
- Researcher will endeavour to do interviews during daylight hours.
- If the Researcher is having trouble with her phone, or does not/cannot make the interview for some reason, or the interviewee cancels the interview, the Researcher has responsibility to let the relevant safety contact know this asap, and will continue to attempt to make contact with Tutor/Supervisor until Tutor/Supervisor confirms the message by phoning Researcher's mobile, or another contact number.
- In the very, very unlikely situation that the Researcher is being held against her will, but is allowed to make/receive phone calls because the call-in and out system has been explained, the researcher will say in her phone call with relevant safety contact "Ok, I will see you tomorrow at 6 PM" (a time never arranged for meetings). In this unlikely event relevant safety contact will immediately phone the police.
- In the event that the researcher does not phone at the agreed time:

    1. Relevant safety contact is to phone the Researcher on their mobile phone (details found at the bottom of the protocol)
    2. If no response, relevant safety contact will phone the interviewee/event contact number

3. If no response, Tutor/Supervisor is to phone the police to report the researcher missing, giving details of address, person interviewed, and Researcher's personal mobile number.
4. If appropriate, Tutor/Supervisor/police is to contact relative (emergency contact person)

Researcher's Mobile: 07711187265

Safety contact in UK (Supervisor)	**Safety contact in China (Researcher's mother)**
Mobile: +44 (0) 792 933 9982 **University Phone**: +44 (0)113 343 5750 **Email**: a.l.madill@leeds.ac.uk	**Name**: Yan Dang **Address**: NO. 54 Jianshe ST. Kunming China Postcode 650031 **Email**: dangyan63@sina.com **Mobile**: +86 13888433260

Agreed by Researcher and Tutor – Date 22/10/15

Appendix 4 Draft Interview schedule

How would you describe Boys' Love/YAOI to someone who had never heard of it?

Can you let me how you came to be interested in BL/YAOI?
- How old were you when you first found BL/ YAOI?
- What BL did you find first, can you remember?
- How did you find it (through friends, online)?
- Where do you get your BL/YAOI (bought, borrowed, online)?
- Do you share this interest with your friends?
- Do you also read slash fiction?
- Do you create BL/YAOI manga yourself?

Do you consider yourself to be fujoshi?
- What does this mean to you?

Who is your favourite BL/YAOI mangaka?
- What are some of her titles that you like?
- What is it that you like about her work?

What is your favourite BL/YAOI title?
- Can you tell me a bit about this story?
- Do you find yourself identifying with a particular character in the story?
- What is it that you like about this story?

What kind of BL/YAOI do you like best?
- Particular kind of relationship?
- Particular kind of seme or uke?
- Level of explicitness?
- Do you engage with other kinds of erotica?

Who do you think is the audience for BL/YAOI manga in China?
- How do you feel about male/female readers of BL/YAOI?
- How do you feel about straight/gay/lesbian readers of BL/YAOI?
- How do you feel about younger/older readers of BL/YAOI?

What aspects of BL/YAOI do you find shocking, if any?
- Sometimes the relationships are incestuous – what do you make of this?
- What do you feel about the way that female characters are portrayed?
- Sometimes some of the characters look very young – what do you make of this?
- What is your opinion of Shotacon?

Some BL/YAOI may be illegal in the China. How do you feel about this?
- To what extent are you concerned about copyright of BL/YAOI manga in China?

How important is BL/YAOI to you?
- What does it mean to you?

Appendix 5 Understanding the Chinese Boys' Love Fandom: Information Sheet

Researcher: Yao Zhao, School of Psychology, University of Leeds, UK
Email: academic_yaoi@sina.com Weibo: Academic_Yaoi QQ: 3136104550
Supervisor: Professor Anna Madill
Email: a.l.madill@leeds.ac.uk
Information sheet: Version 2
Ethics approval: 15-0341 **Date:** 30th November 2015
Ethic approved by the School of Psychology Ethics Committee, University of Leeds

Hello! I'm a Chinese postgraduate at the University of Leeds conducting research into Chinese fans of Boys' Love/YAOI/shonen-ai. This information sheet explains why the research is being carried out and what it involves.

What is the purpose of this study?
The purpose of this research is to further understanding of the Chinese fandom of Boys' Love. Boys' Love manga, anime, novels, and games are increasingly popular across the world but there is little or no research on Chinese fans.

Why have I been invited to take part?
If you are at least 16 years old, are a Chinese national, and consider yourself to be a keen fan of Boys' Love, I would like to invite you to take part in this research.

Do I have to take part?
No – it is entirely up to you whether or not you take part. If you are interested in taking part in the study, I will go through this information sheet with you to make sure that you fully understand what is involved, including the conditions of consent. You can ask me any questions you want about the study before you decide. If you would like to take part, you can decide if you would like to sign a consent form or just record your consent at the beginning without having to give a signature (e.g., verbally at the beginning of an audio-recorded interview). Giving consent does not mean that you have to do anything that you do not want to do. You can end the interview at any time, do not have to answer anything that I ask, and can contact me to take your interview out of the research at any time up to the point at which it has been submitted for examination or publication, without having to give a reason. It may be difficult for me to remove your contribution from a report that has been submitted for examination or accepted for publication so, if you do change your mind about contributing to this research, please try to let me know sooner rather than later – thanks!

What does the study involve?
The study will involve taking part in a recorded discussion – a research interview - with me about your Boys' Love interest and activities. I anticipate conducting the interview in Chinese, but just let me know if you prefer it to be conducted in English. I have a list of questions but I am happy for you to tell me about your experiences and opinions in your own way. The interview may be an audio-recorded face-to-face interview, but some interviews may be done over the telephone or over the internet (e.g., by e-mail). The interview may be very short or may last an hour or more

depending on how much time you have and where it is conducted. Usually our contact will be just the one interview, but if you would like to contribute further I am happy to discuss this with you. I anticipate asking about how you got interested in Boys' Love and how you pursue this interest, to tell me about your favourite BL mangakas and favourite BL publications, and your thoughts about the content of BL (including its sexual content), and your opinion about how BL is received in China.

Where will the research be done?

If our discussion is conducted on-line or by telephone there is a lot of flexibility when this can be done and I will come to an agreement about this together. If I am approaching you at an event, I can find a quiet place to sit and do the interview. If you would like a face-to-face interview, and this is a possibility for me in terms of my location in the UK or in China, I can discuss a possible venue. For privacy and for a clear audio-recording, it is helpful if I do the interview somewhere that is reasonably quiet but, given that I probably wont know each other very well, it is probably also appropriate that the location is a public one. I will agree a time and location together. If you are in or near Leeds, UK I could do the interview in a private room at the University of Leeds.

What about confidentiality?

Audio-recording of the interviews will be kept on a private and secure university computer, locked with a username and password. Audio-recordings will be typed up into a transcript. This may be done by a person other than me. If this is the case, the transcriber will keep the content of the interview confidential and will not hold onto any of the material after completing the transcription. Effort will be made so that you will not be identifiable in the transcripts or other material, such as e-mails, used for analysis. For example, potentially identifying details will be omitted and pseudonyms (false names) will be used. I will ask your consent to be able to use quotes from our recorded discussions in reports of the research but you should not be identifiable from these quotes. If you chose to sign a consent form, I will give these to my supervisor for safe and confidential storage. If you give me consent to share your data for analysis with other researchers, they will only have access to the anonymised version of our discussion and, if required, know only very general demographic information about you (e.g., approximate age).

There are some limits to confidentiality in all research activity. I may be obliged to alert relevant authorities if a participant reveals involvement in any serious criminal activity, intention to harm themselves or others, or if I have good reason to suspect that the participant is at serious risk of harm from others. If this is the case, I may tell you that I intend to seek advice and will, at the earliest opportunity contact my supervisor. However, I can reassure you that my research does not actively seek such information and, if I think you may be about to disclose something along these lines during the interview, I will remind you of my obligations.

Are there any risks in taking part?

I do not expect there to be any significant risks in taking part. However, some topics related to this research may be sensitive. For example, some Boys' Love has explicit sexual content and some Boys' Love on the internet may contravene copyright and other laws depending on the jurisdiction in which they are accessed. I would like to

ask your opinion on these kinds of topics but you can decline this line of questioning without having to give a reason and I will, of course, respect your wishes.

Are there any benefits in taking part?

Although it is not the purpose of the research, taking part may be interesting and it might be good to know that you are promoting the understanding of a phenomenon that has the potential to be misrepresented or misunderstood in mainstream culture. You will be able to find a copy of the information sheet, consent form, and (in due course) a summary of the research findings on-line at https://leeds.academia.edu/AnnaMadill/BL-Chinese-Fandom-Research.

Ethics

The ethical guidelines for this research have been set out by the British Psychological Society code of ethics. These guidelines include ethical principles such as making sure you know what will happen and are happy to take part, explaining that you can stop the interview at any time, and protecting your identity. If you have any complaints about my contacting you, or anything that happens in the interview, please contact my supervisor Professor Anna Madill who will be happy to discuss what action to take.

Thank you for considering taking part in this study. Yao

Appendix 6 Concern Form

Study title: Understanding the Chinese Boys' Love Fandom

The purpose of this form is to make sure that you are happy to take part in the research and that you know what is involved. If you are happy to sign this sheet, please also confirm each statement by putting your initials in the associated box. If you would rather give consent without signature, the researcher will ask you to confirm each of the following in the format in which the interview is being recorded (e.g., audio-recording) before starting.

I am 16 years or older	
I have read the participant information sheet (version 2) or had the content explained to me by the researcher	
I have had the opportunity to ask questions and to discuss the study	
I have received satisfactory answers to all of my questions	
I have received enough information about the study	
I understand that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time without having to give a reason but also that my contribution may be impossible to remove if it is in a report that has already been accepted for examination or publication	
I understand that I am free to end the research interview at any time without having to give a reason	
I understand that I am free to choose not to answer a question without having to give a reason	
I agree to the interview being recorded (e.g., audio-recorded)	
I grant permission for my data to be shared with other researchers on the condition that my anonymity will be maintained	
I grant permission for extracts from the interview to be used in reports of the research (such as journal publications, conference presentations, and educational meetings) on the understanding that my anonymity will be maintained	
I agree to take part in this study	

Participant signature Date
Name of participant
Researcher signature Date
Name of researcher: Yao Zhao, University of Leeds

Appendix 7 Confidentiality Statement for Transcribers

Ethics Committee, School of Psychology, University of Leeds

The British Psychological Society has published a set of guidelines on ethical principles for conducting research. One of these principles concerns maintaining the confidentiality of information obtained from participants during an investigation.

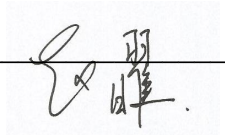
As a transcriber you have access to material obtained from research participants. In concordance with the BPS ethical guidelines, the Ethics Committee of the School of Psychology, University of Leeds requires that you sign this Confidentiality Statement for every project in which you act as transcriber.

General

- I understand that the material I am transcribing is confidential
- The material transcribed will be discussed with no-one
- The identity of research participants will not be divulged

Transcription Procedure

- Transcription will be conducted in such a way that the confidentiality of the material is maintained
- I will ensure that audio-recordings cannot be overheard and that transcripts, or parts of transcripts, are not read by people without official right of access
- All materials relating to transcription will be returned to the researcher

Signed  Date 2015/08/01

Print Name Yao zhao

Researcher Yao Zhao

Project Title Understanding the Chinese Boys' Love Fandom

Appendix 8 BL Fandom Survey

Hello! My name is Yao Zhao. I am a Chinese national and postgraduate student at the University of Leeds in the United Kingdom. This survey is for Chinese Boys' Love (BL) fans. BL, also known as YAOI, originated in Japan and consists of female-oriented products such a manga, anime, and novels that focus on homoerotic relationships. BL is popular in China but there is very little research about the Chinese fans. By completing this survey you will be helping promote understanding of this fandom. The survey does not ask your name and I will not know who has completed it. I have ethical approval to conduct this research from the School of Psychology at the University of Leeds: Ethics approval number 14-0210, date: 30th October 2014. My research supervisor is Professor Anna Madill.

This survey will take about10 minutes to complete. Most questions just ask you to select an answer from a few options. However, there is usually space for you to explain your answer in your own words – but you can chose to complete as many or as few as these as you want. The survey has five sections: (A) demographics, (B) feelings about BL, (C) social relationships, and (D) engagement with other erotic material. You can skip any question you don't want to answer and can skip the whole of section E if you want. I will just be very grateful for any information you are willing to share with me about your interest in BL.

When this research is completed, you will find summary results at https://leeds.academia.edu/AnnaMadill/BL-Chinese-Fandom-Research to find further information. If you might be interested to take part in an interview (e.g., via e-mail) to explore your opinions about BL in China please contact me. Thank you for your help with this research! Yao

E-mail: academic_yaoi@sina.com

Weibo: Academic_Yaoi

QQ: 3136104550

Section A Demographics

1. Are you a Chinese national? Yes No

   If no, what is your nationality?.....

2. In which Chinese province do you live?.....

   If you do not live in mainland China, in which country do you live?.....

3. What is your age:

4. What is your gender: Female Male Other (please describe)?.....

5. What is your highest current educational level (including any program under taking)?

   Middle school High school Bachelor Master PhD or Higher

6. What is your occupation? (Please select your occupation)

   Student

   white collar (typically work in an office environment and paid a monthly salary)

   Pink collar (typically services work involving customer interaction)

   blue collar (typically manual work building or maintaining something and paid a wage)

   other (please describe).....

7. What is your sexual orientation?

   Heterosexual Homosexual/lesbian/gay Bisexual Not sure

   Other (please describe)?.....

8. At what age did you start to engage with BL?

9. How did you first discover BL?.

   Introduced to BL by someone

   Found it by myself

   Other (please specify).....

10. How intensity you describe yourself as a BL fan?

Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often	Always
1	2	3	4	5

11. Do you create any BL works yourself? No Yes

If yes please select the all the formats of BL works you have created.

Original Manga	Original drawing	Original novels
Dojinshi manga	Dojinshi drawing	Dojinshi novels

Others (please specify) ……..

12. Do you BL cosplay? No Yes

If yes please select which character you have cosed?

Seme	
Uke	
Other	

Please identify which BL character(s) you have cosplayed?

13. How acceptable are the Male-Male sexual relationships to you in real life?

Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often	Always

14. How acceptable are the Female-Female sexual relationships to you in real life?

Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often	Always
1	2	3	4	5

Section B BL materials to be engaged

15. What percentage of your spare time to you spending in BL material?

1-20%	21-40%	41-60%	61-80%	81-100%

Please select all formats of BL materials you have engaged.

Online materials	① BL manga	② BL novels	③ Anime	④ Audio Drama	⑤ Games
	⑥ Dojinshi Manag	⑦ Dojinshi novels	None	Others (please specify)	
Real materials	⑧ BL Manga	⑨ BL novels	⑩ Anime DVD	⑪ Audio CD Drama	⑫ Game CD
	⑬ Dojinshi Manga	⑭ Dojinshi novels	None	Other (please specify)	

Please rank in order the top three formats you have engaged most.

Section C Feelings about BL

16. I <u>like</u> BL stories are mostly romance and no sex.

Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often	Extensively
1	2	3	4	5

17. I <u>like</u> BL stories with implicit relationship (implicit relationship means the seme and uke do not identify their lover relationship, in that they could be friends or sexual partners.).

Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often	Extensively
1	2	3	4	5

18. I <u>like</u> BL stories with explicit sex.

Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often	Extensively

1	2	3	4	5

19. Which ‘taboo’ sexual content to you enjoy in BL? Please select all applied options.

	Type of incestual sexual relationship			
	Blood	Adoptive	Step	In-law
Father/son(Seme/uke)				
Son/father(Seme/uke)				
Bothers				
Uncle/nephew(Seme/uke)				
Nephew/uncle(Seme/uke)				

20. Which ‘risque’ sexual content do you particularly enjoy in BL?

Animal-animal sexual (including humanoid beings with animal features)	
BDSM	
Binding	
Group sex	
Human-animal sex (including humanoid beings with animal features)	
Human-mechanoid sex (e.g., robot and android)	
Mechanoid-mechanoid sex	
Rape	
Role play sex	
Sex toys	
Tentacle sex	
Underage sex (both partners underage)	
Underage sex (one underage and one older partner	

None of the above	
Other (please specify)	

21. Which specific element to your enjoy in BL story? Please select all applied options.

Animal ears	Animal tails	Gender change	Gender change
Pregnancy	Androgyny	Cross dressing	Wedding
Animal-human transformation	Personification of non-animate object	None of the above	

Others (please specify).....

22. I engage with BL as an outsider 'looking in' on the protagonists.

Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often	Extensively
1	2	3	4	5

23. I put myself in the place of the BL protagonists.

Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often	Extensively
1	2	3	4	5

Please explain…….

Who do you identify with most? Seme ('top') Uke ('bottom')

Other (please specify)……..

24. Please select the types of seme which are you liked.

1) Halaguloi 腹黒い (はらぐろい)/ (black heart) [seme is calculating, sophisticated, intelligent, while has outstanding capacity but might be double-dealer.]

2) Hetare 懦弱攻 (cowardice) [Wimpy, meek or undemanding, he may not have the nerve to make the first move, and once things get underway he's probably under the uke's control.]
3) Mujaki 天然/無邪氣攻（むじゃき）(natural) [Innocent, usually inexperienced, maybe shy. Often looks like he ought to be uke.]
4) Teiou 帝王 （ていおう）(king) /Kichiku 鬼畜 （きちく） [generally from good family and high social status, achieve success and win recognition, pursue success and stick to principles]
5) Tsundere 傲娇 [uke initially cold and even hostile towards another person before gradually show the warm inside over time, and sometime say yes mean no that the attitudes change usually but no any evil intentions.]
6) Wanko 忠犬 （ちゅうけん）(loyal dog) [Devoted and determined, he will fawn on his uke like a puppy and doggedly pursue the uke until he gets him, despite constant rejection.]
7) Other (please specify)……..

25. Please select the types of uke which are you liked

1) Hime 公主 (姬) (princess) [Beautiful, elegant, and strong-willed. May be arrogant, demanding, or expect to be treated like royalty. Likely to be from a wealthy and/or traditional family.]
2) Hitozuma 人妻 （おくさま） (wife) [uke seem to be a wife, focusing on family, good at house work; and relatively mature, could be either positive/aggressive or submissive.]
3) Izanai (いざない) / Sasoi 诱受 (tempter) [uke like to initiatively entice and tempt the seme to develop their relationship in either physically and

mentally aspects. Puts the moves on his seme, might be an aggressive submissive.]

4) Jyoou 女王 (じょおう) (queen) [uke could be supercilious, gorgeous, also mighty dominance, and taking charge as chief at the relationship with seme also at daily life.]
5) Tennen 天然 (てんねん) (natural) [naïve, innocent, cheerful, kind-hearted]
6) Tsundere 傲娇 (ツンデレ) [uke initially cold and even hostile towards another person before gradually show the warm inside over time, and sometime say yes mean no that the attitudes change usually but no any evil intentions.]
7) Other (please specify)……..

26. I use BL terminology (e.g., ‘seme’) in general conversation.

Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often	Extensively
1	2	3	4	5

27. I like to classify people and things as different types of seme (‘top’)anduke (‘bottom’).

Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often	Extensively
1	2	3	4	5

28. To what extent does it worry you that BL scanlations (fan translations) and fan-subbed BL anime are breaches of copyright?

Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often	Extensively
1	2	3	4	5

29. To what extent do you worry about the possible illegality of some BL in China?

Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often	Extensively
1	2	3	4	5

Section D Social Relationship

30. I am willing to discuss and share my interest in BL with people online.

Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often	Extensively
1	2	3	4	5

31. I am willing to discuss and share my interest in BL with my real life friends.

Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often	Extensively
1	2	3	4	5

32. I am willing to discuss and share my interest in BL with my family members.

Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often	Extensively
1	2	3	4	5

Section E Other erotic materials

33. How frequent do you engage the male-male slash fiction?

Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often	Extensively
1	2	3	4	5

34. How frequent do you engage the female-female slash fiction?

Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often	Extensively
1	2	3	4	5

35. How frequent do you engage the heterosexual orientation erotic materials

(fictions, videos, photograph)?

Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often	Extensively
1	2	3	4	5

36. How frequent do you engage the lesbian orientation erotic materials (fictions, videos, photograph)?

Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often	Extensively
1	2	3	4	5

37. How frequent do you engage the male-male orientation erotic materials (fictions, videos, photograph)?

Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often	Extensively
1	2	3	4	5

38. How frequent do you engage BDSM materials (fictions, videos, photograph)?

Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often	Extensively
1	2	3	4	5

39. What other types of pornographic materials have you engaged, please specify.

Final Page

Thank you for sharing your interest in BL with me. I am very grateful to you.
If you might be interested to take part in an interview (e.g., via e-mail) to explore your opinions about BL please contact me. Thank you again for your help with this research! YAO When this research is completed you can find a summary of results at https://leeds.academia.edu/AnnaMadill/Boys'-Love-Fandom-Research.

Contact Information

Email academic_yaoi@sina.com

Weibo: Academic_Yaoi

QQ : 3136104550

Appendix 9 E-mail (may be adapted slightly to be relevant to contactee and will be in Chinese)

Subject: Request re yaoi/BL

Hello

I'm a postgraduate research student at the University of Leeds doing research on the Chinese Boys' Love/yaoi manga and anime. I'm also Chinese and a yaoi fan myself.

I'm wondering if you might let the members of the Chinese Society know that I have an online survey open and would be incredibly grateful if BL/yaoi fans could spare 10-20 minutes to complete it.

The URL for the survey in Chinese is: http://www.sojump.com/
The URL for the survey in English
is: https://leeds.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/blfandomsurvey

Thank you for your help! All the best, Yao

Appendix 10 Postcard

Front side

Postcard back

Translated information in postcard :

If you are interesting in YAOi, please scan the QR code to take the survey and share your options.

Also you can take part in our interview via the following contact information.

Contact information:

Email academic_yaoi@sina.com

Weibo: Academic_Yaoi

QQ : 3136104550

Front drawn by 404; Back drawn by Tomato

Appendix 11 Leaflet

中西耽美受众调查

此调查针对中国的耽美文化受众。耽美文化源于日本，主要是女性向描述同性关系的漫画，动画，小说等作品, 常常涉及同性性关系及性描写。 耽美传入中国后受众广泛，跨越各个年龄层，社会影响巨大。针对这一群体的学术研究甚少，该研究希望通过完成以下调查加深对耽美受众的了解。 该调查完全匿名，不会泄露任何个人信息，此外，该调查已通过英国利兹大学心理科学学会审核(批准号：14-0210 日期：30-10-2014)。研究导师：Professor. Anna Madill。完成此问卷大概需要十分钟左右，大部分问题是选择题，同时您可以加入您对答案的解释以及您的想法。

如果您有兴趣参加关于此话题的采访进一步分享您的观点，您可通过邮件，QQ，电话，或见面的方式参与。关于本项研究的具体信息以及问卷结果，您可以通过以下链接查阅：http://leeds.academia.edu/AnnaMadill/Boys'-Love-Fandom-Research

联系方式

电话： **15388846150** **微博：** **Academic_Yaoi**

邮箱： **academic_yaoi@sina.com** **微信/QQ：** **3136104550**

绘图 ：TOMATO

This survey is for Chinese Boys' Love (BL) fans. BL, also known as YAOI, originated in Japan and consists of female-oriented products such a manga, anime, and novels that focus on homoerotic relationships. BL is popular in China but there is very little research about the Chinese fans. By completing this survey you will be helping promote understanding of this fandom. The survey does not ask your name

and I will not know who has completed it. And I have ethical approval to conduct this research from the School of Psychology at the University of Leeds: Ethics approval number 15-0341, date 30th November 2015. My research supervisor is Professor Anna Madill.

If you might be interested to take part in an interview (e.g., via e-mail) to explore your opinions about BL in China please contact me.

Contact information:

E-mail: academicyaoi@sina.com

Weibo: Academic_Yaoi

QQ: 3136104550

Appendix 12 Contract for postcard front picture copy right

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立约日期： __2015/08/03_

立约人： ____赵曜_（以下简称甲方）

身份证号: _530102198811300744 3

联络地址： __云南省昆明建设路 54 号 2101 信箱

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乙方：__陈妤__　　甲方：_____

日期：____2015.08.03　　日期:

____2015/08/05_____

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甲方：赵曜

乙方：胡蓝月

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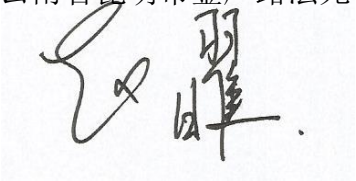
身份证号：530102198811300743	身份证号：
地址：云南省昆明市金广路法苑小区 1-	地址：云南省昆明市建设路 54 号 210
签名： 	签名：
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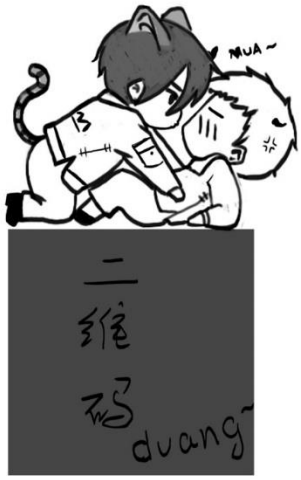
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Appendix 14 Initial Results for Chinese and Anglophone Survey

1 Is English/Chinese your first language? If not, what is your first language please?

Anglophone	Yes	1715
Chinese	Yes	1922

2 In what country are you living at the moment?

Anglophone	USA (N=1109), UK (N=333), Australia (N=96), Canada (N=83), New Zealand (N=14), India (N=2), Italy (N=3), Japan (N=9), Malaysia (N=7), Philippines (N=20), Singapore (N=25), South Africa (N=3), United Arab Emirates (N=2) and N=1 for multiple other countries.
Chinese	Mainland China (N=1697, including Macau N=4]), Hong Kong (N=198), Taiwan (N=2), UK (N=12), United States (N=5), Japan (N=3), Canada (N=2), Netherlands (N=1), Australia (N=1), and Germany (N=1).

3. What is your nationality?

Anglophone	USA (N=774), UK (N=331), Australian (N=73), New Zealand (N=12), Canadian (N=64), German (N=9), Italian (N=3), Polish (N=3), Portuguese (N=3), Ukraine (N=2), Chinese (N=26, including Taiwanese N=2), Filipina (N=26), Hmong (N=2), Indian (N=5), Indonesian (N=3), Korean (N=10), Malaysian (N=11), Mexican (N=8), Puerto Rican (N=4), Singaporean (N=25), South African (N=3), Vietnamese (N=12), Thai (N=2) and N=1 for multiple other nationalities.
Chinese	Chinese (N=1883), Hong Kongese (N=38), and Taiwanese (N=1)

4. What is your age in years?

	Mean	Mode	Range
Anglophone	23	20	11-64
Chinese	20	20	12-37

5. What is your gender?

	Male	Female	Other
Anglophone	16.5%	74.7%	8.8%
Chinese	11.1%	88.0%	0.9%

6. What is your highest educational level (including any educational programme you are currently undertaking)?

	Middle school	High school	Bachelor	Master	Doctorate
Anglophone	1.5%	38.7%	50.8%	7.3%	1.6%
Chinese	4.4%	13.1%	78.2%	3.8%	0.5%

7. What is your main occupation?

	Student	White collar	Pink collar	Blue collar	Other
Anglophone	56.7%	13.8%	14.3%	2.6%	12.7%
Chinese	90.6%	5.4%	0.9%	0.2%	2.8%

8. What is your sexual orientation?

	Heterosexual	Homosexual	Bisexual	Polysexual	Not sure	Other
Anglophone	31.3%	11.4%	21.9%	15.7%	8.9%	10.8%
Chinese	64.4%	3.3%	16.4%	/	14.6%	1.4%

9. How did you first discover BL?

	Introduced BL by others	Found BL by myself	Other
Anglophone	24.5%	72.0%	3.5%
Chinese	46.9%	45.6%	7.5%

10. How intensely are you a BL fan?

	Not at all	A bit	Quite	A lot	Extremely
Anglophone	1.7%	12.0%	21.2%	31.1%	34.0%
Chinese	11.9%	21.6%	13.6%	22.8%	30.0%

11. a. Do you create any BL works yourself?

	No	Yes
Anglophone	53.0%	47.0%
Chinese	80.7%	19.3%

11.b. If yes, which types of BL work have you created?

	Original BL manga	Original BL drawings	Original BL novels	BL fan arts	Dojinshi BL manga	Dojinshi BL novels	Other
Anglophone (N=806)	13%	34.6%	39.0%	37.8%	8.7%	29.9%	27.9%
Chinese (N=371)	1.5%	2.8%	12.6%	2.3%	4.7%	12.8%	1.0%

12. a. Do you BL cosplay?

	No	Yes
Anglophone	83.3%	16.7%
Chinese	93.0%	7.0%

12.b. If yes, which BL role do you cosplay?

	Seme	Uke	Both	Other
Anglophone (n=286)	16.8%	29.4%	51%	2.8%

Chinese (n=134)	32.1%	25.4%	40.3%	19.4%

13. How acceptable are male-male sexual relationships to you in real life?

	Never	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Always
Anglophone	0.5%	2%	2.9%	5.8%	88.7%
Chinese	11.7%	9.5%	8.1%	25.3%	45.5%

14. How acceptable are female-female sexual relationships to you in real life?

	Never	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Always
Anglophone	1.2%	3.3%	3.8%	6.4%	85.2%
Chinese	16.3%	13.3%	10.6%	23.8%	36.2%

15. What percentage of your spare time do you spend on BL?

	1-20%	21-40%	41-60%	61-80%	81-100%
Anglophone	31.6%	23.7%	22.3%	15.7%	6.7%
Chinese	51.8%	18.2%	15.2%	9.9%	4.9%

16. Please select all formats of BL with which you engage.

		BL manga	BL novel	BL anime	BL audio-drama	BL games	BL fan art	BL dojinshi manga	BL donjinshi novels	None	Other
Anglophone	Online	85.4%	44.9%	84%	29.3%	49%	79.8%	73.1%	37.8%	0.8%	14.8%
	Real	72%	35.9%	41.4%	7.6%	20%	30%	37.6%	14.1%	14.5%	3.7%
Chinese	Online	69.4%	75.0%	61.3%	41.6%	31.8%	53.2%	49%	56.2%	5%	11.7%
	Real	32.9%	34.4%	12%	7.3%	7.9%	15.7%	20.9%	20.7%	11.9%	8.7%

17. From the formats in question 17, please list the three with which you engage with BL the most (starting with the one you engage with most frequently).

Anglophone	Online BL manga, online BL fan art, real BL manga
Chinese	Online BL novels, online BL manga, online BL anime

18. I like BL stories that are mostly romance and no sex.

	Never	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Extensively
Anglophone	2.6%	43%	29.5%	18.3%	6.6%
Chinese	6.8%	16.1%	23.2%	35.4%	18.4%

19. I like BL stories with 'implicit relationships' (i.e., not clear if the seme and uke are lovers or just friends).

	Never	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Extensively
Anglophone	11.3%	50%	23.2%	12.1%	3.4%
Chinese	27.9%	31.4%	23.0%	11.4%	6.2%

20. I like BL stories with explicit sex.

	Never	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Extensively
Anglophone	2.4%	18.4%	22.2%	30%	27.1%
Chinese	17.8%	26.0%	23.5%	19.6%	13.1%

21. Which 'incestual' sexual relationships do you particularly enjoy in BL? (Select all that apply or leave blank if you don't particularly enjoy incestual sexual relationships in BL):

		Father/son	Son/father	Brother	Uncle/nephew	Nephew/uncle
Anglophone	Blood	41.4%	40.5%	67.5%	52.7%	48.2%
	Adoptive	74.3%	71.9%	83.8%	73.5%	72.9%
	Step	71.4%	71.6%	80.2%	72.6%	71.2%
	In-law	61.5%	65.7%	63.8%	70%	71%
Chinese	Blood	16.5%	14.7%	37%	21.7%	20%
	Adoptive	32.6%	30%	46.4%	28.8%	28%
	Step	21.1%	20.2%	39.4%	23.3%	22.8%
	In-law	14.3%	12.5%	27.5%	19.6%	19.1%

22. Which 'risque' sexual content do you particularly enjoy in BL?

	Anglophone	Chinese
Animal-animal sex	28.5%	23.3%
BDSM	60.5%	17.5%
Binding	44.2%	27.2%
Group sex	37.3%	18.1%
Human-animal sex	30.4%	25.1%
Human-mechanoid sex	23.8%	15.1%
Mechanoid-mechanoid sex	10.7%	8.5%
Rape	25.7%	20%
Role play sex	48.2%	36.5%
Sex toys	57%	20.9%
Tentacle sex	28.9%	18.7%
Underage sex (both)	32.1%	7.2%
Underage sex (one)	34.8%	13.4%%
None of the above	11.9%	35%
Other	5.6%	7.6%

23. Which specific elements do you particularly enjoy in BL?

	Anglophone	Chinese
Androgyny	44.7%	20.6%

Animal ears	44.7%	28.9%
Animal tails	37.3%	22.3%
Anima-human transformation	22.7%	27.4%
Cross-dressing	45.7%	20.8%
Gender change	17.6%	12.8%
Male pregnancy	21.9%	24.8%
Male-male marriage	60.2%	45.6%
Personification of non-animate object	11.8%	26.1%
None of the above	12.8%	25.1%
Other	5.5%	6.9%

24. I engage with BL as an outsider 'looking in' on the characters.

	Never	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Extensively
Anglophone	11.3%	27.2%	21.1%	19.7%	20.8%
Chinese	8.6%	11.4%	13.2%	29.2%	37.6%

25. a. When I engage with BL, I put myself in the place of the characters

	Never	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Extensively
Anglophone	38.4%	36.6%	9.6%	11%	4.4%
Chinese	56%	24.8%	11.8%	4.9%	2.4%

25. b. Who do you identify with most?

	Seme	Uke	Other
Anglophone (n=1500)	19.7%	48.1%	32.2%
Chinese (n=846)	9.7%	18.5%	15.8%

26. Please select the types of seme you particularly like.

	Anglophone	Chinese
Haraguroi/black heart	50.7%	61.9%
Hetare/cowardice	22.7%	7%
Mujaki/natural	47%	31.1%
Teiou/king	51%	57.1%
Tsundere/standoffish	61.3%	54.7%
Wanko/loyal dog	54.5%	57.6%
None of the above	5.2%	9%
Other	7.5%	10.8%

27. Please select the types of uke you particularly like.

	Anglophone	Chinese
Hime/princess	38%	18.1%
Hitozuma/wife	50.6%	42%
Izanai/tempter	58.7%	42.8%
Jyoou/queen	30.5%	45.1%
Tennen/natural	69%	55.5%
Tsundere/standoffish	58.2%	61.3%
None of the above	4.9%	9.3%
Other	6.2%	11.2%

28. I use BL terminology (e.g., 'moe', 'seme', 'uke') in general conversation.

	Never	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Extensively
Anglophone	37.8%	38.3%	10.7%	7.9%	5.2%
Chinese	18.4%	25.9%	21.7%	16.1%	17.8%

29. I like to classify people and things as different types of seme and uke.

	Never	Sometimes	Often	Veryoften	Extensively
Anglophone	49.2%	30.4%	9.4%	6.5%	4.4%
Chinese	37.9%	28.3%	17.1%	9.4%	7.4%

30. To what extent does it worry you that BL scanlations (fan translations) and fan-subbed BL anime are breaches of copyright?

	Never	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Extensively
Anglophone	41.2%	40.2%	10.9%	4%	3.7%
Chinese	26.7%	24%	25.5%	14.8%	8.9%

31. To what extent do you worry about legal issues in relation to the sexual content of BL?

	Never	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Extensively
Anglophone	44.4%	38%	10.8%	4.1%	2.6%
Chinese	22%	19.3%	21.3%	18.9%	18.6%

32. I discuss my interest in BL with people online.

	Never	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Extensively
Anglophone	15.8%	35.1%	18.3%	17.5%	13.4%
Chinese	35.9%	25.%	15.5%	13.2%	10.4%

33. I discuss my interest in BL with people friends I know in person。

	Never	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Extensively
Anglophone	17.8%	40.1%	16.1%	13.4%	12.6%
Chinese	25.9%	25.1%	18.9%	16.6%	13.4%

34. I discuss my interest in BL with members of my family.

	Never	Sometimes	Often	Veryoften	Extensively
Anglophone	68.3%	22.9%	4.3%	2.6%	2%
Chinese	78.2%	14.6%	4.4%	1.6%	1.2%

35. How frequently do you engage with male-male slash fiction?

	Never	Sometimes	Often	Veryoften	Extensively
Anglophone (n=1701)	9.9%	23.1%	16.6.%	22.9%	27.5%
Chinese (n=1834)	22.3%	28.3%	22.5%	16.5%	10.4%

36. How frequently do you engage with female-female slash fiction?

	Never	Sometimes	Often	Veryoften	Extensively
Anglophone (n=1700)	39.5%	40.9%	10.9%	5.8%	2.9%

Chinese (n=1822)	48.8%	35.9%	11.4%	2.5%	1.4%

37. How frequently do you engage with heterosexual erotic materials (e.g., slash fiction, other fictions, videos, photographs, manga, anime)?

	Never	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Extensively
Anglophone (n=1700)	15.4%	47.4%	18.5%	12.2%	6.6%
Chinese (n=1810)	19.2%	44.6%	21.9%	10.7%	3.6%

38. How frequently do you engage with non-slash female-female erotic materials (e.g., fictions, videos, photographs, manga, anime)?

	Never	Sometimes	Often	Veryoften	Extensively
Anglophone (n=1676)	41%	38.8%	13.2%	4.4%	2.6%
Chinese (n=1792)	51.1%	32.8%	11.2%	3.2%	1.8%

39. How frequently do you engage with non-BL/non-slash male-male erotic materials probably designed for gay men (e.g., fictions, videos, photographs, manga, anime)?

	Never	Sometimes	Often	Veryoften	Extensively
Anglophone (n=1680)	21.8%	43.4%	17.4%	12%	5.5%
Chinese (n=1796)	30.1%	38.1%	18.9%	9.0%	4.0%

40. How frequently do you engage with non-BL/non-slash BDSM materials (e.g., fictions, videos, photographs, manga, anime)?

	Never	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Extensively
Anglophone (n=1681)	37.6%	40.2%	12.4%	5.5%	4.3%
Chinese (n=1779)	52.8%	30.6%	11.5%	3.5%	1.6%