Korean LGBT: Trial, Error, and Success

Jonathan Kim

Bachelor of Arts, Government
Georgetown University, 2012

South Korea does not have a strong and visible lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender social movement in the public, despite active issue advocacy organizations, political representation from the Democratic Labour Party, and popular television shows that portray LGBT characters and themes.¹ The LGBT movement has had a difficult time growing in South Korea because, as some have argued South Korea has long been ignorant about homosexuality and awareness of 'gay' had not been discovered until the early 1990s.² I will look at three causal reasons that best describe the dearth of a growing social movement pushing for LGBT rights.

First, I will challenge the notion that Korean society is conservative in nature, which leaves no room for homosexuality in a cornucopia of traditional attitudes: heterosexual, hierarchical, and patriarchal society. On the contrary, history shows Koreans indeed encountered homosexuality in the past, and some had even embraced it warmly. Second, I will look at the argument that authoritarian control of South Korea after the Korean War had no room for minority rights, and that the *esprit de corps*, which developed in the military was inimical to sexual minorities, and diminished gay soldiers from serving in the military. However this claim is invalid after the 1990s, following the democratization of the Korean governments. Third, I argue that Western culture's notion of "coming out" harms the gay person trying to come out in the Korean society, and creates a parallel gay subculture. The lack of a visibly strong LGBT movement in Korea is because these "liberation" and "coming out" movements tend to be based on Western experiences and Western ideologies, and foreign to Korean traditions. Instead, the Korean LGBT community uses the Internet as an outlet to find the support they cannot find in the Korean public. Even though Korea seems to be a conservative society and denies the LGBT community the rights and privileges of a free

democratic society, Korean government has a laissez-faire policy and listens to constituents' voices regarding homosexuality rather than imposing its own arbitrary restrictions and punishments for being gay. Korea has, in the past, had native homosexual roots, and could allow for more LGBT rights like that of their neighboring states. Korea has woken up to new ways of thinking about homosexuality that are not merely an import of Western ideology — Koreans can be gay and still be part of an effective Korean society.

History of Homosexuality in Korea

South Korea

In modern day Korea, there is a lack of visible LGBT culture in society. Homosexuality has been a taboo subject because, according to Confucianism, it disrupts social harmony

by breaking the family continuum. In *Korean Jurisprudence, Politics and Culture*, Hahm Pyong-choon argues that Shamanism is the foundation of the Korean worldview. Shamanism, at best, accepts the diverse intensity of sexuality among people and can accommodate those who disdain human reproduction. Hahm characterizes homosexuals as people who “disdain human reproduction” because they engage in non-procreative sex. This illustrates how Koreans share traditional marriage values with the Judeo-Christian culture as the two cultures share an opinion on the importance of procreative sex.

In terms of Korean values, according to *Homosexuality in Ancient and Modern Korea*, authors Y.G. Kim and S.J. Hahn agree *The Sam-Kang-Oh-Ryun* (The Three Fundamental and Five Moral Laws) have “dominated Korean socio-political life for much of the country’s history and have influenced family systems as well as ways of thinking, philosophy and lifestyles.”

The Sam-Kang-Oh-Ryun

- The king is the mainstay of the state (Kun-Yi-Shin-Kang).
- The father is mainstay of the son (Bu-Yi-Ja-Kang)
- The husband is the mainstay of the wife (Bu-Yi-Bu-Kang)
- Between father and son it requires chin (friendship)
- Between king and courtier, eui (righteousness)
- Between husband and wife, pyul (deference)
- Between old and young, saw (degree)
- Between friends, shin (faith)³

The Sam-Kang-Oh-Ryun embodies the vertical relationships, family-patriarchal/conservatism, a reluctance to accept change, and family-centeredness. These characteristics have exerted strong influence on every field of life in Korean culture.

In certain times however, homosexual attitudes prevailed in Korea. For instance, during the Three Kingdoms period (57 CE – 668 CE) a

group of military elites in the Silla kingdom (57 BCE – 935CE) who belonged to the *Hwarang*, or the Flower of Youth, offered the closest thing to homosexuality in ancient Korea. *Hwarang*, in addition to their military functions, had a component for ecstasy and eroticism, known as *hyangga*. *Hwarang* has given rise to modern words such as *hwallyangi*, *hwangangnom*, and *hwarangnyon* meaning playboy, lazy good-for-nothing, and prostitute.⁴ Homosexual feelings can also be found in Korean vernacular poetry of historical annals such as the *Memorabilia* of the Three Kingdoms.⁵

Ch’oyong’s Song

Playing in the moonlight of the capital
Till the morning comes,
I return home
To see four legs in my bed.
Two belong to me.
Whose are the other two?
But what was my own
Has been taken from me, what now?⁶

These writings shed a new light on how Koreans perceive homosexuality. Clearly, these facts breach the heterosexual social and ethical norms in Korea. However, in the later Choson Dynasty, attitudes regarding homosexuality shift as it is seen as wicked by the neo-Confucian upper-middle classes.⁷

Korean *Esprit de Corps*

Korean society was hesitant to change: throughout the Choson Dynasty (1392 CE-1897), the upper-class frowned on homosexuality. However, there existed something close to homosexual affection as Korean values hold that there were many opportunities for men and women to develop social and non-sexual physical contact with members of the same sex both in their schooldays and afterwards. These values have long existed since the Choson Dynasty and continue to exist today. Kim and Hahn argue, “Koreans enjoy close emotional friendships with members of their own sex.”⁸ This comes to my second point that this kind of

esprit de corps was particularly stronger in the military, where Koreans had to work together to fight a great common threat--North Korea. Beginning with the First Republic of South Korea (1948) under Syngman Rhee, authoritarian rulers alike have ruled South Korea with an iron fist. Vehement anti-communist rulers had no room for minority rights, and the *esprit de corps* that formed among Korean people were rigorous standards of what was normal in society and what would constitute military punishment. Youngshik D. Bong argues, Korean military government exploited and reproduced Confucian ideology in order to carry out military and industrial mobilization of the populace. Such mobilization, in turn, solidified the binary and hierarchical conceptualization of gender that regards homosexuality as a foreign and un-Korean value.^{9,10}

Neo-Confucianism views from the Choson Dynasty continued to resurface into Korean society through military regimes regarding homosexuality. Most Koreans today continue to see homosexuality as un-Korean and foreign. Under authoritarian control, President Park Chung-hee and Chun Doo-hwan, both ex-military leaders, attempted to homogenize Korean society, and were against homosexuality. Bong writes that authoritarian regimes, such as the Park and Chun administrations, were responsible for preventing liberal political agendas and democratic ideals from spreading, in order to promote national solidarity and political stability. A prodemocracy movement was equated with an antigovernment movement.¹¹

Chun Doo-hwan was a two-star general in the ROK Army and expanded martial law to the entire country, closing universities, banning political parties, and censoring the press. Under Chun, any people, including cultural or political dissidents would be arrested immediately by the police or the military and sent to the *samchung-gyoyookdae* (三清教育隊). These were boot camps designed to provide rigorous military training and education to the arrested 'troubled' youths. Many Koreans died and some even

committed suicide during these boot camps. Moreover, the Korean youth, many of whom were college students and professors, rose up against Chun's military style dictatorship in what is known as the Gwangju Democratization Movement (광주 민주화 운동).¹² The army was sent out to suppress the demonstrators, which resulted in a bloody massacre. The blatant uses of violence by these rulers' commands would make it difficult for a Korean LGBT movement to start up, especially when universities, which tend to encourage generally safe and liberal-minded environments, were targeted. However, this claim is invalid after the 1990s because even though the South Korean government was no longer authoritarian, many Koreans were still hesitant to come out as gay.

Gays in the Military

An alternate explanation for why gay men could not come out is conscription into the armed services. Every Korean soldier goes through psychological evaluation prior to joining the military. If the man shows he has

A ritual Confucian ceremony in Autumn in Jeju, South Korea

homosexual tendencies, the man is labeled as "mentally handicapped", thus unfit to serve. Conscription for males puts psychological pressure among Korean gay men, because there is a social stigma attached to men who do not serve in the military. For example, an employer could discriminate based upon whether the male employee has served in the military. Soldiers that are suspected as 'gay' are dishonorably discharged.

Unfamiliar Culture of “Coming Out”

Most Koreans were indoctrinated into thinking that the Korean LGBT community is a Western by-product, possibly the effect of close contact with the West after the Korean War. But the culture of “coming out” is a Western concept that has made little impact among Koreans. As Bong mentioned, the Park and Chun administrations rather solidified Confucian socio-political ideologies, giving them a way to argue that homosexuality is an un-Korean foreign value. I argue that the reason “liberation” and “coming out” harms the person “coming out” is because: 1) “coming out” is an individually based experience, 2) rejection from the family or society reinforces the un-Korean value, and, in turn, 3) this rejection spreads more ignorance about homosexuality. As I argued earlier, homosexuality is a taboo subject because it disrupts social harmony by breaking the family continuum according to Confucianism. Previously, military governments have exploited and reproduced Korean values to mobilize the Korean populace. However, when coming out as gay is not familiarized, homosexuality is rejected by Korean society. This makes homosexuality seemingly un-Korean and foreign to most people and results only in ignorance about homosexuality and myths about gay men and women, ultimately harming the gay man or woman trying to “come out”.

One of the first myths that emerged in the early 1990s among Koreans regarding homosexuality was that “AIDS is the plague of homosexuals.”¹³

Thriving Gay Subculture

A lack of institutions and unfamiliarity towards homosexuality caused the rise of a gay subculture that is largely unknown in mainstream Korean society. Despite the difficulty of ‘coming out’ to families, there is a way for Korean gay men to interact and seek other gay men through the Internet. A burgeoning online gay community has thus far fulfilled the needs of the LGBT community

through chat rooms, dating sites, and other social outlets, including contract marriages, which I will discuss in detail later. (discussed later). In fact, ‘netizens’, or Internet citizens, play the largest role in the LGBT community in Korea. Korean LGBT information is online, and not having to reveal your identity makes the online community a safe place to explore and discover what it means to be a gay Korean, as well as where to find other gay men in Korea. Websites such as Ivancity© provide gay men in Korea

Homosexuality is a taboo subject because it disrupts social harmony

with, what the website advertises as a: “gay portal, gay TV, video, gay news, power dating, Myspace, text chat, video chat, file sharing, gay clubs, and shopping malls.”¹⁴ All this information can be incredibly helpful for newly gay men in a society where they feel uncomfortable “coming out.”

Gay friendly cities such as Itaewon (이태원), which is the home to many U.S. Military Personnel, tourists, and non-Koreans, is colloquially referred to as “homo hill.” There are popular gay destinations in Korea for natives and tourists alike to explore the gay nightlife. These are new and potential ways Korean LGBT is branching out visibly in society.

Contract Marriages

One of the many ways Korean LGBT is unique to LGBT culture is through its contract marriages. The difficulty of “coming out” in Korean culture has led to an alternative arrangement of “contract marriages.” John (Song Pae) Cho, in “The Wedding Banquet Revisited: “Contract Marriages” Between Korean Gays and Lesbians” admits being gay is a family problem.¹⁵ As Korean gays and lesbians try to reconcile their personal desires and the pressure to marry from the family, they enter a contract marriage in Korean known as, *kyeyak kyôlhon* (계약결혼). This idea is radically different from the Western liberal idea of choosing our own alternative families, implicit in works such as *Families We Choose* (1997) by Kath Weston.¹⁶ By deflecting

marriage, the partners entering a contract marriage only conform to marriage and they fall into a spider web of obligations.¹⁷ These obligations are very demanding when parent-in-laws visit the home of the couple unexpectedly, and the couple must attend all family functions, such as birthdays, funerals, holidays, and any rituals the family observes. Cho writes, “As Suh Dong Jin, a former Korean gay activist, asserts, one of the key characteristics of Korean gays and lesbians is their close emotional bond with their families.”¹⁸ Contract marriages end up reinforcing the sanctity of marriage of the family as the proper unit of social, moral, and national belonging.¹⁹ Websites such as “Our Wedding” is devoted to such arrangements.²⁰

Trial and Error, and then Success: Gays in the Media

After actor Hong Seok-chon came out in 2000, he was censored from television. Hong was ostracized by the public eye for being the first Korean celebrity to come out as gay. Hong in an interview in 2008 said that, After I set my foot in the entertainment business, I only thought about popularity, money and fame. But I changed a lot after I came out in 2000. I still think it was the right thing to do. I had many difficulties since then, but because I’m an optimistic person, I didn’t run away but squarely faced the world. If I had run away at the time, I don’t think I’d be as happy as I am right now.²¹

Taking into consideration what Hong did was courageous and plausible. “Coming out” in 2000; however, Hong faced a lot of discrimination from Korean society, which prevented other actors and actresses from following Hong’s footsteps. Shortly afterwards, Hong became a very successful restaurateur, owning many establishments. Fellow actors and patrons came up to him and congratulated him on his personal endeavors.

Harisu is the first Korean transgender entertainer; however, Korean society had mixed feelings about her at first and eventually tolerated her. Harisu, in contrast to Hong,

debuted in 2001 as a transgender post-operation model for a cosmetic TV commercial. Born as a male, she had undergone hormone therapy and sexual reassignment surgery in the 1990s.²² Harisu is well-known and popular in Korean society. She garnered more sympathy from the conservatives of society because she was born into the world as the wrong gender. Hong came out later in his career, when he was already established as an actor; however, Harisu started her career as an open transgender.

Korean LGBT Rights

Gay rights groups such as Chingusai

Itaewon, South Korea at night. Its Western-style bars and clubs attract a lot of tourists and its “Homo Hill” is profiled as a popular hangout for the LGBT community.

(gay rights), and Kirikiri (lesbian rights) emerged in the 1990s. Gays and lesbians face many legal obstacles in South Korea. First off, there are mixed feelings regarding homosexuality. The Korean military has a similar policy to the past U.S. policy of “Don’t Ask Don’t Tell.” While homosexuality is not mentioned in the Constitution or in the Civil Penal Code; Article 92 of the Military Penal Code punishes same-sex relationships among soldiers (even consensual ones), as reciprocal rape, and is punishable for up to one year in prison and forced retirement.²³ This has been appealed in the Korean constitutional court.

Korean gay rights that are notable include Article 2 of the National Human Rights Committee Act states explicitly includes discriminatory acts based on ‘sexual orientation’ among those defined as “acts violating the

right to equality” that are subject to petition, investigation, and remedy by the Commission.²⁴ Moreover, the Korean Supreme Court ruled people who undergo gender reassignment surgeries are allowed to change all official documents to their newly assigned gender.

Censorship is a problem in Korea, however. From 2001-2003, the Government of South Korea censored many gay-content websites through its Information and Communications Ethics Committee, part of the Ministry of Information and Communication. The ICEC categorized

South Korean Military Police patrol joint security areas

homosexuality in the category of perversion and obscenity. That practice has since been reversed.²⁵

Currently, there is a debate over equal rights for gay students. The Seoul Office of Education committee considered adding a clause to eliminate discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.

The proposal to change the students' bill of rights have been criticized by a coalition of parents for, in their opinion, “encouraging homosexuality.”²⁶

In terms of legislative politics, the Democratic Labour Party, which has ten National Assembly representatives, has a *Sexual Minorities Committee*, which is committed to ending homophobia in South Korea. However, current

President Lee Myung-Bak is against same-sex marriage and considers homosexuality abnormal.²⁷

Gays are referred to, in a derogatory manner, as *byuntae* – meaning abnormal, anomalism, or deviant, or comparable to the word “fag” in the U.S. According to Kim and Hahn, a *byuntae* is a pansexual person who makes the rational choice to act that way. *Byuntae* describes modern gay men and lesbians, but it can also refer to the man who takes on the feminine role in a homosexual relationship. The word ‘gay’ is not commonly used, but the term “homo” is familiar to describe both male and female homosexuals.²⁸ However, many Korean LGBT rights activists fight these stereotypes.

Table 1 shows whether there are LGBT rights in different segments of Korean society. The trend is overwhelmingly positive in favor of LGBT rights in most parts of the society, thus the prospect for LGBT rights look very bright. Korean society in the past has rejected homosexuality as a foreign and un-Korean value because Korea has a long history of living under a military-run government, and many did not know, or were not particularly concerned about homosexuality in Korea’s history.

Mainly traditional and religious groups have voiced concerns against homosexuality, which has partially stifled the LGBT movement. The South Korean Government merely reflected the zeitgeist of anti-gay expressions from the 1950s-1980s. However the 1990s brought in a new era of a global capitalist economy and introduced a sense of individualism into Korean society, compelling individuals to create strong issue advocacy groups such as *Lesbian and Gay Alliance Against Discrimination in Korea* (LGAAG), *Chingusai*, and *Kirikiri*, among others, which have fought against the stigma of being gay or lesbian. However, many in Korea still refuse to “come out” today because there is too large of a negative societal judgment attached to homosexuality.

While being LGBT is not widely accepted in Korea today, there is a lot more potential in the near future than we expect because of Korean LGBT history, Korean democratization, and Korean legal structures that push for LGBT equality.

Table 1. LGBT Rights in Korean Society

Can gays serve in the military?	No
Human Rights	Yes
Censorship	Yes
Students' Bill of Rights	Debated
Legislative Politics	Yes
Transgender Rights	Yes
Media	Yes
Gay Marriage Rights	No

Bibliography

- Bong, Youngshik D. "The Gay Rights Movement in Democratizing Korea." *Korean Studies* 32, (January 2008): 86-103. LGBT Life with Full Text, EBSCOhost (accessed November 27, 2011).
<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=qth&AN=36134014&site=ehost-live>.
- Cho, J. 2009. "The Wedding Banquet Revisited: "Contract Marriages" Between Korean Gays and Lesbians." *Anthropological Quarterly* 82, no. 2, (April 1): 401-422. (accessed October 31, 2011).
http://z3950.muse.jhu.edu/journals/anthropological_quarterly/related/v082/82.2.cho.html.
- "Do ask, do tell in South Korea." *Advocate* no. 959 (March 28, 2006): 24. Gender Studies Database, EBSCOhost (accessed November 27, 2011).
<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=fmh&AN=20270751&site=ehost-live>.
- "Eight Years After Coming Out as Gay, Hong Seok-chon Is Thriving." (accessed December 9, 2011).
<http://www.hancinema.net/eight-years-after-coming-out-as-gay-hong-seok-chon-is-thriving-17265.html>.
- Ee Kee, Li. "Eve from Adam." *The Star Online*. Last modified September 19, 2005. Accessed April 12, 2012.
<http://thestar.com.my/lifestyle/story.asp?file=/2005/9/19/lifefocus/11883388&sec=lifefocus>.
- "Gay and lesbian Asia: culture, identity, community." *Journal of Homosexuality* 40, no. 3/4 (2001): 1-269. Social Sciences Full Text, WilsonWeb (accessed November 23, 2011).
http://vnweb.hwwilsonweb.com/hww/results/getResults.jhtml?_DARGS=/hww/results/results_common.jhtml.35.
- Hahm, Pyong-choon. *Korean Jurisprudence, Politics and Culture*. S. Korea: Yonsei University Press, 1986.
- Kim, Young-Gwan, and Sook-Ja Hahn. 2006. "Homosexuality in ancient and modern Korea." *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 8, no. 1: 59-65. Academic Search Premier, EBSCOhost (accessed November 28, 2011).
<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=19869270&site=ehost-live>.
- Riley, Ann. "South Korea rights commission finds military gay ban unconstitutional." *JURIST Legal News and Research Services, Inc.*, 2011. (accessed December 11, 2011).
<http://jurist.org/paperchase/2010/10/south-korea-rights-commission-finds-military-gay-ban-unconstitutional.php>.
- Schwartzman, Nathan. "SKorea: Debate over equal rights for gay students." *Asiancorrespondent.com*, 2011. (accessed December 11, 2011).
<http://asiancorrespondent.com/67609/skorea-debate-over-equal-rights-for-gay-students/>.
- Soo Jin, Park-Kim, Lee-Kim Soo Youn, and Kwon-Lee Eun Jung. "The Lesbian Rights Movement and Feminism in South Korea." *Journal of Lesbian Studies* 10, no. 3/4 (September 2006): 161-190. Academic Search Premier, EBSCOhost (accessed November 27, 2011).
<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=23837497&site=ehost-live>.
- "Statement of the Republic of Korea." The 19th Session of the Human Rights Council. Last modified March 7, 2012. Accessed April 12, 2012. < http://che-geneva.mofat.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/korboardread.jsp?typeID=15&boardid=3266&seqno=916126&c=&t=&pagenum=1&tableName=TYPE_LEGATION&pc=&dc=&wc=&lu=&vu=&iu=&du=> >.
- "Youngshik D. Bong, Ph.D." American University, 2009. Accessed December 11, 2011.
<http://www1.american.edu/learningcommunities/go/gmgp/bong.cfm?view=print>.
- "Naver Encyclopedia, 2011 Copyright © NHN Corp (accessed December 12, 2011). <<http://terms.naver.com/entry.nhn?docId=572071>>.

Endnotes

- 1 I refer to Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender hereafter as LGBT.
- 2 Soo Jin, Park-Kim, Lee-Kim Soo Youn, and Kwon-Lee Eun Jung. "The Lesbian Rights Movement and Feminism in South Korea." *Journal of Lesbian Studies* 10, no. 3/4 (September 2006): 161
- 3 Young-Gwan Kim and Sook-Ja Hahn. 2006. "Homosexuality in ancient and modern Korea." *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 8, no. 1: 60.
- 4 Ibid., 61-62.

- 5 Ibid., 61.
- 6 Ibid., 61.
- 7 Ibid., 62.
- 8 Kim, Young-Gwan, and Sook-Ja Hahn. 2006. "Homosexuality in ancient and modern Korea." *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 8, no. 1: 62-63.
- 9 Youngshik D. Bong, Ph.D is the Assistant Professor of Comparative & Regional Studies in the School of International Service at American University, Washington D.C.
- 10 Bong, Youngshik D. "The Gay Rights Movement in Democratizing Korea." *Korean Studies* 32, (January 2008): 88
- 11 Ibid., 88.
- 12 Naver Encyclopedia, 2011.
- 13 Soo Jin, Park-Kim, Lee-Kim Soo Youn, and Kwon-Lee Eun Jung. "The Lesbian Rights Movement and Feminism in South Korea." *Journal of Lesbian Studies* 10, no. 3/4 (September 2006): 162-163.
- 14 © 1999-2011 LGBT Korea. www.ivancity.com
- 15 Cho, J. 2009. "The Wedding Banquet Revisited: "Contract Marriages" Between Korean Gays and Lesbians." *Anthropological Quarterly* 82, no. 2, (April 1): 402.
- 16 Ibid., 417.
- 17 Ibid., 409.
- 18 Ibid., 403.
- 19 Ibid., 416.
- 20 Ibid., 406.
- 21 "Eight Years After Coming Out as Gay, Hong Seok-chon Is Thriving." (accessed December 9, 2011), <<http://www.hancinema.net/eight-years-after-coming-out-as-gay-hong-seok-chon-is-thriving-17265.html>>.
- 22 Li Ee Kee, "Eve from Adam," *The Star Online*, last modified September 19, 2005, (accessed April 12, 2012), <<http://thestar.com.my/lifestyle/story.asp?file=/2005/9/19/lifefocus/11883388&sec=lifefocus>>.
- 23 Craig Young. "Being Gay in South Korea." *Gaynz.com* April 9, 2008. (accessed December 12, 2011). <http://www.gaynz.com/articles/publish/32/article_5801.php>.
- 24 "Statement of the Republic of Korea," The 19th Session of the Human Rights Council last modified March 7, 2012, (accessed April 12, 2012). < http://che-geneva.mofat.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/template/read/korboardread.jsp?typeID=15&boardid=3266&seqno=916126&c=&t=&pagenum=1&tableName=TYPE_LEGATION&pc=&dc=&wc=&lu=&vu=&iu=&du=>.
- 25 "Internet Censorship in South Korea." *I-policy.org*. (accessed December 12, 2011). <<http://www.i-policy.org/2010/01/internet-censorship-in-south-korea.html>>.
- 26 Nathan Schwartzmann. "SKorea: Debate over equal rights for gay students." *Asiancorrespondent.com* October 21, 2011. (accessed December 12, 2011). <http://asiancorrespondent.com/67609/skorea-debate-over-equal-rights-for-gay-students/>.
- 27 Craig Young. "Being Gay in South Korea." *Gaynz.com* April 9, 2008.
- 28 Kim, Young-Gwan, and Sook-Ja Hahn. 2006. "Homosexuality in ancient and modern Korea." *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 8, no. 1: 63. Photos courtesy of:
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:LGBT_flag_map_of_South_Korea.svg
<http://www.flickr.com/photos/27114146@N07/2538174736/>
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Korea-Itaewon_at_night-01.jpg
<http://www.flickr.com/photos/imcomkorea/2911652648/> (US Army, Installation Management Command, Korea Region, Public Affairs Office)