

# **Identification and Self-stigma**

## **—A Case Study of Male Homosexuals in Guangzhou**

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This paper tells stories about the gay population in today's Guangzhou, China, and studies how they structure their own world and social networks to stand together against external stresses, how they define and maintain their intimacy as a minority group, and how the further fusion of traditional and modern elements has affected the public acceptance of the heterogeneous group of gays in the Chinese society in the context of great changes. It was with this curiosity that the author started my exploration into gays in hopes of making contribution to their living and emotional world. The topic of this paper was determined during the preliminary fieldwork.

### **I. Origin of the study**

The study on homosexuality was derived from a cooperative project with the School of Public Health, The Chinese University of Hong Kong. They found in their survey that the probability of being infected by HIV among gays with regular sex partners is higher than that among gays without regular sex partners, which confused them strongly, because one of the most important existing prevention and control measures for HIV infection is to encourage gays to look for regular sex partners and avoid “one-night stand” where possible. If this statistical outcome is tenable, it will be a great doubt about and challenge to the existing prevention and control measures. It is this great doubt that the Hong Kong side has entrusted us to conduct more in-depth fieldwork on gays in Guangzhou in hopes of finding further causes of this weird outcome.

### **II. Issue consciousness**

#### **1. Assignment of identity and perception of self-stigma**

Different expressions and descriptions of identity by different gays were found during the survey and interviews. Some gays identified themselves with others

strongly, while other gays hated talking about the homo identity strongly and thought that homosexuality is extremely abnormal or even “distorted”. This made me very curious. Why there are so greatly varying perceptions of the homo identity in the same group? Why some gays or even most gays once deemed themselves abnormal? From which social background or cultural logic was such negation of self-identification or even the identification of self-stigma originated? Through further research, we can find that although these gays always stress their non-identification with “gays” or even defame gays, they are still unable to be separated from their familiar circle of gays. The continuous defamation process is actually a process of self-identification reinforcement. They are full of fear inside, but it is such fear that keeps reminding them of their identity as gays, and it is during this process that they come closer and closer to the homo identity.

## **2. Role play—a multi-faceted life**

Intercourse among gays is hidden in the darkness, such as a park in the night, the innermost compartment of a toilet or a public bathroom. Gays give vent to their desire in these places. However, gays have to be further connected to society inevitably. If they are going to conceal their identity and sexual orientation, they must face a double-sided life, and their lives will be ruthlessly divided into two parts – inside and outside the circle. If they do not do this but tell the truth of their friends and families, they may encounter multiple external stresses.

In addition, we have also seen during interviews that most gays are or once were confused strongly by their homo identity and behavior, which is accompanied with depression or even suicide, because they think that gays are equivalent to “patients” or “abnormalities”. During my contact with gays, the author found that they did not want to equate themselves with “gays”. The author encountered a very extreme case, in which a strange interviewee refused the appointed interview because he planned to accept a blind date arranged by the family and break away from the former circle of gays. However, many interviews can also be found easily from other interview cases, who once changed their desire for the same sex but finally failed. During this process of swinging between “Yes” and “No” is also the beginning of their self-identification.

This may be a long process, and many gays have been lost, self-condemned and disappointed for a long time, because long social experience has kept telling them that homosexuality is something “abnormal”. Therefore, in order to make them “look like” normal persons, they have chosen a “double-sided” life. In face of so-called “normal” persons, whenever a gay talks about homosexuality, he may be the one who likes to attack gays first and may also say something to object homosexuality. Some interviewees once told the author that sometimes they feared of hearing the word “homosexuality”, and also some interviewees said that they hovered for half an hour before they had the courage to attend the NGO activity for the first time.

### 3. Interventional supremacy in scientific discourse

Due to the violent outbreak of AIDS, studies on sex have fallen into the discourse of biomedicine. In the discourse of public health, when I began to cooperate with teachers in public health due to my anthropological background, different disciplines gave great stresses on me, and I personally began to think over the concepts of “science”, “objectiveness” and “data”. In the discourse of public health, “sex is regarded as objective and involving no values”, but what are actually discussed are morals, social gender and social order. Sexual minor groups are defined strictly and labeled, and identity is materialized; for operational convenience, some persons are marginalized or excluded from statistics. Therefore, in face of AIDS, the first reaction of public health is that using condom is a behavior to reduce high risks, and that as long as everyone uses condoms, the dissemination of AIDS can be avoided. This is theoretically true, but neglects the symbolic meaning of condoms for intimacy. Even partners in heterosexuality do not like such a restriction, let alone homosexuality without the pressure of pregnancy. Therefore, it is also questionable how intervention that appears as “science” can actually work.

### **III. Defamed world**

Homosexuality has been regarded as a let alone or sin throughout the world for a long time. Although there was a period in which homosexuality was acquiesced in China’s history, homosexuality has been almost equal to a psychosis in modern China,

especially after the introduction of psychiatry. The Classification Handbook of Mental Disorders in China (1995) still defines homosexuality as a sexual abnormality. At the legal level, in Europe in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the Inquisition ruled gays actively; in the Spanish colonies in Southeast Asia, Chinese arrested in the name of homo were often seen on streets, and what were waiting for them were cruel fire executions. In China in the 1950s, gays were often arrested as rogues. Gays having sex voluntarily have been exempt from imprisonment gradually due to the cancellation of hooliganism with the implementation of the new criminal law in 1997. It has to be confessed that in China and even the world, homosexuality has undergone an imputation process that lasted for hundreds of years, which has contributed greatly to the lack of a relatively correct and rational understanding of homosexuality by mainstream society or even among gays themselves. We can summarize the social perception of homosexuality as a “sin” and “sickness” as “defamation” for the moment. The external world can be discussed from a religious and legal perspective, namely “sin” and “punishment” of homosexuality, or from a medical perspective, namely homosexuality is a “sickness”.

### **1. “Sin” and “punishment” homosexuality**

Even today, homosexuality is still being denounced, objected and repulsed extensively. In March 2012, when famous American actor Kirk Cameron was interviewed by a TV program, he said, “As a loyal Christian, homosexuality is abnormal and harmful to the human race, and will finally destroy the foundation of civilization. Marriage is determined by God a long time ago and is as old as mud. It is defined in the garden of Adam and Eve. A man and a women live together till death. Therefore, I have never tried to redefine marriage.” In face of such a speech, we have to admit awkwardly that religion has dominated the public perception of homosexuality to a great extent.

Before the rise of large-scale institutional religion, there was a period in which homosexuality was tolerated. As described above, Plato thought that homosexuality was a natural attribute of mankind, where physical fertility made people love the opposite sex and mental fertility make people love the same sex, and the former aims

to multiply the human race and the latter aims to create beauty. This is the essential difference between the two types of love.<sup>i</sup> He even thought that the existence of homosexuality could give soldiers greater battle effectiveness, because they loved and cared for one another, and had to fight bravely in order to show their beautiful side to companions, and this gave rise to the legend of the 300 warriors of Sparta. However, all this tolerance disappeared slowly after the popularization of religion. In particular, after Christianity became the national religion of the Roman Empire in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, the attitude to homosexuality was more severe, and homosexuality began to be repulsed and isolated by mainstream society gradually.

As the most important classic of Christianity, the Bible is holy and inviolable, and the theoretical basis for the guiltiness perception of homosexuality is mostly from God's attitude to homosexuality described in the Bible. The Bible expresses extreme despising and hatred of love and sex among men, and also states that homosexuality is absolutely prohibited. There is the following description in *Genesis*—God has created all lives and humans should be ascribed to their respective categories.<sup>ii</sup> This means that men should love women, and the love among men destroys the original dualistic structure, and is impure and dangerous. Therefore, Jehovah (God) further said in the Bible, “Just like women sleeping together, two men sleeping together are doing something detestable, and must be killed. They should pay a blood debt for what they have done.”

Islamism is also rigorous about homosexuality, as recorded in its primary classics Koran and *Hadith*. *Hadith* further states, “When a man lies above another man, even the throne of Allah will be shocked.”<sup>iii</sup> The attitude of the classics has also directly affected Moslems' attitude to homosexuality later, so that in the 21<sup>st</sup> century today, gays still have to be sentenced to death in Iran.

In ancient China, though religions were not as rigorous as Western religions or Islamism, there was indeed a period in which the attitude to homosexuality was vague and there was no an excessive perception of “sin”. There are also records that people should guard against homosexuality. *The Stratagems of the Warring States – Qin State* has a record on this.

It is easily seen that both Christianity and Islamism object homosexuality explicitly; though there is no explicit objection in ancient Chinese classics, it is still defined as a kind of loss of ideals and morals, and should be always alerted. Christianity is against homosexuality mainly because gays cannot give birth to children, which violates the values stipulated by God, and impairs the multiplication function of marriage and families.

When homosexuality is criminalized, there will naturally be punishment and discipline against homosexuality. Religious followers have naturally begun to punish gays to complete the tenets left over by prophets. After the West Roman Empire took Christianity as the national religion in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, it started a long history of punishment against gays, and any person found to be engaged in homosexuality would be subject to a fire execution. As we can see, in almost the whole Middle Ages, gays were suppressed extremely. Under the leadership of religion, the public was generally hostile to gays and this attitude has affected the centuries that followed very deeply.

Such perception of homosexuality as a “sin” has affected the attitude of the outside to gays. Many of my interviewees experiences of being discriminated against or even insulted by society.

Case 1: XT, male, 21 years, student

I have fallen into love with my boyfriend for several years and both of us have confessed to each other’s parents, so our love is good and stable. We would have intimate acts at ordinary times, such as walking hand in hand and hug. Sometime ago, I returned to school together with my boyfriend by bus after shopping. We were dressed in lover clothes and joined hands, everywhere knew that we were a pair. Since I was tired then, I leaned on my boyfriend’s body for rest. I saw that passengers looked at us in a strange vision and were unwilling to stand by us. An aunt with a child covered the child’s eyes in order not to see us. My mood was very complex then. Should I argue or ignore this?

It can be seen from the above case that some intimate acts of gays in real life may be regarded as abnormal acts by the mainstream public. If a boy and a girl do these acts or even kiss in public, they will not be despised. This case may just be a visual stimulation, while the next one involves a more violent confrontation.

Case 2: LXS, male, 46 years, freelancer

Several years ago, I went to Shanghai to visit a cyber-friend, who said that he was a teacher. When I lived in a hotel in Shanghai, he proposed to live together with me at night, and I agreed without thinking too much. When he left next morning, I was just peeing. I felt strange that he went in a hurry, and then I found that over RMB8,000 in my trousers was gone. My first reaction was that it was stolen by him and caught him at once. As he denied, I called the police. An old policeman came over, and took me and that thief to the police office. At that time, I thought that such a modern city of Shanghai should be diplomatic, and that all policemen had been educated and should accept gays, so I told him the whole process. However, when the old policeman heard that I was a gay, he left the thief alone and interrogated me, asking if I had had sex with him in a scornful language. I thought that the policeman might be too old to accept this, so I required that he be replaced by a younger one. However, the young policeman was still very hostile and even pushed me over. He might feel that I did not stand rightly enough and kicked me on my leg while shouting, "Be seated well." Later, the thief confessed that he had stolen my money, but the police released both of us without punishing the thief. Was it because I was a gay that the thief could be left unpunished?

The above cases truthfully show the discrimination of society against gays. Such discrimination is not only from civil servants and law enforcers, but also from the general public. In China, gays have been struggling for lawful rights and interests, and social recognition, but this process is unusually long.

## **2. "Sickness" of homosexuality**

If it is said that the defamation of homosexuality is partly from the “sin” and its resulting punishment, the other part is from the “sickness” granted to homosexuality. Here, the perception of “sickness” was structured mainly from the pathological perception of homosexuality, and the dissemination of AIDS and other venereal diseases.

Since the 1950s, human sexual abnormalities have been included in the scope of medical research, and a paper titled Sexual Abnormality indicated the formal introduction of medicine and psychiatry into the field of human sexual behavior. At that time, most sexual modes not recognized by mainstream society were labeled similarly, and male homosexuality was one of these. The medical concept of sexual abnormality was criticized by traditional religious concepts. In particular, with the development of psychiatry, homosexuality is not only regarded as sexual perversion and corruption, but also labeled with “sexual abnormality”, freak-out and maladjustment.

AIDS is known as the “disease of the century”. Since the outbreak of AIDS in the 1980s, more and more people have been infected with or died of AIDS every year. The incurability and extensive dissemination of AIDS has gradually loosened the rigid separation between the government and gays. Based on incomplete statistics, gays who like to play in public bathrooms have an AIDS infection rate of as high as 15%, that of some urban gays is up to 10%, and that of the whole homosexual population is 2.3%, ten times that of ordinary people.<sup>iv</sup> It is the high infection rate of AIDS in the gay population that has forced the government to compromise, and finally included gays in the AIDS prevention and control system.

At the turn of the century, the World Bank, UN, Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria began to finance the Chinese government’s AIDS prevention and control efforts. With the introduction of the first round of AIDS prevention and control funds, homosexuality volunteer teams have emerged quickly in China, and conducted activities on AIDS prevention and control. Although there are more and more volunteer teams, and many organizations have been dedicated to AIDS prevention and control, the dissemination of AIDS has not been controlled very



effectively. In 2007, the HIV infection rate among gays in Chongqing was as high as 14%, and the HIV detection rate in Chengdu last year was amazingly 15%. Due to the lack of effective measures for AIDS prevention and control, the situation has become embarrassing.

This is due to complex and unclear association between centers for disease control (CDC) and volunteer teams, and also to the fact that the simple mode of distributing condoms and performing sampling blood tests can hardly be extended. The former has made things complicated because CDCs are concerned about data only and can hardly work wholeheartedly for gays like volunteer teams, and volunteer teams compete for limited resources. In the prevention and control process, condoms are simply distributed in places where gays meet together often and gays are organized to take sampling blood tests at CDCs; in the latter case, every gay tested will receive some remuneration and volunteer teams will receive a proportional bonus.

Behind this simple prevention and control mode, the author has found that the condom has become the theoretical basis, which is also a thing deemed important and necessary by almost all CDCs and public health scholars. In the eyes of many public health scholars, as long as a condom is used properly in every sexual intercourse, the infection of AIDS and other venereal diseases can be avoided. This idea has also been verified during the discussion between the author and a public health teacher:

In fact, AIDS prevention and control can be very simple, i.e., they should just put on the condom. However, gays are unwilling to use condoms or do not use them properly.

In face of this simple prevention and control theory, many gays also feel hopeless themselves and often complain that they have been kidnapped by AIDS. Today, AIDS is always associated with homosexuality, and when talking with gays, we would more or less ask if they are afraid of being infected with AIDS or any other venereal disease. We seem to insist that gays are a group addicted to promiscuity. The incurability of AIDS and the high risk of gays in AIDS dissemination make us keep away from gays, and we have imposed our fear for AIDS on gays to a high extent. More ironically,

many media can only talk about homosexuality from the perspective of AIDS, otherwise it will be absolutely prohibited. This is unfair in some sense. However, in the prevention and control of AIDS and other venereal diseases should not only rely on the effort of gays but also be a responsibility of the whole society. An NGO head said helplessly when talking about the present situation of homosexuality and AIDS prevention in China:

All things related to gays, including the promotion of AIDS prevention, is focused on the lower part of the body. However, the dignity of a person is very important. Many homosexuality organizations still regard AIDS prevention as a technical issue, but I think that it is about power and responsibility. If I find a sex partner and he is unwilling to use a condom when having sex with me, I will look down on him, because he is a stranger to me, having sex without a condom is irresponsible for his own health, and one who does not care about his own health will not care about anyone else's health. If he does not use it because he feels troublesome or uncomfortable, then in my eyes, he lacks proper character and responsibility. AIDS prevention is no longer simply a technical issue, but also an issue of character and responsibility.

Our society repulses gays strongly. When we carry out disease prevention and control, we often make the assumption of being "sick" other than being "disease-free". We think ahead that gays are sick and highly risky, so we make interventions naturally in a simple and even violent manner. Therefore, the head of this NGO feels helpless and a bit angry about disease control policies.

AIDS prevention and control is not simply using condoms or taking a sampling blood test. It is related to the comfort of the condom itself, because the use of the condom will reduce the pleasure of sexual intercourse greatly; more importantly, the condom has a symbolic meaning for gays, they would use it only when looking for one-night stands in practice and will not use it with familiar partners.

Case 1: LR, male, 23 years, student

The condom is very troublesome to use and very uncomfortable, and may even

hurt. The sharp sperm compartment on the condom hurts for the receiver. Wearing a condom is not exciting at all. In summer, the lubricant thereon dries up quickly due to room air-conditioning. Without lubrication, neither party will feel comfortable.

Case 2: TF, male, 28 years, freelancer

Wearing a condom is not as simple as you may imagine. Sometimes, if you meet a good guy and both have a strong desire, it will be especially unpleasant if you propose to use a condom, and he may say that you distrust him or how can I have any disease or doubt that you insist doing this because you have a disease. This may result in an unpleasant ending. Now, I and my boyfriend love each other strongly, and rarely use a condom.

Case 1 reflects the discomfort and impracticality of condoms from the perspective of condom design and use. Gays have sex to pursue pleasure, but such pleasure is reduced greatly with the use of a condom. Case 2 is focused on the symbolic meaning of condoms. In gays' eyes, the condom is actually a criterion of mutual trust and using it is a distrust of the sex partner. However thin the condom may be, it exists objectively, but it will further extend into the heart of gays and affect their mutual judgment.

Therefore, when CDCs with a simple mode of prevention and control, and focused on data are faced with gays with complex and diversified needs, there is still a long way to go to realize effective AIDS prevention and control. At least, in current disease control work, we should know more about gays' needs, and not only meet their desire for the comfort of condom, but also fully understand the symbolic meaning of condoms. Only in this way can AIDS prevention and control be more effective.

### **3. Disciplined ego—self-stigma after defamation**

The perception of homosexuality as a “sin” and “sickness” is structured by the government and medical science at the social level mainly, and is somewhat

compulsory and authoritative for most of people. The authority and compulsion of the government is from its status as the possessor of public credibility and its ability to discipline gays by enacting laws. The medical science is concerned with human health, and may divide people into healthy/unhealthy or normal/abnormal ones. Healthy and normal people can live freely in society as long as they do not break the law, but unhealthy or abnormal ones have to be isolated from mainstream society and may even be punished by law due to unhealthy or abnormal behavior. The greatest commonality of the two is that for a majority of the general public lacks forces to confront governmental and medical approvals, and have to follow arrangements of officials or doctors. Although the attitude to homosexuality has been much more tolerant in recent years, the public's attitude to or perception of homosexuality can hardly be transformed in the background of hundreds of years of defamation. Thus, the whole society is full of the atmosphere of opposing homosexuality. In the absence of a correct, objective perception of homosexuality, either the academia or the press tends to report on homosexuality negatively.

Therefore, we can see that many books and papers discuss gays as “patients” or “lovers”. For example, Liu Dalin and Lu Guang regarded homosexuality as a sickness, and think that this can be prevented through proper sex education during childhood or cured through postnatal mental treatment in *A Chinese Study on Homosexuality* published in 2005. However, actually almost all gays will continue to have sex with men after receiving treatment, and the press reports on gays as a negative matter. It can be seen that gays are almost wrapped by a shell full of negative information.

Anthropological social studies always have a significant structural orientation. Put simply, this structure is the external social system, and we are inevitably affected by it as we live in it. Therefore, at the early stage of anthropology, French master Durkeim put forward the view that society is compulsory, which means that “most concepts and inclinations of people are not created by themselves, but have been accepted by them sensibly or insensibly from the outside through induction, influence or compulsion.”<sup>v</sup> Briefly, our own values were not inherited congenitally but have been learned through external infusion and our own studies. The attitude of society

from the top down has greatly affected or even determined people's perception. Such discriminatory attitude has not only been imposed by non-gays on gays, but also gays who have lived in such a discriminatory environment from their childhood have also begun to discriminate against and disagree with themselves. Therefore, almost every gay has got a very painful and confused period, and have to conceal everything about their sexual preference from families, parents, friends and leaders.

Case 1: BHK, male, 35 years, office worker

I'm very infatuated with medicine and scientific knowledge. When I read from books that homosexuality was abnormal, I lived in great stress. There was no Internet at that time, so I thought that I was the only gay in the world and had no idea where a second gay may be. When everyone said that, I accepted the discrimination and label given by society, and refused to be so abnormal even if a gay found you forwardly.

Case 2: DH, male, 38 years, office worker

I once had sex with a classmate. I don't know why I did this and how he thought. At least, from my personal perspective, I have no idea how to express my complex mood and contradictory state then. Anyway, I thought of and dreamed of him day and night. I felt that something was wrong, because both of us had a girlfriend. Later I looked up references to see what happened and what it would end up with. I found a medical book, saying that homosexuality was abnormal and promiscuity would lead to AIDS. My first response was that I met all these items except AIDS. Later, I could not bear this and tried to commit suicide. Luckily, I have get through this.

We can see that gays living in society also acquire information and knowledge from society. In today's information age, information and knowledge is acquired from multiple sources. However, relatively elderly gays and those living in remote areas, there are limited sources so that they have limited information and knowledge, such as the attitude and perception of mainstream society. It can be said that the attitude of mainstream society to gays determines how gays regard themselves to a great extent.

The discrimination of the outside against gays has been so converted into gays' discrimination against themselves, so the author often heard during the survey that gays thought themselves to be abnormal and even did not dare attend activities organized by homosexuality organizations.

Case 1: AF, male, 32 years, employee of state-owned enterprise

I once stayed with a boyfriend for over two years. When I knew him, he was still studying at school. At that time, we have very limited interpersonal relations and had contacted any other man except each other. I knew this homosexuality organization on an occasion and was interested in its publicity, so I came to take part in the activity. After several times, I thought it was very good and helpful, so I wanted to call my boyfriend along, but he just would not come because he thought, "All gays are abnormal and I don't want to play with them." In fact, I could understand his idea, because when I came to take part in the activity, he hesitated for a long time downstairs before he came up and was particularly uncomfortable with the term "gay" on the tablet.

The mechanism of internalization into self-stigma due to external discrimination and defamation is very similar to the circular prison theory proposed by Foucault in his book *Discipline and Punish*<sup>vi</sup>. Such circular prison was first designed in 1791. It is a circular open structure, with a lookout tower in the center, in which a policeman is on guard around the clock and there is a searchlight. You can see the lookout tower from every room in this prison and the policeman in the tower can see what the prisoner in each room is doing. In such as prison, there is no privacy for prisoners, all their activities are under supervision, and any abnormal act will be found and stopped. Since the policeman in the tower can see what's happening in each room easily, prisoners always feel being "stare at" and "monitored". It is due to this feeling that prisoners begin to discipline their behavior and try not to break the rules. Thus, the self-discipline process is completed with the aid of external discipline.

Therefore, when society keeps describing the image of gays as abnormal, many

gays will get into great pain and loss when they find or realize that they are gays, because all external knowledge tells them that they are abnormal and guilty. Under such huge social stress, gays feel as if they stand against society and that their different sexual preference is not tolerated. Therefore, they elect to be silent or marginal, or have to communicate with the outside in two identities. Such identity two-sidedness of gays not only imposes great obsession and stress to them, but also brings a great obstacle to their disease prevention and control.

The acceptance of gays cannot be realized quickly, because prolonged defamation of and discrimination against gays has made homosexuality abnormal or guilty in the minds of many people. It is because of such powerful external abnormal perception that creates a guilty world for gays, so that they dare not to confess their identity for fear of becoming this kind of people. However, this is the beginning point of many tragedies, because they have to live, act and get married in a heterosexual manner. Since this is what they want, there are always two forces fighting with each other in their minds, where one is their inner desire for men, and the other is the compulsion from society and families. The former makes them look for partners in parks or on the Internet and have one-night stands; the latter makes them regretful every time. The alternating action of both make gays harder to face and recognize themselves, but this will only make things worse. Accordingly, gays' self-perception is always in a dilemma—between the loyalty to their minds, and the compromise with the stress imposed by society and families. However, when we review the whole process of gays' self-perception, it is not difficult to see that society (the outside) plays a great role here, because the great stress imposed on and defamation of gays by society has made it difficult for gays to identify themselves and forced them to get married. These are true feelings of gays, so they would rather get married with an innocent girl and make her a victim. They can hardly find pleasure from their wives but can only find it from momentary homosexual experiences. In order to pursue greater pleasure and without the concern of pregnancy, they rarely use condoms, because the use of condoms will reduce pleasure greatly. Therefore, they would rather bear the risk of suffering from a disease than use condoms, and their disease prevention and control is

not as simple as putting on a condom.

It can be seen that concerns in the general public, society, government and even academia about gays, such as illness, health and their wives, should be attributed to non-self-identification arising from non-identification by society. As a result, they have to play roles that are not themselves but accepted by the public. Problems have arisen from such play and concealment. If we really want to solve many health problems of gays, there should be a higher level of social recognition of them.

Without this tolerance, these problems will only be more and more serious. The more society suppresses gays, they will be further hidden and marginalized in society. Such hidden gays can hardly be identified and monitored.

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<sup>i</sup> Plato : *The Dialogue of Literature and Art*, People's Literature Publishing House, 2008, P208

<sup>ii</sup> Bible Genesis, Chapter 1, Section 21

<sup>iii</sup> *Hadith*, Chapter 2

<sup>iv</sup> Documentary of CCTV, *In the Name of Life*

<sup>v</sup> Durkeim: *The Rules of Sociological Method*, translated by Hu Wei, Beijing, H, 1988, P6

<sup>vi</sup> Michel Foucault. Translated by Liu Beicheng and Yang Yuanying, *Discipline and Punish*, Joint Publishing Co., 2010, P275