

# Review of Studies of Gender and Sexual Diversity in Thailand in Thai and International Academic Publications

Professor Peter A. Jackson<sup>1</sup> and Dr. Narupon Duangwiset<sup>2</sup>

## Abstract

This paper reviews Thai and international research on homosexuality and transgenderism in Thailand published from the 1950s to the 2010s. The review surveys and investigates both Thai- and English-language research publications – including journal articles, monographs, and book chapters – that deal with the many forms of gender/sex diversity in Thailand. Our reading and interpretation of the Thai and international research is guided by the analytical methods of critical queer and trans studies, which understand minority genders and sexualities as parts of the overall gender/sex system. We found that early studies of queer cultures by Thai scholars were dominated by now-abandoned western biomedical, sexological, and psychological paradigms that problematized and stigmatized homosexuals and transgenders as perverted (*wiparit*, *phit-phet*) and sexually deviant (*biang-ben thang-phet*). Subsequently, in the early 2000s, a newer generation of Thai researchers critiqued the earlier biomedical scientific paradigm that pathologised queer people and instead studied gender and sexual diversity in terms of cultural and sociological understandings of sexual minority status, gender/sex identity, and lifestyles. Most recently, Thai research has explored diverse understandings of *phet-withi* (sexuality), with many Thai studies arguing for the cultural and human rights of gay, *kathoey*, *tom-dee-les* and transman gender and sexual minorities. In contrast to the focuses of Thai research, English-language studies by non-Thai scholars have explored the cultural and historical specificity of Thai discourses of gender and sexuality (*phet*) and their differences from Western conceptions of sex, gender, and sexuality. In conclusion, this review considers the influence of different transnational forms of queer studies knowledge that have been followed by successive generations of Thai scholars and also assesses the factors that variously restrict and support Thai queer studies research today. We also detail major gaps in current research on gender and sexual diversity in Thailand and identify priority areas and topics for future research.

Keywords: Homosexuality, Transgenderism, Gender/Sex Diversity, Queer

## Methodology and The Period of Review and Survey

The conduct of this review of Thai- and English-language studies of gender and sexual diversity in Thailand has proved to be somewhat difficult and complicated. The first step of our review was to identify the number and bibliographical details of articles, book chapters, research

---

<sup>1</sup> Australian National University, Canberra, Australia

<sup>2</sup> Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre, Bangkok, Thailand

studies, and postgraduate dissertations that have been published in both Thai and English. This data collection and survey was undertaken by Internet searches and reviewing the bibliographies of books, articles, and dissertations. In Internet searches we used the Thai keywords of เกย์ (*gay*), ชายรักชาย (*chai rak chai*), หญิงรักหญิง (*ying rak ying*), เลสเบี้ยน (*lesbian*), ทอม (*tom*), ดี (*dee*), กะเทย (*kathoey*), คนข้ามเพศ (*khon kham phet*), and สาวประเภทสอง (*sao praphet sorng*) to identify relevant studies that consider male and female homosexuals and transgenders living in Thailand. After these keyword searches we downloaded files and read the available online versions of abstracts, articles, and dissertations. We also explored books and publications kept in our personal academic libraries.

From this preliminary search we selected key studies of Thai and international research on gender and sexual diversity in Thailand published in the six decades from the 1950s to the 2010s, with an emphasis on research published since 2000. In studying international research, the review begins from Peter A. Jackson's two papers, "Thai Research on Male Homosexuality and Transgenderism and the Cultural Limits of Foucauldian Analysis" (1997) and "Tolerant but Unaccepting: The Myth of a Thai 'Gay Paradise'" (1999). These publications reviewed a significant number of early studies of Thai genders and sexualities for the period from the 1950s to the 1990s. In considering research published in Thai, our review begins from Narupon Duangwises's two publications, "Gay Studies in Thai Society: 5 Decades of Knowledge Construction" (การศึกษาเกย์ในสังคมไทย 5 ทศวรรษของการสร้างความรู้) (2012) and "Sex/Gender Pluralism in Thailand and Politics of Identity" (เพศหลากหลายในสังคมไทยกับการเมืองของอัตลักษณ์) (2013), as well as Waraporn Chamsanit's paper "The Landscape of Sexuality Studies as the Process of Contesting Knowledge" (ภูมิทัศน์ของเพศวิถีศึกษาในฐานะกระบวนการต่อสู้ทางความรู้) (2008). These latter three Thai-language studies investigated Thai gender and sexuality studies in the 1990s and early 2000s.

### **The Importance and Scope of the Review**

This review paper focuses on studies of Thai male and female homosexuality and female-to-male (transman) and male-to-female (*kathoey*) transgenderism. Thailand is recognised internationally as the home to some of the world's largest and most visible gay, lesbian, transgender and transsexual cultures and communities. The major objective of this study is to select significant, high-impact Thai- and English-language research publications – including journal articles, monographs, book chapters and research dissertations – that deal with the many forms of gender/sex diversity in this country in order to compare Thai and international research in a range of key dimensions. Key questions explored include:

- What are the main academic fields and disciplines within which research on Thai gender/sex diversity has been conducted, both in Thailand and overseas?
- What empirical topics and themes, and what forms of gender and sexual identity and behaviour, have Thai and international scholars, respectively, chosen as the focuses of their research?

- What theoretical models and analytical methods have been used by Thai and international scholars to research gender/sex diversity in Thailand?
- What are the main similarities and/or differences between the issues revealed and the conclusions reached in Thai and international research studies?
- What are some of the main issues confronting the further development of studies of gender and sexual diversity in Thailand and what are the gaps in current research and the priorities for future analysis?

By comparing Thai and international studies, we conclude by identifying gaps in current Thai and international research in order to specify priorities for important future directions in research on gender/sex diversity. We also reflect on whether Thai- and English-language studies can learn from each other in order to develop improved approaches to international research collaboration in the future.

### **Method of Analysis**

Our reading and interpretation of the current Thai and international research has been guided by the analytical methods of critical queer and trans studies, which seek to understand minority genders and sexualities as parts of the overall gender/sex system. Critical questions of analysis and interpretation that we explore are:

- To what extent do current studies of gender/sex diversity explore transformations in Thai socio-cultural and historical contexts in which minority gender and sexual identities and practices have been marginalised and stigmatised within dominant heteronormative understandings of gendered and sexual being?
- Although many studies have sought to explain Thai queer and transgender people from positive standpoints, have these studies addressed the full complexity of the multiple socio-cultural contexts that separate the different classes, lifestyles and local regional differences found among queer and trans people across Thailand?
- To what extent have Thai scholars been influenced by Western concepts and theories of gender and sexuality?
- Are the analytical frameworks, theoretical models and research methods that have been adopted by Thai and Western scholars appropriate for the study of Thailand's distinctive cultures of gender and sexuality? Are the methods Eurocentric?

### **Early Studies: mid-1950s to mid-1990s**

In his 1997 article Peter A. Jackson investigated and analysed 207 Thai-language publications from the period 1956 to 1994 that dealt with homosexual (*gay*, *tom*, *dee*) and transgender people (*kathoe*). He found that academic discourses constituted just one part of a diverse range of both formal and informal Thai discourses on transgenderism and homosexuality that were published in this four-decade period. In Thai society there is no single 'Thai attitude' towards homosexuality and transgenderism. Rather, when Thai academic discourses are analysed, they

are revealed to be fundamentally structured by class-specific and other distinctive features that differentiate them from discourses found in ethno-local cultures, among the working classes and in the rural villages of Thailand. Jackson (1997) notes that of the Thai-language publications that he studied, 75.5 percent were concerned with male homosexuality, *rak-ruam-phet chai* or *gay*, 18.5 percent dealt with *kathoey*, while only 6 percent studied female homosexuality, *rak-ruam-phet ying* or *tom-dee*. The largest number of publications in this period, totaling 65 articles and chapters, were conducted in the disciplines of psychology and psychiatry. The second largest number of publications, totaling 43, came from sociology and anthropology, with 30 publications being in biomedical studies and 22 publications from scholars working in the field of education. The fifth ranked category of publications was legal studies, being 14 publications, and there were small numbers of publications in other disciplines such as social work, communication and media studies, Buddhist studies, history, modern and premodern literature, ethics and business studies.

Jackson (1997) analysed these more than 200 Thai-language publications across four decades and argued that in this period there were different academic understandings of persons who were labeled as *kathoey* as opposed to those who were categorised as homosexual (*rak-ruam-phet*). In the period up to the early 1990s, Thai academic studies of *kathoey* were predominantly interested in helping these people lead better lives as male-to-female transvestites and transsexuals. Thai academics considered that *kathoey* needed to be assisted to achieve the feminine gender status that they desired. In contrast, people who were identified as homosexual (*khon rak-ruam-phet*) were often perceived as a social problem (*panha sangkhom*) and a number of studies sought the ultimate elimination of male homosexuality from Thai society. This latter type of study that problematised homosexuality drew upon Western psychological and scientific paradigms that equated male homosexuality with illness (*rok rak-ruam-phet*), moral perversion (*wiparit*, *wiparit phit-phet*) and social deviance (*biang-ben thang-phet*). In this period, only a small handful of Thai academic voices criticised these dominant negative paradigms to assert that homosexuality among masculine Thai men was non-problematic. At the same time, *kathoey* were usually regarded as being unhappy people who were in need of counseling, psychological guidance and biomedical interventions (Jackson, 1997:58).

It needs to be mentioned that the first generation of biomedical studies, even though they were critical of homosexuality and transgenderism, still had to overcome opposition to regarding LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, queer) persons and issues as being worthy of academic study. Moral conservatism among older generations of scholars meant that until the 1980s and 1990s, there was opposition in both Thailand and the West to any research or study of LGBTQ issues in the country.

An interesting question that arose from Jackson's analysis was why Thai academic studies in the period from the 1950s to the early 1990s generally expressed greater tolerance of males who were labeled with the indigenous term *kathoey* than of men who were labeled with new terms such as "gay" or "homosexual" (*rak-ruam-phet*). (Jackson, 1997: 59) Jackson argued that popular attitudes to sexual and gender difference in Thailand, that is, outside of academia, were in fact more tolerant than the Western-derived Freudian psychoanalytic, biomedical psychiatric and pathologising sexological frameworks that were adopted by many Thai scholars of this period. Within these Western-derived frameworks *kathoey* and *rak-ruam-phet chai* and *rak-*

*ruam-phet ying* (male and female homosexuals) were almost without exception described in terms of “sexual deviance” (*biang-ben thang-phet*), “degeneracy” (*witthan*), “perversion” (*wiparit*, *wiparit phit-phet*), “abnormality” (*phit-pokati*), “pathology” (*rok*), “immorality” (*phit-prapheni*) and “social problems” (*panha sangkhom*) that needed to be “prevented” (*pornng-kan*), “cured” (*raksa*), “solved” (*kae-khai*) and ultimately “eliminated” (*kamjat*) by state and medical authorities. (Jackson, 1997: 69)

In summary, from the 1960s to the early 1990s, the dominant discourses of homosexuality and transgenderism produced in Thai academic circles came from the Western-derived scientific paradigms of researchers working in psychology, psychiatry, sexology and biomedical studies. These same paradigms were also influential among many members of the urban Thai middle class of that period. The widespread negative perceptions and attitudes towards *kathoey* and *khon rak-ruam-phet* were associated with fears that sexual perversion would undermine Thai culture and society. However, from the late 1980s, a small number of studies began to argue that homosexual and transgender behaviors and identities were neither abnormal nor pathological. This different understanding of Thai homosexuality and transgenderism, which criticised the then-dominant biomedical and pathologising discourses of homosexuality and transgenderism, pioneered the next generation of studies and shifted the focus of research from bio-medical scientific paradigms to instead consider the socio-cultural contexts of interpretation. For example, in 1987 Yot Santasombat argued that the heterosexism of discourses that labeled homosexuality and transgenderism as pathologies was itself a problem because it was this bias that produces discourses of perversion. (Jackson, 1997:80)

We found that in the 1990s studies of Thai homosexuality and transgenderism conducted by Western scholars were interested in distinguishing and differentiating the Thai gender/sexual system from patterns found in western cultures. For example, Rosalind C. Morris (1994) argued that in contemporary Thailand there were three sexes and four sexualities. On the other hand, Peter A. Jackson (1995, 2016) explored popular discourses of homosexuality and transgenderism through the popular Thai magazines *Plaek* and *Mahatsajan*, which introduced the gay and lesbian advice columns “Sad Gay Lives” (*chiwit sao chao gay*) and “It’s Go” (*Go sa yang*) that were published from the middle of the 1970s. In this first historical study of Thai cultures of gender and sexual diversity Jackson analysed the voices of Thai gays, *kathoeyes*, *toms* and *dees* who sent letters to a columnist who used the pen name of “Uncle Go Paknam”. Jackson argued that these magazine columns provided spaces for gay men, *kathoeyes* and *tom-dee* to recount their personal sexual experiences and lifestyles that at the time were widely criticised as being sexually deviant and abnormal.

In Jackson’s 1997 article “*Kathoey*><Gay><Man: The Historical Emergence of Gay Male Identity in Thailand”, he argued that the sexual practices of Thai people were related to the dominant social and cultural gender roles that defined male and female homosexuality and transgenderism in terms of masculine and feminine genders. Because of the negative pressure of dominant gender stereotypes that represented all gay men as being effeminate, and hence not “real men” in the period before the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Thai gay men were not prepared to publicly claim a homosexual identity, and male same-sex socialising was restricted to private spaces. In previous decades, homosexual men did not reveal their sexual identity in public and instead behaved like heterosexual men in social situations. In contrast, *kathoeyes*, who have

feminine characteristics and act like women in daily life, were regarded as un-men and were placed in the category of an unmasculine gender. Jackson (1997) suggested that in previous periods the Thai sex/gender system distinguished two biological sexes, male and female, while distinguishing three genders: men, women and *kathoey*. In Jackson's account, the pattern of modern gender and sexual culture in Thai society could not be fully defined by western concepts of sexuality but rather needed to be understood as emerging within the socio-cultural context of gender and sexual practices in which images of masculinity and femininity are significant.

In the later years of the 1990s, Peter A. Jackson also collaborated with colleagues in Australia to publish a further range of studies. Two books published in the same year, 1999, were *Genders and Sexualities in Modern Thailand* edited by Peter A. Jackson and Nerida M. Cook, and *Lady Boys, Tom Boys, Rent Boys. Male and Female Homosexualities in Contemporary Thailand* edited by Peter A. Jackson and Gerard Sullivan. These two edited collections had the objective of providing insights into how the gender/sex system in Thailand had been transformed in the 1980s and 1990s. *Genders and Sexualities in Modern Thailand* included 15 chapters that critiqued then-current English-language accounts of gender and sexual diversity in Thailand. Most of the authors were non-Thai and came from diverse disciplines including anthropology, history, population studies, English literature, linguistics, epidemiology, and Thai literature studies. The editors of the book stated that their aim was to critique "the sexualized gaze of the orientalisising West" on Thai society and the frameworks, myths, and fantasies within which knowledge of Thai gender and sexuality that had emerged. In a review Katherine A. Bowie (2001) stated that this collection reflected the diversity of ways in which notions of sexuality and gender are manifested and contested in everyday social practices, as well as their rapidly changing nature. In his chapter in the collection Jackson pointed out that in the later decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Thai public responded to *kathoey* as an indigenous and often-amusing phenomenon, while in contrast 'gay' men were often perceived as a Western-derived perversion. Jackson argues, according to Bowie's account, that since the *kathoey* performs the sexual role of a "wife" in relations with men, male desire in *kathoey*-man relationships is appropriated within a heterosexual framework. By contrast, the gay man is a 'man' who desires another 'man', breaching the masculine-feminine binarism that was strongly endorsed as the normative historical form of sexual and romantic relations in Thailand. Bowie concluded that the essays in this collection challenge us to think about the changing constructions of Thai sexualities without resorting to the essentialism inherent in idealised gender models.

*Lady Boys, Tom Boys, Rent Boys: Male and Female Homosexualities in Contemporary Thailand* is a collection of nine chapters, which includes six studies concerned with gay issues, one chapter on female homosexuals (*tom*), one chapter on male-to-female transgenders (*kathoey*), and also one chapter that analysed patterns of gender and sexual diversity in contemporary Thailand. The main objective of this book is to suggest methods that could help social workers, researchers, and students create HIV/AIDS intervention services for gay men, lesbians, and transgender individuals in or from Thailand. This book also discusses and describes certain factors that need to be taken into consideration when developing safe sex intervention programs. This book provides information to help to understand how cultural, political, and economic systems shape sexuality and gender roles in Thai society. This book was the first

culturally based account of minority genders and sexualities in the period of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, when social attention turned to the sexual activities of gay men and *kathoeyes*. For example, in her chapter Prudence Borthwick argued that the HIV/AIDS projects undertaken in Northern Thailand in the early 1990s were different in format and in context, ranging from rural villages to an urban drag beauty contest, gay bars and cruising areas. Borthwick argued that these different socio-cultural contexts needed to be considered in the development of different HIV/AIDS intervention programs.

### **Thai- and English-language Studies from the Mid-1990s to Mid-2010s**

During the period 1994-1999, we found 42 studies in both Thai and English, including 3 books, 8 masters degree dissertations and 31 journal articles. The major academic fields of these studies that contributed to the topics of gay, lesbian, and transgender studies came from history (16 studies), socio-cultural anthropology (8 studies) and sociology (3 studies). Other disciplines were health sciences, psychology, education and social work. The main focus of all these studies was on gay men (30 studies). Some studies that primarily considered gay men also referred to male-to-female transgenders or *kathoey*. Only three studies from this sample dealt with the lives and identities of female homosexuals and relationships between women who respectively identified as *tom* and *dee*. Another topic considered in this selection of studies dealt with how gender/sexual culture in modern Thai society contextualized and controlled the expression of homosexuality and transgenderism.

While in the 1990s and early 2000s English-speaking foreign scholars studied Thai homosexuality and transgenderism in relation to socio-cultural contexts and aimed to explore the gender/sexual system that queer-identified people contested in their everyday practices, Thai scholars conducted their research on different issues with somewhat different perspectives. The eight studies in this sample that were undertaken by Thai scholars came from several disciplines, including anthropology, sociology, social work, education, health sciences, and psychiatry. The main focus of these several studies was to explain the way of life and sexual identities of homosexuals and transgenders who encountered social stigmatisation and discrimination. Four of the Thai studies detailed situations in which men choose to work as male sex workers in gay bars or to meet other men at secluded gay cruising areas in Bangkok. These studies aimed to find social interventions to help to improve the lives of male sex workers. One postgraduate research study conducted by Mattana Chetamee (1996) detailed the lives of female homosexuals and relationships between *tom* and *dee* in the Thai context. There was also one study of the image of gay men in the eyes of university students. Ruampol Sai-Aroon (1998) undertook this survey by distributing a questionnaire to a sample of 395 university students living in Bangkok and he found that gay men were perceived in terms of largely masculine images but nonetheless they were still seen as sexually perverted and as having a mental disorder. One book published in 1999, written by a psychiatrist, *Kan Liang Luk Mai Hai Phit Phet* ("How to raise your child not to be sexually perverted [wrongly gendered]"), reproduced anti-homosexual discourses that had been used to stigmatize homosexuality and transgenderism in the decades of the 1970s and 1980s. However, in a more recent study

Narupon Duangwises (2012) indicated that between the years 1995 to 2010 there was overall a generally positive tendency in Thai studies of male homosexuality.

For the period 2000 to 2016, we found that there were many scholars and graduate students from various academic fields both in social sciences and bio-medical sciences who conducted MA and Ph.D. dissertation research and who wrote articles on same-sex and transgender issues. The numbers and characteristics of these studies are listed in following table.

**Table of Both Thai- and English-language Studies Between 2000-2016**

<b>Discipline</b>	<b>Articles</b>	<b>Books</b>	<b>Research Dissertations</b>	<b>Total</b>
<u>Social sciences</u>				
Socio-Cultural Anthropology	22	5	6	33
Mass Media & Communication and Cultural Studies	5	1	23	29
Social Work and Social & Human Development	3	2	11	16
History and Humanities	8	1	4	13
Management Sciences and Business	4		6	10
Sociology	4		4	8
Law and Political Science	4		4	8
Womens, Gender and Sexuality Studies	5	1	2	8
Education			4	4
Population Studies	3	1		4
<u>Biomedical Sciences</u>				
Health Sciences and Nursing	15	2	5	22
Psychology and Behavioral Sciences	7	2	1	10
Medical Sciences and Sexology	2		1	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>168</b>

As detailed in the above table we found 168 studies covering an extensive range of disciplines that were published in the period 2000 to 2016. The majority of social science studies came from socio-cultural anthropology, 33 works, in which both Thai and foreign anthropologists studied and explained the diversity of gender/sexual cultures in Thailand. The second largest number of studies, 29 works, were in mass media, communication and cultural studies, with particular interest in gender and sexual imaging and representation of gay men, lesbians and transgender people in the Thai mass media, including film, television series, websites and magazines. It should be noted that in the past couple of decades there has been a growing number of graduate studies in the fields of mass media, communication and cultural studies. This reflects the proliferation of representations of gay men, lesbians, and *kathoey* in various kinds of media, and provides a significant body of primary source materials with which media students and scholars can conduct in-depth research. The third largest number, 16 studies, came

from social work and social and human development studies that explored the quality of life of gay men, lesbians and transgender people. The fourth largest category, 13 studies, is in history and the humanities, that explored the past narratives and stories of sexual and gender diversity in Thailand that are recorded in various kinds of documentary sources. The fifth largest group of studies was undertaken by graduate students from management sciences and business. It is very interesting that since 2010 the new disciplines of management sciences and business studies have begun to study the topics of gay, lesbian, and *kathoey* communities, which was not found in previous decades. This perhaps reflects the emergence of significant gay, lesbian and *kathoey* consumer markets for goods and services provided specifically for these communities.

The majority of biomedical science studies in this period came from health sciences and nursing with 22 works exploring the sexual lives of queer people in terms of sexual health and strategies to respond to sexually transmitted diseases. A second group of studies in psychology and behavioural sciences (10 studies) were interested in the social adaptation and self-acceptance of gay men and male-to-female transgenders or *kathoey* who encounter social discrimination and stigmatization in Thai society. The third group of studies in this field were in medical sciences and sexology and dealt with the biomedical technologies that assist transgender people to transition their biological sex and achieve their desired gender status.

In further breaking down the numbers of studies conducted since 2000 into two separate decade periods, that is, 2000-2009 and 2010-2016, we found that 61 studies were conducted in the first decade and 107 studies were undertaken in the years from 2010 to 2016. This difference in the numbers between the two periods indicates that there has been a significant increase in the number of the studies of homosexuality and transgenderism in Thailand in recent years. Nevertheless, the majority of studies continued to focus on gay men (79 studies) and *kathoey* (46 studies), with only a small number studies (21 studies) detailing female homosexuality (*tom, dee* and lesbian) (21 studies). The remaining studies (22 studies) were concerned with all types of sexual and gender diversity that included gays, lesbians, and also transgenders. Among the 168 studies that we found to have been carried out from 2000 to 2016, 39 were by foreign scholars writing in English. Most of the studies were conducted by Thai scholars and graduate students. Some of the studies were collaborations between Thai and non-Thai researchers.

### **Characteristics and Distinguishing Features of Research by Scholars at Western Universities**

Research on sexual and gender diversity in Thailand conducted over the past two decades by scholars based at Western universities and published in English has had several main features:

- Critiquing the pathologisation of transgender and same-sex behaviours and identities that characterised much of the first generation of Thai-language studies conducted in the period until the 1990s. These critiques of early Thai-language research have often been based upon research methods inspired by feminism, gay and lesbian studies and queer studies, which collectively aim to challenge both patriarchy (male dominance of society and culture) and heterosexism (the dominance of heterosexual cultural patterns over transgender and same-sex behaviours and identities).

•Critiquing the exoticisation and misrepresentation of Thailand in many Western discourses as a society supposedly characterised by sexual liberalism and “acceptance” of sexual and gender diversity. These critiques point out that in Thai sexual culture men have much more sexual freedom than women, whose sexual lives are highly constrained and limited, and that while transgenders and homosexual men and women may be tolerated they are still subjected to intense forms of critique and minoritisation within Thai discourses and cultural practices. These studies also often had an implicit, if not explicit, concern to promote the cultural and legal rights of gender and sexual minorities in Thailand, and aimed to provide venues for the voices of Thai gays, lesbians and transgenders to be heard in the international arena, as well as domestically within Thailand.

•Defining the cultural and historical specificity of Thai discourses of gender and sexuality (phet) and their difference from Western conceptions of sex, gender and sexuality. These studies asked whether or not Thai categories of behaviour and identity (e.g. kathoey, tom, dee, etc.) can be equated with the Western terms “gay”, “lesbian”, “transgender”, “transsexual”, and so on.

•These studies have also attempted to define the culturally specific forms of minoritisation and exclusion of transgenders and male and female homosexual people in Thailand, by comparing and differentiating Western and Thai forms of homophobia and transphobia. These analyses have often started from the observation that, unlike the case in many Western, Islamic and African societies, Thailand does not have a history of criminalising transgenderism or homosexuality and sex/gender stigmatisation, exclusion and minoritisation in Thailand operate more at the level of cultural practices and discourses than at the level of the law.

•By drawing on analyses of the cultural specificity of Thai discourses of phet, to critically engage the methods and residual Eurocentric assumptions of feminist, gay and lesbian, and queer studies research in the Western academy.

### **Characteristics of Second-Generation Thai-Language Research (From the mid-1990s to mid-2010s)**

In the 1990s, Thai scholars, like many Western scholars, also engaged in concerted critiques of the earlier generation of Thai sexology (เพศศาสตร์ – *phet-sat*) studies that had framed research on LGBTQ issues in terms of “curing sexual/gender perversion” (*raksa khwam-wiparit thang-phet*), “treating sexual/gender deviance” (*bambat khwam-biang-ben thang-phet*) or “solving the social ‘problem’ of *gay-kathoey-tom-dee*” (*kae panha sangkhom khorng gay-kathoey-tom-dee*). In contrast to the pathologising biomedical assumptions of Thai sexology, the newer studies in the 1990s argued that sexual and gender difference needed to be understood, and studied, as valid forms of human sex/gender diversity and LGBTQ persons need to be given opportunities to speak on their own behalf and to be heard.

From our survey we note that many Thai scholars of gender/sex diversity have constructed their methods and approaches by adopting hybrid Thai-Western methodologies. Thai research methods have often been characterised by the adoption and adaptation of various theories borrowed from Western concepts in order to create distinctive theoretical terminologies. The major theories and concepts that Thai scholars have used for studying and analyzing gender

and sexual diversity are theories of identity (อัตลักษณ์ - *attalak*) and discourse (วาทกรรม - *wathakam*). These Western theoretical concepts and methods are applied and adapted to recognise the gender and sexual practices negotiated by gays, lesbians, and transgenders who are oppressed and minoritised by forms of social and cultural control. Feminist theory is also drawn upon to critique and challenge gender norms and patterns of hierarchy that are regulated and formulated by patriarchal domination (ปิตาธิปไตย - *pitathippatai*). In addition, the critical queer studies concept of heteronormativity (บรรทัดฐานรักต่างเพศ - *banthatthan rak tang phet*) is often used by younger Thai scholars to explain situations in which queer and transgender people reproduce and emphasize mainstream gender and sexual norms based on a binary opposition between masculine and feminine traits and ideology. Ideas of dynamic, variable and multiple genders and sexualities have also been developed in the Thai concepts of *phet maing* (เพศไม่นิ่ง) and *phet leun lai* (เพศลื่นไหล) (sexual fluidity), which denote varieties of sexual activity or identity that fall outside normative gender and sexual categories.

This hybrid discursive situation reflects the genealogy of knowledges of gender and sexuality diversity in Thailand as having emerged at the intersection of Western and Thai discourses, epistemologies, and cultural logics. However, Thai research is often not especially critical of the theoretical frameworks that are employed, and is more likely to cite and draw upon Western research methods than to ask whether those methods may be relevant or appropriate to the Thai setting, or how Western research methods may need to be adapted to fit the cultural and social contexts of Thailand.

In comparison with scholars from the West, few Thai scholars have been concerned to define the cultural specificity of discourses of *phet*. Rather, Thai scholars have been concerned to develop a Thai academic and analytical vocabulary to translate the key distinctions between notions of “sex”, “gender” and “sexuality” that are made in Western discourses. Until the mid-to late-1990s, many Thai academic studies failed to make clear distinctions among sex, gender and sexuality, using the single term *phet*. However, in the 1990s, Thai feminist scholars coined new terms that translated “gender” as *phet-saphap* (เพศสภาพ) or *phet-phawa* (เพศภาวะ), which both denote “*phet* condition” or “*phet* status”. In the first decade of the 2000s, scholars of sexuality in Thailand coined the term *phet-withi* (เพศวิถี) to denote “sexuality”. *Phet withi* (literally “path of *phet*” or “direction of *phet*”) appears to have been based on the English-language notion of “sexual orientation”.

Waraporn Chamsanit (2008) has suggested that the term of *phet-withi* represents contemporary situations in which knowledge of sex and gender in Thailand breaks with and distinguishes itself from the normalized negative attitudes to gender/sex difference that have long persisted in Thai society. In the 2000s, a new group of Thai feminist and queer scholars have seen *phet-withi* (sexuality) and *phet-withi seuksa* (เพศวิถีศึกษา), sexuality studies, as representing critical points and opportunities to challenge established conservative ideas of sex and gender. Over the past decade, the term of *phet-saphap*, “gender”, has become distinguished and gradually differentiated from the term of *phet-withi*, “sexuality”. The distinction of these two terms became clearer when the First International Conference of Asian Queer Studies was held in Bangkok in 2005. At that international conference the issue of *phet-withi* or sexuality as the conceptual frame for investigating the lives and sexual and romantic experiences of gays, lesbians, and

transgenders was fully recognised by the Thai academic community. Later in the first decade of the 2000s, there was discussion about how to translate the terms “queer” and “queer theory”. The expression *khwam-lak-lai thang-phet* was coined to denote the diversity of sexual and gender behaviours and identities reflected in the theorisation of queer.

Beginning in 2008 a group of Thai feminist and queer studies scholars have collaborated in initiating national conferences of sexuality studies (*phet-withi seuksa*), with support from the Women's Health Advocacy Foundation. These semi-regulars conferences provide opportunities to increase understanding and recognition of sexual diversity in Thai society. Many younger scholars who have conducted research on homosexuality and transgenderism have had the opportunity to present the results of their studies to the wider public at these conferences. In 2011, some selected papers from the second Thai Sexuality Studies Conference were published in the first issue of the new Thai *Journal of Sexuality Studies*, (*warasan phet-withi seuksa* วารสารเพศวิถีศึกษา). Subsequently, more conferences have been organised at two-yearly intervals and four volumes of the *Journal of Sexuality Studies* have been published. These academic events and publications indicate that in recent years groups of Thai sexuality studies scholars have begun to work together to provide Thai society with more informed understandings of *gay*, *kathoeys* and *tom-dee-les* people.

The second generation of Thai scholars and researchers who have conducted their work in the 2000s to 2010s have often been inspired by their own needs and personal experiences. Interestingly, these groups of younger generation scholars usually identify as queer and transgender who understand homosexual and transgender cultures and situations in Thailand from direct personal experience. They are interested in supporting and enabling the voices of gay, lesbian, and transgender people to give Thai society better understandings that will in turn lead to less discrimination against queer and transgender people. Furthermore, these younger generations of scholars are often from the urban middle class who have studied in universities and aim to manifest and reflect the emerging social and cultural contexts that help gay, lesbian, and transgender people express their sexual and gender identities in public and through social media. The growing openness and social acceptance of LGBTQ people in recent decades is reflected in new media and popular culture, such as Thai movies and television series, which often provide primary research material and data for these younger researchers.

We have also seen a number of heterosexually identified scholars who are interested in homosexuality and transgenderism. Particularly, some heterosexually identified women are interested in *kathoeys* or transgender behaviors and cultures. These female scholars, for example, Witchayanee Ocha (2012, 2013), have studied transgender and transsexual people who have worked as sex-workers in the sex industry. It is noteworthy that female Thai scholars are more inclined to study *kathoeys* or male-to-female transgenders than they are to study Thai gay men, homosexual women or transmen. In the Thai context, relations between women and *kathoeyes* are often close and friendly. Nonetheless, this situation also indicates that female Thai scholars are more open to learning about queer and transgender people than heterosexual male scholars. This further means that since research policy is often still under the control of heterosexual male leaders, many universities and institutions continue to show little interest and pay minimal attention to queer and transgender issues.

## **Differences Between the Older *Phet-Sat* (Sexology) and Newer *Phet-Withi Seuksa* (Sexuality Studies) Research Paradigms in Thailand**

Early studies of homosexual and transgender behaviours undertaken in Thailand before the 1990s were dominated by psychological and biomedical forms of knowledge that pathologised sex and gender diversity. A range of influential studies of hermaphrodite and transvestite physiology were carried out by the medical doctor Sud Saengwichien. In 1961, Sud's study of the physiology of transgender people labeled as *kathoey* was grounded on scientific paradigms that introduced western sexological concepts of homosexuality and transgenderism to the modern Thai academy. His accounts of *kathoey* within a frame that defined them as experiencing psychological and physiological problems contributed to the widespread perception of cross-gender behaviours as signs of mental disorder and sexual perversion. This kind of explanation indicates that Thai sexology (*phet-sat*) was founded upon local cultural views of the *kathoey* as *lakkaphet*, a largely derogatory term that denotes a person who borrows or "steals" (*lak*) the traits and characteristics of the opposite sex and behaves in ways that are regarded as being contrary to their own biological sex. This hybrid Thai-Western sexological knowledge, which combined pathologising Western biomedicine and stigmatising Thai cultural views, misunderstand and overlooked the multiplicity of socio-cultural contexts in which *kathoey*s create their transgender status and learn to embody cross-gender behaviours and lifestyles through their membership of social group and personal impression.

In contrast, many Thai and non-Thai scholars in the newer field of *Phet-withi Seuksa* (sexuality studies) – from the disciplines of history, anthropology, womens studies, gender studies and queer studies – have critiqued the older sexological and biomedical accounts of *kathoey*. For example, Peter A. Jackson and Narupon Duangwises (2013) contend that Thailand has long been a culturally diverse society in which plural forms of gender and sexuality are found in local communities. This study indicated that Thai male and female homosexuals and transgenders are not unified as a single gay, *kathoey* and *tom-dee* group, as is often the case in dominant stereotypes in Thailand. Rather, queer communities have regional and language differences, as well as educational, socio-economic, and class-based differences within each geographical/language region. This historical and anthropological approach understands *kathoey* within a theoretical setting that does not pathologise transgenderism or view it as a mental disorder. Rather, *kathoey* identities and transgender behaviours are viewed as social and cultural practices by which *kathoey*s creatively produce their own styles of femininity. In his study Pornthep Phraekhao (2013) argues that Isan *kathoey*s living in the Northeastern region of Thailand use their feminine characteristics to flirt with and attract heterosexual men at Mor Lam folk music and dance performance festivals. This kind of male-to-female transgender practice is a cultural expression that is widely accepted in the local context of village festivals in Isan. In the context of relationships, Wacharawuth Suesat and Watcharabon Buddharaksa (2015) explained that *kathoey* social groups are patterned by social relations based on "mother clanship" (*Rabop Mae* ระเบียบแม่) in which older and younger transgenders' social and emotional bonds are constructed under a patronage system. This system, in which older *kathoey* take on a "mothering" role for younger members, guides the new entrants to *kathoey* society in the

performance of their transgender status according to the hierarchy of older and younger generations.

### **Similarities Between and Distinctions Among Gay, *Kathoey* and *Tom-Dee* Studies Conducted Since 2000**

Since the 2000s, studies of gay men, *kathoey* and *tom-dee* have proliferated in the social sciences and biomedical sciences in Thailand. While these newer studies differ from the older pathologising sexological studies in that, by and large, they are accepting of gender and sexual diversity, a significant number of them tend to view male and female homosexuals and transgenders as unified social and cultural groups whose members can be recognised as sharing the same lifestyles, traits and characteristics. Few of these newer studies view these groups in terms of their internal diversity. In the case of gay men, a number studies have explored their lifestyles, sexual activities and sexual networks, patterns of emotional intimacy and identity that are manifest in public areas (such as public toilets and public parks) and also in the private sphere (such as in gay bars, pubs, saunas, restaurants) as well as in new social media (gay websites, smart phone applications, chat lines). One issue explored by many scholars (For example, Rakchan Chaichomphoo 2000, Ekbodee Srisuriya 2002, Jirawan Samphao 2003, Jaray Singhakowinta 2009, Chayanattaphat Sornklin 2012, Wijngaarden 2015) is the sexual contacts among male homosexuals that are associated with process of becoming male sex workers who provide sexual services for affluent Thai gay men in urban gay communities. Significantly, the topic of sexual activities between gay men is very notable and of primary concern.

Another recent trend in Thai gay studies has been to understand the lives of urban gay men as constructing their sexual identities in relation to the goods and commodities available in the consumer market. These studies often come from the fields of business, marketing and management studies and explore the ways in which gay men buy and use the products and services that have been designed and produced to serve the gay market. (For example: Arthit Wirarat and Nittaya Thanitthanakon 2011, Sutthiphan Plaenkham 2012, Renaphat Phassakon and Yubol Benjarongkit 2012, Krit Techaprasert 2013, Attaporn Jaijetsuk 2014, Wichayanan Phorkha 2015) However, these kinds of studies are rarely concerned with the socio-cultural contexts in which gay men live and experience their lives in diverse ways. These studies tend to view Thai gay men as a single homogeneous population and represent all gay men in Thailand as growing up in and belonging to the same socio-economic spectrum, rather than being highly heterogeneous in terms of socio-economic class, education, ethnic, linguistic and other factors. The overgeneralisation typical of these studies reflects gaps in the knowledge of some members of the newer generation of Thai queer studies scholars who lack qualified academic supervisors and methodologically appropriate epistemological insight.

In the case of *kathoeyes*, many studies have aimed to identify the oppression of and social discrimination against male-to-female transgenders. Also, many scholars have investigated the social situations in which *kathoeyes* negotiate, reconstruct and recreate their sexual and gender identities in often unfriendly, high-risk and dangerous commercial and entertainment environments (For example, Prempreeda Pramoj Na Ayutthaya 2003, Somruedee

Sanguankaow 2003, Ruengfa Bussarakon 2007, Wichayanee Ocha 2008, Dredge Kang 2012, Kritiya Suenak and Wanwisa Bunmeerit 2013, Pornthep Phraekhao 2013, Jarongwich Taphingkae 2013, Mohammadrasool Yadegarfar, Robert Ho and Fatemeh Bahramabadian 2013, Wacharawuth Suesat 2014, Pimpawun Bunmongkol and Others 2014, Gooren, Louis J. 2015, Narit Ritkarop and Pitak Siriwong 2016). Furthermore, some studies have investigated the transitioning processes by which *kathoeys* experience gender reassignment surgery, known as *pha-tat plaeng phet* (ผ่าตัดแปลงเพศ) in Thai. (For example, Prayuth Chokrungruanont and Preecha Tiewtranon 2004, Nantiya Sukontapatipark 2005, Piyalak Photiwan, Maneemai Thong-u and Yaowalak Aphichatwanlop 2011, Aizura 2011, Prayuth Chokrungruanont and Others 2014)

In recent gay and *kathoeys* studies, the issue of sexual health is very popular. Many scholars have studied the sexual behaviors and activities of gays and *kathoeys* in their everyday lives. This group of studies often view gay and *kathoeys* populations as risk groups, that is, at risk of facing health problems and contracting infectious diseases from sexual contact. (For example, Vipa Danthamrongkul and Wichai Posayajinda 2004, Thomas E. Guadamuz and Others 2010, Jiraphat Longkul 2012, Tooru Nemoto and Others 2012, Mohammadrasool Yadegarfar and Others 2013) Some studies have sought to identify effective strategies to promote wider knowledge of HIV/AIDS and devise safe sex interventions. (For example, Malcolm McCamish, Graeme Storer and Greg Carl 2000, Malcolm McCamish 2002, Thanarak Paliphat and Kiratikan Kladsawat 2008)

Some studies have explored the socio-cultural contexts in which different group of gay men and *kathoeys* define their sexual identities and imbue their relationships with different meanings. (For example: Saran Pimthong 2011, Nikos Dacanay 2015)

In the case of *tom-dee-les* studies, a significant number of scholars have explored similar focuses as are seen in Thai gay studies, in particular, in exploring the social process of sexual identity and identity formation in which *tom* and *dee* explore their same-sex desires and build relationships. These studies investigate the influences of family, work place, social group and media through which *tom* and *dee* negotiate and construct their sexual identities in both private and public spaces. (For example, Sulaiporn Chonwilai 2002, Megan Sinnott 2004, 2008, 2012, 2013, Ara Wilson 2004, Supanee Yadtra 2005, Sumalee Tokthong 2006, Kornkamol Worawong 2010, Rachaneechon Chailanka 2012, Paranee Jongrak 2014) Some studies have investigated the mass media as tools of *tom* and *dee* representation and expression. (For example, Patcharaporn Arunrattanapong 2014, Araya Siripayak 2014, Kwandao Suksamai 2015) While many studies of gay Thai men have been interested to detail male-male sex and sexual activities, few studies have explored the patterns of sexual relations in *tom* and *dee* relationships. Studies of female homosexuality in Thailand have emphasised the significant negative impact on *tom-dee* identities and relationships of patriarchal cultural attitudes to female sexuality, in which female sexuality, even in female-female relationships, is often constrained and subject to moralistic discursive controls.

A growing number of recent queer studies have been interested in the imaging and representation of gay men, *tom-dee* and *kathoeys* in popular media (For example, Nati Suntrawarawit 2010, Chaisiri Bunyakulsrirung 2010, Theera Bussabokkaew 2011, Athit

Pongpanit 2011, Ronnaphoom Samakkeekarom and Others 2011, Milagros Expósito Barea 2012, Wacharawuth Suesat 2014, Pacharaporn Arunrattanapong 2014, Araya Siripayak 2014, Athit Pongpanita and Wacharawuth Suesat 2015) Recent Thai queer films, television series, magazines and internet sites have been important subjects of these studies. This indicates that a new trend in Thai queer studies is to investigate the proliferation of images and representations of gay men, *kathoey*, *tom* and *dee* in Thai consumer culture. Also, there has been some investigation aimed at understanding the blurring and coinciding boundaries between online and offline social experiences and sexuality. (For example, Narupon Duangwiset and Others 2015, Dredge Kang 2015).

### **Pure and Applied Research on Thai Gender and Sexual Diversity in English-language Studies**

Methodologically and in terms of disciplinary approaches, international research on gender and sexual diversity in Thailand can be divided into pure and applied varieties. Much research in history, cultural anthropology and cultural and media studies is pure research, concerned to map and reveal the patterns of Thai discourses and cultural attitudes and practices. On the other hand, there are also large and growing bodies of research in medical anthropology, sociology, psychology, health sciences, population studies, business and management studies, and legal studies that are concerned to address specific issues confronting transgender and homosexual individuals and communities in Thailand. This latter stream of applied research often draws on the results of pure research to consider challenges such as: HIV infection among men who have sex with men; the medical and legal dimensions of persons who transition from one gender/sex to another; the lack of counselling and support services for gay, lesbian and transgender youth; and efforts to enshrine the rights of homosexual men and women and transgenders in the Thai legal code. The many forms of applied research often emerge from collaborations between academic researchers and NGOs and community organisations, and applied research is at times initiated and/or funded by international agencies, such as the overseas aid agencies of Western governments, and international health promotion organisations (e.g. UNESCO, USAIDS, Global Fund).

#### **The Emergence of Queer-Friendly Biomedical Research Programs After 2000**

Since the early 2000s, when a rapidly expanding epidemic of HIV infection among Thai men who have sex with men (MSM) was reported by van Griensven et al. (2005), significant amounts of international and Thai funding have been made available for qualitative applied research aimed at developing culturally sensitive and locally informed strategies to respond to the HIV/AIDS health crisis among Thai MSM. Much of this recent research has been carried out by large collaborative research teams of both Thai and Western scholars, and the results of the research have been published in international English-language journals in the health sciences.

This recent biomedical and applied ethnographic and sociological research aimed at HIV/AIDS interventions and other health and well-being issues for Thai MSM and other LGBTQs differs significantly from earlier sexological research in that it is now fully accepting of sexual and gender diversity. This new generation of 21st century biomedical and health research is built upon the critiques of homophobia and transphobia that have been developed by scholars who have conducted pure research in history, anthropology, cultural studies and other disciplines in the humanities. The medical and psychological sciences now aim to help gay men, lesbians and transgenders live better, healthier lives as gay men, lesbians, *kathoey*s and transmen. Biomedicine, psychology and other health sciences are now employed as technologies to

enhance the quality of life of queer people as queer people rather than to treat or cure them of their sexual and gender differences. Nonetheless, as discussed below, at times there are tensions between the methodological and theoretical approaches of the new, queer-friendly biomedical research, on the one hand, and qualitative pure research informed by critical queer studies, on the other hand. In brief, some biomedical research is framed within gay studies approaches that tend to view sexual and gender identities as fixed, while in contrast critical queer studies emphasise the fluidity, dynamism and inherent variability of all forms of gender/sex identity and being.

Also, while significant research funding has been made available in the past decade and a half for health-related and applied research on gay men, and to a lesser extent kathoey, much less research funding has been made available for pure research in the humanities and social sciences. This is despite the fact that the applied research in Thai LGBTQ health and well-being is based upon the understandings of queer cultures and social organisation that have been revealed by pure research. There is a need for funding agencies to increase support for pure research on LGBTQ issues in order to provide stronger foundations for the very necessary studies of ways to best promote the health and well-being of all queer communities in Thailand.

### **Distinctive Methods of Scientific Quantitative and Ethnological Qualitative Research on Thai Homosexuality and Transgenderism – Tensions Between Identity-based Gay Studies Methods and Critical Queer Studies Analyses**

In term of contemporary approaches to knowledge construction, there are distinctive methodological and epistemological approaches that provide different insights and understandings of homosexuality and transgenderism. The first type is quantitative scientific research that uses statistical data derived from fixed-choice questionnaires to interpret and analyze concretised conceptions of gender and sexual identity and behaviors as given facts of social existence. The methods of quantitative research often represent gender and sexual behaviors, subjectivities and identities as fixed and constant. This positivist research usually comes from psychology, health sciences, business and marketing studies, population studies, media studies and biomedicine. For example, in this quantitative paradigm knowledge of sexual risk of gay men is often interpreted in terms of the numbers of sexual partners and quantified forms of sexual behaviors. (For example, Tooru Nemoto and Others, 2012), while the HIV/AIDS sexual health of gay men is at time analysed statistically in terms of rates of condom use. (For example, Jiraphat Longkul, 2012) This deterministic methodological paradigm tends to sustain notions of gender and sexual essentialism that were common in first generation gay and lesbian studies in the West in the 1970s and 1980s, and which continue to dominate mainstream understandings in Thailand.

In contrast, anthropologists, sociologists, and historians adopt qualitative research methods that explore the socio-cultural contexts in which gender/sexual practices and behaviors are shaped and manipulated through historical time and in various places. In-depth interviews and participatory observations from extensive fieldwork are significant methodologies for this research. The knowledge of gender and sexuality developed in ethnographically informed qualitative research seeks to capture the often unquantifiable complexity of the socio-cultural experiences in which human subjects negotiate their sexual identities in everyday practices. Qualitative research does not seek to produce absolute facts of gender and sexual being but

rather highlights contextual analysis. For example, among homosexual behaviors there are many forms of socio-cultural expression. Some men who lead homosexual lives do not identify as gay and live a family life within heterosexual norms and images. In private spaces such as gay bars, saunas and social media, some men can express their homosexual desire and identity with gay friends. (See Narupon Duangwiset and Others, 2015). This complex and multiple layering of gender and sexual practices with identity can be recognised and observed by qualitative ethnographic research but is all but impossible to investigate via quantitative methods. Qualitative research produces distinctive kinds of knowledge that provides insightful understandings of the complex gendering of sexual cultures in Thailand.

### *Quantitative Sex/Gender Essentialism Vs Qualitative Queer/Trans Studies Diversity*

While scholars are now almost universally agreed in criticizing the earlier pathologising sexological (*phet-sat*) approaches to studying LGBTQ people in Thailand, there are significant differences in perspective between quantitative and qualitative research paradigms, and also between studies of the sexual rights movement of gay, lesbian, and transgender people and much ethnographic and historical research. Legal, biomedical and most quantitative research studies adopt essentialist perspectives that view gay, lesbian, and *kathoey* identities as largely fixed and static personality types. This perspective also often dominates understandings of some Thai LGBTQ rights movement activists and scholars who tend to represent Thai gay, lesbian, and transgender peoples in the same way as queer and trans identities in western societies. This contrasts significantly with the results of ethnographic and historical research that emphasise the distinctiveness of Thai forms for sexual and gender diversity compared to Western and other societies.

There are also significant differences between studies that view contemporary LGBTQ cultures and identities in Thailand as being subject to new forms of normativising control and subjection, emerging from neoliberal consumerism and commodification of gender and sexuality, and research that overlooks and ignores these novel forms of homonormativity and minoritisation. The divide between these two streams of contemporary LGBTQ studies research is discussed in the following sections.

### **Paradoxes of LGBTQ Studies and Queer Theory: Implications in Thailand**

Peter Jackson (2003) has argued that the proliferation of Thai queer identities and cultures found in the later decades of the twentieth century occurred in the absence of the forms of bio-power that Foucault contends incited the origin of the contemporary discourse of sexuality and the associated speciation of the categories of the 'homosexual' and the 'heterosexual' in Western societies. Jackson contends that presents an apparent paradox whereby, in the Thai context, local forms of power have incited distinctive and equally local forms of gender and sexual discourse, performativity and subjectivity. These local performative gender and forms of eroticism need to be reconsidered on the transformative form of bio-power over altered norms of masculinity and femininity and radically changed patterns of desire and identity. Jackson points that when the modernising Thai state imposed "civilizing" norms gender and sexuality

onto the Thai populace as a response to the combined challenges of English, French, Japanese and American imperialisms in Southeast Asia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, this new form of gendered biopower incited distinctive new forms of gender and sexual identity into being.

Jackson contends that in the absence of Western-style interventions in sexuality, the disruptions of traditional Siamese gender culture caused by the state's response to the West radically altered the performative norms of masculinity and femininity. This, in turn, contributed to the proliferation of new forms of transgender and same-sex identity. Jackson's idea provides one perspective on understanding how Thai scholars have dealt with western concepts and classification of gay, lesbian and transgender identity, which are translated into local hybridized Thai- and English-language and terminologies, such as *gay king*, *gay queen* and *tom-dee-les*. Jackson points that gay, *kathoey* and *tom-dee* identities have historically been constituted more within the field of gender (*phet-phawa*) than within the domain of sexuality (*phet-withi*). Thai transgender and same-sex eroticisms are classified by the modernized and civilised intensification of the masculine/feminine gender binary. This is different from the case in Western societies, in which, according to Foucault, biomedical knowledges incited new sexualised identities into being.

Jackson (2003) draws upon a queer studies theoretical framework to argue that before the 1960s same-sex and transgender behaviours were largely ignored by Thai religious and legal authorities. However, after the 1960s, a Thai bio-medical research project emerged that was aimed at controlling what was seen as a proliferation of same-sex and transgender identities. Thai physicians and psychologists drew upon Western biomedical sciences in an attempt to renormativise, control, suppress, and cure both 'perverse' (*wiparit*) genders and 'deviant' (*biang-ben*) sexualities. Jackson contends that while this Thai biomedical project sought to renormativise local forms of sexual and gender diversity it proved to be an unsuccessful regime of control and containment, with new gay, *kathoey* and *tom-dee* identities continuing to proliferate in the decades since the since 1960s. At the same time, the rapid marketisation of the Thai labour force and urbanisation of the population have provided spaces for the further development of the moderns form of Thai queer culture that found in Bangkok and large regional cities.

While 21<sup>st</sup> century Thai queer cultures and communities are no longer subject to the restrictions of the now-defunct Thai biomedical project, they are nonetheless subject to new forms of homonormative control. Jackson and Narupon contend that queer theoretical approaches help us understand the regimes of power and knowledge that sustain patterns of heteronormative gender/sexual domination and authority within Thai LGBTQ communities in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The critical queer studies approach problematizes the culture of heteronormative gender and sexuality that are reproduced in modern forms of sexual identity and intimacy, both within the general population and also within queer communities. The reproduction of dominant heteronormative feminine and masculine gender images can also be found in Thai gay, *kathoey* and *tom-dee-les* communities that support capitalist and consumer culture. For this reason, it can cautiously argued that Thai gay, *kathoey* and *tom-dee-les* cultures and communities are not yet fully liberated or emancipated from heteronormative power/knowledge regimes. Rather, they continue to be subjected to regulation under new forms of neoliberal control that are driven

by the marketisation of gender and sexual commodities. Queer theory provides an analytical frame to question the persistent forms of power that are hidden in the new, ostensibly liberative discourses of sexual and gender diversity.

Queer theory contrasts with older gay and lesbian studies methods that classify homosexual and transgender people in terms of defined and fixed sexual and gender identities. Some Thai scholars who are engaged in research on minority sexual and gender identities – including exploring safer social spaces, romantic relationships and gender and same-sex sexual desires of gay, *kathoey* and *tom-dee-les* people – continue to conduct their research within a gay and lesbian studies framework of identity politics that sees all Thai homosexuals and transgenders as unified categories of being. While not questioning the power/knowledge regime found in late-capitalist and neoliberal structures, some Thai scholars nonetheless represent themselves as advocates of sexual liberation and the emancipation of homosexuals and transgender people from repressive social discrimination and stigmatisation. In these studies, the categories of gay, lesbian and transgender are distinctly and clearly signified. Similar assumptions are also found in some human rights approaches as analytical frameworks that subsume gay, *kathoey* and *tom-dee-les* within a broad group of sexual and gender minorities that need to be legally assisted to achieve equal rights. (For example, Sittipat Chalermmyot 2008, Thanyalak Namjak 2013, Baramee Panich and Suphannee Chaiumporn 2016) That is, while these gay and lesbian studies approaches critique the biomedical pathologisation and the cultural and legal minoritisation of queer people, they do not challenge, or acknowledge, the forms of neoliberal, market-based homonormativisation that are the increasingly forms of power/knowledge over queer lives in 21<sup>st</sup> century Thailand.

### **Key Problems of Thai Research on Gender and Sexual Diversity**

#### **Lack of Qualified Research Supervisors, Inadequate Institutional Support and Lack of Continuity in Research Programs**

Younger generations of Thai queer and transgender studies scholars and researchers have often lacked of qualified academic advisers within Thai universities. Many of their research supervisors have lacked adequate knowledge of the gender/sexual system in Thailand. Consequently, this younger generation of researchers often encounters difficulties due to poorly informed recommendations on their research methodology and epistemology. Many of them have conducted their research based on their own ideas developed in isolation, which often overlook and fail to engage comprehensive issues of theoretical frameworks. A lack of qualified scholars who have a broad knowledge of the Thai gender/sexual system frequently leads to misinterpretations of queer and transgender cultures situated within the changing contexts of contemporary Thailand.

A major difference between Thai and Western research, and a major barrier to the further development of LGBTQ studies in the Thai academy, is a lack of follow up and continuity between the research of younger scholars and further studies. While the list of publications assembled here may give the impression of a significant body of Thai scholarship in these fields, the number of researchers and scholars in Thailand who maintain extended and ongoing research projects and programs in LGBTQ studies is in fact very small. Many graduate students

at both the MA and PhD levels who undertake research on LGBTQ issues, including both those who study in Thailand and those who undertake graduate studies overseas, do not continue research in this field when they take up teaching positions as *acharn* in Thai universities. Thailand's academic culture is tolerant of its younger scholars conducting graduate research on LGBTQ issues, both in Thailand and overseas. However, Thai universities do not provide support or encouragement for their academics to continue research on these topics after they complete graduate studies and take up teaching positions in universities. The Thai academy is missing out on opportunities to take full advantage of the research skills of its scholars in LGBTQ studies. In summary, LGBTQ studies have not yet found a secure home within Thai universities, which also suffer from a broader problem of lack of institutional support for ongoing programs of high quality research.

### **Gaps in Research and Priorities for Future Research**

In this final section we note some of the major gaps in research on LGBTQ issues in Thailand as priority topics for future research.

#### **1) Studies of *Tom-Dee-Les* and Transmen**

Much more research has been conducted on gay men and *kathoeyes* (transwomen) than on female homosexual and transmen (female-to-male transsexuals) in all fields and on all topics. In many ways, the cultures and communities of *tom-dee-les* and also of transmen remain very much under-researched.

#### **2) Complexity, Hierarchy and Ethno-cultural Diversity Among Thai Queer and Transgender People:**

There are very few studies of the socio-cultural and religious contexts of the dynamically transforming gender and sexual practices and cultures in the many ethnically and linguistically diverse regions of Thailand outside Bangkok. Many studies conducted to date have overlooked the historical backgrounds of specific cultural areas in Thailand where same-sex relations and transgender behaviors have traditionally existed and later merged with modern form of gender and sexual identification and subjectification. Furthermore, forms of hierarchy within queer and transgender communities, by which some are excluded or placed in inferior positions, have been poorly studied. For example, we need to know more about how new forms of masculinity and femininity that are being produced by medical technology and commodified by both the male and female beauty industries are impacting the lives of gay men, *kathoey* and lesbians. There are also very few studies of the socio-economic class differences that create divisions within gay, *tom-dee-les* and *kathoey* communities.

#### **3) The Local-Global Hybridization of Languages and Discourses of Gender and Sexual Diversity**

There is a need for detailed study of the many hybrid local-global terminologies and discourses of gender and sexual behaviour and identity within gay, *kathoey* and lesbian cultures and communities. How do diverse terms such as Gay Ruk-Gay Rap, Gay Man-Gay Sao, Sao Lor-

Sao Tae, Phuying Kham Phet-Phuchai Kham Phet, reflect changing attitudes, the emergence and new forms of gender and sexual identity, social acceptance and discrimination found in both inside and outside Thai queer communities?

#### **4) Analysis of the Thai Gender/Sex Regime under Neoliberalism**

Although consumer culture provides social spaces for queer and trans people to express themselves (Peter Jackson, 2011), there is a need to study the 21st century neoliberal contexts that incorporate non-normative gendered practices and sexual desire within processes of sexual commodification that emerge in association with regimes of consumerism, sex-tourism, as well as the bio-politics of homonormativity and transnational activism around queer and transgender citizenship.

#### **5) Relations and Connections between Thai and Other Asian LGBTQ Cultures and Communities**

The relations between Thai LGBTQ cultures and communities and the transgender and gay and lesbian communities in other Asian countries need to be explored in more detail. The overwhelming body of research conducted to date, both Thai and international, has focused on relations between Thailand and the West. We know almost nothing about the place of Chinese, Japanese, Korean and other Asian LGBT communities in Thailand. The work of Dredge Käng on Korean influences in Thai gay and *kathoey* communities is a rare exception.

#### **6) The Histories of Thai LGBTQ Communities before the 1960s**

There are very few primary sources on LGBTQ lives and communities from the period before the 1960s and 1970s, and there is an urgent project of oral history to record the life stories of older LGBTQs in Thailand.

#### **7) Aging LGBTQs**

Most research carried out to date has focused on younger and mature LGBTs. However, as Thailand also becomes an aging society, how are older *kathoey*s, gay men and lesbians managing the specific health, social and other issues of growing old?

#### **8) The Religious Lives of Thai LGBTs - Intersecting Cultures of Religious and Gender/Sex Diversity**

Thailand has very complex religious cultures including monastic and popular forms of Theravada Buddhism, Brahmanical rituals and cults, and many local varieties of spirit rituals and belief. As already discussed above, Thailand also has very complex, diverse and rapidly evolving cultures of gender and sexual diversity. There has been very little research on how these two forms of cultural complexity and diversity - religious and sexual/gender - intersect or relate to each other. We do not know in detail how Thailand's diverse transgender, gay and lesbian communities each relate to the different Buddhist, Brahmanical, Chinese and

animist/spirit dimensions of Thai religious life. This question is important because it is widely understood that religious systems are often the foundation of ethical regimes, most particularly regimes of sexual ethics and norms of gender behaviour, that have profound impacts on the lives of all gay, lesbian and transgender people in Thailand.

### **Bibliography (still to be edited and finalized)**

Aizura Aren Z. 2011. The romance of the amazing scalpel: 'Race', labour, and affect in Thai gender reassignment clinics. In: Jackson, Peter (ed.) *Queer Bangkok: 21st Century Markets, Media and Rights*, Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong Press, pp. 143-162.

Athit Pongpanit. 2011. The bitter-sweet portrayals of expressing and maintaining "non-normative" genders and sexualities in Thai mainstream cinema from 1980 to 2010. PhD thesis, SOAS.

Athit Pongpanit, and Wacharawuth Suesat. 2015. "Teacher and Student: Queering Sexual, Political, and Ethical Segregations in Thai Cinema". In Proceeding, an International Conference on "Gender Equity across Cultures". Phitsanulok: Division of Research Administration, Naresuan University.

Arunrat Tangmunkongvorakul, Cathy Banwell, Gordon Carmichael, Iwu Dwisetyani Utomo, Adrian Sleigh. 2010. "Sexual Identities and Lifestyles Among Non-heterosexual Urban Chiang Mai Youth: Implications for Health", *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 12(7): 827-841.

Barea, Milagros Expósito. 2012. From the Iron to the Lady: The Kathoey Phenomenon in Thai Cinema. *Sesión no numerada: Revista de letras y ficción audiovisual* Núm. 2 (2012): 190-202.

Borthwick, Prudence. "HIV/AIDS Projects with and for Gay men in Northern Thailand". In Jackson, Peter A. and Sullivan, Gerard (ed.) *Lady Boys, Tom Boys, Rent Boys. Male and Female Homosexualities in Contemporary Thailand*. Bangkok, Silkworm Books. 61- 80.

Bowie, Katherine "A. Review of Genders and Sexualities in Modern Thailand". *Intersections: Gender, History and Culture in the Asian Context* Issue 5, May 2001

Dacanay, Nikos. 2015. "Between HIV and "Male Sex Workers" Identity: Young Shan Men and The Presentation of Envidable Life in Chiang Mai". Paper Presented at International Conference On Burma/Myanmar Studies, Chiang Mai University, Thailand, 24-25 July 2015.

Gooren, Louis J., Sungkaew, Tanapong, Giltay, Erik J. and Guadamuz, Thomas E. 2015. "Cross-sex hormone use, functional health and mental well-being among transgender men (Toms) and Transgender Women (Kathoeys) in Thailand". *An International Journal for Research, Intervention and Care*. Volume 17, 2015 - Issue 1.

Guadamuz, Thomas E. and Others. 2010. "HIV prevalence, sexual and behavioral correlates among Shan Hill tribe, and Thai male sex workers in Northern Thailand". *AIDS Care*. 2010 May;22(5):597-605.

Jackson, Peter A. 1995. *Dear Uncle Go: Male Homosexuality in Thailand*. Bangkok: Bua Luang Books.

Jackson, Peter A. 1997. "Thai Research on Male Homosexuality and Transgenderism: The Cultural Limits of Foucauldian Analysis". *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 8(1): 52-85.

Jackson, Peter A. 1997. "Kathoey < Gay > Man: The Historical Emergence of Gay Male Identity in Thailand" (pp.166-190). In Manderson, Lenore and Jolly, Margaret (Eds.) *Sites of Desire, Economies of Pleasure*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Jackson, Peter A. and Cook, Narida M.(eds.).1999. *Genders and Sexualities in Modern Thailand*. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.

Jackson, Peter A. and Sullivan, Gerard (eds.) 1999. *Lady Boys, Tom Boys, Rent Boys. Male and Female Homosexualities in Contemporary Thailand*. Bangkok, Silkworm Books.

Jackson, Peter. 2003. "Performative Gender, Perverse Desire: A Bio-History of Thailand's Same-Sex and Transgender Culture". *Intersections. Gender and Sexuality in Asia and the Pacific*, 9.

Jackson, Peter A. and Duangwises, Narupon (eds.) 2013. *Cultural Pluralism and Sex/Gender Diversity in Thailand*. Bangkok: Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre.

Jaray Singhakowinta. 2009. *Unimaginable Desires: Gay Relationships in Thailand*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Goldsmiths, University of London.

Kang, Dredge. 2012. "Kathoey "In Trend": Emergent Genderscapes, National Anxieties and the Re-Signification of Male-Bodied Effeminacy in Thailand". *Asian Studies Review* 36(4), December 2012, 475-494.

Kang, Dredge. 2015. "Cultivating Demi-Idols: The Queer Convergence of New Media and Korean Dance Performance in Thailand". In Nadja-Christina Schneider and Carola Richter, eds *New Media Configurations and Socio-Cultural Dynamics in Asia and the Arab World..* Berlin, Germany: Nomos Publishers. Pp. 287-303.

Mattana Chetamee. 1996. The way of life and family life of Thai Lesbian (วิถีชีวิตและชีวิตครอบครัวของหญิงรักรักรักหญิง) Bangkok: Faculty of Sociology and Anthropology, Thammasat University.

McCamish, Malcolm, Storer, Graeme and Carl, Greg. 2000. "Refocusing HIV/AIDS interventions in Thailand: The case for male sex workers and other homosexually active men". *Cult Health Sex.* 2000 Apr-Jun;2(2):167-82.

McCamish, Malcolm. 2002. "The structural relationships of support from male sex workers in Pattaya to rural parents in Thailand". *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (Jul. - Sep., 2002), 297-315.

Morris, Rosalind C. "Three Sexes and Four Sexualities: Redressing the Discourses on Gender and Sexuality in Contemporary Thailand". *Positions*, Spring 1994 2(1): 15-43.

Nantiya Sukontapatipark. 2005. Relationship between Modern Medical Technology and gender Identity in Thailand: Passing from the Male Body to Female Body. (ความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างเทคโนโลยีทางการแพทย์สมัยใหม่กับอัตลักษณ์แห่งความเป็นชาย-หญิงในประเทศไทย). Faculty of Graduate Studies, Mahidol University.

Narupon Duangwises. 2012. "Gay Studies in Thai Society: 5 Decades of Knowledge Construction". *Journal of Sexuality Studies*, 2(2): 141-180.

Narupon Duangwises. 2013. "Sex/Gender Pluralism in Thailand and the Politics of Identity." (เพศหลากหลายในสังคมไทยกับการเมืองของอัตลักษณ์) *Journal of Social Science*, Vol.25, No. 2/2013 (July-December 2013), 137-168.

Narupon Duangwises and Others. 2015. "Blackberry Smartphones and Sexuality Among Queer University Students in Bangkok" (2015) in Pimpawun Boonmongkon and Timo T. Ojanen (eds.) *Mobile Sexualities: Transformations of Gender and Sexuality in Southeast Asia*. Nakhon Pathom: The Southeast Asian Consortium on Gender, Sexuality, and Health. 281-356.

Nemoto, Tooru and Others. 2012. "HIV-related risk behaviors among kathoey (male-to-female transgender) sex workers in Bangkok, Thailand". *Psychological and Socio-medical Aspects of AIDS/HIV* Volume 24, 2012 - Issue 2.

Ojanen, Timo T., Pimpawun Boonmongkon, Ronnapoom Samakkeekarom, Nattharat Samoh, Mudjalin Cholratana, Anusorn Payakkakom & Thomas E. Guadamuz. 2014. "Investigating Online Harassment and Offline Violence Among Young People in Thailand: Methodological Approaches, Lessons Learned", *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 16(9): 1097-1112.

Ojanen, Timo T., Rattanakorn Ratanashevorn & Sumonthip Boonkerd. 2016. "Gaps in Responses to LGBT issues in Thailand: Mental Health Research, Services and Policies", *Psychology of Sexualities Review*, 7(1):41-59.

Pornthep Phraekhao. 2013. "The Sexuality of Isan Kathoeyes in Mor Lam Space" in Jackson, Peter A. and Duangwises, Narupon (eds.) 2013. *Cultural Pluralism and Sex/Gender Diversity in Thailand*. Bangkok: Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre. 60-85.

Prayuth Chokrungrvaranont PMD. and Preecha Tiewtranon PMD. 2004. "Sex reassignment surgery in Thailand". *Journal of Thai Medicine* 8(11): 1404–1405.

Prayuth Chokrungrvaranont and Others. 2014. "The Development of Sex Reassignment Surgery in Thailand: A Social Perspective". *The Scientific World Journal*, Vol. 2014: 1-5.

Ruampol Sai-Aroon. 1998. *The Images of Gay Men among University Students*. (ภาพลักษณ์เกย์ในสถานศึกษา) Bangkok: Faculty of Sociology and Anthropology, Thammasat University.

Sakol Sophitarchasak, Masahiro Kihara, Kyaw Min Soe & Masako Ono-Kihara. 2017. "Disparities in Mental Well-being between Non-Minority and Sexual Minority Male Youth in Bangkok, Thailand: Quantitative Findings from a Mixed Method Study", *Journal of Population and Social Studies*, 25(2):83-98. (Funded in part by Thai Health Promotion Foundation).

Sakol Sopitarchasak, Ronnapoom Samakkeekarom, Teeranee Techasrivichien, S. Pilar Suguimoto, Kanokwan Tharawan, Masahiro Kihara & Masako Ono-Kihara. 2016(?) get year of publication. *Social Science Asia*, 1(4):61-76.

Sinnot, Megan. 2004. *Toms and Dees: Female Transgenderism and Same-Sex Sexuality in Thailand*. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press.

Sinnott, Megan. 2008. "The Romance of the Queer: the Sexual and Gender Norms of Tom and Dee in Thailand". In Fran Martin and Others (eds.) *Asiapacific Queer: Rethinking Genders and Sexualities*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press. pp.131-148

Sinnott, Megan. 2012. "Korean-pop, Tom Gay Kings, Les Queens and the Capitalist Transformation of Sex/Gender Categories in Thailand". *Asian Studies Review* [Special Issue: Queer Asian Subjects]. 36(4): 453-474.

Sinnott, Megan. 2013. "Dormitories and Other Queer Spaces: An Anthropology of Space, Gender and the Visibility of Female Homoeroticism in Thailand". *Feminist Studies*, Vol. 39, No. 2, A Special Issue: Categorizing Sexualities (2013), 333-356.

Smith Boonchutima, Sapon Sriwattana, Rungroj Rungvimolsin, Nattanop Palahan. 2016. "Gays Dating Applications: Information Disclosure and Sexual Behaviour", *Journal of Health Research*, 30(4):231-9.

Sud Saengwichien. 1961. "The Study of Physical Body of Transgender People: Preliminary Report" (การศึกษาร่างกายและฮอร์โมนของลัทธิเพศ รายงานเบื้องต้น) in Jodmaiht Thang Kan Phad, (จดหมายเหตุทางแพทย์) 1961(2504);44:435-42.

Tareerat Chemnasiri, Taweesak Netwong, Surasing Visarutratana, Anchalee Varangrat, Andrea Li, Praphan Phanuphak, Rapeepun Jommaroeng, Pasakorn Akarasewi & Frits van Griensven. 2010. "Inconsistent Condom Use Among Men Who Have Sex with Men, Male Sex Workers and Transgenders in Thailand", *AIDS Education and Prevention*, 22(2):100-109.

Van Griensven, Frits, Sombat Thanprasertsuk, Rapeepun Jommaroeng, Gordon Mansergh, Sathapana Naorat, Richard A. Jenkins, Kamnuan Ungchusak, Praphan Phanuphak, Jordan W. Tappero, the Bangkok MSM Study Group. 2005. "Evidence of a Previously Undocumented Epidemic of HIV Infection Among Men Who Have Sex With Men in Bangkok, Thailand", *AIDS*, 19(5): 521-526.

Van Griensven, F., A Varangrat, W. Wimonsate, S. Tanpradech, K. Kladsawad, T. Chemnasiri, O. Suksripanich, P. Phanuphak, P. Mock, K. Kanggarnruea, J. McNicoll, T. Plipat. 2009. "Trends in HIV Prevalence, Estimated HIV Incidence, and Risk Behavior Among Men Who Have Sex with Men in Bangkok, Thailand, 2003-2007", *Journal of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome*, (2009 Nov. 5), pp. 234-239.

Van Griensven, Frits, and Jan W. de Lind van Wijngaarden. 2010. A Review of the Epidemiology of HIV Infection and Prevention Responses among MSM in Asia, *AIDS*, 24 (suppl 3): S30-S40.

Van Griensven, Frits, Warunee Thienkrua, Wichuda Sukwicha, Wipas Wimonsate, Supaporn Chaikummao, Anchalee Varangrat, & Philip A Mock. 2010. "Sex Frequency and Sex Planning Among Men Who Have Sex with Men in Bangkok, Thailand: Implications for Pre- and Post-Exposure Prophylaxis Against HIV Infection", *Journal of the International AIDS Society*, 13(13): (<http://www.jiasociety.org/content/13/1/13>)

Van Wijngaarden, Jan W. de Lind. 2014. "Being Both and Acting 'Man': Exploring Patterns of Masculinisation Among Young Same-sex-attracted Men in Thailand", *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 16(9):1128-1140.

Van Wijngaarden, Jan Willem de Lind, 2015. "Moving on Up: Making Sense of Male Sex Work in Thailand". In: Peter Aggleton and Richard Parker (eds), *Men who Sell Sex: Global Perspectives*. London: Routledge, pp. 159-172.

Van Wijngaarden, Jan W. de Lind & Timo T. Ojanen. 2016. "Identity Management and Sense of Belonging to Gay Community Among Young Rural Thai Same-sex Attracted Men: Implications for HIV Prevention and Treatment", *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 18(4):377-390.

Wacharawuth Suesat and Watcharabon Buddharaksa. 2015. "Mother Clanship [Kathoeys]: Art and Science of Hegemony in Kathoeys Thai Society", *Journal of Liberal Arts*, Vol.15, No.2. (June-December 2015), 101-118.

Waraporn Chamsanit. 2008. "The Landscape of Sexuality Studies as the Contesting Process of Knowledge" (ภูมิทัศน์ของเพศวิถีศึกษาในฐานะกระบวนการต่อสู้ทางความรู้) *Proceeding of 1st Annual Conference of Sexuality Studies in Thai Society*, Bangkok: Center for Health Policy Studies, 13-27.

Wilson, Ara. 2004. *The Intimate Economies of Bangkok: Tomboys, Tycoons, and Avon Ladies in the Global City*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Witchayanee Ocha. 2008. Expounding Gender: Male and Transgender (Male to Female) Sex Worker Identities in the Global-Thai Sex Sector. PhD thesis of Gender and Development Studies Program, Asian Institute of Technology.

Witchayanee Ocha. 2012. "Transsexual emergence: gender variant identities in Thailand". An International Journal for Research, Intervention and Care, Volume 14, 2012 - Issue 5

Witchayanee Ocha and Earth, Barbara. 2013. "Identity Diversification of Among Transgender Sex Workers in Thailand's Sex Tourism Industry". Sexualities, Jan2013, Vol. 16 Issue 1/2, p195-216.

Yadegarfar, Mohammadrasool, Ho, Robert and Bahramabadian, Fatemeh. 2013. "Influences on loneliness, depression, sexual-risk behaviour and suicidal ideation among Thai transgender youth". An International Journal for Research, Intervention and Care, Volume 15, 2013 - Issue 6

Yot Santasombat, "Sex for Consumption and AIDS: Women, Gays, and the Ideology of Power" (*Sek pheua boriphok lae rok-et: Phu-ying gay lae udomkan amnat*), *Ban Mai Ru Roi* 3 (1987 [2530]): 42-50.

กรกมล วรพงษ์. 2553. การสร้างตัวตนทางสังคมของกลุ่มหญิงในสถาบันอุดมศึกษา กรณีศึกษานักศึกษานักศึกษาหญิงรักรักรหญิง วิทยาลัยนานาชาติ มหาวิทยาลัยศิลปากร วิทยานิพนธ์ศิลปศาสตรมหาบัณฑิต สาขาวิชาการจัดการภาครัฐและภาคเอกชน มหาวิทยาลัยศิลปากร.

กฤติยา เสือนาค และวรรณวิษา บุญมีฤทธิ์. 2556 การใช้ชีวิตและการเอาตัวรอดของกะเทยในเรือนจำ. จุลินพนธ์ สาขาวิชาการจัดการทั่วไป คณะวิทยาการจัดการ มหาวิทยาลัยศิลปากร.

กฤษ เตชะประเสริฐ 2556 พฤติกรรมการท่องเที่ยวของกลุ่มชายรักชาย(เกย์) ที่อาศัยในเขตจังหวัดขอนแก่น.บริหารธุรกิจมหาบัณฑิต สาขาวิชาการจัดการการท่องเที่ยว คณะวิทยาการจัดการ มหาวิทยาลัยขอนแก่น.

ขวัญดวง สุขสมัย.2558. การศึกษาวิเคราะห์ เปรียบเทียบพฤติกรรมหญิงพฤติกรรมรักรักรหญิงในภาพยนตร์ของไทย ยุโรป และอเมริกา วิทยานิพนธ์นิเทศศาสตรมหาบัณฑิต สาขาวิชาการสื่อสารเชิงกลยุทธ์ มหาวิทยาลัยกรุงเทพ.

จรงค์วิษฐ์ ทะพิงค์แก.2556. การปรับตัวและการต่อรองตามเพศสภาพในบทบาทของความเป็นครู. วิทยานิพนธ์มหาบัณฑิต สาขาวิชาจิตวิทยาการแนะแนว มหาวิทยาลัยศรีนครินทรวิโรฒ.

จิรภัทร หลงกุล.2555. การใช้ถุงยางอนามัยขณะมีเพศสัมพันธ์ในกลุ่มชายที่มีเพศสัมพันธ์กับชาย ในจังหวัดขอนแก่น. วารสารวิจัยสาธารณสุขศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยขอนแก่น ปีที่ 5 ฉบับที่ 2 พฤษภาคม-สิงหาคม 2555,29-38.

จีรวรรณ สำภา 2546. กระบวนการกลายเป็นชายขายบริการเมืองพัทยา กรุงเทพฯ :สำนักงานกองทุนสนับสนุนการวิจัย  
ชญาณัฐภักดิ์ ช่อนกลิ่น 2555. วิธีชีวิตชายขายตัวในบาร์เกย์ย่านสุรวงศ์ กรุงเทพมหานคร วิทยานิพนธ์สาขาพัฒนา  
สังคมศาสตร์ คณะสังคมศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยเกษตรศาสตร์.

ไชยศิริ บุญยกุลศรีรุ่ง. 2553 เพศสภาพและเพศวิถีชายรักชายในภาพยนตร์ไทย. วิทยานิพนธ์ คณะนิเทศศาสตร์  
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย.

ธนรัช ผลิตพันธ์ และกীরติกานต์ กลัดสวัสดิ์ (บรรณารักษ์) 2551. การป้องกันและแก้ไขปัญหาการติดเชื้อเอชไอวีในกลุ่ม  
ชายที่มีเพศสัมพันธ์กับชาย. นนทบุรี: สำนักบรรณคดีวิทยา กรมควบคุมโรคกระทรวงสาธารณสุข.

ธัญลักษณ์ นามจักร. การรับรองสถานภาพการสมรสของบุคคลที่มีความหลากหลายทางเพศ. วารสารนักบริหาร ปีที่ 33  
ฉบับที่ 2 เมษายน-มิถุนายน 2556,10-16.

ธีระ บุษบกแก้ว 2554 กลวิธีทางภาษากับการนำเสนออัตลักษณ์ของตนเองโดยกลุ่ม “เกย์ออนไลน์”. วิทยานิพนธ์  
มหาบัณฑิต ภาควิชาภาษาไทย คณะอักษรศาสตร์ จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย.

นฤทธิ ฤทธิศรพ และ พิทักษ์ ศิริวงศ์ จากชีวิตอิสระสู่ความเป็นระเบียบวินัย เรื่องเล่าชีวิตและเอาต์วอร์ดของกะเทยทหาร  
เกณฑ์ วารสารสังคมศาสตร์มหาวิทยาลัยเทคโนโลยีราชมงคลตะวันออก ปีที่ 5 ฉบับที่ 2 กรกฎาคม - ธันวาคม 2559, 80-  
91.

เนติ สุนทรวารวิทย์.2553. การสร้างความหมายและตัวตน “เกย์” ในพื้นที่แห่งความเป็นจริงและพื้นที่ไซเบอร์.สงขลา,  
บัณฑิตวิทยาลัย มหาวิทยาลัยสงขลานครินทร์.

บารมี พานิช และสุพรรณิ ไชยอำพร. รูปแบบและขั้นตอนการขับเคลื่อน ร่างพระราชบัญญัติการจดทะเบียนคู่อภิเษกสมรส ใน  
ประเทศไทย. ในรายงานสืบเนื่องจากการประชุมวิชาการระดับชาติ การบริหารการพัฒนาสังคมและยุทธศาสตร์การบริหาร  
ประจำปี 2559.

ปารณีย์ จงรักษ์.2557. การเปิดรับสื่อ ทศนคติและการแสดงออกทางสังคมของกลุ่มหญิงรักร่วม. วิทยานิพนธ์วารสาร  
มหาบัณฑิต มหาวิทยาลัยธรรมศาสตร์

ปิยลักษณ์ โพธิ์วรรณ, มณีมัย ทองอยู่, เยาวลักษณ์ อภิชาติวัลลภ. ผลจากการแปลงเพศสู่การพัฒนาตัวตนคนข้ามเพศ  
วารสารวิจัย มข : ปีที่ 1 ฉบับที่ 1 : เมษายน-มิถุนายน 2554 หน้า 79-94

เปรมปรีดา ปราโมช ณ ออยุธยา.2546. การช่วงชิงอัตลักษณ์ “กะเทย” ในงานคาร์บาเรตโชว์. วิทยานิพนธ์ศิลปศาสตร์  
มหาบัณฑิต สาขาการพัฒนารวมชน คณะสังคมศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยเชียงใหม่.

พรเทพ แพรขาว.2556. ความเครียดและภาวะซึมเศร้าของเกย์ กะเทยไทย.วารสารพยาบาลศาสตร์และสุขภาพ ปีที่ 36  
ฉบับที่ 2 (เม.ย.-มิ.ย. 2556) หน้า 95-104.

พัชรพร อรุณรัตน์พงศ์. 2557. การนำเสนอภาพ “หญิงรักร่วม” ในภาพยนตร์ไทยร่วมสมัย. วิทยานิพนธ์นิเทศศาสตร์  
มหาบัณฑิต มหาวิทยาลัยเกษมบัณฑิต

พิมพ์วัลย์ บุญมงคลและคณะ. 2557. การรังแกต่อกลุ่มนักเรียนที่เป็นหรือถูกมองว่าเป็นคนข้ามเพศ หรือคนรักเพศเดียวกัน ในโรงเรียนระดับมัธยมศึกษา: รูปแบบ ความชุก ผลกระทบ แรงจูงใจ และมาตรการการป้องกันใน 5 จังหวัดของประเทศไทย. มหาวิทยาลัยมหิดล Plan International ประเทศไทย และ องค์การยูเนสโก สำนักงานกรุงเทพฯ 2557

รณภูมิ สามีคดีคารมย์ และคณะ. 2555. “เพศวิถีออนไลน์ โลกาภิวัตน์ของพลเมืองทางเพศของเกย์ อำนาจ และภาพตัวแทนทางเพศบนสมาร์ตโฟน”. ในวารสารเพศวิถีศึกษา ปีที่ 2, ฉบับที่ 2, 181-196.

รัชนิชา ไชยลังการ. 2555. การสร้างอัตลักษณ์ทางเพศในแบบหญิงรักหญิงของกลุ่มแรงงานหญิงในนิคมอุตสาหกรรมภาคเหนือ จังหวัดลำพูน พลวัตและการต่อรองของพื้นที่ สังคม และตัวตน. วารสารเพศวิถีศึกษา ปีที่ 2, 2555, 197-228.

วัชรวิมล ชี้อัสต์ย. (2557). เพจเช็กส์ซี แพนเค้ก: วัฒนธรรมประชานิยม กับพื้นที่กะเทยชนบทอีสาน. ใน Proceeding การประชุมวิชาการระดับนานาชาติ เวทีวิจัยมนุษยศาสตร์ไทย ครั้งที่ 8 “มนุษยศาสตร์ที่แปรเปลี่ยนในโลกที่เปลี่ยนแปลง”. เชียงใหม่: คณะมนุษยศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยเชียงใหม่.

วิษยานันท์ พอค้า 2558 แนวทางการพัฒนาและส่งเสริมธุรกิจการท่องเที่ยวสำหรับกลุ่มผู้บริโภคชายรักชาย(เกย์)เขตกรุงเทพมหานคร วารสารรัชต์ภาคย์ ปีที่ 9 ฉบับที่ 18 กรกฎาคม - ธันวาคม 2558, 7-17.

วิภา ด้านอำรุงกุล และวิชัย ไปษยะจินดา (บรรณาธิการ.) (2547) เครือข่ายสังคมและเพศสัมพันธ์กลุ่มชายขอบชาย. กรุงเทพฯ: ฝ่ายศูนย์วิจัยยาเสพติด สถาบันวิจัยวิทยาศาสตร์การแพทย์.

รักฉันท ชัยชมภู 2543. การเข้าสู่การขายบริการทางเพศของวัยรุ่นชายในเขตกึ่งเมืองกึ่งชนบท ศึกษาศาสตรมหาบัณฑิต (สาขาวิชาการศึกษานอกระบบ) มหาวิทยาลัยเชียงใหม่

เรย์ณพัศ ภาสกรณ และ ยุบล เบ็ญจรงค์กิจ 2555. รูปแบบการดำเนินชีวิต พฤติกรรมการบริโภค และการเปิดรับสื่อ ของชายรักชายในเขตกรุงเทพมหานคร วารสารการประชาสัมพันธ์และการโฆษณา ปีที่ 5 ฉบับที่ 2, 15-21.

เรืองฟ้า บุราคร.2550. การสื่อสารกับการสร้างอัตลักษณ์ “กะเทย” ในพื้นที่คาบาเร่ต์โชว์. กรุงเทพฯ, คณะวารสารศาสตร์และสื่อสารมวลชน มหาวิทยาลัยธรรมศาสตร์.

ศรัณย์ พิมพ์ทอง.2554. ปัจจัยทางจิตสังคมที่เกี่ยวข้องกับพฤติกรรมป้องกันโรคเอดส์ในชายที่มีเพศสัมพันธ์กับชาย. วิทยานิพนธ์ปรัชญาดุษฎีบัณฑิต พัฒนาสังคมและการจัดการสิ่งแวดล้อม คณะพัฒนาสังคมและสิ่งแวดล้อม สถาบันบัณฑิตพัฒนบริหารศาสตร์.

สมฤดี สงวนแก้ว.2546. กระบวนการพัฒนาและอำนวยการลักษณะ “กะเทย” ในสังคมมุสลิม. วิทยานิพนธ์สังคมวิทยาและมานุษยวิทยา มหาบัณฑิต สาขาสังคมวิทยา คณะสังคมวิทยาและมานุษยวิทยา มหาวิทยาลัยธรรมศาสตร์.

สิทธิพัฒน์ เฉลิมยศ (ร.ต.อ.). 2551. แนวทางในการผลักดันการสร้างมาตรการป้องกันแก้ไขปัญหาการตกเป็นเหยื่ออาชญากรรมของเกย์ในกรุงเทพมหานคร. วิทยานิพนธ์ปรัชญาดุษฎีบัณฑิต สาขาการบริหารงานยุติธรรมและสังคม มหาวิทยาลัยราชภัฏสวนดุสิต.

สุทธิพันธ์ เปลี่ยนขำ 2555. การศึกษาพฤติกรรมกรรมการบริโภคเสื้อผ้าสำเร็จรูปของกลุ่มนักศึกษาชายรักชาย มหาวิทยาลัยศิลปากร วิทยาเขตพระราชวังสนามจันทร์ วิทยานิพนธ์สาขาวิชาการประกอบการ มหาวิทยาลัยศิลปากร

สุไลพร ชลวิไล.2545. ตัวตนในเรื่องเล่า : การต่อรองทางอัตลักษณ์ของหญิงรักหญิง. วิทยานิพนธ์สังคมวิทยาและมานุษยวิทยา มหาวิทยาลัยมหิดล. สาขามานุษยวิทยา คณะสังคมวิทยาและมานุษยวิทยา มหาวิทยาลัยธรรมศาสตร์.

สุภาณี ยাত্রา.2548. การแสดงอัตลักษณ์ทางเพศสภาพของกลุ่มหญิงรักหญิงผ่านสื่อเว็บไซต์ในสังคมไทย.กรุงเทพฯ, สาขาวิชานิติศาสตร์ บัณฑิตวิทยาลัย มหาวิทยาลัยธุรกิจบัณฑิตย์.

สุมาลี ไตทอง. 2549. การให้ความหมายและการต่อรองในชีวิตคู่ของหญิงรักหญิง. ศิลปศาสตรมหาบัณฑิต สาขาสตรีศึกษา มหาวิทยาลัยธรรมศาสตร์.

อรรณพ ใจเจตน์สุข 2557 การสื่อสารการตลาดแบบองค์รวมที่มีผลต่อความสนใจและการตัดสินใจซื้อสินค้าเครื่องแต่งกายของกลุ่มรักร่วมเพศชายในกรุงเทพมหานคร วิทยานิพนธ์ศึกษาศาสตร์มหาบัณฑิต มหาวิทยาลัยกรุงเทพ.

อาทิตย์ วิวัฒน์ และ นิตยา สุานิตชนกร 2554 ปัจจัยส่วนประสมทางการตลาดที่ส่งผลต่อการตัดสินใจซื้อเครื่องสำอางของกลุ่มชายรักชาย (เกย์) ในเขตกรุงเทพมหานคร บทความเสนอในการประชุมวิชาการมหาวิทยาลัยกรุงเทพ.

อารยา ศิริพยัคฆ. 2557. ศึกษาภาพสะท้อนของหญิงรักหญิงผ่านนิตยสาร @tom actz วิทยานิพนธ์หลักสูตรนิเทศศาสตรมหาบัณฑิต. มหาวิทยาลัยกรุงเทพ.

เอกบตี ศรีสุระ. 2545. รูปแบบและกระบวนการผู้ขายชายบริการทางเพศ : ศึกษาเฉพาะกรณีเมืองพัทยา.วิทยานิพนธ์มหาบัณฑิต สาขานโยบายสาธารณะ มหาวิทยาลัยบูรพา.