Resisting Universalistic Feminist and Queer Hegemonic Discourses: An *Emic* Model of Thai Gender and Sexuality

Otto F. von FEIGENBLATT

Nova Southeastern University

Title: Resisting Universalistic Feminist and Queer Hegemonic Discourses: An *Emic* Model of Thai Gender and Sexuality

Otto F. von Feigenblatt, BS, MA, FRAS[1]
Nova Southeastern University (Florida, USA)

Abstract: *The present study compares and contrasts some of the etic and emic models that have been employed in order to explain gender and sex in Thailand. Foucault's concept of bio-power is shown to be inappropriate to explain gender in Thailand. One of the most well known emic models of Thai culture, the decha-khuna model developed by Niels Mulder is expanded to explain gender and sex in Thailand and is shown to be more appropriate than etic models derived from different socio-historical circumstances. The paper concludes that the Thai concept of gender revolves around the dimensions of degree of domestication of the sphere of existence in which the person mostly operates and of the relative moral goodness of the person's role rather than being centered on sexual preference.*

Keywords: *Thailand, Gender, Kathoey, Sexuality, Bio-power, tom, dee, homosexuality*

Introduction

Thailand is known as the "land of smiles" and has the reputation of being an exotic paradise full of sexuality and tolerance (Peter A. Jackson, 2003; Manderson, 1992). Most Westerners have an idea of Thai women as submissive, attractive, and ultra feminine (Diamond, 2006; Haritaworn, 2007). Moreover, foreign observers have the idea that Thailand is at the forefront of the gay rights movement and that sexuality and gender in the Southeast Asian country can be explained through the traditional arguments developed by queer theory and feminism (Kamano & Khor, 1996). Nevertheless, those previous observations are based on a very shallow knowledge of Thai culture and history and mistake form for essence.

---

[1] Otto F. von Feigenblatt is an elected Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (London, UK) as well as an Academician of the Constantinian Academy of Letters, Arts, and Sciences (Palermo, Italy). His work has appeared in several peer-reviewed academic journals and he is the author of "Human Security in the Asia Pacific Region: Security Challenges, Regional Integration, and Representative Case Studies" published by YKING Books, Jaipur, India. Currently he is serving as Editor in Chief of the Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences. The author can be contacted at: *vonFeigenblatt@hotmail.com*

The truth is that Thai women were considered to be masculine and unattractive by Westerners until the beginning of the 20th century and that gay rights in the Western sense are not as developed in Thailand as they are in the West (Peter A. Jackson, 2003; Kamano & Khor, 1996). This may come as a surprise to Western academics writing in the tradition of queer studies and feminism but it reflects a tendency to extrapolate the Western experience in terms of the rise of the gay movement and feminism to the rest of the world. The result of this widespread practice in both academia and the media is that facts are distorted and that feminism and queer theory become hegemonic discourses in their own right. Disciplines which were meant to liberate instead imprison the new "others" by a discourse of universality of experience in terms of gender and sexuality. This, in turn, leads to a neo-colonialism in which the individual outside of the West feels the need to perform to conform to the dictates of the newly created normativity imposed by the West while attempting to maintain his or her core identity intact. Needless to say this discrepancy between form and essence leads to cognitive dissonance. Gender becomes a performance in which meaning and the way it is conveyed contradict each other.

This study tests the main concepts developed by queer studies and feminism by applying them to the Thai context. Then, an *emic* model is applied to Thai sexuality and gender in order to provide a more holistic theory of Thai gender through a model derived from autochthonous ideas and concepts. Finally, the impact of the dominant Western discourses on sexuality and gender on the Thai view of sex and gender is discussed from a critical post-colonial perspective. Before the theories and concepts can be compared a brief introduction to the history of gender and sex in Thailand is necessary.

A Brief Introduction to Sexuality and Gender in Thailand

In order to understand present day sexuality and gender in Thailand it is necessary to go back in time to the early dawn of its national religion, Buddhism. Ayutthaya, Siam, and modern day Thailand were all greatly influenced by Theravada Buddhism (Mulder, 1996; Pitiyanuwat & Sujiva, 2005; Wyatt, 2003). Buddhism's core teachings can be found in the Vinaya, which contains the rules for monks (Donald S. Lopez, 2004). The *pali* version used in Thailand describes the four genders as being: male, female, *ubhatobyanjanaka* and *pandaka* (Peter Anthony Jackson, 1995). *Ubhatobyanjanaka* refers to feminine hermaphrodites and *padaka* is the term used to describe transvestites. It should be noted that both *unbhatobyanjanaka* and *pandaka* refer to feminine looking people and the terms do not include lesbians nor masculine homosexuals (Peter Anthony Jackson, 1995, p. 143). Since most rules in Buddhism were meant to apply to monks and those for the rest of population are ambiguous it is difficult to simplify the Buddhist view of sexuality and gender. Nevertheless, it is clear that the Buddha made a sharp separation between sexuality and gender (Peter Anthony Jackson, 1995). The separation between the two can be seen in some of the rules for monks such as the ban on the ordination of *pandaka* and the assertion that monks who are attracted to the same sex but did not act on their desires and followed culturally prescribed forms of behavior could be ordained and were to be treated with kindness (Peter Anthony Jackson, 1995, p. 144). Thus feminine *pandaka* and *ubhatobyanjanaka* were grouped with women and thus could not be ordained as monks (Peter Anthony Jackson, 1995).

It is interesting that traditional Thai dress for women and men in the period before the 21st century was relatively androgynous (Haritaworn, 2007; Wyatt, 2003). This means that while there were some differences, dress for men did not differ very much from that of women. Women cut their hair short and most did not cover their breasts in public. Due to the small

difference in dress between males and females in Thailand, Western observers considered Thai women to be masculine and Thai men to be effeminate (Peter A. Jackson, 2003; Wyatt, 2003). This is surprising taking into consideration that Thai women today are considered to be ultra feminine (Haritaworn, 2007). In terms of sexuality, Buddhism forbids adultery and rape and considers a breach of those rules through either heterosexual or homosexual sex equally reprehensible (Donald S. Lopez, 2004). The emphasis on the institution of marriage should be noted since the major distinction was made between unmarried and married people.

In the Thai context *pandaka* and *ubhatobyanjanaka* were later grouped together into a single category called *kathoey*. To be a *kathoey* it is necessary to be feminine in terms of prevalent norms of dress and behavior and sexual orientation is not as important (Kamano & Khor, 1996). This shows how form is more important than essence in the Thai context. Later on two terms were developed to describe subgenders among lesbian biological females. A *tom* is a masculine biological woman while a *dee* is a feminine biological woman (Kamano & Khor, 1996). Both terms were adapted from English and concentrate on the role played by the person. Thus a *tom* is supposed to play the role of the masculine male while the *dee*, from lady, plays the feminine role. It should be noted that lesbians lack a cohesive term to describe them in Thailand (Kamano & Khor, 1996), each subgroup has its own identity and usually orients itself towards its functional counterpart in heterosexual genders. Thus, *dees* look to women in heterosexual relationships as their role models while toms emulate heterosexual men. It is important to note that in Thailand there is no indigenous term for feminine lesbian to feminine lesbian relationships and that the term for masculine male to masculine male relationships is "gay" which was recently introduced from abroad (Kamano & Khor, 1996). The previous two

relationships, while present historically, were considered to be transitory and were relegated to the private realm due to their breach of functional roles in the family unit.

In terms of public policy the Siamese and later on the Thai government avoided interfering with sexual practice in the private realm (Peter A. Jackson, 2003; Wyatt, 2003). On the other hand, the Siamese government launched a massive campaign to change the external signs of gender during the final years of the 19th century and the early decades of the 20th (Peter A. Jackson, 1997, 2003). Western criticism of Thai dress and the lack of differentiation between the genders were taken very seriously by Thai authorities due to the perceived relationship between "civilization" and independence (Peter A. Jackson, 2003; Wyatt, 2003). Therefore, the Thai government wanted to prevent the Western powers from using dress and manners as a sign of backwardness. King Chulalongkorn (Rama V) and subsequent rulers believed that by showing the world the signs of civilization as defined in the West, they could prevent western powers from suspending the laws of *jus ad bellum* and thus protect the independence of the Southeast Asian Kingdom (Wyatt, 2003). Thus, the result was that the government passed a set of rules and regulations instructing the population how to dress. Women were told to grow their hair long, not to wear pants, and to cover their breasts. Men were also instructed to wear pants at all times and to wear shirts. The government went to great lengths to enforce the new regulations during the early decades of the 20th century by using education campaigns, fines, and even prison (Peter A. Jackson, 2003; Wyatt, 2003). In terms of sexual conduct, the government did not make any attempt to control it; the emphasis was on dress and manners not on sexuality (Peter A. Jackson, 2003).

Foucault and Bio-power

One of the most influential theorists in the field of sexuality and queer studies in particular is Michelle Foucault (Foucault, 1980; Peter A. Jackson, 2003). He studied the sexual history of the West and concluded that the present state of affairs came about due to the increasing control of the state over the human body (Foucault, 1980). Thus, the state historically increased its control over the individual human body in order to control social aspects such as population policy and the institution of marriage. Therefore, according to Foucault, in the West, the state attempted to control sexuality directly since the middle ages through both incentives and disincentives to conform to heterosexual norms (Peter A. Jackson, 2003). Control was exerted both through norms and through physical means such as prison or even torture. Due to the very direct opposition of the state and its related institutions to alternative sexualities such as homosexuality, the "gay movement" arose in opposition to that normativity. This explains the present relative cohesion of the "gay movement" in the West and its inclusion of diverse groups such as lesbians, homosexual men, and transvestites. The emphasis in this case is not so much on the form but rather on the underlying sexuality. Identity is determined by sexual preference not by group "culture" (Bem, 1993).

The rise of the gay movement in the West gave rise to a new sexual discourse in opposition to the hegemonic discourse of heterosexuality promoted by the state (Bem, 1993). Nevertheless, the new alternative discourse claimed a certain universality of experience for a newly labeled historically marginalized group, "gays" (Peter A. Jackson, 1997). The goal of this new discourse was to bring a vast array of groups together and to join their forces in order to displace the hegemonic heterocentric discourse espoused by the state and thus fight the remaining direct mechanisms of control over individual sexuality imposed by the state. In

summary, according to Foucault gender in the West is mostly constructed around sexuality as a result of the historical attempts of the state to exert control over individual sexuality and the subsequent subjugation of those who deviated from the prevalent norms.

Western Concepts and how they fail to explain the Thai ethos

As mentioned in the previous section, Foucault's theory of bio-power and his subsequent explanation of the history of gender concludes that gender is centered around sexual preferences and that the present "gay movement" was formed in opposition to the attempted control of the state over individual sexuality (Peter A. Jackson, 2003). Foucault based his theory of bio-power on the Western historical experience such as the history of prisons and metal hospitals in Western Europe. Nevertheless, his ideas have been adopted by a wide range of academics and activists in their attempts to spread the fields of feminism, queer studies, and sexology to non-western societies (Foucault, 1980; Peter A. Jackson, 1997).

In the Thai context, the influence of Western notions of gender on academic discourse can be observed in studies of homosexuality conducted by physicians and psychologists since the 1970s (Peter A. Jackson, 1997). Most of those studies attempted to superimpose Western categories on Thai social phenomena. The theories applied range from bio-essentialist approaches based on genetics to Freudian psychoanalysis. In terms of the popularity, the theories rose and fell among the health sciences but they never managed to influence the majority of the population in Thailand. The reason for this lack of fit is that none of the many temporarily reigning theories of gender developed in the West could properly explain the complex nature of gender in Thailand.

While most bio-essentialist approaches and psychoanalysis have been largely discredited in the West and therefore it is not necessary to explain why they fail to capture the complex meaning of gender in Thailand, the most widely accepted approach is the one derived from Foucault's concept of bio-power. This is the concept currently in vogue in queer studies as well as among some feminists. Therefore, it is important to show how even postmodern approaches to gender such as the one developed by Foucault fail to explain gender in Thailand. First of all it is important to note that according to Foucault, and most Western approaches to gender, sexuality is the core factor in the construction of gender (Bem, 1993; Gottlieb, 1997). This leads to the construction of the categories of "gays" and "straights" as the two most important groups in terms of gender. According to this perspective, homosexuals have common experiences based on their sexual preference which in turn gives rise to a new subculture. Thus, external aspects of gender such as dress and behavior are not as important as sexuality in defining gender.

As explained in an early section of this study, the Thai government never attempted to interfere with private sexuality. Thus, homosexuality was historically viewed as an action not as a state or permanent identity. A man could have a homosexual experience but that did not necessarily make him permanently homosexual. The same is true for women who could have a sexual encounter with other women while still considering themselves traditional women. Therefore, sex was just considered to be another action not a determining characteristic. Moreover, the historical emphasis on the performance of the external signs of gender has made it difficult for "gay activists" and Western academics to treat the many subgenders in Thailand through the lens of the straight/queer divide. (Kamano & Khor, 1996)

Thus, the definition of gender in Thailand has concentrated on the performance of the prevalent norms in terms of dress and behavior for the two genders of men and woman. Needless to say the two genders are ideal types in the Weberian sense in that they are stereotypical depictions of how a man and a woman are supposed to act and dress. Since, gender in Thailand is not centered on sexual preference as in the West, and the Thai state has not interfered in the private sexuality of the population, it is clear that Foucault's conception of gender and the "gay movement" do not explain the Thai situation.

Where are the Masculine Gays in Thailand?

Masculine homosexual men have been at the forefront of the "gay movement" in the West while they were invisible until the late 1980s in Thailand (Peter A. Jackson, 1997). This leads to the question of where are the masculine gays in Thailand? Needless to say there have always been masculine homosexual men in Thailand however their presence was hidden from view by prevalent cultural practices. Since homosexual actions were relatively accepted in the private realm, and those actions did not automatically determine the identity of the person, masculine gays were counted as part of the regular male population. Form is more important than essence in terms of gender in the Thai context and because of that, in the eyes of the majority of the population, masculine gays were performing the role of men in terms of dress and behavior. Nevertheless, it should be noted that masculine homosexual men were prevented from establishing long term relationships with other masculine men and appearing in public as a couple (Morris, 1997). The reasons for the previous limitation is that while homosexuality was permitted in the private realm, in the public realm everyone had to perform one of the two "master" roles of either mother or father.

Due to the emphasis on the public performance of gender and the lack of a clear gay identity formed in opposition to heterosexual men, masculine gays were never at the forefront of gender rights in Thailand. Most masculine gays in Thailand identified with the traditional role of men even while engaging in homosexual acts in the private sphere. The result of this is that a "gay" identity never developed from autochthonous sources. When the "gay movement" was transplanted to Thailand from the West in the late 1980s it only reached a small minority of urban masculine homosexual men mostly involved in the entertainment business. Moreover, the movement was never able to gain the support of other subgender groups such as lesbians and *kathoeys* (Kamano & Khor, 1996).

The Decha-Khuna Model of Thai Culture

Niels Mulder an anthropologist with more than three decades of experience living and conducting research in Thailand created a very useful *emic* model of Thai culture. Mulder's model is based on two basic autochthonous terms, *khuna* and *decha* (Mulder, 1996, p. 24, 2000). *Khuna* can be loosely translated as "moral goodness" while *decha* refers to "power". The two previously mentioned dimensions are complemented by the separation of the world between the domesticated area of existence and the undomesticated area of existence. [2]By integrating two concepts from Theravada Buddhism and one important concept from Tai animism, Mulder's model can explain everything from political competition to the family structure from the point of view of the Thai themselves and by using their own concepts.

---

[2] The domesticated area of existence includes the city, the village, areas under human control, and the worldly in general. On the other hand, the undomesticated realm, includes the areas outside the village and the spiritual world beyond the temple.

Khuna, "moral goodness", refers to the Buddhist ideal of order, virtue, and stillness in the undomesticated area of existence. In the domesticated area of existence *khuna* is symbolized by the mother who represents the order of goodness and safety (Mulder, 1996, 2000). This domesticated area of existence is interpenetrated by *decha*, "power". In the domesticated area of existence *decha* represents tenuous order, amoral *saksit* power, and potential danger. [3] Chaos, evil, and immorality are represented by *decha* in the undomesticated area of existence. It is important to keep in mind that *decha* in the domesticated area of existence is not necessarily evil but rather simply amoral in that it is functional and not ruled by the norms of moral goodness.
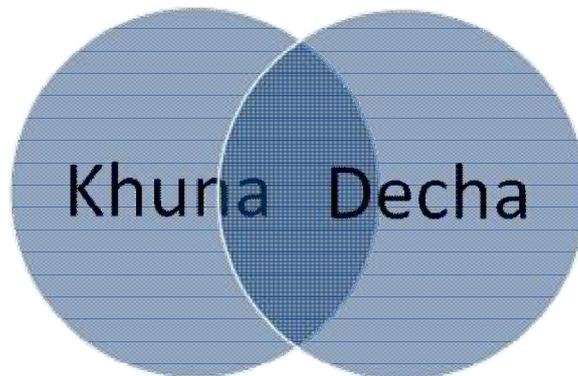
Figure 1. Relationship of Khuna and Decha in the Domesticated Realm

---

[3] *Saksit* power refers to amoral power derived from animist deities. Animist deities are believed to aid those who carry out the necessary rituals and offerings without taking into consideration the merit of the case. Therefore, saksit power can be invoked by anyone who wants to use it for a functional purpose such as for seeking protection from harm, to pass a university entrance examination, or even to attack a foe.

Figure 2. Relationship between the Domesticated Area of Existence and the Undomesticated Area of Existence.

Explaining Gender through the Khuna-Decha Model

The *khuna-decha* model is a holistic *emic* theory of culture and it thus should be able to explain gender in Thailand. As explained in the previous section of this study, the *khuna-decha* model is made up of two main dimensions, namely the degree of moral goodness and the level of domestication of the sphere of existence in question (Mulder, 2000). It should be noted that the model does not directly mention any biological requirements for one sphere or the other. The requirements tend to be spiritual/karmic rather than strictly biological. As ideal types the masculine and feminine roles represent amoral power and moral goodness respectively. However it should be noted that role and function is more important than biological sex in determining a person's position in the *khuna-decha* and domesticated-undomesticated continuums.

Two examples representing ideal types are the house wife and the politician. The house wife mostly deals with the domesticated area of existence in the home and represents the moral goodness and order of the household (Diamond, 2006; Mulder, 2000, pp. 69-73). On the other hand the politician functions mostly in the border between the domesticated and the

undomesticated realm, the threatening and dangerous public world (Mulder, 2000, p. 45). While in the home, moral goodness and order prevails, in the public sphere disorder and amoral power are prevalent. The previous examples roughly correspond to the traditional Western division between the private and the public realm however the main difference is that the *khuna-decha* model can explain other cases which are culture specific.

Male teachers are identified with the *khuna* end of the continuum even though they operate in the border between the domesticated and undomesticated sphere of existence. They represent moral goodness and order in an uncertain and dangerous public world (Pitiyanuwat & Sujiva, 2005). In Thailand, teachers are supposed to have enough accumulated merit that it is unnecessary for them to wear amulets meant to possess *saksit* power to ward off evil (Mulder, 1996, 2000). Thus, the teacher himself becomes the amulet. The situation with monks is similar, they are the prime examples of *khuna* in the world and their place of abode, the temple is the maximum representative of the domesticated sphere (Mulder, 1996). Female teachers are accorded the same respect as male teachers and their merit is considered to be the same.

Another interesting case is that of prostitutes. They operate in the undomesticated sphere of existence and their *saksit* power is clearly amoral yet very effective (Manderson, 1992; Morris, 1997; Norsworthy & Khuankaew, 2008). This explains the ubiquity of amulets and animism among prostitutes. Policewomen and soldiers are also considered to operate in the *decha*/undomesticated side of the continuum and because of that their roles are characterized by *saksit* power and danger.

In summary it is clear that *khuna* roles represent moral goodness and order/safety while *decha* roles imply amoral power and danger. The explanatory power of this model can be seen

14

when trying to understand subgenders such as *kathoeys*, *dees*, and *toms* in the Thai context. *Kathoeys* are not always homosexual yet they behave and dress according to the prevalent norms of feminity. While it is difficult to generalize about occupation, most tend to gravitate around service jobs such as tutoring, cosmetology, and nursing. Those jobs are closer to the *khuna* end of the continuum which shows that independent of sexual preference, *kathoeys* tend to gravitate around the pole of the ideal motherly role. The same is true of *dees* (feminine lesbians/bisexual). Most *dees* gravitate between heterosexual and homosexual relationships but those relationships are usually with very masculine men or very masculine lesbians (*toms*) (Kamano & Khor, 1996). In terms of form, *dees* tend to be very feminine women and they also tend to gravitate to the *khuna* end of the continuum as well as showing a marked preference for the domesticated area of existence. *Toms* are homosexual women who are very masculine in terms of behavior and dress and who tend to act and relate to masculine heterosexual men. It should be noted that most *toms* have relationships with very feminine women (*dees*) and it is incredibly rare to find a *tom-tom* relationship in Thailand.

From the previous discussion it can be ascertained that Thai culture favors a balance between *decha* and *khuna* power as well as between the domesticated and the undomesticated spheres of existence. In terms of each household, one member is supposed to represent order and moral goodness and the other amoral power and danger. Thus, there is both a functional and a spiritual division of labor in the traditional Thai household. Nevertheless this does not imply that the woman is always supposed to stay at home and the man is always supposed to be a soldier, as shown by the examples of prostitutes and teachers, but rather that relationships are supposed to be complementary at both the functional and karmic levels.

Since the goal is to achieve a tenuous balance between the *khuna* and *decha* power as well as between the domesticated sphere of existence and the undomesticated sphere it is understandable that gender in Thailand gravitates around the need to fulfill those functions. Thus, *toms* fulfill the *decha* end of the continuum in their relationships with *dees* and *kathoeys* fulfilling the *khuna* end of the continuum in their relationships with masculine men. There are few self contained balanced roles which do not require a balancing relationship such as teachers and monks. The reason for this is that they possess enough *khuna* power to operate in the undomesticated sphere of existence without fear of *saksit* power (Mulder, 1996, 2000).

The previous discussion does not imply that there have never been masculine homosexuals or that feminine lesbian to female lesbian relationships have never taken place. Nevertheless those relationships have always been transitory, unstable, and most importantly unrecognized by the community. This is partly due to the importance of karmic and functional balance in the Thai household as well as the relative sexual freedom enjoyed in the private sphere which did not determine identity based on a sexual act but rather based on role.

In conclusion the *khuna-decha* model of Thai culture can be fruitfully applied to the question of Thai gender. Gender in Thailand is intimately related to the spiritual roles of the person and to the main sphere of operation. Balance between *decha* and *khuna* power as well as between the domesticated and undomesticated sphere is the main goal of the Thai household and the community and thus permanent relationships tend to be centered on that goal. Sex is considered just an action which may be affected by circumstances and is secondary to more important factors such as role in determining gender (Peter A. Jackson, 2003).

Conclusions

This study has explored the history of gender in Thailand as well its relationship to sexuality and to spirituality. Western universalistic discourses borrowed from feminism and queer studies have entered the Thai lexicon due to the influence of foreign trained scholars as well as of international activists. Nevertheless, foreign discourses dealing with sexuality and gender fail to encompass the complexity and inherent performativity of gender in the Thai context. The vast array of gender categories in Thailand and the emphasis placed on function and form rather than on sexual preference and essence defy simple universalistic dichotomies of straight versus queer or of male versus female. Gender is inextricably intertwined with other aspects of a culture and because of that, an *emic* model is more likely to encompass the many nuances involved in such a central concept of social organization.

Mulder's *khuna-decha* model can be applied to the phenomena of subgenders in Thailand and provides an understanding of gender based on an autochthonous worldview characterized by a widespread liminality between the worldly and the spiritual in addition to a complex relationship between power and moral goodness. Gender in Thailand greatly differs from its Western conception and any scholarly endeavor or emancipatory project should be firmly grounded on an understanding of the phenomenon from the point of view of the Thai themselves. Well-intentioned interventions, both scholarly and activist, based on universalistic discourses developed by middle class Western feminist and queer studies scholars can do more harm than good and ultimately lead to unintended consequences. The sharp increase in homophobia in the late 1980s coincided with the increasing visibility of the foreign led "gay movement" in Bangkok (Peter A. Jackson, 1997). Thus rather than improving the living conditions of members of nontraditional subgenders the foreign import led to a rise in conservatism and homophobia. That is just one way in which hegemonic universalistic discourses can have unintended negative

consequences when forcefully imposed on a foreign culture. Thus, the study concludes that feminism and queer studies need to be flexible enough to encompass a vast array of subjugated knowledges in order to achieve their alleged emancipatory potential.

References

Bem, S. L. (1993). *The Lenses of Gender: Transforming the Debate on Sexual Inequality*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Diamond, C. (2006). Mae Naak and Company: The Shifting Duality in Female Representation on the Contemporary Thai Stage. *Asian Theatre Journal, 23*(1), 111-148.

Donald S. Lopez, J. (Ed.). (2004). *Buddhist Scriptures*. London: Penguin Books.

Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews & other Writings 1972-1977*. New York Pantheon Books.

Gottlieb, R. S. (1997). Mothering and the Reproduction of Power. In C. C. Gould (Ed.), *Gender: Key Concepts in Critical Theory* (pp. 41-47). New Jersey: Humanities Press.

Haritaworn, J. (2007). Beautiful beasts. Ambivalence and distinction in the gender identity negotiations of multiracialised women of Thai descent. *Women's Studies International Forum, 30*(5), 391-403.

Jackson, P. A. (1995). Thai Buddhist accounts of male homosexuality and AIDS in the 1980s. *The Australian Journal of Anthropology, 6*(3), 140-153.

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

Jackson, P. A. (2003). Performative Genders, Perverse Desires: A Bio-History of Thailand's Same-Sex and Transgender Cultures. *Intersections*(9).

Kamano, S., & Khor, D. (1996). Toward an understanding of cross-national differences in the naming of same-sex sexual/intimate relationships. *NWSA Journal, 8*(1), 124-132.

Manderson, L. (1992). Public Sex Performances in Patpong and Explorations of the Edges of Imagination. *The Journal of Sex Research, 29*(4), 451-475.

Morris, R. C. (1997). Educating Desire: Thailand, Transnationalism, and Transgression. *Social Text, 52/53*(Autum - Winter), 53-79.

Mulder, N. (1996). *Inside Southeast Asia: Religion, Everyday Life, and Cultural Change*. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.

Mulder, N. (2000). *Inside Thai Society* (1st ed.). Bangkok: Silkworm Books.

Norsworthy, K. L., & Khuankaew, O. (2008). A New View from Women of Thailand about Gender, Sexuality, and HIV/AIDS. *Feminism & Psychology, 18*(4), 527-536.

Pitiyanuwat, S., & Sujiva, S. (2005). *Civic Education in Thailand: Policies and Practices in Schools* (1st ed.). Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Press.

Wyatt, D. K. (2003). *Thailand: A Short History* (Thailand ed.). Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.