

## Significance of Homosexuality in Thai Society

Wanna Numun

Ph.D. (Thai), Assistant Professor,

Department of Thai, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences,

Prince of Songkla University

### Introduction

It is undeniable that significance concerning homosexuals convey the myths of society which labels their symbolic codes as signs of otherness or deviance and confines this group of people to the margin. These implications reduce homosexual individuals to something less than human beings. Transgender males are called “plastic flowers” and transsexual males “second-class ladies” to imply inferiority, falsehood, forgery, or unnaturalness. Likewise, lesbians with tomboy sexuality are called “handsome girls” to demonstrate self-contradiction. Not only do these prejudices urge us to challenge the interpretations of homosexual implications, they also stimulate us to search for the sources that affect such ways of thought in Thai society. Particularly when the negative representations are stereotypical, it is necessary to deconstruct the system of definitions which has led to hegemonic discourse. Although all things are determined and defined by society, their definitions can still be further distorted by the power of dominant institutions (Foucault, 1972 : 191). Accordingly, even though sexual issues and sexuality seem to

be the matter of personal rights, society has managed to limit personal resistance with the pressure of mores and the reliability of medical science in order to prevent confusion that can be adverse to traditional beliefs (Halperin, 1995 : 17). Consequently, the search for significance concerning homosexuality in Thai society can be evidences of the trends of thoughts and the forms of interactions between society and marginalized groups.

This study of the significance of homosexuality aims not only at searching for its hidden meanings in the Thai culture but also at investigating the trends of thoughts in related discourses in order to examine the duration of each perspective, sources and influences on attitudes which reveal the interactions between society and homosexuality.

Scope and methodology of study the significance of homosexuality, this study interprets its symbolic codes and examines the structure of disciplinary power and resistance in the Thai context which covers both traditional aspects as found in Buddhism, literature, as well as laws and modern principles in medical science,

narratives, virtual communities, and ritualistic shows.

### **Lust and Sin: Misconceptions about Male Homosexuals**

When male homosexuals are mentioned with reference to Thai Buddhism, people often believe that they are born so as a result of their actions in past life. Such belief is influenced by the story of Ruja in Mahanaratakasapa Jataka who says that she was born a “male homosexual” in previous life because she committed adultery (Royal Thai Buddhist Scriptures, Book 28, 1971 : 263-265) However, even if such account seems to draw a convincing connection between male homosexual and the concepts of lust and sin, such Jataka tale in Khuddakanika#ya (collection of miscellaneous works) is only “a fictional narrative” of thinkers in the period after the time of Lord Buddha, not his own words. The authors must have added their own opinions. It is therefore important to bear in mind that such connection is not the core teaching of Buddhism. It is very much possible that the characterization of male homosexuals in the Jataka tale is meant to be a teaching medium against lust only. As Promta (1994: 39-43) cautions, we have to be careful not to “fall into the trap of illusions” in fictional world and confuse real persons with characters.

A very important evidence of the misconception about male homosexual can be found in Jataka tale in Book 28 of Pali Buddhist Scriptures. An examination of the original text reveals that there is a misinterpretation in the Thai version because the Pali statement “Newitti na puma asoe” (1987: 318) actually means “neither masculine nor feminine.” The closest Pali interpretations are “Uppatopayanchanok,” meaning “a person with two closely attached sexual organs which are totally unfunctional” (Phra Dhammapitaka, 1997: 435) and “Pandaka,” meaning “a person with both male and female sexual organs but partly unfunctional” (Phra Suttammachotika, 1974 : 227). The word “katoey” in the Thai language which has no record in Buddhist Scripture and is not equivalent to either “Uppatopayanchanok” or “Pandaka,” is in fact a borrowed term from the Khmer language, which is a main root of Thai words. The Khmer word originally refers to beings of which sex is unidentifiable and therefore not reproductive (Naksakul, 1956: 80) . When Thai usage extends the meaning of the word “katoey” to link with lustfulness as exemplified in the above Jataka tale, the misleading concept becomes fixed in Thai public’s mind and leads to over-generalizing prejudice against homosexuals in Thai society.

Despite the two evidences in both the Scripture and the etymology of the Thai language, the word “katoey” is consistently misused to emphasize the sexual aspect of male homosexuals. The impact of the socio-linguistic perspective of this word has been so great that even monks have been influenced by the hegemonic discourse which has negative attitudes towards homosexuality. An evidence of this myth is that although for over 200 years since the reign of King Rama I the Thai Buddhist Scripture has been revised and edited for more than ten times to get rid of misinterpretations, there are still stereotypical translations and misinterpretations of “katoey” in connection with lust.

One example of such errors exists in an explanatory manual of Buddhist principles. The Compilation of Questions and Answers on Disciplinary Principles, Book 3, indicates that in addition to being a kind of “Pandaka,” male homosexuals are “disgusting because of their male homoeroticism” (Pinthong, 1971: 44). However, in the Thai Buddhist Scripture, the explanatory definition of “Pandaka” has neither the word “katoey” nor a reference to the connection of “katoey” with “Pandaka.” More importantly, there is not any indication that “katoey” is lustful.

The attitudes which deviate from Buddhist truth demonstrate the influence of stereotypical images of “katoey” in Thai people’s thought. Not only is religious domain influenced, the legal world is also affected. For example, the Three Seals Law (1972: 763) in

the Ayutthaya and early Rattanakosin periods indicts “katoey” that they be born 500 times to expiate their carnal sin.

This analysis of the misconceptions of male homosexuality can be well supported by modern knowledge. It is remarkable that the meanings of “Uppatopayanchanok” and “Pandaka” correspond with the data in medical science which indicate two genetic characteristics as “true hermaphrodite” and “pseudo hermaphrodite.” Those in the first group are often infertile and have ovotestis while those in the second group which is more common have female anatomy nourished with hormones from ovaries and also have testicles hidden in the abdomens (Panich, 1981: 97, 54-55). Therefore, “Newitti na puma asoe” refers to persons with genetic abnormality or disability, not persons with female sexuality which is contrast with male anatomy as found in “katoey” of the present day.

Nevertheless, because this scientific information is not widely popularized yet the misconceptions persist. When such opinions are strengthened by the so-called sacred dictum of Buddhism and the supreme law for hundreds of years, it is expectable that the contemporary homosexuals will find it extremely difficult to surmount the myths in Thai society.

**“Female Homoeroticism” and “Male Homoeroticism” in Thai Literature and Laws: Homosexual Movements and Power Relationship**

If homosexuality is controlled by bio-power as dictated by disciplinary society (Sawicki,1991: 21), the implications of female homoeroticism and male homoeroticism in literature and laws are significant evidences of society's attitudes towards male and female homosexuals.

It is remarkable that the early texts mention female homosexuality more than male homosexuality. Female homoeroticism can be found in literature written both by male and female authors although they express different attitudes. In the early Rattanakosin period, male authors such as Sunthon Phu .implicitly criticizes in Singha Kraiphob (1958: 124) that the female courtiers are so preoccupied with female homoeroticism that they desert their duties. In Nirat Prapathom (1973: 434, 465) he satirizes the behavior of lesbian common folks who live together that it is inauspicious and they are "possessed" by evil spirits. He also accuses a lesbian widow of violating the long established social norm, committing a crime comparable to "eating sticky rice" while people in the mainstream do not. According to Prince Damrongrachanuphap, King Rama III, who supposedly wrote "Tale of the Female Crane," implicitly criticizes lesbians that they are unnatural, just like the female crane which moves in to live with a tiny bird and forgets its duty in singing lullabies for the king ("Preface" to Notes of Tao Srijulalak, 1970: 77-80).

While the work of poets contains negative implications about lesbians, the work of women poets retorts such attitudes with

emphases on those poets' misunderstanding of female homosexuals and being outside the sphere of women. In her verse entitled Mom Ped Sawan Khun Suwan argues that the ties between Mom Ped and Mom Sud are of love, not lust as perceived by men. In her verse Princess Apsorn Sudathep's Illness she clearly states her genuine loyalty and concerns for the princess. However, although women poets try to emphasize the values of lesbians, these homosexuals are severely punished due to patriarchal force in society. For example, according to the Palace laws, a court lady was executed for having sexual relationships. A personal maid of a queen was whipped 50 times and branded on the neck for female homoeroticism (Three Seals Law,1972: 123,120). On the other hand, male homosexual who were mostly monks were simply forced to resign from monkhood although they are the ones who tarnished the sacred religion of Buddhism (Chronicles of the Reign of King Rama II, 1961 : 121) .

When poets write about homosexuality in their work, they deliberately overlook its discord with social conventions. Furthermore, they take side with men. For example, in the romance Pra Apaimanee (1986: 467) Sunthon Phu has Prince Apaimanee disguise as a woman. Instead of showing that the prince is disgusting, the poet presents this act as a witty strategy. Not only does he survive the assassination attempt of Princess Lawaeng of Langka, he also wins her heart and manages to rule her country. Judged by the fundamental

belief in the divine monarchy of the early Rattanakosin Period, Prince Apaimanee's disguise as a lowly maid must be considered a loss of dignity. It is even more humiliated when he disguises as a male transgender. It is noticeable that although Princess Kuntol has Punyi in Dalang (1956: 942, 647) disguise as a male transgender to approach Princess Misa, she lets the female protagonist express her feeling that this transgender "is pathetic." The author's opinion agrees with that of Thai general public and she is more candid about it than Sunthon Phu.

Concerning literature, there is a noteworthy phenomenon related to reaction against homosexuality. That is, in the past negative implications were mostly made by poets on female homoeroticism. On the contrary, after World War II women writers have continually produced works about male homoeroticism. There are three reasons to explain this shift. First, the patriarchy in Thai society has been weakened, allowing women to speak up their opinions. Second, the expansion of educational opportunity such as that supported by the US during the Vietnam War has exposed Thai people to knowledge about sexuality and mental medical science from abroad (Pattana, 1966 : 208). Third, the economic growth in Bangkok in the 1960s – 1970s when service sector offered lucrative jobs which lured a lot of male homosexuals to be sex workers (Sorasuchart, 1982 : 168). These changes in social contexts have supplied women writers with raw materials to expose

the life of homosexuality as part of their main theme--drama in family life.

It was striking that for three decades (around 1965 – 1995) the number of novels about male homosexuals increased continually and a lot of women writers dramatized them with negative implications. For example, Krisana Asokesin uses an omniscient narrator to subtly criticize the homosexual character who uses women as a guise to hide his true identity in Pratu Ti Pid Tai in order to reveal the miseries of the female protagonist who has been tricked into marrying him. Botan's plot in Pimpilab shows that the male protagonist becomes a homosexual because his father is negligent of his family. Likewise, Tommayantee emphasizes in Baimai ti Plidpliew that the male protagonist becomes a homosexual because of his hatred for the father who is flirtatious, abuses his mother, and ignores him. More importantly, the ruin of the protagonist at the end of the novel is the result of his father's negligence coupled with his paternal uncle's abandonment of him due to social pressure. Other works which expose male homosexuals include Manut, Huajai Ti Tong Kailaan, and Mai Plaek Pa by Supa Thevakul, Luk Rak, Soy Sawat, Phan Si Rung, and Maya by Suwannee Sukontha, Plaeng Prom by Wo Winitchaikul, and Kon Klang Mueng and Kao-ee Thong by Sifa.

Although there is a shift in writers' emphasis on the group of homosexuals as a result of power shift in society, one thing remains the same and this is more important

than the debate or the retort : homosexuality is still rejected by society. Many male homosexuals in the modern novels written by women writers have such a miserable life in fighting against society's mainstreams that some of them choose to commit suicide. Although there have been occasionally works written by homosexuals, they confirm the fact that society has not yet been open to homosexuality. This can be seen in the characters' unrequited love at the end of the novels or in their lives in a hideaway. Characters in this group are Mom Ped and Mom Sud in Mom Ped Sawan, the male transgender in Tang Sai Tee Sam.

#### **Mental Abnormality and AIDS in Medical Discourses: Homosexual's Mark of Cain**

In most people's view, the implications about mental abnormality and moral corruption are the stereotypical set of meanings for homosexuality. This view is based on the belief attached to Buddhism in Thai culture as well as medical diagnosis of their mental state. The disciplinary power uses scientific progress implicit in medical terms to control the form of social relationship and strengthen the ideology of sexual essentialism. At the same time medical discourses gain credibility and authority from the social conventions (Suvatcharapinun,2010). This reciprocal relationship of definitions based on conventions and modernity can explain why Thai society can continue to maintain the homosexuals' mark of Cain up to the present day.

The result of absorption in medical discourses appear clearly in the negative representations of homosexuality in Thai novels after World War II which was the first period of accepting western thoughts about sexuality (Romjumpa, 2002 : 42). It was the beginning of modern Thai society which explained homosexuality according to well-known psychoanalysts (Miller, 2006 : 455, 456, 567). They unconsciously lower the status of human beings with the prejudice inherent in medical discourses. As such, women writers who form the main stream writers of family life form plots which lead to understand that homosexuality is the consequence of arrested development, that human mind at the stage of learning the patterns of sexual roles tends to be gravitated to those of the same sex. Almost every novel of this group refers to Sigmund Freud by creating a generalized background of homosexuality. Besides, these writers are influenced by Sander Rado's principle that homosexuals are abnormal but can be treated with psychotherapy. For example, in Kao-ee Thong, Sifaa forms a plot in which the homosexual protagonist turns to love a woman. Some writers such as Anchan in writing Nang Aek borrow Charles Socarides' approach that homosexuality is a mental illness originated from an emotional abuse in childhood Although homosexual writers such as Kirati Chana argue that homosexuals are not abnormal persons, when they create characters as born to be according to Alfred Kinsey's theory, their characterization is in

fact also dominated by medical discourses.

It is obvious that the paradigm of modern medical science which concentrates on diseases so much that it overlooks illness has ignored the complexity of life which is also made up of spirituality as well as the meaning of existence. (Jeungsatiensub, 2002: 41-60). The view of a person from the physical perspective only leads to a consideration of the patient merely as a biological phenomenon. If that person is chronically ill and his malady is contagious like AIDS, medical science will immediately transform him into a disease carrier. When AIDS in Thailand originated from homosexuals (Singhakachen,1996: 1), they are stigmatized as a whole as HIV carriers. When it was also discovered that the first AIDS patient of the world was a homosexual, the aversion against them is even more severe and deep-rooted until homosexuality becomes a mark of Cain. This reaction is vivid in society's combination of "gay" and "AIDS," resulting in "GRID" which stands for "gay-related immune deficiency" (Millre, 2006 : 409).

When homosexuals are viewed as representations of AIDS, they are deprived of human dignity. Furthermore, society also looks at them with prejudice and aims to get rid of them as a threat. This attitude is conveyed through the metaphors of wars against AIDS in medical discourses in the form of dominion (Rubin, 1993 : 284) such as "AIDS is evil, kill it all." At the same time homosexuality is posited as a symbolic code

of promiscuity (Rubin,1993: 286) as in the campaign "Promiscuous, Homosexual, You'll die from AIDS!" An example which emphasizes the contrast with normative regulation (Rubin,1993: 285) is "AIDS patients are violators of sexual morality"

Not only do medical discourses equate homosexuals with AIDS, they also confine homosexuals in "the margin of diseases" for fear of failure in overcoming AIDS and giving clear explanations about the causes of homosexuality. These limitations are therefore counter-backed by homosexuals as the "inners" of AIDS victim groups who use various means in asserting themselves. They form virtual communities of force field to create authority and ideology strength (Deleuze,1998: 70). In addition, they set up communities of practice with clearly defined missions in order to achieve cooperative operations (Lave and Wenger, 1991 : 43-44) as in the case of AIDS patients in Don Kaew Community and Lumpini Room at pantip.com website. These spaces enable homosexuals to gain back rights to define themselves which are above the power of medical discourses. Furthermore, this regained authority enables "the inners" to manage and control data for their "coming out." It deconstructs the old definitions of homosexual AIDS victims as well as recreates their new identities. At the same time this capability in self-determining gives them opportunities to erase social prejudices and retort the medical discourses. All these are evident in Kaew's success in

revealing her experiences in the online community and publishing five books in the series AIDS Diary. In the first book she describes her rebel against medical science in refusing to take anti-AIDS medicine despite her low immunity and maintaining emotional balance as learned from internets in stead (Kaew, 2001: 92). In the fourth book she states that in addition to better health, her liveliness that shines through also help erase the implied stereotypical definition of AIDS victims as someone disgusting. She has discredited the medical discourses in terms of treatments and claims the rights over her body which she herself analyzes by “listening to her own mind” (Kaew, 2006 : 49) .

In addition to Kaew, who challenges the medical discourses, other patients in Don Kaew Community also emphasize the weaknesses of medical science. They say in interviews that they resist modern medicines because they are worried about serious side effects, physical miseries, and waste of money. Therefore they choose to treat themselves with ancient herbal medicines and practice meditation as advised by fellow AIDS victims (Eamanondha, 2006 : 227, 231, 233-235) . The criticism and the rejection of scientific methods to the extent that they lose their worth and have the status of “otherness” as well as the attacks of modern treatments as “enemies” are counter- back strategies of “the inners.” The decisions to believe in the opinions of fellow patients constitute new meanings to increase AIDS victims’ worth.

However, researches have shown that at present there is only the marginal space which recognizes the worth of its members and perceives the flaws in the principal paradigm of medical science (Wankaew, 2001 : 67) In the end the homosexuals can only assert their standpoint in the margin and negotiate their power in the vicinity of that margin.

### **Drama and Cabarets : Spaces for Homosexual Identity Expressions**

The expressions of homosexual identity do not aim singly at creating legitimacy in maintaining their identities. The means of expressions also question sexual norms and urge society to ponder over prejudices against them as well. However, such expressions differ according to their sexes. Due to the strict sexual codes in Thai society, female homosexuals cannot reveal their identities as much as their male counterparts (Sinnott, 1999 : 97-99). Therefore their revelation patterns, especially in ritualistic shows are different. Female homosexuals employ subtle implications in the dialogues of inner-court drama while male homosexuals explicitly display their sexual preferences in folk drama and contemporary cabarets.

Despite differences in ritualistic models, the main goals of homosexuals’ expressions still focus on creating emotion that can urge the audience to identify themselves with the performers and understand the meanings of the expressions (Kaewthep, 2001 : 28-30). The great impact on society and the new

profound implications cannot be measured by frequency or performance opportunity. The public's disapproval or indifference to homosexual expressions may not be failure in communication. Rather, they can be interpreted as indications of the society's insecure reactions to the recreated implications in those self-expressions. Khun Suwan's verses about the tabooed female homoeroticism in Mom Ped Sawan and Princess Absorn Sudathep's Illness are points in case. Her two court plays, Pramalaetaetai and Unnarut Roy Rueng, are branded as works of an insane person, as Prince Dumrongrachanuphab concludes, "these are plays written by an abnormal person, not common plays." He adds that the outstanding characteristic of Pramalaetaetai is its "humor" which is "erratically conveyed" while the plotline of Unnarut Roy Rueng is rather confusing (Prince Damrongrachanuphap, 1920 : "Preface" to Mom Ped Sawan, Princess Absorn Sudathep's Illness, Pramalaetaetai, Unnarut Roy Rueng).

Nevertheless, under the label "nonsense," Khun Suwan's works have hidden perspectives that invite careful analysis. For example, although the language structure in Pramalaetaetai is different from that of standard Thai, it is still comprehensible. This shows that her constructed patterns have certain implications which can be strategies in hiding contents in order that the author would not be persecuted or punished. Khun Suwan uses the plotline and motifs common for poetic narratives of princes and

nobilities in which the male protagonist must venture far and long to search for the best and most suitable woman and fight for her as part of his power proclaim. However, the poet violates the convention by having God Indra bring "Princess Talaengkaeng" to Prince Malaetaetai in the forest. Although the word "talaengkaeng" which means "scaffold" suggests Khun Suwan's apprehension, she is courageous enough to rebel against the society's civilized sexual morality. And it is remarkable that she does so by taking her character to "the wilderness" where one can release one's instinct and be oneself (Satasombat, 1989 : 38-39 ) .

Furthermore, the fact that Khun Suwan deliberately ends Pramalaetaetai with the scene of fights over Talaengkaeng is a way to satirize men who are so entrapped in lust that they are willing to risk their lives. The male protagonist who seems to be a virtuous person is already surrounded by court ladies and concubines, but he is still lustful. Likewise, the giant Malakoy, the antagonist, has no conscience. Although he is cursed to live without the part below torso, especially without a sexual organ, for flirting with angels, he is still preoccupied with carnal desires. The significant implications in Pramalaetaetai emphasize criticism on men's pathetic character and a search for freedom to revealing one's sexual identity. (Numun, 2010 : 67-70) . Khun Suwan is determined to make a statement about female homosexual identity. She gives the

narrative a full form complete with accompanying songs-- rendering it ever ready to be put on stage. Interestingly the success of this play resides in the author's shrewd use of conventions to deconstruct those same conventions. Khun Suwan turns the practice of having women-only performers for inner-court plays into a mechanism through which they can enjoy sexual freedom that they yearn for-- even if temporarily. More importantly, by assuming the roles of men, these women can satirize men acutely. Therefore, when Khun Suwan exposes her true self in a ritualistic show, it has a great impact politically.

Khun Suwan's standpoint is not limited to challenging patriarchy only. Her play entitled Unnarut Roy Rueng, which mismatches hundreds of characters in Thai literary works, is an important ritualistic show an implicit demand for correct understanding of homosexual identities. She hides her viewpoints in the characters' irregular forms of relationship and confusion which at surface look incompatible. In fact, those contradictions which look "untidy" in the eyes of "the outsiders" significantly imply that one should be open-minded and accept forms of relationships which are different from those stipulated by the society's strict rules. One example of her implications is in the intended description of sorrowful "parting words" of some characters which are normally on the opposite. For example, tigers say farewell to cows and lions to deer

(Unnarut Roy Rueng, 1920 : 46). In the light of Khun Suwan's female homoeroticism background, it is very likely that she uses these laments to focus on love without discrimination against kind and sex. Besides, the "transformation parts" in which the characters transform either from one sex to the other or from one status to another like a tiger transforms into a tigress and Prince Rama of Ramakien to a monk are to focus on elusiveness in genders and diversity in sexuality (Unnarut Roy Rueng, 1920 : 47). Khun Suwan's propositions do not only violate sexual taboos; they also challenge the society's legitimacy in fixing and limiting the types of sexuality as well. Her perspectives are obviously ahead of time. They agree with feminism's propositions that the determinant of sex should be a person's behavior and expressions (Butler, 1990 : 137).

The subtlety Khun Suwan uses in conveying her messages in her plays is closely corresponding with the strict sexuality codes imposed by the palace laws. This is opposite to the expressions of male homosexuals at the palace who can display their sexual preferences more freely. Male common folks have even more freedom. In the early Rattanakosin period when women were forbidden to participate in folk drama (Prince Damrongrathanuphap, 1964 : 107), male homosexuals could fully exhibit their true selves. Therefore, it can be said that the ritualistic show of folk drama is the space for male homosexuals.

In conveying messages about identities, the performers in both the folk drama and cabarets must rely mainly on their acting. In addition, they must fascinate the audience with spectacular costume and settings to enhance their feminine manners, personality, tones, and content. The ultimate goal is for the audience to be able to identify themselves with the characters and to learn how to react to male homosexuals in the real world properly. (Woodward, 2004 : 7)

The popularity of folk drama and cabarets do not only testify society's recognition of male homosexuals; the growth of the drama troupes and cabarets are also the direct result of Thai culture which gives importance to "play" or recreational activities. This concept about divertissements is an important factor that allows these two forms of performance to have both space and legitimacy of existence in Thai society. Although the development of folk drama is different from that of cabarets which are influenced by western carnivals, they have common attractions in giving bodily pleasure with their spectacular costumes and defamiliarizing the audience with black humor and techniques in turning upside down sexuality rules and norms in real life (Bakhtin, 1984 : 13-14). Nevertheless, the creation of enjoyment by satirizing about sexuality and the extraordinary display of merriment have resulted in labeling male homosexuals as people who are sexually risqué and fanciful. Therefore, not only the revealed identities are ridiculed but the questions

about sexual rights are de-emphasized. Although the demands of female homosexuals have developed to the point of challenging social norms, in the patriarchal society their identities are still controlled and suppressed with norms that are particularly strict with women. Therefore, in general the standpoints and space of homosexuals are restricted to ritualistic shows and marginal space.

### Conclusion

Significance about homosexuality in Thai society do not only indicate its meanings and point out the way of thinking in Thai culture; they also reflect the reactions of homosexuals to its repression. The fact that homosexuals are pushed to the margin of society shows that society is dominated by the illusion that, through moralistic norms and laws as well as medical science, it has legitimacy in managing homosexuality as symbols of "sin" and "abnormality." Interestingly, the patriarchal society which is more lenient with male homosexuals in their self expositions has ironically given more opportunity for self-indulgence to them than to female homosexuals. When male homosexuals are diagnosed with AIDS, they reinforce the stigma of homosexuals as representations of sexual deviation and meaninglessness in life or as symbol of promiscuity and AIDS. On the contrary, because female homosexuals' opportunity in self exposition is more limited, they can avoid scandals and retain their images while still be able to make demands

or retorts in a subtle way as found in literature, on-line communities, and ritualistic shows. Yet this marginal and temporary space confirms the authority of society in suppressing both male and female homosexuals.

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