

**HUMAN SECURITY IN RIGHTS, FAIRNESS AND EQUALITY
THROUGH THE PERSPECTIVES OF LESBIANS IN THAI
SOCIETY**



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**A Dissertation Submitted in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
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ABSTRACT

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The study entitled “Human Security in Rights, Fairness and Equality through the Perspectives of Lesbians in Thai Society” is qualitative research, which aims to study human security in rights, fairness and equality among lesbians in Thai society as well as solutions to problems and paradigm shift in policy and related legal issues to appropriately create fairness and equality among lesbians in the Thai society context.

The results of the study on human security of lesbians can be summarized as follows. (1) Rights: Certain laws do not allow lesbians to be entitled to the rights as ordinary citizens, such as the right to apply for marriage registration. (2) Fairness: Lesbians have not been treated fairly in certifying their interpersonal relationships, which affects the right to marry and the use of assisted reproductive technology. (3) Equality: Lesbians are not treated as fairly in society as men and women, in terms of discrimination and sexual harassment. Their diverse and different gender identities are not also accepted. Regarding the approaches for solving problems and shifting the social paradigm towards lesbians, the government should adopt human rights concepts for LGBT people to improve the law, policy and operational requirements in accordance with the obligations under the relevant treaties, collaborate with the private sector in law enforcement to ensure the protection of LGBT people without discrimination and organize campaigns to drive society with the right knowledge and understanding for children, youth and the public.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Rationale and Background

In the era that the security of individuals is related and surrounded by the issues that cause risk conditions for individuals at both national and international levels, which is called “human security” (Sudha, 2007, p. 7), violent threats and fears have been transformed into policy debates and have become academic issues. However, human security has not been able to settle into the issues and the debates in the mainstream social science around the world. There are very few quantitative and qualitative indicators of human security theories of compared to other social science theories. Nevertheless, political science theorists have tried to develop the concept of human security on the basis of human development and human rights. Social theorists also still have to work hard to interpret the comprehensive and clear view of what constitutes “human security”. Moreover, the concept of human security has become more complex when it faces with the changes of the era and the ambiguity of social principles and values.

The original concept of security is the foundation of creating international mechanism and the framework for creating mechanisms and tools as well as the base for the existence of the national states. However, human security concept points out the imperfections of the traditional security paradigm that are based on the importance of the security of the national states rather than “individuals”. Although the mechanism and tools created by the United Nations have been used to protect the security of people, the principles of the United Nations on the security issues at the beginning aimed at providing the foundation for the structure and the practice of modern states that would be able to challenge sovereignty (Jolly & Ray, 2006).

The expansion of the security issues rooted in the emergence of the modern state structure into human security has become the concept that challenges academics and policy makers in changing the concept of traditional security based on state centric to focus and understand the concept of individual security as a fundamental element of the national state. Human centric is a major paradigm shift in the concept of “human security”.

Interpretation and definition of human security that are accurate and clear in terms of concept and implementation have not yet achieved, so anything that affects the security and the existence of individuals has been considered as a matter of human security since the 1970s. Changing the main concept of human security that challenges the traditional form of state-centered security proposes the issues that are based on the acceptance of human solidarity and all implications, especially having shared responsibility for seeking equality and dignity for everyone on the planet without omission, regardless of races or regions based on the structure related to the commitment of the 4 values, including peace, economic equality, social and political justice and ecological balance (Yeomans, 2007).

It can be said that the four value principles are used as a framework for the study and interpretation of human security in rights, fairness and equality. This will help to create concrete understanding of the scope, definition and development of the concepts about the importance of human security, which is the foundation of social development management that recognizes the importance of rights, fairness and equality based on universal principles to protect and promote the existence of every individual fairly and equally, without segregation of races, skin color, languages, religions and gender according to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

“Human security” has been used as a foundation for social development in Thai society according to the Government Gazette dated October 2 , 2002 : Reorganization of Ministry, Sub-Ministry, and Department Act, B.E. 2545 , which announced that the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security has authority on social development, creation of fairness and equality in society, family institution and community. The emergence of the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security has established the concept of “human security” to be important and widespread along with the policy to create fairness and equality in society that is

concretely in line with the universal principles. This study focuses on human security in terms of rights, fairness and equality that have been used as the guidelines for the development of the government policy.

At the same time, understanding human security under the context of Thai society in terms of rights, fairness and equality of lesbians in Thai society will help to recognize the situations of rights, fairness and equality under the context of the links of rights, equality and fairness according to the legal and policy framework with the realization and awareness of this issue which is an assessment of the individual's experience under the legal protection developed from the principles of rights, fairness and equality and the expansion of the scope of ideas, interpretations and definitions of "human security" in a manner that is relevant to the individuals who define themselves as lesbians more seriously and systematically. This is because in the past, the study on the issues of lesbians aimed at focusing on the sexual rights, love, identity and identity negotiation.

Such studies have reflected various issues arising in Thai society and the global society about rights, equality and fairness in terms of both legal and policy development and acceptance to create mechanisms to promote and support the existence of gender-diverse people as individuals with equal rights like women and men. The basis for acceptance of gender differences can be achieved by ensuring the rights of individuals with equality and fairness and in accordance with their identity as well as different sexual orientation. These people are able to exercise right and protected by clear legal provisions to avoid and eliminate violations of rights, equality and fairness as well as social discrimination against lesbians, which is the result of the interpretation of laws that are rooted in sexual beliefs based on physical characteristics that there are only females and males. Changes in rights, equality and fairness of lesbians have continuously developed in the international context in the last thirty years. This can be seen from the efforts to campaign for legal changes at both international and national levels, regarding the legal rights different from the rights based on gender of female and male, especially the right to same-sex marriage. This can be considered as the progress of legal development, and it reflects the importance of inclusion of Lesbian Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer (LGBTQ) to be Subject of Law. Therefore, the study on the awareness of such issues through

the experiences of lesbians in Thai society will help assess the impacts on rights, fairness and equality of lesbians under the context of Thai society more clearly.

The study on human security in rights, fairness and equality through the perspectives of lesbians in Thai society will help define the concept of “human security”, resulting in understanding and interpretation under the context of Thailand from lesbians, vulnerable group and communication through gender identity that challenges the status of masculinity (Narida Kongsawat, 2015), which results from cultures and cultural symbols that give individual values differently according to the physical context. The study of human security in rights, fairness and equality of lesbians in Thailand tries to understand the related contexts between the roles of the government and the individuals in adopting human security to determine the direction of policy development in Thailand based on the principles aligned with universal values, which is the foundation of humanity’s sustainability.

1.2 Research Questions

Based on the rationale and significance of the problems mentioned above, the research questions are as follows.

- 1) How does the development of the concept of human security under the context of Thai society occur and become the basis of the government policy?
- 2) What are the characteristics of human security in rights, fairness and equality of lesbians in Thai society?
- 3) What are the problems, obstacles and social impacts on life related to human security in rights, fairness and equality in Thai society of lesbians from the past to the present?
- 4) What are the guidelines for solving problems and adaptation of the way of life in relation to human security in rights, fairness and equality of lesbians in Thai society?
- 5) What should be the appropriate patterns and structures of adjustment of policy paradigm and legal issues to enhance fairness and the equality of lesbians?

1.3 Research Objectives

The objectives of this research are as follows.

- 1) To study human security in rights, fairness and equality of lesbians in Thai society
- 2) To study the guidelines for solving problems of human security in rights, fairness and equality through the perspectives of lesbians in Thai society
- 3) To study the guidelines for appropriately shifting the policy paradigm and legal issues to enhance fairness and equality of lesbians under the context of Thai society

1.4 Scope of the Study

The scope of the research entitled “Human Security o in Rights, Fairness and Equality through the Perspectives of Lesbians in Thai Society” are as follows.

1.4.1 Content Scope

The content of this research is related to human security in rights, fairness and equality in Thai society as well as problems, obstacles, social impacts and guidelines for solving problems and adaptation of the way of life of lesbians in Thai society.

1.4.2 Area Scope

In this research, the main informants are 10 lesbian couples (20 people) living together for not less than 4 years, aged between 25 - 50 years and living in Bangkok. They have different careers, and are from different family, economic and social status. The aim is to study the concepts of life and identity of lesbians that affect the concept of human security in rights, fairness and equality under the context of the diversity of informants.

1.4.3 Time Scope

This research was conducted from March 2018 to the end of October 2019.

1.5 Expected Outcomes

The expected outcomes of this research are as follows.

- 1) The results of the research will lead to the understanding of the concept of human security in rights, fairness and equality of lesbians in Thai society based on the universal values of the human rights principles.
- 2) The results of the study will help increase academic knowledge in defining human security based on the dimensions of rights, fairness and equality in Thai society as well as problems, obstacles, social impacts, guidelines for problem solving and adaptation that play an important role in lesbians' life.
- 3) The findings of this research will be the basis for education and research conduction on gender diversity in Thailand in the future.
- 4) The information obtained will be the guidelines for formulating policies and laws in promotion and protection of the rights of lesbians or people with gender diversity.

1.6 Definitions of Terms

Qualitative research methods were employed in this research, so the definitions of variables to be studied are not defined in advance. However, in order to have the guidelines for the interview, the researcher have defined the definitions of terms as follows.

Human security means that people can express themselves in their own choices safely and independently and have the potential and gain enough power to take responsibility for themselves, have the opportunity to seek their own needs and sufficient income, receive security and response for basic needs and live in society with dignity, not experiencing poverty and despair. They should be happy and given equal opportunities to develop their potential.

Human security in rights and fairness means that people receive equality and fairness according to legal rights, not causing trouble for themselves. They can also use their own rights correctly according to their status, roles and opportunities.

Rights refer to the righteousness of the person that can be claimed to protect their benefits in accordance with the human rights that give priority to human dignity, rights, freedom and equality of persons that are certified or protected by the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand or Thai law or the treaty that Thailand is a party to.

Fairness means that people are treated equally and respect each other's human dignity, and are provided with opportunities for equal access to resources. It must be fair in terms of society and law and consistent with social practices.

Equality means that individuals receive assistance regardless to individual differences that cause some people to not reach the rights and freedom they should receive.

Lesbian Gay Bisexual and Transgender: LGBT refers to a group of people with gender diversity. In addition, there are other terms used for referring to LGBT, such as Queer. LGBT, therefore, consists of lesbians which refer to women who are interested and sexually satisfied with women. Gays refer to men who have interest and sexual satisfaction with men. Bisexual refers to a woman or a man who is interested and sexually satisfied with both those who have the same sex and different sex. Transgender means a person who has feelings, passion and sexual expression opposed to biological sex. At present, LGBTQ+ is now widely used in order to include Queer. It is a broad term for non-heterosexual people who do not clearly identify their gender as well as those who express their gender differently from what used to be recognized.

CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTS, THEORIES AND RELATED RESEARCH

The research study entitled “Human Security in Rights, Fairness and Equality through the Perspectives of Lesbians in Thai Society” may be the first piece of research on “human security” emphasizing “women” as humans who have gender determined by biological sex and controlled by society or are the creation of society since they are cultivated and instructed by society and culture which is completely different from their sexuality that is not in the framework set by society, but driven by a state of mind that affects feelings, sexual desire and gender identity instead. The composition of sexuality is diverse. It includes behavior, expression, dressing and sexual satisfaction, which are used to show sexual identity to society in order to allow others to be aware of their own needs, which is commonly known as “lesbian”. They show their sexual identity in order to have their own space and be released from social dominance. At the same time, those with this sexuality need stability and appropriate protection from the government, namely rights, fairness and equality like other individuals in society. They also need the opportunity to develop their potential to grow and live with dignity that is equal to others under the Constitution and international human rights principles.

This chapter presents the concepts, theories and related research that have been studied and collected for defining the conceptual framework of the study, which will be presented in the following orders.

- 2.1 Concepts related to human security
- 2.2 Concepts of rights, fairness and social equality
- 2.3 Concepts related to gender and gender diversity
- 2.4 Concepts related to social movements of LGBT
- 2.5 Laws related to sexuality and gender identity
- 2.6 Concepts related to human rights in sexuality and gender identity

2.7 Related research

The details of each of topic are as follows.

2.1 Concepts Related to Human Security

2.1.1 Paradigms and Concepts of Human Security

The attempt to give the meaning of what a good life is and what the security of life is and to create a good quality of life have long been found. It is also the origin of various disciplines, including political philosophy, economic philosophy and philosophy in social sciences. But for this world of globalization, one of the efforts to create a good life for humans is to present the concept of “human security”. “Security” is the term that is meaningful and widely used in daily life, namely individual security, group security, state security and international security. However, the basic meaning of security is “to feel free from threats, anxiety, or danger, which is the mental state of a person that feels safe from danger caused by other people. Therefore, the meaning of security is an abstract mental state not a concrete one. It is an expression of how a person feels. It depends on the viewpoint or attitude towards the environment at that time. Security, therefore, has a vastly different scope in the same situation of other people’s feelings. The security of one person may be the insecurity of another. So, security does not mean being stable or unstable. It is a state or a level of feeling that is stable or unstable, free from threats, especially on the basis of life. For example, when people are threatened in terms of respect from the surrounding society, they will feel insecure. The feelings will vary according to the levels of the threat.

The emergence of human security concepts consists of 4 basic characteristics that differentiate the concepts from the traditional security concepts. First, it is the concept that gives the individual importance as a referent object of security. Second, when the individual is a referent object of security, it is assumed that every individual has equal rights to the protection of security. Although in the past there was deprivation or ignorance of the rights of certain groups such as women, children and displaced people, under the human security concepts everyone has the rights to security guarantees. Third, when human security moves its referent object from state

to humans, the types and the characteristics of the threats are different from those when the focus is on the state. The threats to individual security have expanded, not just limited to military threats, but also economic, health and environmental threats. These threats are all dangerous and can cause damage at the individual, social, state, or international levels. Finally, when the individual is under the security policy framework, the issues that have never received attention and importance from the government, such as the problems of development, health and environment, will be taken into the consideration because these issues can be raised to “security issues”, which are good for managing security management to be more concrete and clearer. This is consistent with the study of Theerasin Intarasook (2011, pp. 165-166) which found that the human security scope should extend beyond military issues and the state’s perspectives, and focus on the individual as a security center.

The concept of human security is interested by countries all over the world, including Thailand. It is challenged in today’s world. It is a new way that may be used to consider complex problems in society, including international problems such as conflicts between ethnic groups or religious, terrorism, wars, illegal immigration, transnational crime and internal-domestic problems such as corruption, poverty, drugs, environment, domestic violence, safety in life and property, violence in the three southern border provinces, abuse of children and disadvantaged people, oppression and violence against women and human rights violation. The concept of human security around the world is, therefore, the basis for determining the development strategies and the guidelines for cooperation in the development suitable for the 21st century.

It can be concluded that the paradigm in human security is an effort to improve and create quality of human life in terms of status and a sense of security from threats, by presenting through security from the individual level to the nation-state level and the relationship between nation-states. The emergence of human security concepts consists of 4 basic characteristics. 1) It is the concept that gives the individual importance which is different from the past security concept that prioritized the nation-state rather than the individual. 2) Every individual has equal rights to the protection of security. 3) The threats to individual security have expanded, not just limited to military threats, but also economic, health and environmental threats. 4)

The issues in society are more focused and solved. Unlike in the past, security problems were often attributed to the military and war and little attention was paid to the social problems faced by people.

2.1.2 Development of Human Security Concepts

The article entitled “ Human Security and Constructivism” written by Newman (2001) explained that “human security” is a concept that arises from normative and moral movements and is based on empirical reasoning. That is, human security is a norm because there are certain factors that cause moral awareness and lead to an understanding of security that needs to be linked to individuals under the context of political changes and transnational norms such as the concept of human rights. According to the concept of human security that is based on empirical reasoning, it can be explained that many past events have allowed us to see that in unstable conditions, namely the spread of diseases, such as AIDS, human rights violations or unemployment, can inevitably cause direct effects on public order and stability, both within and outside the state. This reflects that the foundation of internal and external security is primarily the security of the people. Therefore, “individuals” are highly valued on an international forum and in the code of conduct, and also help to emphasize the importance of human rights and human needs in the form of human security beyond the traditional security concept which emphasizes the state as a center for security and the use of military force to suppress and deter threats to the state.

However, human security is not a spontaneous concept. It is a concept that was developed from the emergence of various norms and customs at the international and regional levels, starting from the issue of legal development regarding crime and humanity and human rights to economic and democratic development. All of these show the impact on international relations and are something that cannot be explained by the mainstream concept like realism (Natthida Boonthum, 2011, p. 8).

The following historical evolution of the human security concepts will demonstrate the importance and attention receiving from both nationally and internationally levels in the late 20th century to the present day. It started from the study of the overall role of the security paradigm of the state security concept and some of the factors that challenge the traditional security concept that is state-centered

until causing the mentioned concept to shake and reduce its role significantly, leading to the push for the development of a human security paradigm. When “security” was mentioned in many countries around the world in the Cold War, military issues in protecting the land, sovereignty and citizenship from external threats were considered. That is to say, in that era, state security was military security or national security, which was the traditional security.

But, when the military confrontation in the Cold War ended, the paradigm or the concept of traditional security, which was based on protecting the state through the use of military tools, was extremely challenging. In addition, there was an emergence of new problems and threats, and the evolution of the world was developed progressively. Security was, therefore, not limited to a narrow circle. Academics and human rights activists focused on security in various dimensions and challenges, including personal security, group security, state security and international security. It can be said that the new concepts of security that emerged were non-traditional security.

Human security was widely known in 1994 after the United Nations Development Program (United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 1994), introduced this concept in “The Human Development Report 1994 (HDR 1994)” or one year before the World Summit for Social Development was organized. Also, there was a big effort to make this report influence the meeting with the key phrase “The Search for Human Security Lies In Development Not In Arms”. This changed the definition of traditional security from national security to development security that was people-centered (Thailand National Defence College, 2011). It was based on the principle that humans in this world can have basic values of security in life. They must also be able to live with “Freedom from Fear and Freedom from Want” (UNDP, 1994). It was an important link between the two main issues: linking state insecurity of the national state with insecurity of the people, which was an important fundamental element of the nation, and creating a new definition of “security” from security in the original sense, which was a matter of “building military power and territory” to security of “human and social development”. In summary, the meaning of human security based on the definition of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP, 1994) means “people are able to express their choices safely and

independently”, and people should have the potential and the power to take responsibility for themselves and the opportunity to seek their own needs and sufficient income for living” (Manassawee Ornachunaka, 2018).

After the major economic crisis in Asia in 1999, which affected all over the world, the Human Development Report of UNDP was changed by raising new issues. For example, the “Human Development Report, 1999” addressed human security as a negative aspect or a threat to various aspects of human life or human insecurity. It pointed out that humans in both developed and developing countries had faced new forms of insecurity under globalization, which were the tools or mechanisms of development or prosperity. However, they were recognized to have a positive effect on the insecurity of humans and tend to become a more prominent problem everywhere. This was a world-class official report that linked human security and insecurity to globalization. It also called for a change in this process to be globalization with a human face. So, the process of globalization in the Human Development Report, 2000 was called “human rights and human development for freedom and solidarity” , connecting the relationships of human rights, human development and human security together. It recognized that human rights and human development had a common vision and purpose, including the creation of security for freedom, the well-being and dignity of every human around the world (Ministry of Social Development and Human Security, 2016).

After UNDP had proposed the concept of human security, there was an establishment of a group of Like-Minded Countries regarding the promotion of human security within their own country and on the world stage. It was initiated by Canada and Norway. It was “Human Security Network (HSN)” established in 1998 (consisting of 13 members), Thailand, Chile, Greece, Ireland, Jordan, Mali, Panama, Norway, Canada, Austria, Switzerland, Slovenia and Costa Rica. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Kingdom of Thailand (2018) defined the definition of human security as the condition in which people are free from fear and want and suggested that the way to create human security must be in parallel with human development.

It is the humanitarian world that people can live securely with dignity and free from poverty and loss of hope. It is still the dream of all. In this world, individuals are guaranteed to be free from fear and want and have equal opportunities in the development of their own potential. Building human security is an important hope to achieve this goal. An important component of human security, therefore, means to be free from threats of rights for peace and the lives of people. (Astri Suhrke, 1999, pp. 265-276)

Thailand is a co-founding member of the Human Security Network (HSN), which agrees that human security issues are in accordance with Thailand's interests in many areas, such as being a medium-sized developing country with national economic and social development plans, focusing on people-centered, having democracy and the Constitution focusing on respecting human rights. In this regard, Thailand became the first HSN president in 2005 and was able to use the human security network forum to creatively reflect this attitude.

Although Thailand is a developing country, it is open to values and knowledge set from outside all the time. It is the country with the most open economy and society, which is fully benefited and affected by globalization. It is also one of the countries in the world community that is interested in using the concept of human security and has tried to find out new options and strategies in a borderless world. In this regard, the Government of Thailand gives priority to pushing a new concept of "human security" by focusing on people as the center of change both at the grassroots level and at the policy level. However, before accepting human security under the framework of the (United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 1994) Thailand had continuously attempted to create human security. For example, after the change of government in 1932, the attempt to modernize the nation like the West was evident from the concept of Field Marshal P. Pibulsongkram that proposed a policy of "state convention", which was a combination of nationalism and Western concepts as standards. This attempt continued and became more comprehensive when the First National Economic Development Plan B.E. 2545 (1961 - 1966) was introduced (Suppachai Jarernwong, 2001, pp. 29-30) until it led to the establishment of the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security with the power and duty in

developing society, creating fairness and equality in society, promoting and developing quality and security in life of people by adhering to the principles of human dignity. It also works on human rights, provides services to ensure equality and fairness for the people and reduces disparity in society so that people can live happily with well-being according to the definition of “human security” in the Fourth National Social Welfare and Social Welfare Development Plan (2002 - 2006), which stated that “the public is guaranteed security rights, responding to basic needs and to live life in society with dignity, not experiencing poverty, hopelessness, being happy and receiving equal opportunities to develop their potential” (Pornprapa Sinthunawa, 2017). The human security standards and indicators were established based on international standards and indicators. Most of which were those of the Western countries and the United Nations Development Program that defined human security components in 7 dimensions and focused on the eastern way in order to be in line with the context of Thai society, considering both the quality of life and the threats, covering freedom from want, equal opportunities and freedom from fear. It has been in operation since 2004 and human security standards with 10-dimensional components have been established. Later, in 2011, the study on the development of human security standards and indicators was conducted by reviewing the knowledge, conceptual framework of human security both domestically and internationally and studying qualitative data to define definitions, conceptual framework, standards and indicators of human security appropriate in accordance with current social situations and future trends. It includes 12 dimensions, namely accommodation, health, food, education, employment and income, family, community and social support, religion and culture, safety in life and property, rights and equity, politics, environment, and resources / energy (Center for Peace and Conflict Studies, 2013).

The main point of human security is gaining rights, social justice and equality. These three words have similar meanings. In other words, “right” is the righteousness that a person can claim to protect the interests that should be and will be consistent with human rights that value human dignity, rights, liberties and equality of a person which has been certified or protected under the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand or Thai laws or treaties in which Thailand is a party. “Social justice” is an important component of civil rights, reflecting justice for people in society. That is to

say, everyone in society should be given basic rights, protection, opportunities and social benefits. It is considered a social obligation to allocate resources and provide social welfare services by avoiding prejudice, discrimination and oppression. “Equality” refers to when people receive the same help without considering the individual differences that make certain people unable to access the rights and freedoms they should receive (Thanchai Sunthonanantachai, 2017).

In summary, the development of ideas and concepts of human security were developed along with human rights and morality as well as the laws in the state that want to protect the people, which became to play more roles in the international community after World War II when security was not a matter of military but a fundamental human problem in terms of economy, society and culture. There was a paradigm shift from the development of military to human resource development. Human security network countries have been developed. In terms of the role of the Thai government, it can be said that human security of people around the world means that humans around the world can live and make a living without fear that may threaten the survival of life. The main characteristic of human security is people-centered. As long as people live, they must be given the rights and freedoms to do things and to create security. Security is built by using the concepts of human rights which exist to eliminate or limit threats to humans. Human rights protect human dignity by focusing on the importance of humans. It is also an international standard that every country should follow as a norm. There are moral legal and political frameworks which will lead to free from fear and want. Or, it can be said that human security needs the protection of human rights. One of the principles of human rights related to human security is the complete equality between females and males without discrimination in all forms.

2.1.3 Definitions of Human Security

Providing definitions of “human security” in order to determine indicators and policies to strengthen human security should start by asking what human security is and how it is that humans have security. To understand the concept of human security for creating appropriate indicators, definitions presented by various bureaus should be considered in order to get a comprehensive picture of the meanings of this concept.

The processing of providing definitions to the term “human security” has been done since 1994. Various definitions have been found. They can be categorized into 2 groups such as the definitions from a global level organization, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (1994), which is a broad definition, and the narrow definitions provided by the persons involved in the United Nations, national agencies and academics in various countries as follows.

- 1) The United Nations, consisting of the United Nations Development Program (1994), which is the starting point of the concept, the Secretary-General of the United Nations (Kofi Annan) and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (Sadako Ogata)

- 2) Governments of the major countries, including the Government of Canada, the Government of Japan and the thirteen members of the Human Security Network, in which Thailand is also a member

- 3) Academic groups and non-governmental organizations of foreign countries

The definition of human security broadest and most widely referenced was first introduced in the Human Development Report (HDR 1994) of the United Nations Development Program (1994). It defined that “human security” consists of 2 dimensions. The first dimension is the safety from long-lasting threats such as hunger, diseases and suppression. The second dimension is to be protected from accidents that occur to life at home, at work, or in society. From these two dimensions, it can be concluded that human security is freedom from fear and freedom from want. This definition emphasizes the four fundamental freedoms, namely freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want and freedom from fear based on the concept of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the President of the United States, which was stated in the State of Union on January 6, 1941. Therefore, human security under the framework of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) covers living dimensions on the basis of safety. Also, humans should be protected from various violent incidents in daily life (Manassawee Ornachunaka, 2018).

The report also provided a preliminary scope of human security components in 7 areas and examples of threats to human security in each of the following areas. 1) Economic security: It refers to sufficient income and minimum job security while the

threats to economic stability are severe uncontrollable inflation, economic downturn and financial crisis. 2) Food security: It is the access to food which signifies than “having enough food for everyone”. The threats are often caused by unequal access to food, but the worst threat is starvation that is truly caused by food shortages. 3) Health security: It refers to death and illnesses related to poverty, unsafe and unclean environment, inability to access health services, problems of the spread of AIDS and various infectious diseases. 4) Environmental security: It is the deterioration of the national and global ecosystems. One of the most important challenges is water access and cleanliness. 5) Personal security: It refers to sudden physical violence caused by the state or other states during the war or from different groups with ethnic tensions as well as violence and abusive exploitation of women or all forms of child abuse. 6) Communities security: It includes violent conflicts and tensions within the community or practices that are direct threats to certain groups in the community, such as women. 7) Political security: It refers to torture, severe political suppression, mistreatment and disappearance (Office of the United Nations Development Program, Thailand, 2009). The concept and the scope of human security have been adapted and applied in many ways. In 2006, the framework of human security was applied in the Human Development Report of 42 countries, UN surveys and many documents.

There were attempts to provide the definition of “human security” in addition to that of the United Nations Development Program. There were also the definitions proposed by UN-related persons such as Kofi Annan, who served the Secretary-General of the United Nations from 1997 – 2006. He proposed the concept of human security as follows. “Human security, in its broadest sense, embraces far more than the absence of violent conflict. It encompasses human rights, good governance, access to education and health care and ensuring that each individual has opportunities and choices to fulfil his or her potential. Every step in this direction is also a step towards reducing poverty, achieving economic growth and preventing conflict. Freedom from want, freedom from fear, and the freedom of future generations to inherit a healthy natural environment -- these are the interrelated building blocks of human and therefore national security” (Owen, 2010, p. 41).

Ogata (1998, p. 33, as cited in Supachai Sarajarat, 2003, p. 6) the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees proposed the concept of human security in

1998 and 1999, with reference to political and military issues, internal and external conflicts, peace and public security from state aggression in addition to giving priority to social, economic and environmental issues. Ogata proposed that “human security consists of many components. The first important component is that all citizens can live peacefully and securely in their territory, which means that both the state and its citizens have the ability to prevent and resolve conflicts peacefully and without violence. Once the conflicts are resolved, they can proceed to reconciliation. The second component is that people are entitled to various rights and obligations that should be obtained without discrimination, including human rights, political rights, social rights, economic rights and cultural rights that every citizen should receive from the state. The third component is social inclusion or equal opportunity to access political, social and economic policy making processes, as well as equal benefits from these policies. The fourth component is the creation of the rule of law and the independent judicial process. All people in the state should have equal rights and obligations and equally governed by the law. These components, in fact, are the components that people must receive equally according to the rule of law. They will be the risk prevention devices which will appear in the form of discrimination, exploitation and oppression.

There is also the definition of human security in a broad sense, such as the one provided by Commission on Human Security (CHS) established in 2001. This commission was established by the grant of the Government of Japan and the Secretary-General of the United Nations. “Human security” is defined as a vital core for every human being from the threats that are expanding by promoting freedoms and fulfilling human desires by strengthening and inspiring people. In doing so, it is necessary to create the systems of politics, society, environment, economy, culture, and security that will help people survive. “The Government of Japan”, which plays an important role in the Committee, still maintains the broad definition of the concept of human security. That is, human security is the condition that is free from threats to humans in everyday life and human dignity. It is, therefore, the duty to strengthen efforts to deal with these threats. Japan does not prioritize the creation of freedoms from fear and want, but both of them are considered common objectives of human security (United Nations, 2005).

Sen (2000), the Co-Chair of the Committee on Human Security (CHS), stated that “human security must consist of four important factors: focusing on the individual’s life, focusing on the social conditions of humans, reducing the risk of affecting human freedoms and focusing on human rights. Therefore, human security focuses on the potential to cope with recession and depression while human development focuses on progress in the conditions of human life, (United Nations General Assembly, 2010, p. 44).

In addition to the broad definitions of human security mentioned above, there is still a narrow definition of human security, often referring to the idea from the Government of Canada, or known as Canadian Approach. Canada and Norway have initiated grouping countries in different regions with the concept of promoting human security within their countries and on the world stage, which is called Human Security Network (HSN). Canada recognizes the concept of human security under the United Nations Development Program framework as a human security development plan. However, Canada focuses on the additional variables regarding the threats of violence towards individuals, including drug trafficking, personal mine, ethnic conflicts, failed state and small arms trafficking. This is because a more specific definition of human security will provide assistance in a timely manner, rather than using a broad definition which is long-term planning with the aim of sustainable development (Owen, 2010, pp. 37-54).

Thai academics also gave their views on this issue at the beginning. For example, Paiboon Watthanasirithum (2003) former Minister of Social Development and Human Security (2006 - 2008), stated that the meaning of human security consists of important components which are health security, economic security, social security, political and administrative security and natural and environmental resource security (Paiboon Watthanasirithum, 2003).

In conclusion, human security means the security of people. That is, people are guaranteed their rights, safety, and response to basic needs and able to live in society with dignity and happiness without experiencing poverty or despair. They must also be given equal opportunities to develop their own potential. It is certain that the opportunities that exist today will remain until tomorrow. People should have enough potential and ability to take care of themselves and be able to seek

opportunities or ways to pursue their own needs and sustain life. Human security will lead to national and international security as human security is the basis of national security. Also, national security must continue to be the cornerstone of human security. The definitions of human security provided by each agency, organization and academic are different. 1) The United Nations and international organizations have defined the meaning and concept of human security in a broad way. That is, human security refers to human rights with no oppression and harassment. 2) The governments of main countries, including the government of Canada and the government of Japan and the 13 countries in Human Security Network have given a narrow definition. Emphasis is placed on the variables related to the threats against individuals, such as drugs. So, assistance and resolution of such problems can be carried out promptly. 3) Academics and NGOs of different countries have defined various definitions of human security for studying on the topics of their interest and creating an academic theoretical framework to explain various phenomena.

2.1.4 The Framework of Human Security in Thailand

From ancient times to the present day, Thailand has had its own governing model, and that was adapted from the influence of Khmer, India, neighboring nations and the developed western nations of that era, respectively. While strengthening the governing system, national security was also maintained. Before 1994, national security was often referred to national security. However, in 1994, a new concept of human security was established in accordance with the global agenda in “the Human Development Report 1994” of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). It was a major effort to change the definition of traditional human security which often referred to national security to development security focusing on people-centered (National Defence College of Thailand, 2010 - 2011). The origin of the concept of human security, therefore, had an impact on both the concrete aspects of national administration and the influence of thought on the well-being of the people. When looking back on human security before Thailand accepted the concept of human security under the framework of the United Nations Development Program 1994, Thailand had continuously attempted to create human security from the roles of the state, people and monarchs in presenting ways to build human security. If the

principles of duration and important events were the criteria in the presentation, the stories can be told as follows. After the change of government in 1932, there was an effort to modernize the nation like the West. This was evident from the concept of Field Marshal P. Pibulsongkram, which proposed “state convention”, which was a combination of nationalism and western concepts as standards and gave priority to people in the rural areas, which were the majority of the country, as an important group in terms of both economic and political aspects. Since it was an important resource and political power basis, the government promulgated “rural restoration plan” which was first introduced in 1942 with the objective to make the people in the countryside be good citizens and have a good life. The effort to bring this ideology to life was ongoing and more comprehensive when the First National Economic Development Plan B.E. 2545 (1961 - 1966) was established. This was considered the beginning leading to the establishment of the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security in 2002 (Suppachai Jarernwong, 2001).

The concept of human security began to receive serious interest in Thailand when there was a bureaucratic reform. In addition, in the middle and late 1990s, Thailand revised the definition and the scope of security in Thailand. For example, the National Security Council’s strategic plan proposed an approach of people-centered as follows.

Developing the capacity of society and people in society to be able to cope with social changes by focusing on the quality of people, the coexistence in diverse cultures and the ability to use the diversity as the driver in problem solving, creating an environment that is conducive to the development of people and society by improving the environment in every aspect in order to prepare for such development. (Pornprapa Sinthunawa, 2017)

Although there was an establishment of the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security in 2002, in practice, there had been the movement in this field for a long time, including the six principles proposed by the People’s Party in 1932, the concept of quality of life of Dr. Puey Ungphakorn in 1973 and the promotion of the establishment of Universal Health Coverage, folk wisdom and strong communities as well as human rights from 1987 - 1997. These concepts constituted enough

knowledge for practice and further education (Anut Arpapirom, 2002). Therefore, it can be said that throughout the development period of the last 5 decades under the 12 National Economic and Social Development Plans, the effort in creating a good life for the people continued.

In the first 7 National Economic and Social Development Plans, the government played an important role in development. Although the 8th National Economic and Social Development Plan, which began in 1997, did not use the conceptual framework of human security, there was an effort in changing the focus of development from national economic growth and security to human development with a wide range of objectives (the Government of Thailand, 1997 - 2001). Later, the same concept was developed until the 12th National Economic and Social Development Plan (2017 - 2021) began to focus on the use of participation processes from various sectors and the creation of social network. The indicators were set for the continuous development for a good life for people. The methods of study were extensively presented covering various dimensions of human development that helped stimulate the interest in threats and the original risks that still existed and identify new threats and new risks arising from in economic, social and political changes.

Thailand gave priority to the importance of the concept of human security by adhering to the principles of human dignity and the implementation of human rights, providing equal and fair services to the people and reducing disparity in society. It can be said that the meaning of “human security” defined by the 4th National Social Welfare and Social Welfare Development Plan (2002 - 2006) means that the public is guaranteed safety rights, responding to basic needs and being able to live life in society with dignity, not experiencing poverty, hopelessness, being happy and receiving equal opportunities to develop their potential”, defined in Human Security Strategic Plan, 2013 - 2023 (Ministry of Social Development and Human Security, 2013).

The concept of human security in Thailand started to gain attention seriously when the bureaucracy was reformed and the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security was established in 2002. but in practice, there has been movement in this field for a long time since the introduction of the Six Principles of the People’s Party in 1932, the concept of quality of life of Puey Ungphakorn, the promotion of a

universal healthcare system, local wisdom and strong communities and human rights. Especially from 1987 - 1997, the human resource development policy was put in the National Economic and Social Development Plan. It became a body of knowledge for studies after the economic crisis in 1997. The promulgation of a new constitution Thailand has become a social-political innovation, promoting human security to a certain extent in terms of human rights, reducing inequality and creating fairness in society.

2.1.5 Human Security Components in the Context of Thai Society

The Ministry of Social Development and Human Security in collaboration with School of Social and Environmental Development, National Institute of Development Administration and Faculty of Social Administration, Thammasat University studied and developed standards and indicators of human security through the participation process of all relevant sectors, to assess social situations and to be the framework for guidelines and operational goals for setting standards and indicators for human security. International standards and indicators were studied. Most of which were those of Western countries, and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), defining human security components in 7 dimensions. Brainstorming with the stakeholders by organizing forums and surveys were also administered. It also focused on the eastern way in order to be in line with the context of Thai society, considering both the quality of life and the threats, covering freedom from want, equal opportunities and freedom from fear. It has been in operation since 2004. Human security standards with 12-dimensional components, namely accommodation, health, food, education, employment and income, family, community and social support, religion and culture, life and property safety, rights and equity, politics, environment, and resources / energy have been established, and the indicators for each dimension have also been set (Pornprapa Sinthunawa, 2017), covering a wide range of subjects as follows.

- 1) Human security in accommodation means having legal residence and rights and ownership rights. There is a utility system provided for members to use together sufficiently, durably and proportionally with hygiene and safety

2) Human security in health means having good health with appropriate health insurance and access to health services. Lifestyle behavior is less risk of both physical and mental illnesses.

3) Human security in food means eating safe food, having knowledge and behaviors in choosing the right food that does not cause severe diseases.

4) Human security in education means receiving formal or informal education, at least not lower than the compulsory education as well as continuing further education at a higher level and being able to use knowledge in working, communication and continuous self-development.

5) Human security in employment and income means getting a job that generates sufficient income and not being in debt that causes no value to self and family and having sufficient savings for living and being satisfied with the income and job.

6) Human security in family means that family members know their roles and have a good relationship and responsibilities that can help each other, not causing violent conflicts.

7) Human security in community and social support means having a clear and strong community structure. Community members have social capital that can be used in social support. Help and support are given to one another. There is participation in social activities. Community is peaceful and safe.

8) Human security in religion and culture means having religious and cultural activities, preserving, promoting and inheriting wisdom sustainably.

9) Human security in safety in life and property means having a normal way of life, living a normal life, being safe in life and property and not suffering from the effects of social or natural disasters.

10) Human security in rights and fairness means receiving equality and fairness according to legal rights, not causing trouble to self and being able to exercise rights correctly according to status, roles and opportunities.

11) Human security in politics means having regular political participation in various forms, being treated in a democratic manner under the principles of good governance.

12) Human security in environment, resources / energy means living safely from natural and environmental disasters, using resources worthily, having conservation activities, searching for environmental resources and renewable energy (Ministry of Social Development and Human Security, 2016).

It can be concluded that the components of human security in the context of Thai society studied and developed from international standards and indicators. Most of them are of the Western countries and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The context of Thai society, the dimensions of quality of life and threats are also considered. Therefore, the standard of human security consists of 12 dimensions, including (1) accommodation, (2) health, (3) food, (4) education, (5) employment and income, (6) family, (7) community and social support, (8) religion and culture, (9) life and property safety, (10) rights and fairness, (11) politics, (12) environment resources/energy.

2.2 Concepts Related to Freedoms, Fairness and Social Equality

The evidence of the Thai historical chronicles recorded since the reign of King Rama 1 revealed that there were problems of gender inequality or problems of security in the lives of LGBT people. They were threatened and punished both directly and indirectly from society and government officials. Such penalties indicated that Thai society recognized that homosexual behavior had increased until it caused problems. Therefore, legislation and penalties were issued to control them by overlooking human dignity. But later, when society was widely open, social attitudes towards LGBT were changed. Until the present day, people are the center of development, and more priority is given to human security. However, LGBT people are still limited in their rights, freedoms, fairness and gender equality, which is against the principles of universal human rights that attach importance to human dignity with the belief that humans are born with value. According to the review of literature related to the principles of human security and security of LGBT people, there are theoretical concepts related to the rights of LGBT people, such as principles of rights and freedoms, human rights principles, Declaration on Sexual Rights, the Yogyakarta Principles, Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against

Women as well as theory of fairness, theory of equality, theory of stigma from society. The details are as follows.

2.2.1 Meanings and Relationships between Human Dignity and Rights and Freedoms

To understand the meaning of “human dignity”, understanding the definition of “rights” first is required because both of them are interrelated. It is generally accepted that human dignity is the foundation that creates various rights. In addition, the terms “rights and freedoms” and “human dignity” in a democratic society that the Constitution is the supreme law are often cited or acted or used to prohibit others to act and used to ask the state to act or dispute some actions taken by the state. Therefore, these terms are very important to the basis of democratic governance. “Human dignity” was a new concept provided in the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand for the first time in 1997 and defined as the top priority of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand B.E. 2560 (2017) as appears in Chapter 1, Section 4 as follows. “Human dignity, rights, liberties and equality of the people shall be protected. The Thai people shall enjoy equal protection under this Constitution” (Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand, 2017, p. 7)

Right is something that is inherent to all humans, which no one can offend. Everyone has the right to survive and to live with dignity. This natural right still exists, even when there is no law to support. Banchoet Singkhaneti (2015) defined the definition of “right” in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, also known as the right under the public law that is the highest law given to certify a person to do anything or not doing anything as well as creating claims not to allow other people, especially government organizations to intervene in the scope of the right. In some cases, it causes a claim to the government to take a certain action. The right under the provisions of the Constitution is, therefore, the relationship between the individual and the state. It must bind all power-users’ organizations to respect, and protect the right under the provisions of the Constitution in order to allow this right to be effective in practice.

Worachet Pakeerut (2000) defines “right” as the power to force or demand other people do certain things. Constitutional right or Grundrecht: basic right means

the right of individuals to public power of the state. In principle, constitutional right is the power of individuals to protect themselves from being abused by the state. The individuals with constitutional right are guaranteed that this right is long-lasting and enforceable. Mostly, this right is provided in the Constitution. But in some cases, constitutional right is provided in the law or certified in an international treaty.

Regarding “freedom”, Supanee Chaiumporn (2017a) commented that the fundamental philosophy of freedom was originated for a long time, which may be together with the origin of human society. This is because “rights to freedom” is consistent with the nature of the individual, which responds to the three basic needs of human beings, namely material, social and psychological needs.

Worapoj Wisarootpitch (1995a) stated that “freedom” is the power of individuals for self-determination. With this power, individuals can choose their own way of life as they wish. Any person is free to so long as he/she is not forced to do what he/she does not wish to do and restrained from doing what he/she intends to do.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, dated August 26, 1789 of France gave the definition of freedom in Article 4, which stated that “freedom is the ability to do anything that does not disturb others. Therefore, only specific limitation of the exercise of the rights of each human being is that other members of society are also allowed to use these rights. This limitation can be set only by law Borwornsak Uwanno (2004, p. 84).

According to the definitions of rights and freedoms mentioned above, it can be said that the difference between rights” and freedoms is that “rights” are useful when people want to demand from others, while “ freedoms” refer to when people do anything without being forced or under a mandate which is not required by anyone (Somkit Lertpaithoon & Kla Samudavanija, 2003, p. 9), The Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand B.E. 2560 (2017) stipulates the importance of rights and freedoms of Thai people in Chapter 3, especially in Section 27 as follows.

All persons are equal before the law and shall have rights and liberties and be protected equally under the law. Men and women shall enjoy equal rights. Unjust discrimination against a person on the grounds of differences in origin, race, language, sex, age, disability, physical or health condition, personal status, economic and social standing, religious belief, education, or political

view which is not contrary to the provisions of the Constitution... Measures determined by the State in order to eliminate an obstacle to or to promote persons' ability to exercise their rights or liberties on the same basis as other person... (Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand, 2017, p. 16)

The term "human dignity" has many meanings, including historical, religious, philosophical and legal meanings. Wintrich (1957) explained that human dignity is above the law and has existed before constitutional provisions. Constitution drafters are not the creators of human dignity. However, it has already existed and accepted. Respect and protection of human dignity is the predicament of justice with protection. Dignity, therefore, has the highest value in the Constitution and is recognized as the basic norm of the Constitution. It can be concluded that "human may not be treated as merely objects of consideration", but humanity should be a unit in society. Living in a society with human dignity, every person in the society must respect each other's human dignity (Kamonchai Rattanasakaowong, 1994, pp. 109-110).

Banchoet Singkhaneti (2015) concluded that the meaning of "human dignity" defined by lawyers and by the verdict of German's Federal Constitutional Court as follows. Human dignity is a unique value due to humanity and is a value that is bound only to humanity. It does not depend on any other conditions such as race and religion. Such human values aim to allow humans to be independent in the development of their personality under their responsibility, which is considered "human dignity", which is the value that cannot be violated.

Udom Rathamarit, Nopnithi Suriya, and Banchoet Singkhaneti (2001) explained the meaning of "human dignity" that it is when there is a political change, resulting in the enactment of a constitution giving people equal status in the law. It is to make people less different as possible, which is regarded as equality. It is an opportunity given to people by not considering the factors that make people different such as gender, skin color and religion to separate people. Therefore, considering the extent of human dignity is to consider the lowest standard of human status, which is the final one that any human occupies, and other humans are not allowed to violate. If violation is found, it can be considered human dignity violation.

Duerig (1953, as cited in Banchoet Singkhaneti, 2015) explained the term “dignity” that every human being is a human being by his/her own spiritual power which makes him/her different from being in a natural state without personal privacy. Also, achieving goals within that personal boundary naturally depends on the decision of that person in defining himself/herself and creating his/her own environment. Based on this concept, the definition of “human dignity” consists of two important foundations that cannot be separated: the right to life and body, and the right to equality

“The right to life and body” is the thing that was born with the person. It is the right of the individual to exist in natural conditions. The right to life and body cannot be separated from a person. On the contrary, it may be able to get more collateral by the state law. The right to life and the body is a fundamental human right that is essential to human existence. In addition, it is a fundamental right showing that humans are free to define themselves according to their will from the freedom of human beings in creating their own environment or developing their own personality that distinguishes humans from other living beings. Therefore, in order to respect the rights of life and the body of the individual, each person has to respect the personal boundary of each person. The right to life and body, therefore, is an important foundation of “human dignity”.

“The right to equality” is that every human being has equal rights and freedoms. The right to life and body represents the personal boundaries of individuals, while “ the right to equality” represents the relationships of individuals with individuals and societies. Therefore, even if humans have the right to their own lives and bodies, if there is no guarantee of equality, they may be treated unequally to other people in the society or may be discriminated against by a state authority. For this reason, to allow humans to truly live with dignity, in addition to the right to life and the body, individuals must also be guaranteed equality. The equality principle is another important foundation of “human dignity”.

In short, rights are the powers or the interests that are recognized, protected by law and can be enforced to act or demand others to act or refrain from doing any act related to property or other persons. Freedoms refer to the ability of a person in doing whatever he/ she wants without hindrance. However, the exercise of a persons’

freedoms must not violate other people's freedoms. It can be seen that rights and freedoms are the words that cannot be separated from each other. Or, they should be used together as "rights and freedoms because both "rights" and "freedoms" allow a person to act as he or she wishes and to be guaranteed by law, but it must not violate the rights and freedoms of other people for social order and well-being of the community where that person lives.

2.2.2 Definitions and Basic Principles of Human Rights

Human rights are the concepts related to humanity. It makes humanity aware of what good is and what evil is. The idea that human beings have equal freedom has been raised for a long time by Western philosophers such as Thomas Hobbes and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. In addition, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the former president of America declared the rights of the modern world on January 6, 1941, four freedoms, which are freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from fear and freedom from want cannot be violated. This declaration limits the power of the government, and the government must provide public services for people. After declaring the right to freedoms for 5 years, the United Nations was established in 1946. The United Nations General Assembly issued the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on December 10, 1948, followed by the Covenant and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in many other areas such as, the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. This showed that the idea seeking to protect humans from the exploitation between humans and humans was formed in practice and caused some peace in the world more or less (Chana Pranomsri, 2014).

Article 2 of Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) states that "everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms as defined in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, skin color, gender, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. In addition, no distinction will be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty (Ittiporn Boonprakong & al., 2008).

Human rights are the concepts like civil rights, civil liberties or natural Rights. These rights belong to everyone (Banchaet Singkhaneti, 2015, p. 26). The key principles of human rights in Thailand are as follows.

1) Human dignity consists of two important foundations that cannot be separated: the right to life and body and the right to equality.

2) Human rights are universality and inalienability. It means that human rights belong to everyone without borders. Everyone has human rights, including civil rights, political rights and economic, social and cultural rights because in principle everyone is considered a person. No matter where in the world they are, or regardless of their nationality or ethnic origin, everyone has their own human rights. Therefore, it can be said that human rights belong to everyone, regardless of being poor or rich, disabled, children or women.

3) Human rights are indivisibility. That is, civil rights and political rights are indivisible that they are more important than economic, social and cultural rights. They are equally important. Therefore, if any government claims that the country must be developed for people's economic well-being or solving the problems about making a living first before allowing citizens to participate in politics, it inevitably violates this principle.

4) Equality and non-discrimination in Thai society appear in the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand, Chapter 3: Rights and Liberties of Thai People; Section 27 which states that "All persons are equal before the law, and shall have rights and liberties and be protected equally under the law. Men and women shall enjoy equal rights. Unjust discrimination against a person on the grounds of differences in origin, race, language, sex, age, disability, physical or health condition, personal status, economic and social standing, religious belief, education, or political view which is not contrary to the provisions of the Constitution, or on any other grounds shall not be permitted. Measures determined by the State in order to eliminate an obstacle to or to promote persons' ability to exercise their rights or liberties on the same basis as other person or to protect or facilitate children, women, the elderly, persons with disabilities or underprivileged persons shall not be deemed as unjust discrimination" (Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand, 2017).

5) Participation and inclusion mean that each citizen and a group of citizens or civil society are actively involved in access and benefit from civil rights and political rights and economic rights, social rights and cultural rights (Office of the National Human Rights Commission of Thailand, 2016).

6) Accountability and the rule of law mean that the state and organizations that are responsible for creating human rights must be responsible for answering questions about whether human rights are effectively implemented in their own country. Any rights that have not been implemented in accordance with international principles, the process of implementation must be explained to society. Especially, the state must have measures to govern the country by using the rule of law or principles of law fairly. People easily access to the judicial process, and the process is not complicated, according to the law and is equal in the presence of the law. Nobody is above the laws (Office of the National Human Rights Commission of Thailand, 2016).

In conclusion, human rights are fundamental rights and freedoms that belong to all people and cannot be taken away. But sometimes human rights can be limited, such as breaking the law, or acts that may endanger national security. Human rights are based on human values such as dignity, justice, equality, respect and freedom. In Thailand, human rights consist of the following components: 1) the right to life, body and equality; 2) universality and inalienability; 3) indivisibility; (4) equality and non-discrimination; 5) participation and inclusion and 6) Accountability and the rule of law. At present, human rights principles are recognized and used to create equality for all groups of people, including LGBT people. So, human rights principles related to LGBT people have been developed at both international level, such as Valencia Declaration on Sexual Rights and the Yogyakarta Principles, and the national level that many countries has been introduced in the constitution.

2.2.3 Equity and Social Justice Principles

Equity theory was developed by Adam (2005, as cited in Tin Pratchayaphrut, 1987) based on human similarity and the way people like to compare their own work with the work of others. For example, in the case of work, a worker's satisfaction depends on the balance or fairness that occurs when he/she learns that the ratio of

his/her input and the output that he/she receives is equal to the ratio of input and output of other people. In other words, it is based on the idea that no one is inferior to others in opportunity or human rights, which is the basic concept of equality.

Gender equality means that men and women have the same rights to social, economic, and political opportunities. Gender differences must not be a condition in determining the rights and opportunities of individuals in society. Gender equality also involves justice and sharing of responsibility in both family and society. If sexuality is something that blocks us from seeing the advantages and disadvantages of a person, it may lead to deprivation and limited opportunities for each individual. But, the problem of gender inequality which can be observed in Thai society includes discrimination against women, gender injustice, men having an advantage over women, sexual abuse, violence and molestation of women and rejection of different gender identity. This is consistent with the study of Phenprapha Pattaranukrom (2016), which stated that society was dominated by the male system as well as men's attitudes about superior power and stronger, resulting in inequality and violence.

Theory of justice is related to the study of duties and roles of the government in responding to people's needs, especially the examination of discrimination against different groups of people in society (Pendo, 2003). The true definition of equality is from social justice, which is the concept and the work of Rawls (1971), who was recognized by the social sciences theorists as the initiator of modern liberalism. Rawls' principle is based on the concepts of the social contract of Kant, Rousseau, and Locke (Anderson, 2002), which is based on the concepts of equality of people in American society and human rights principles (Bleiker, 2002; Lovin, 2002; Miliband, 2003).

Anderson (2002) conducted the research on the theory of Rawls (1971) believing that sought the minimum ethics sufficient to establish a good social system, which is believed to lead to the creation of a desired democratic society based on individual freedom and equality. In the society that give true freedom to members, there will be groups of people which are different in religion, race and others. This will enable society to create a form of social justice without any common religion or other characteristics. To make this concept successful, Rawls (1971) stated that

society must adhere to fairness and rational methods based on freedom and equality, instead of considering religious beliefs or other assumptions (Anderson, 2002).

A part of the social justice theory of Rawls (1971) is strongly related to the awareness of the oppression of people with various gender identities in terms of both status and the misunderstandings of different groups of people on LGBT. In general, misunderstandings in society tend to be caused by differences in race and ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, social status, intellect, disability and other characteristics (Anderson, 2002). Under such misunderstandings, each person needs fair treatment. They do not want society to classify them and discriminate against them according to such classifications (Gaus, 1983). The same is true for LGBT. They need the same rights as other groups in society without being categorized and discriminated against by society (Anderson, 2002).

Many authors and researchers have discussed the relationship between Rawls' social justice theory and the theory of fair allocation of citizens' rights claims of LGBT (Schauer & Sinnott-Armstrong, 2001). Rawls' work which is the most useful in social justice theory is called "A Theory of Justice" (Rawls, 1971). In this work, Rawls presented the basic characteristics of social justice, both equality and fairness (D. Miller, 1999). However, Rawls did not define these two terms officially. But he suggested ways to apply the concept of equality and social justice, and proposed that it is the duty of society to make all people adhere to these principles. It is the responsibility of the state to create acceptance of equality and social justice. It is consistent with the human rights principle stating that it is the duty and responsibility of the government to create a fair environment that human rights laws can be put into practice and enforced, which will prevent individuals from having to face human rights violations from their own government or from other people (Wetzel, 2001).

For the principles of equality, (Rawls, 1971) did not provide a clear definition, but divided the levels of equality into 3 levels, from basic to the most complex, describing the role of morality and ethics affecting the way of behavior of people. The failure of the government to protect LGBT leads to arguments and movements for the various sectors of society adhering to Rawls' social justice theory of equality and fairness (Bleiker, 2002), in order to allow LGBT to be assured that they will be treated the same way as different groups of people in society.

Locke (2005), a British philosopher, said that “man is created equal” with natural equality. No one has more natural characteristics than others. But over time, it is different by studying the roles and responsibilities, which is economic stratification. It is in accordance with Adam Smith stating that natural equality does not indicate that that person is economically equal (Suvicha Pouaree, 2016).

It can be concluded that the principle of equality is based on the idea that no human being is inferior to others in opportunity or human rights. All humans are equal by nature. However, in terms of equality or human rights, all humans must be treated fairly in rights, welfare, protection, as well as enforcement of laws from the government sector without discriminating against LGBT people. These are considered basic human rights. It is the duty and responsibility of the government to create a fair environment, so that individuals do not face human rights violations by their own governments or from others.

2.3 Concepts Related to Gender and Gender Diversity

It started from the origin of human security, which evolved the concept of security from centralization in the form of national security or traditional security, which is a matter of creating military power and territory to become security in human and social development. Every human or citizen within the state or country whether women or men, needs security to live a normal life, receive the basic freedoms that all humans should receive from the state, receive protection and legal rights under the principles of the Constitution and international human rights principles that protect human dignity, which is a natural right that everyone has received since birth. Also, one of the principles of human rights related to human security is the complete equality between females and males. But in reality, humans do not have only 2 sexes or a trap of gender myths which are “male” and “female”, raised from the concepts of discrimination and classification of the structural paradigm which describes that the gender of male and female is the creation of order to categorize humans in the social category. It is believed that the existing differences are natural roots that describe the gender of male and female with biological distinction. Such explanation allows object-oriented truth to define gender differences, or to make gender become “object”

matter. At the same time, it makes gender differences to become “social” matter which indicates that males and females have sexual identities that are endorsed or organized by society (Naruepon Duangwiset, 2016). However, if the gender myths and appearance are overlooked and sexuality, sexual orientation and gender identity are focused instead, it will be seen that citizens living within a state or country on this planet have a deep and beautiful variety of gender in a variety of ways, known as “LGBT”. This group of people is like general citizens, who need security in life, basic rights and freedoms in accordance with international human rights principles which are the rights that should not be violated. The government should also provide equal protection to both gender and gender in accordance with myths.

2.3.1 Concepts and Theories of Human Sexuality and Scientific Processes

Over the past decades, the global social phenomenon has changed a lot. The concept of natural human sex which is male and female has been challenged by pluralism, which recognized social and cultural realities as diverse, with complex and unpredictable social expressions, (Simon, 2003, p. 28). This causes the human sexual life to be unstable. In addition, the meanings of the term “sex” are related to at least 4 implications, namely, sex, gender, sexuality and emotions.

1) Sex refers to biological sex that is determined by nature and is a condition in biology that cannot be changed (except sex reassignment surgery which can be changed in some parts). The person born to be a woman or a man has a duty to give birth and different personalities. For example, only females can get pregnant and give birth while males are involved in giving birth by producing sperms to mix with females’ eggs (Krittaya Archavanitkul, 2011, p. 44).

2) Gender refers to sex that is defined by social or cultural conditions in order to play female or male roles. Therefore, gender can be changed according to the changing circumstances and conditions of society. In addition, the gender roles defined by society also have implications for the opportunities that each gender can access, use and control resources because each gender has different rights, powers, responsibilities, and expectations from society. Importantly, the roles of gender determined by society have profound effects on the status of women and men in that

society. In other words, gender is the knowledge that creates meanings for biological differences. It is the complexity in society, economy and politics. Female or male is a physiological fact. But, becoming a woman or a man is a cultural process. It can be said that culture creates femininity and masculinity in the society and specifies how women and men must behave. For instance, Thai culture teaches that women must be neat. They must not speak loudly and swear. On the contrary, men are not expected to be like that. Moreover, a woman who is a wife must obey her husband and give priority to the duties of the wife and mother than the success in working (Bhassorn Limanonda, 1999, p. 5). However, in the society with the control of gender roles and gender norms, a person may not be able to fully express his or her gender, and must show the gender roles as determined by society. Controlling gender roles make people who express themselves differently from social norms be stigmatized and become a marginalized group or a minority in a society that is faced with deprivation and exploitation from a large group or discriminated against by people in the mainstream culture.

3) Gender identity refers to a person's deep feelings about gender which may be consistent or opposite to his or her own biological sex as well as physiological sensations (which, if able to choose, it may be related to the change of appearance and physical function by medical methods, surgery or any other method) and gender expression such as dressing, speech and other actions (Busakorn Suriyasarn, 2014).

4) Sexuality refers to sexual orientation created from values, norms and system of thought, practices regarding sexual desire and expression, thoughts about lovers, ideal spouses and erotic sex, which are the system of thought and behaviors that have social meanings related to the political, economic, social, and cultural dimensions which define and create meaning for sex in many aspects (Krittaya Archavanitkul, 2011). Sexual diversity can be defined as follows.

(1) Heterosexuality means that a person loves, or is satisfied, or feels attracted to another person who has an opposite identity or expression such as love between a man and a woman.

(2) Homosexuality means that a person is sexually pleased and satisfied, or has a sexual attraction towards someone who has the same identity or expression, such as lesbians and gays.

(3) Bisexuality refers to the way a person loves or is satisfied with or is attracted to both a person with an opposite identity or expression and a person with the same identity or expression (This does not mean having sex at the same time).

At present, there is a definition of a person who states that he/she does not love or like any sex or any kind of person. In English, it is called asexual. In addition, someone says he/she loves and satisfies with someone with no restrictions on sex, gender and sexuality. This group is called pansexual (Scherrer, 2008, p. 78).

In addition, sexual orientation and gender identity are different. That is, sexual orientation is the basic form of emotion, lust or deep sexual interest, whether it is interest in men, women or all sexes, or not interested in any gender at all. Sexual orientation defines sexuality, such as heterosexuality, homosexuality and bisexuality. Gender identity is used to define sex of oneself and is shown to those around regardless of physical characteristics. Gender identity may refer to men, women, queer or many others (Priyoth Kittiteerasack, 2017, p. 6).

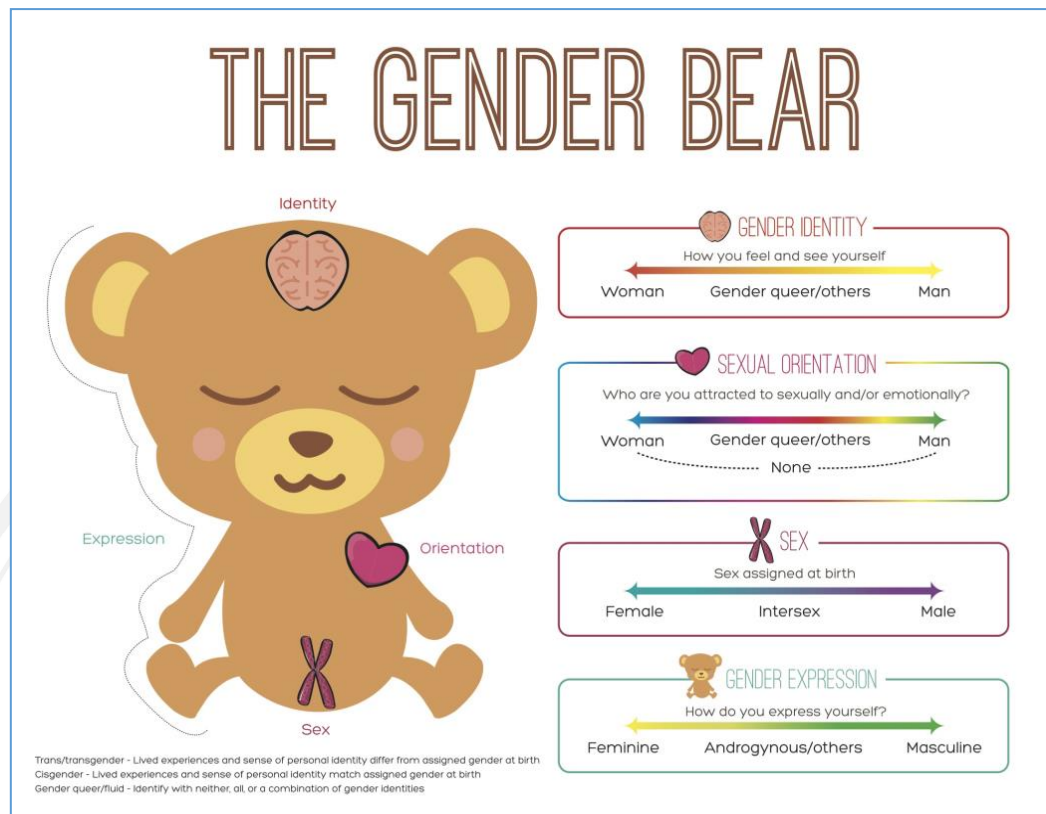


Figure 2.1 Gender Bear

Source: Justiceforsisters.com (2016).

From Figure 2.1, it is easier to understand gender diversity by looking at the image of Gender Bear, which divides the gender of a person into 4 areas: 1) the biological sex (based on sex organs and chromosomes); 2) gender identity (at the brain - what gender I think I am); 3) sexual orientation (at the heart – what gender I feel attracted to); and 4) sexual expression (at the body - what gender I act in). All 4 gender aspects do not have to be in the same direction, such as having a female sex organ but defining herself as a man and expressing through gestures and dressing like men (transgender men); and men loving or liking men (gays); or born as intersex and defining himself as a woman, expressing as androgynous (not clearly expressing in femininity or masculinity, such as a wearing unisex clothes) and liking both men and women. If we understand the diversity that can occur in all 4 dimensions, we will understand that there is an endless variety of sexuality.

2.3.2 Concept of Gender Diversity

2.3.2.1 Paradigm of Gender Diversity

Paradigm of gender “diversity” was originated from the knowledge crisis arising from the modernist perspective which describes the human gender in the developmental or straight-line process and believes in natural existence or “essence” of sexuality in biology. This crisis was challenged by pluralism, which tried to fill the gap left by science, especially the complexity of human sexual life experiences (Simon, 2003, p. 28).

The challenge with pluralism relies on denaturalization to find out the meaning of “sex”. Behavior, mood and sexual expression are created by society or cultural products and expressed by the person’s life experience. The goal of denaturalization is to criticize the method of categorization or the classification of “sex” (both sex and behavior) of humans into groups because classification makes human sexual life experience become a stereotype. The more we believe in the categorization or classification, the more we think that sex must have a clear category. But those categories are based on the concept of “gender” that is divided into two parts: male and female. This paradigm comes from a scientific paradigm that considers “sex” as a matter of natural reproduction that there are only male and female.

To explain various truths, denaturalization of gender classification is the demolition of the scientific paradigm that created gender theory by considering “functionalism” which is too superficial (Simon, 2003, p. 30). Initially, science only described the sexual life of humans as an expression of sexual desire. But, the pluralism, such as the queer concept, views that human sexuality or sexual life is not just a natural propulsion or a natural instinct, but it is sexualized representations of desire (Simon, 2003, p. 28). This expression gives people the opportunity to create and change their own sex history. Also, such expression is complex and unpredictable which makes the story of human sexual life unstable.

Simon (2003) stated that although the truths in human life are still the same, the interpretation of the truths can always change because a person is able to create and imagine sexual fantasies from his/ her own memories. Expression of feelings using sex as a medium, therefore, has an open meaning. This potential has

been overlooked in science studies. So, it is questioned whether explanations of universality of sex really exist if a person can give meaning to his/her own sexual memories that affect feeling expressions using sex as a medium. Therefore, the truth about sex will naturally be created differently according to the experience of each person. One observation is that sex-based social life does not exist on its own, unlike what has been stated by science. For example, it is said that sexual experiences in childhood can affect sexual behavior in adulthood. On the other hand, the sex-based social life of human is created by a human being. It is not something that already exists because the meanings of experiences in childhood are given at different times and situations. It is not an indicator of sexual behavior in any way. This argument is based on the belief that sex is something that is created by society (Simon, 2003, p. 29).

When a person's gender is different from sex, a person can choose or determine the gender that matches his/her own identity without having to refer to sex that is inherited since birth and being able to change at any time. Therefore, gender is more diverse. In addition, gender is also related to sexual orientation or sexuality of a person which is different and does not need to be limited by social norms that accept only heterosexual group. According to this diversity and flow, it is difficult to explain and define the definition. Therefore, it is generally called LGBT, which refers to Lesbian, Gay Bisexual and Transgender. LGBT is classified as a minority in society. Because the sexual orientation of this group is different from social norms, LGBT people are usually pushed into marginalized people, facing with discrimination and deprivation of rights so that they do not have rights equally to people whose sexual orientation is in accordance with norms. Moreover, their sexual orientation is condemned as illegal. In some cases, they may be attacked to death. LGBT people are still treated unfairly and human rights are violated. Society also discourages rights or opportunities for self-development of LGBT because of prejudice and incorrect beliefs, such as deprivation from promoting to senior management positions and confrontation with homophobia (Russell, 2004).

In summary, "gender diversity" is an idea that wants to open up space for the expression of human identity or gender identity, which does not need to comply with social norms and rules. "Gender diversity" involves concepts and

theories that are used to understand behavior, human identity and human sexual practices. These issues had been debated for a long time in history. LGBT was a matter of debate in the theories in Western society, which was divided into two sides between the side that believed in binary gender or natural gender consisting of only male and female; and the side which believed that humans can show sexual behavior, emotions and identities, without the need to be tied to natural or physical sex.

2.3.2.2 Concepts of Homosexuality

Studies from anthropologists have shown that homosexual has existed since primitive times and found in many civilizations in the past such as ancient Greece. It was believed that boys must have sex and drink semen from an adult before being accepted as a full-grown man. Love of gay was open and considered a good relationship. In addition, the tendency of homosexuality increased and also affected the Roman Empire (Sirivimon Payaksee, 2016, June). In the Roman era, it was believed that homosexuality was a religious ritual. Homosexual behavior in those days was something that people accepted and praised. Later, this behavior was seen as a sin which destroyed good morals and was forbidden (Lalita Teerasiri, 1987). It was like the behavior of men of the Indian tribe called “Berdache” who had passion for being women. They both dressed and acted as women throughout their life. They were responsible for performing spiritual rituals and dealing with God. They were honored by the tribe as they were trusted in the power to communicate with God because they were understood to be the persons of two spirits. However, such sexual freedoms immediately entered the Dark Age when it was the era of Christianity’s prosperity. There was a panic attack of homosexual groups. There was a law prohibiting same-sex marriage. The penalty of homosexuals was as harsh as hunting the witch, such as burned alive in front of a crowd of people. In this era, it can be said that homosexuals had no roles. They did not dare to reveal themselves and their gender.

But, in the early 19th century, it was the most important era that homosexuals were more accepted. Liberal ideas quickly spread. Homosexuals were reunited in many countries, such as France, Italy and Germany. The important turning point of homosexuality began in modern history. Germany was the center of campaigns for the rights of homosexuals from 1860 - 1934. In 1869, an Austrian writer, Kertbeny (1869), was the first person who had a role and defined the terms

“homosexual” and “heterosexual” (Suwatana Aribarg, 2010). The most significant turning point occurred in 1917 after the Russian Revolution. The Communist Party announced that homosexuality was not dangerous to society and was a natural matter. There were a lot of liberal thinkers. Also, many countries were developed into a democratic process. In this era, it was considered a prosperous era for homosexuality.

In 1973, the American Psychiatric Association (1973) confirmed new research and supported the removal of the word “homosexuality” from the treatise of mental illness. In addition, in 1975, the American Psychological Association voted to support that sexuality was not a mental illness. In 1978, the World Health Organization defined the meaning of the word “homosexual” as having sexual satisfaction only or mostly with people of the same sex, which may or may not have physical relations with each other. When deciding if a person is LGBTIQ, it is not necessary to consider whether it is a mental disorder or not (Chetsada Noknoi, 2009).

As for the history of LGBT people in Thailand, male homosexual (gay) was found. According to Royal Chronicles of the Bangkok Era, Third Reign of Chaophraya Thiphakorawong Mahakosathibodi (Kham Bunnak). Kromluangrakronnares (the son of Phra Buddha Yodfa Chulaloke Maharaj) (Thiphakornwong Mahakotibodi & Chao Phraya, 1995, pp. 131-132), was a bisexual person who preferred males. The term “gay” was first used in Thai newspaper in 1965. But, the definitions of gay first appeared in the year 1973. It was known in a group of middle class and well-educated people. In the initial stage, there was a confusing understanding between the terms “gay” and “bisexual”, since society did not understand the behaviors of men who had relationships with men. Therefore, gay was considered in the same group as bisexual. Later, in 1980 - 1989, the term gay was increasingly used in society (Suwannee Sukhontha, 1973, p. 33). However, in Thailand, the term directly referring to homosexual people has never been used, except the word bisexual which is believed to be the oldest vocabulary appearing in the first Thai enacted law in the Rattanakosin period in the chapter which stated that other males who committed adultery would go to hell and be born as a bisexual five hundred lives (J. Jackson, 1997). However, in Thailand, the oldest term referring to the identity of a lesbian was “playing friend”, which means a sexual relationship between a woman and a woman.

According to studies in social sciences, academics stated that in today's society, apart from male and female that are generally accepted by the society, there are still different sexual characteristics. This group of people, in the views of patriarchal society, was recognized as a group that was deficient in masculinity, who cannot prove their masculinity, so they were considered marginal people. For this reason, they were not accepted by society and certified with legal status. In the past, parents thought that homosexuality was a mental illness. Therefore, they took their children to see a psychiatrist. But, from the experience of a psychiatrist, no homosexual people have changed their mind or returned to have behaviors like their biological sex (Surasak Maneesorn, 1994). For the discrimination in the Constitution, although the law states that "men and women have equal rights", it is an expression of inequality. De Beauvoir (2008), the wife of France's great existentialism, Sartre (1985), commented that "On Ne Naît Pas Femme: On le devient" which means that "we are not born a woman; we become a woman later." Therefore, the phrase "everyone is born equal" should be used instead. When men and women have equal rights, the choice of sex for their own should be possible (Thaweekiat Meenakanit, 1997). Moreover, some academics discussed about homosexuality that the sexuality that the society considers to be legitimate is limited to the sexual relations between males and females in the institution of single marriage. This type of sexual relationship is recognized as natural and normal thing. The influence of this gender framework makes many forms of sex outside of marriage considered to be a social problem that needs to be resolved. In addition, sexual relations that are not about men and women and for fertility, such as, having sexual relations with people of the same sex, are considered immoral and/or unnatural (Chalidaporn Songsamphan, 2006).

2.3.3 Gender Diversity in the Context of the World Society and the Context of Thai Society

2.3.3.1 Gender Diversity in the Context of the World Society

The Western world in the modern era has entered a major social and cultural change, resulting in a change of perspective on gender, gender identity, privacy rights of individuals and perspective on the sexuality of people in society. It is because the influence of Christianity used as a tool for controlling human behavior in

society has been deteriorating in a political regime in the Western nations, and it has been influenced by the development of the liberal concept that gives importance and aware of the rights and freedoms, human equality and respect for human rights. This concept has been established and developed in Western society together with the development of democracy (Somchai Preechasinlapakun, 2015).

The change in the view of homosexuality shows that gender norms can change with time according to cultural beliefs and changing attitudes of society. At present, homosexuality is not considered an offense or abnormality in many developed countries. However, there are some countries that still consider homosexuality a crime, such as in Islamic countries and African countries, as shown in Figure 2.2.

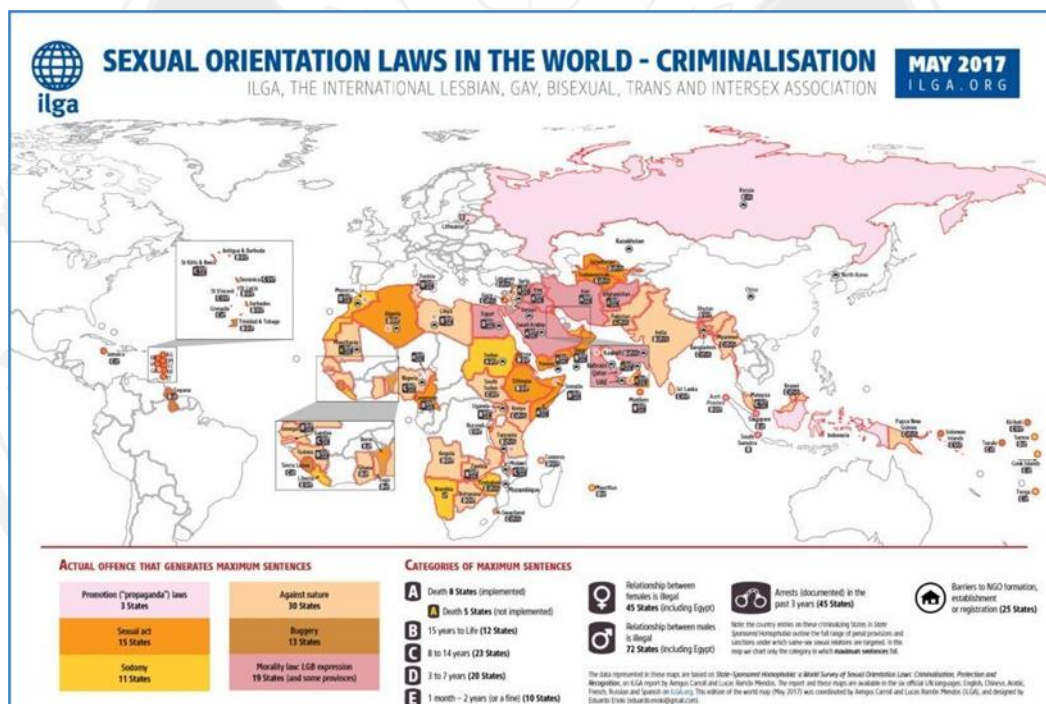


Figure 2.2 Map of Countries Having Criminal Penalties for Homosexuals

Source: Carroll & Mendos (2017).

In addition to same-sex love or same-sex relationships that exist in many cultures, transgender can also be found in many civilizations as well, such as, in the cultures of the Indians in the North America that is believed to have more than

two genders. That is to say, in addition to men and women, there are people who cross from men to women and women to men. In some tribes, transgender people imitate the dress code of another gender. Also, in some tribes, transgender people imitate dressing, social roles and behaviors of another gender. They are also given with different values. For example, transgender people have certain supernatural powers or special powers than other people.

Currently, there are 30 countries that have laws allowing same-sex marriage based on equality rights, including the Netherlands, the first country in the world since 2003, followed by Belgium, Canada, Spain, South Africa, Norway, Sweden, Iceland, Portugal, Argentina, Denmark, Uruguay, New Zealand, France, Brazil, United Kingdom, Luxembourg, Finland, Ireland, Greenland, USA, Colombia, Germany, Malta, Australia, Bermuda, Faroe Islands, Austria, Taiwan, and Costa Rica. (Ratchada Rattanawirojkul, 2020).

In addition, for gender diversity of LGBT, many important world leaders have also accepted that they are homosexuals as follows.

Tim Wilson, Member of the Australian House of Representatives proposed to marry his partner, Bolger (1973), during a debate at a council meeting for considering the draft law of same-sex marriage in the country.

In my first speech, I defined our bond by the ring that sits on both of our left hands. They [the rings] are the answer to the question we cannot ask,” an emotional Mr. Wilson said... “So there is only one thing left to do. Ryan Patrick Bolger, will you marry me?”

After Mr. Wilson finished his speech, Mr. Bolger replied with a loud “yes”, prompting cheers and applause (Khaosod Online, 2017).

Leo Varadkar, 38 years, the son of an Indian doctor and an Irish nurse became the first prime minister in Irish history who is “a gay” with an ethnic background. He is also the youngest prime minister in the history of the country. Mr. Varadkar revealed his sexual orientation through a local radio station in Ireland a few months before the issue of 2015 referendum on same-sex marriage (Matichon Weekend, 2017).

I'm gay. That's not a secret. It's just something that everyone doesn't need to know ... It's just not what defines me. I'm not a half-Indian politician or a doctor politician or a gay politician.

Although my father is different, his son is treated equally and is judged by actions and expressions, not because of origin or identity.

There are lesbian couples who are outstanding at the global level. For example, in Iceland, the world's first lesbian Prime Minister, Johanna Sigurdardottir, 66 years old, is the first openly lesbian country leader living with her 54-year-old partner, having 2 children and 6 grandchildren. Mrs. Johanna Sigurdardottir revealed her life as follows.

She said that she is a lesbian. Her partner's name is Mrs. Jonina Leosdottir, 54 years old, who is British and a writer writing books and plays. They were married 6 years ago. They have 2 grown children from a previous marriage to a former husband, who is a banker. She has 6 grandchildren. However, she has never given much interviews about her personal life.



Figure 2.3 Johanna Sigurdardottir, the World'S First Lesbian Prime Minister
Source: Thansettakij (2020).

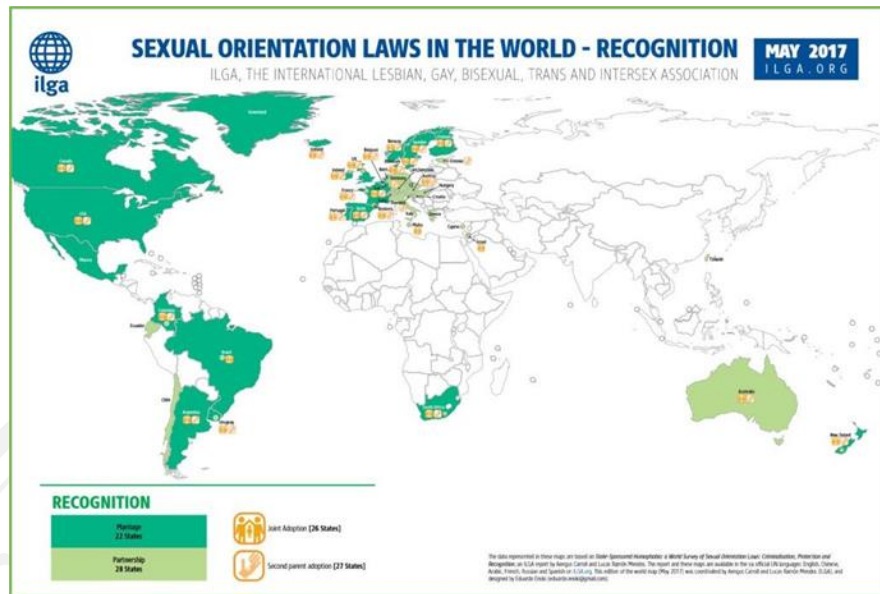


Figure 2.4 Map of Sexual Orientation in the World or Same-sex Marriage Law

Source: ILGA.org (2017).

2.3.3.2 Gender Diversity in the Context of Thai Society

The situation of LGBT in Thailand is very complex and conflicting. Although society accepts homosexuals and transgender and there are more lady boys than any other countries, the loathing and prejudice against LGBT is still evident. There is discrimination against this group hidden in various organizations. In Thailand, sexual behaviors that were not considered consistent with the heterosexual social norms were recorded in the 14th century. Until the 19th century, Thai society still considered the issue of LGBT as a matter of clothes and hairstyles. At the same time, in this era, society began to adopt Western influences of thought and social norms as well as the punishment of homosexual people and the idea that sexuality was no longer a personal matter but a part of social norms. Until the 20th century, Thailand changed its rule from absolute monarchy to constitutional democracy that was run by the government in 1932. It began to apply the principles and concepts of the role of sexuality and sexuality in connection with the creation of morality in society. At the same time, homosexuality began to be common, and gay and lesbian communities were formed. Foreigners from the Western countries living in Thailand also contributed to the change. After World War II and in the 1950s and 1960s, the

information about gender and sexuality began to be widespread. LGBT also appeared in media such as books and movies related to gay culture.

At present, Thailand still has its own conflicts about LGBT issues. Discussions about sexual orientation in society are taboo and sex education in school is still limited. Most LGBT people live in urban areas rather than rural areas. They are pressured in many ways. They have to act as good citizens of society. At the same time, they must be good children with gratitude to the family. In addition, the concept of values that sexual orientation or gender of a person should not contradict social norms and cause shame to himself/ herself and family. For these reasons, LGBT people live in society with even more pressure (UNDP, 2014).

The acronym LGBT was first used in 2010 in Thai society. Adoption of gender diversity is considered progressive. From the survey of “Nida Poll” of the National Institute of Development Administration on the topic of “What does Thai society think about LGBT” on May 15-16, 2013 from people all over the country, the majority of people (88.5%) can accept if their friends or coworkers are LGBT. Only 8.8% responded that they cannot accept it because it is against nature and affects the image of the organization. In addition, 77.6% can accept if their family members are LGBT. Only 17.3% thought that it is unacceptable because it violates natural law and they still need family heirs. Moreover, some behaviors of LGBT are eye-catching, making people uncomfortable (Pattraporn Chuenglertsiri, 2014). From the above figures, it reflects the attitude which is not a negative of Thai society on gender diversity. Promoting gender diversity of Thai society has progressed further until the (draft) registration of same-sex marriage was conducted in February 2013.

Although there were many great obstacles and challenges, the LGBT rights movement in Thailand has been full of energy, and a lot of effort has been achieved in the last 20 years. LGBT movement’s activities and the determination to fight can overcome challenges and create a positive motivation in creating equality for LGBT. Important opportunities and challenges that LGBT people have faced in recent times can be summarized as follow (UNDP, 2014).

In December 1996, the Office of Rajabhat Institutes Council, an organization supervising teacher colleges in Thailand, announced that homosexuals were not allowed to study in affiliated institutions nationwide (International Gay and

Lesbian Human Rights Commission, 2012). “ Sexually abnormal people” were included in the list of the qualifications that would not pass the selection of applicants to the teacher colleges in Thailand. One of the qualities that was considered “inappropriate” was sexual deviation. But after there was an opposition from human rights groups and the campaigns by Anjaree Group, the Committee on Justice and Human Rights of the Parliament abolished the ban. At the same time, public psychiatrists confirmed that “homosexuality was not a mental disorder”.

In the year 1999, the Announcement of the Ministry required the Public Relations Department to distribute the orders to all television stations on April 27, asking for cooperation to remove the programs with transgender people from television programs in order to prevent innocent youth from imitating the behaviors of transgender people (P. A. Jackson, 2002). Chantalak Raksayu together with LGBT activists jointly organized campaigns with letters and challenged this announcement. This announcement was widely criticized by news agencies and reporters. Shortly thereafter, the ministry claimed that the announcement was a misunderstanding. The movement and criticisms sparked public debate which led to the conclusion that there was the need for the media to appropriately present about the sexual minorities without discrimination (P. A. Jackson, 2002).

On January 29, 2002, the Department of Mental Health submitted a letter to the LGBT group to inform that homosexuality was not considered a mental disorder and was excluded from International Classification of Diseases’ 10th Revision (ICD-10) by the World Health Organization. However, despite the announcement from the Department of Mental Health, many schools still used the textbooks informing that people with various sexual identities and sexual orientation were abnormal (Brighttv, 2019).

In the year 2007, Rainbow Sky Association of Thailand called for the worldwide boycott of the Accor Hotels after a transgender woman was denied to enter the Novotel Hotel Club in Bangkok. Mr. Suttirat Simsiriwong submitted a request to Ms. Naiyana Supapeugn, the committee of the National Human Rights Commission (Nation Multimedia, 2007). The above issues and efforts to combat civil rights were widely presented by the media. After the manager of the hotel had issued an apology

to Mr. Suttirat Simsiriwong in public, Rainbow Sky Association canceled the boycott (Sanders, 2011).

Although the Constitution of Thailand, B.E. 2550 did not include the terms “sexual orientation and gender identity” in the messages about preventing discrimination, in the spirit of the Constitution, there was a clear explanation that the reference to “gender” in the section against discrimination (Section 30 of the Constitution) covered homosexual, bisexual and transgender people undergone sex reassignment surgery (Chantalak Raksayoo, Janjira Boonprasert, & Sumalee Tokthong, 2007).

Prior to Penal Code Amendment Act (No. 19), B.E. 2550, the definition of rape in Thailand covered only vaginal rape committed by men to women who were not wives (International Labour Organization, 2014). In 2007, a special group was formed for organizing campaigns for LGBT, as well as Anjaree Organization, the group of Mr. Nada Chaiyajit and other independent activists such as Mr. Natee Teerarotchanapong together with women’s rights activists filed a request to change the definition of rape. The ongoing effort by the women’s rights activists to redefine the definition of rape to protect women from rape by husbands was a good opportunity for LGBT organizations to join in the fight. Finally, during the period ruled by the military government, the definition of rape was modified to include the rape between spouses and other forms of two people. This included the rape between men and men (International Labour Organization, 2014; Sanders, 2011). The amendment also helped protect transgender people (Sanders, 2011).

In 2008, the LGBT group filed a petition with the court allowing transgender people to change the title of the name from “Mr.” to “Miss” because Thai law still requires persons to display the title of the name according to their gender in the legal documents. Even transgender women who undergo sex reassignment surgery must still comply with this law. This claim is linked to a petition of the women’s rights activist group seeking help for women to decide whether to change or not change the title of the name from “Miss” to “Mrs.” Finally, the petition of the women’s rights activist group was approved, and enforced. But, the petition of LGBT group has not been approved (Sanders, 2011). Currently, only individuals with intersex can “change” the title of the name after having undergone sex reassignment

surgery and selecting their own gender (International Labour Organization, 2014). They can also use the Universal Health Coverage Service for sex reassignment surgery to match their gender certified by the doctor. The National Health Security Office (NHSO), submitted a letter to the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) stating that LGBTI people who are classified as LGBTI will be surgically treated to match their gender as approved by the doctor. They are in the category and scope of the public health service under Section 5 of the National Health Security Act B.E. 2545 (Voicetv.co, 2018a).

At the United Nations General Assembly in 2010, the countries that opposed LGBT rights advocated to remove the word “including sexual orientation” in the prevention of illegal killings (International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission, 2012). During the UN General Assembly, Thai LGBT group met with the National Human Rights Commission and asked them to help pressure the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to not vote to support the said consideration. Demonstration was organized and the letter was submitted to the Cabinet. Whether with or without pressure by civil society, Thailand abstained from voting at that time. However, the claim made the government of Thailand vote in favor of the UN General Assembly A / C.3 / 67 / L.36 on the issue of illegal killings, which included the issues about sexual orientation and gender identity (United Nations, 2012).

In 2010, the gay movie “Insects in the Backyard”, directed by a transgender woman was banned by the Culture Ministry’s National Film Board (Nation Multimedia, 2010). The committee agreed that the film “destroyed the orderliness and morality of the nation”. It was banned based on Section 29 of the Film Act B.E. 2553 (Bangkok Post, 2010). The film director commented that “the ban is a signal to the filmmakers that gay movies with negative portrayals of Thai society are prohibited” (Nation Multimedia, 2010). The filmmaker appealed against the decision and the case was suspended in the Constitutional Court for three years. This has been the first case since the Film Act B.E. 2551 passed that the movie was banned due to the issues related to sexual orientation and gender identity. Other LGBT films were also banned because they were alleged to contain inappropriate or pornographic content which is considered illegal in Thailand according to Section 287 of the

Criminal Code that the production, dissemination and possession of pornographic images are prohibited.

On August 21, 2013, Ramkhamhaeng University was the first university in Thailand that allowed students to dress according to their gender during the exams. Students have to submit a request 1 semester in advance and the consideration is on a case-by-case basis (Liljas, 2014b).

The Rights and Liberties Protection Department and the Committee on Justice and Human Rights of the Parliament proposed the Civil Union Bill of Same-Sex Couples for voting in the House of Representatives on September 18, 2013. But, the progress of the draft has been disrupted since then. However, it has been widely accepted that the Bill does not reflect the true needs of Thai LGBT (ILaw.or.th, 2013) since it does not mention about transgender people and include many important issues, such as the rights of child rearing. So, the Bill has been delayed indefinitely.

On January 16, 2014, LGBT members from various organizations in collaboration with the Law Reform Commission of Thailand appointed the committee to draft the second Civil Union Bill of Same-Sex Couples which was gender-neutral and covered the rights of children and youth, welfare, insurance and other benefits. If the draft is approved by the parliament, same-sex couples will be allowed to register the marriage like heterosexual couples.

In 2018, an LGBT couple filed a complaint to the Gender Discrimination Commission under the Gender Equality Act B.E. 2558 to determine that they were discriminated due to sex since they cannot marry under the Civil and Commercial Code.

On June 4, 2019, the Foundation for SOGI Rights and Justice (ForSogi) filed a petition with the Ombudsman to submit a request to the Constitutional Court to decide that prohibiting LGBT couples from marrying under the Civil and Commercial Code is against the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand, Section 27 on Equality of Persons.

On November 22, 2019, there was the movement of lesbians and a working group to create equal marriage law. The Foundation for SOGI Rights and Justice filed a petition with the Constitutional Court to decide that the provisions of the Civil and Commercial Code, Section 1448, Family Registration Act, B.E. 2478,

stating that if the marriage that occurs between a man and a woman is in conflict with the Constitution or not because it is discrimination, making same-sex couples and LGBTQ couples unable to register marriage (Watsamon Tri-yasakda, 2019).

From the information mentioned above and that gay and lesbian couples were denied a marriage registration in Chiang Mai in 2012, there are probably many people who are suspicious and noted that why Thailand still has no equal marriage law or even other forms of law to protect the rights of LGBT people in Thailand. In addition, the government of Thailand made a commitment to the Universal Periodic Review (UPR) in 2016 to review The Civil and Commercial Code of Thailand that restricts LGBT marriage rights. In addition, in the past, the Minister of Justice (the government 2014 - 2018) had promised to pass a law certifying the rights of LGBT couples within the year 2018. However, the movement for freedom, human dignity and equality as Thai citizens according to Thai democracy is not enough to draft the law (Issaranews, 2020).

Therefore, even though Thai society is open to LGBT people, it is not enough to enable these people to live in a happy and equal society or receive equal rights with other people. In addition, some people in society also see that these people are abnormal and must be addressed. Some people are knowledgeable and able to make many benefits for the nation. But they have to endure discrimination due to their own gender. It is also predicted that Thailand is facing a rapid demographic transition. By the year 2050, there will have been more than 35% of the elderly aged 60 years and over. At the same time, the group of people with sexual orientation and gender diversity are expanding, but there is still little action to strengthen this group of people, who are entering the end of life (Bltbangkok.com, 2019).

2.3.4 Concepts and Theories of the Origin of Lesbians

Dating back to the year 1957, which was the first era of research on sex in Thailand, Thai society still did not accept the openness about sex, either directly showing the body or disseminating through publications or criticisms. In that era, sex was interpreted as a shame and should be hidden. Research on sexuality in the past was, therefore, restricted by cultural conditions that did not accept the openness about sex (Matthana Chetmee, 1996). The study about sex seriously began in 1984, which

was the era of the epidemic of AIDS. There was support for research on sex issues from government agencies as well as international organizations, especially the research on sexual behavior of at-risk and non-risk groups of AIDS. From this point, the homosexual group was known as the first risk group. Also, homosexuality revealed more identity. The initial study of homosexuality was limited to male homosexuality and psychology, which mostly viewed that homosexuality was caused by the stasis of sexual development from childhood to adulthood (Matthana Chetmee, 1996). However, in some aspects of sociology, homosexual behavior was still classified as sexual deviation due to the basic idea or the attitude of most people in society that viewed this behavior abnormal.

The relationship history of “lesbians” in Thai society has been recognized for a long time. For example, the behavior of “playing friend” often occurred among palace women because many women lived together. Therefore, Palace Law, Section 124 clearly stated about this offense as follows. “If the women in the palace have sexual relationships with other palace women, will receive a punishment of 50 lashes and be reviled around the palace”. There is also a mural painting aged over a hundred years at Wat Kongkharam, Ratchaburi Province. It is a picture of two women arrested in a hanging basket. It is presumed to be the punishment from the offense of having “playing friend” behavior (Sirivimon Payaksee, 2016, June). In addition, in literature in the early Rattanakosin period, during the reign of King Chulalongkorn, there was a law specifying the penalties of those who committed abnormal sexual abuses according to the Royal Decree on Rape and Sexual Assault, R.E. 168 (B.E. 2411). A violent offender would be imprisoned for ten years or less. Later, after the establishment of the Criminal Code B.E. 2452, the penalty of this offense was reduced to only three months imprisonment to three years imprisonment, and the fine was fifty baht to five hundred baht. Additionally, after the Criminal Code had been examined in 1956, this offense was abolished. After that, homosexuality was no longer a criminal offense (Paritta Chalernpow Koanantakool, 2001).

The relationship of “lesbians” had continued. Until the year 1986, people gathered in a closed group without the official name. As the group was growing and the number of people joining the meeting was increasing, the group was named “Anjaree Group”. After that, the group was formally established and disclosed with

the lesbian organization at a regional level in 1990. Then the group was disclosed to the public and one of its members revealed herself to the Thai society. Anjaree Group also published Anjaree Newsletter over a period of time. It was one of the first publications in Thailand which the targets were lesbians. There is also an online community of lesbians, such as lesla.com. It is the change that is consistent with the era and technological progress (National Discovery Museum Institute, 2019).

Sumalee Suaysaard (2011) mentioned about the origin of the lesbian group in Thailand in the book entitled “Sex Education”. The lesbians’ movement is now a strong part of the women’s rights movement in the West and many countries in South America and Asia such as Japan, Taiwan, Korea, India and the Philippines. In each country, there often several groups of lesbian organizations. But in Thai society, there is only one group called “Anjaree”, which is an organization open to the public and working in the rights movement of lesbians. The study of the lesbian’s social movements is, therefore, special and different from other issues. This is the study of the phenomenon of organizational movement in only one group, which is “Anjaree Group”. The focus of the group is primarily on human rights. The lesbian groups are considered as the main focus of the movement. The movements are to reduce or eliminate the prejudice and discrimination of society towards lesbians. There are four group’s objectives as follows.

- 1) To encourage lesbians to gain confidence in their rights and choices in life
- 2) To eliminate prejudice and disseminate fair ideas, attitudes and understandings towards lesbians
- 3) To prevent the violation of lesbians’ rights so that they are not bullied and excluded from society, which is a fundamental human rights principle
- 4) To cooperate with other human rights organizations in claiming human rights in all matters

What Anjaree Group wants to tell Thai society is that homosexuality is not a sexual or mental disorder at all. It also wants to make society understand that homosexuality is a matter of individual rights. It is just another life’s option.

The growth of Anjaree Group is not just limited to only lesbians, but it also extends to LGBT people in various relationships, so it has been established and registered as a non-profit foundation called “Anjaree Foundation” since 2013.

It can be concluded that there has been the relationship of lesbians for a long time. It is an international relationship that is not limited to only in Thailand, but it is happening in many countries. According to the study of psychology and biology in terms of sexology, lesbian is not considered a physical or mental disorder. Also, lesbians are not considered as patients that must be treated. However, because of the social and cultural conditions, the perception and the understanding of lesbians are narrow. Therefore, it cannot be revealed clearly by the recognition of characteristics. Sexual orientation caused by gender is a barrier to disclosure.

2.4 Concepts Related to Social Movements of LGBT

Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre stated that social movements grew with the liberal democratic ideology in the 19th century. The idea of freedom of expression began to play an important role among citizens. When people felt they had been persecuted, or had not received equality and fairness, they expressed their thoughts and criticized various social problems which led them to form groups to claim rights or protest the state administration (Amnesty International Thailand, 2017a).

Naruepon Duangwiset (2010) defined anthropological social movements as the means of action for a group of people with a specific purpose. The gathering of people may be formal or informal. For anthropologists, social movements view social change as a matter of political change, such as fighting for the environment, ethnicity, equality of gay and lesbian, caring for AIDS patients, pregnancy rights and the equality of women as well as conservative battles, such as anti-abortion. In the past, anthropologists often described political movements with the Marxist feminism and structuralism (Smart, 2012).

Royal Institute Dictionary of Sociology B.E. 2559 explains the term social movement with the broad definition that it is the movements of people affecting or preventing certain changes within society. This social movement is different from

political parties or interest groups that are more systematically integrated. However, social movement may have relationships with political parties, or may be developed until it can become a political party in the end. Current social movements may move on issues such as democracy in order to establish or maintain political rights and rights and benefits of labors (Office of Royal Society, 1981, p. 83).

Suwida Thammanee Wong (2001) explained the meaning of social movement as the process of calling for a number of people who want to change society in the direction they desire. Some of these groups may consist of thousands or tens of thousands of people, and they participate in claims with a loose social order. Each group may have different levels of participation. Some of the common features of social movements are that the participants have goal-oriented and intentional change with the common ideology that the movements will lead to social change in the direction that they desire.

From the definitions mentioned above, it can be concluded that the concept of social movement is consistent with certain goals, objectives and ideologies that those involved or the groups want to drive the change in the desired direction or to solve some problems successfully. There is a relation between social movements and social contexts, such as human rights movements, the movements of same-sex marriage registration.

Chairat Charoensin-o-larn (2002) stated that the movements of the public sector in the era of globalization have brought personal issues, such as relations between sexes together with public issues, environmental issues, or have created a new set of definitions or meanings for what the movements require. New social movements have rejected violent methods. In addition, new social movements require more humane governance. That is to say, it is the governance that pays more attention to people as citizens, not the citizens under the governance of the government, and unconditionally respects for human rights (Chairat Charoensin-o-larn, 2002).

At present, it is the age of driving society in the digital world. Everyone can be part of social movements on various issues by joining through Platform Online without having to leave the house. Mechanisms of driving social movements found in this era such as sign petition which refers to any campaigns that need to change something by compiling the name lists of people based on their goal. It can be a sign-

up on a website like change.org, a public platform that anyone can create campaigns. It can also be serious or unserious matters like informing Facebook to ban pages and people who post pictures of animal cruelty.

Interactive campaign is a campaign that allows everyone to participate in by simply doing something and passing it on, such as the “Ice Bucket Challenge” in 2014, which achieved global success. It can be done easily via the online world. In Thailand, there was a campaign “Hold Your Breath Challenge”, a campaign raising awareness about Asphyxia. This campaign let everyone experiment by holding their breath and sharing the duration of holding breath via the website of Hold Your Breath Thailand (Rawisara Mekasuwannaroj, 2017).

Donation is considered as a part of helping to drive social movements, such as donating money to help victims of Hurricane Harvey in America; donating 10 baht to “Kao Kon La Kao Project” initiated by Toon Body slam; using #hashtag to create awareness, such as Me Too that women dare to talk about abuse in various forms; raising awareness of women’s rights protection through the stories shared on the feed and Twitter page. Also, there was the hashtag Black Lives Matter, which was caused by the shooting of a black man in Ferguson in America that Black American protested and organized violent mobs in response to this event. As a result, people around the world did not ignore it and simultaneously used the hashtag Black Lives Matter to campaign for equality of all races. Like & Share is the last, smallest and easiest way to drive social movements. Sometimes, just clicking to share or like posts can show the stance of social change, such as liking or sharing a post that is quite official about feminist both from famous people or ordinary people and the talk about and standing in the rights of women. It is considered a small mechanism to support the feminist movement or claims of LGBT rights which has started to play more roles in social movements (Rawisara Mekasuwannaroj, 2017).

In the past, LGBT social movement in Thailand was not accepted and public spaces were not open for this group to identify themselves. Also, there was no legal support for rights. As a result, LGBT social movements have called for acceptance and social spaces for groups of people with a greater gender diversity than in the past. For example, LGBT has proposed Amendment to the Criminal Code, Section 276, requiring this section to cover physical abuse of all genders, not just females. This

Section has been successfully amended and is the foundation of social movements at present.

LGBT social movement is formed by the unification of the same-sex groups having the same attitude and standpoint. There are goals or objectives to claim in various areas such as rights, liberty, equality and acceptance from people in society in order to be accepted and have positions in the area within their own society and in the expression of their own group. LGBT social movement has been explained in an academic work in the same direction like the origin of LGBT in Thai society that “LGBT social movement in Thai society was systematically formed while having the AIDS epidemic in Thailand in 1977. HIV in Thailand was detected for the first time. The first person who had AIDS was gay. So, it caused misunderstandings among Thai and foreign society that gays were the spreaders of AIDS because they often changed sexual partners and were regularly involved in sexual services. So, society was more disgusted towards homosexuals” (Kanjira Wijitwatcharak, Panyaruno., & Supattra Santirungroj, 2019).

P. A. Jackson (2011) discussed that “ Thai LGBT came out to claim for protection of their rights and freedom because they were pressured to be in the conservative framework of “ female and male family” . For this reason, gays were united for social movements in protecting their rights and freedom by campaigning and creating understanding among people in society that gays were normal people and not the carriers of AIDS” (Ji Ungpakorn & et al., 2016). “There were two goals of a gay or LGBT campaign at that time. The first goal was to make society understand that homosexuals or gays were normal people and not the carriers of a disease or an epidemic. The second one was to raise more awareness of safe sex and healthcare among homosexuals or gays. It was suggested that homosexuals or gays must behave in a socially acceptable way. Gays were educated how to create a positive image and attitude in order to allow gays or lesbians to be accepted.

In addition to the movements mentioned earlier, health problems were also the main targets of LGBT movements (Naruepon Duangwiset, 2010). The campaigns enhancing people to understand AIDS and complications were organized. The movements to protect LGBT from rights violations by the state or capital groups, such as being deprived of being government officials or monks and arresting LGBT in

public parks, were also proceeded. Academic knowledge of same-sex lovers has been provided to LGBT by continuously conducting research and organizing academic talks.

Various groups have been formed for movements with similar objectives, namely to create positive behavior for homosexuals and to create pride for homosexuals so that they do not separate themselves from other people and live alone. There was coordination with Asia Pacific groups, such as Anjaree Group, Bridge Group to pursue claim through laws. It started by creating a website as a medium for homosexuals and publishing the magazine of the group. There was a push campaign with the Thai Ministry of Public Health until it was accepted by the Ministry of Public Health. It focused on the work that created public understanding, adjusted the attitudes that society had towards homosexuals and created alternative media and used the tools in campaigning in order to be able to live ordinary life in society (Wipada Ieamkong, 2010).

For the first 5 years of LGBT movements, the movements were systematic and had more roles within society. However, there were many problems caused by both people in society and LGBT groups. For example, the needs of groups, associations, foundations and clubs were in the same direction, but different methods were used to lead to the success of each group. Some groups focused on hygiene, but some believed in providing the knowledge of sex. Also, some groups thought that academic issues should be focused (Kanjira Wjitwatchararak et al., 2019, p. 3764).

Many years ago, the trend of LGBT movements in many countries, including Thailand was fighting for rights, liberty and equality in sexual orientation under the name of LGBTQ Right (Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender Queer). They tried to explain that homosexuality is not a disease or it is not abnormal. Parades and campaigns were organized for concrete rights, such as the rights to same-sex marriage. This fight for LGBT has been a long-standing fight, continuing to fight against prejudice and social norms about normality and abnormality of love (Kanjira Wjitwatchararak et al., 2019). According to the case of violence against LGBT people at a gay club “Stonewall Inn” in New York City United States of America, this place was the center of the fight for gay and lesbian freedom 50 years ago and it was the starting point of the movements for the rights and equality of LGBT. Since then,

June has been designated as “Month of LGBT” or “Pride Month”. Marches of LGBT people are arranged to claim rights and equality. There is the celebration of a moment of self-expression. LGBT people wear flashy and colorful clothes and accessories. However, it can be said that the movement of LGBTQ in Thailand is not as strong as it should be because in Thailand, other rights are considered more important than the rights of the LGBTQ. But Thai society has opened up a lot of spaces for the expression of LGBTQ in society (Kanjira Wijitwatchararak et al., 2019).

2.5 Laws Related to Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity

2.5.1 The Law Certifying Marital Status for Persons with Sexual Orientation or Gender Identity

If physiology and anatomy are taken as the basis for interpreting human sex, only male and female, are certified by Thai laws as it is based on the biological sex since birth and it will be like that throughout the life. However, it is now accepted that society consists of people of various sexual orientation or gender identity. But the laws do not guarantee marriage registration of same-sex couples. So, these people lose their legal rights or may not have access to certain family law rights set for heterosexual spouses, such as the statutory right of inheritance, the property rights of the spouses, the right to claim for alimony maintenance, the right to claim for compensation and lack of sponsorship in the event that the spouse is violated and the right to receive alimony (Thanyalak Nammaja, 2013). In addition, there are many other rights, including joint financial transactions, the right to receive medical treatment in the case of either party serving the government, the right to sign the consent for allowing the doctor to treat the spouse, the right for income tax deduction and the rights for child adoption.

The rights mentioned above are just one part of the missing rights among couples in the LGBT community who live like a husband and wife without being able to register a marriage although these people pay taxes to the state and are general citizens. The lack of access to these rights may be contrary to the principles of protection of the rights, freedoms and equality of persons without discrimination caused by gender differences according to civil rights, human rights 1948 and the

Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand B.E. 2560. On the contrary, 30 Western and Asian countries have accepted same-sex marriage and important principles for a long time. However, the nature of rights or laws related to LGBT people granted by these governments are different in each country or territory, such as the right to sexual activity, certification of living with same sex spouse, certification of same-sex marriage or other types of marriage, certification of child adoption and being allow to serve military service. In addition, there are laws against discrimination on sexual orientation and laws related to gender identity or sexual expression.

In short, the right to have a family is a fundamental right of human rights that every human being deserves and should be respected in choosing his/her own way of life as long as he/she does not violate the rights and freedoms of others.

Nowadays, many countries have organized the movement to certify marriage or to increase the status of cohabitation of people of various sexes because lawyers or legislators have described the right to freedom of establishing a legal family of persons with sexual orientation or gender identity as follows (Ratchaneekorn Larpvanichar, 2012). (1) Freedom to marry and establish a family (2) Non-discrimination based on gender identity and expression: There are 2 forms of acceptance of marital status or acceptance of the right to establish a family of LGBT people in the states of the following countries.

1) The states that accept marriage registration between the same-sex couple as legitimate spouses with the same legal effect as marriage registration between men and women are Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, South Africa, Norway, Belgium, Portugal, Canada, Denmark, Spain, Sweden, Netherlands, Iceland, Taiwan and Ecuador.

2) The states that accept the civil partnerships that will receive various privileges from the state and have various legal duties are Principality of Andorra, Austria, Czech Republic, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Slovenia, Switzerland and United Kingdom (England) . But the privileges they receive are not as full as those of the states mentioned in item number 1 (Ratchaneekorn Larpvanichar, 2012).

The timelines of law enforcement of all 30 countries are as follows.

On 13, 2019, the majority of the Constitutional Court of Ecuador approved “legal rights” for same-sex marriage. (In this regard, the judges who objected this case stated that this case was considered constitutional amendments, so it should pass a debate and a resolution of the National Council rather than submitting the matter directly to the Constitutional Court for consideration.) The present Constitution of Ecuador, drafted in 2008, stipulated that marriage is the only right between men and women. Having this decision is considered a change to the constitutional provisions. However, other rights have not yet been given to same-sex couples, such as child adoption (Post Today, 2019).

On May 24, 2019, LGBT people in Taiwan were allowed to register marriage. The Ministry of Interior announced the marriage registration procedure and launched a marriage certificate for LGBT people. The marriage registration of LGBT people uses the same rules as heterosexual spouses. They have to register 3 working days in advance before the date of marriage registration. Taiwan is the first country in Asia open for this operation (Manager Online, 2019). Taiwan has a total population of 23 million people. It is open and highly secure for people of any gender. The objections of those who disagree with this matter are also strong. Still, Taiwan is ahead of other Asian countries because there is a multicultural society open to comments (Amara Soonthorndhada, 2017).

January 9, 2018, Australia’s same-sex marriage law was effective after the Parliament had passed the law in early December 2017. Australia is the 26th country having the same-sex marriage law. Some couples were allowed to marry in December, such as people with serious illnesses or the couples who had planned marriages before the law was passed. So, Australia is a place that foreigners are interested in traveling to register for marriage. In terms of spouses’ demographic information, Australian Bureau of Statistics revealed relevant information that in half a year since same-sex marriage law was effective, or from December 9, 2017 to June 30, 2018, 3,149 couples were registered for same-sex marriage. It was found that 56.3% (1,773 couples) were lesbian couples and 43.7% were gay couples (1,376 couples). The median age for lesbian couples was 39 years, whereas that of gay couples was 48.5 years. Over 80% of both lesbian and gay couples had never been married (Voicetv.co, 2018b).

In 2017, the Legislative Assembly of Germany passed a resolution to legalize same-sex marriage. The law allowed marriage of same-sex couples to be enforced at the end of the same year. This law allows same-sex couples, both women and men to have the same rights as heterosexual couples. Aside from getting married, same-sex couples also have the right to adopt children (The STANDARD, 2017).

On April 28, 2016, the Constitutional Court of Colombia adopted a majority resolution at a meeting to certify legal rights and freedoms in marriage between same-sex couples to be equal to those of heterosexual couples after allowing LGBT couple to register marriage as “Civil Union”. But they still do not have legal rights in many ways equal to male and female couples. In this regard, Colombia is the 4th country in Latin America which provides an equal marriage right, (Daily News, 2016).

In 2015, Luxembourg officially announced to allow gay and lesbian couples to marry and adopt children. Also, Ireland became the first country where same-sex marriage was legalized by voting method. The Supreme Court of the United States also issued federal marriage legislation this year as well. In the same year, Greenland, the largest island in the world, issued same-sex marriage law. In 2014, England and Wales became the first country in the United Kingdom to announce gender equality. Scotland also received overwhelming votes for allowing same-sex marriage this year. Moreover, Finland approved the marriage equality bill in 2014, but it was effective only in the year 2014. In 2013, Uruguay enacted laws allowing same-sex marriage. In the same year, New Zealand was the first country in Asia Pacific issuing same-sex marriage laws. France’s President, Francois Hollande, signed a proposal to legalize homosexual marriage. Meanwhile, the National Congress of Brazil determined that same-sex couples should not be excluded from marriage, so same-sex marriage was allowed throughout the country in this year (INSIDER, 2017).

In the year 2012, the marriage of homosexual couples in Denmark occurred after Queen Margrethe II had granted royal permission to the proposed law.

In 2010, the Parliament of Iceland voted unanimously to approve same-sex marriage. In the same year, Portugal allowed the marriage of homosexual couples after the law had been challenged by the country’s president. Also, Argentina, became the first country in Latin America to allow same-sex marriage.

In 2009, Sweden voted to support same-sex marriage.

In 2008, Norway approved the marriage law. Although in 1993, Norway allowed homosexual or gay couples to join trade unions, the approval of the law was delayed. In 2006, after the Supreme Administrative Court of South Africa ruled that the marriage law contradicted the constitutionality guarantee. Parliament, then, approved the marriage of same-sex couples.

In 2005, the Parliament of Canada adopted legislation that made same-sex marriage legal throughout the country. In the same year, Spain also approved the agreement.

In 2003, Belgium allowed homosexual couples to have equal rights as heterosexual couples.

In 2001, the Netherlands was the first country to issue same-sex laws, allowing the same-sex couples to be able to marry, divorce, or adopt children (INSIDER, 2020).

Chidsanupong Nitiwana and Wannapa Leerasir (2017) studied the promotion of LGBT human rights in the United States during the Obama Administration (2009-2017). The study found that President Barack Obama was the first president to address the issue of LGBT rights in the second Presidential speech. Barack had endeavored to promote same-sex marriage since the inauguration of the first term, but it was not successful. It was successful in his second term. The Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) and Proposition 8 had an effect on the definition of marriage, judiciary and judicial decisions in the courts of the United States.

The legal marriage registration brings many rights certified and protected by laws, such as the right to conduct financial transactions together, the right to medical treatment if one party is a civil servant (not entitled if it is not a legal spouse), the right to sign consent to the doctor to provide treatment to the spouse (unable to sign if not being a spouse, family members or relatives), the right to inherit the legacy created together in case that one party dies suddenly and the heir has not been specified in the will (according to the current law, the property of the deceased or the de cujus is handed down to all statutory heirs), the right to a tax deduction and the right to child adoption.

The world is moving and economic, social and political changes occur all the time. The same is true for the changes of the same-sex marriage law, which is receiving a lot of attention from society. Many reasons have been discussed to find out the solutions in order not to violate privacy rights and make the whole society continue to exist under diverse and new trends of culture and values. Most of the countries in Central Asia and Eurasia agree with this movement, except for Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan that are against public expression of same-sex couples. For the country with the moderate practice such as Armenia, the government showed its position on human rights to avoid violence in different issues by signing the Charter of the United Nations in 2011. The countries in the Middle East do not have laws certifying the status of LGBT persons and same-sex marriage. In addition, some countries also impose severe penalties. For example, Iran imposes the maximum penalty which is the death penalty, except for the cases related to medical reasons that certified documents are required. For the countries in South Asia and Southeast Asia such as India, Singapore, Indonesia, Malaysia, Vietnam and Thailand, there is no law to support this.

In ASEAN, Vietnam has more movement on this issue than any other countries in the region. Many prominent groups of activists widely do activities through social media, especially in the center cities in order to push for legal status certification.

2.5.2 Thai Laws for the Rights of LGBT

Thailand is known as one of the friendliest countries for LGBT people in Asia. Same-sex activities have been legal since 1957. The government of Thailand has also encouraged foreign tourists to travel to Thailand because it is a country that welcomes LGBT people. Nowadays, people in Thai society are also more open and accepting couples with gender diversity. However, there is no law certifying and protecting the rights to these people in a concrete way. At the same time, the disclosure of the identities of this group of people to the society is on the rise. There has been an ongoing effort from academics and activists to call on the state to protect and enact laws to certify the rights of these people. However, discrimination and insults are still widespread in Thai society.

The prominent points of the rights or the legal status related to a group of LGBT people in the past can be summarized as follows.

January 29, 2002, Department of Mental Health, the Ministry of Public Health issued a certificate certifying that homosexual persons are not considered to have mental disorders or illnesses in any way by referring to the World Health Organization: WHO and International Classification of Diseases which removed the characteristics of same-sex relationships from the groups of people with mental disorders (Department of Mental Health, 2018).

In the year 2007, there was an amendment of the other half of the Criminal Code by adding the definition of “sexually abusing” in Section 276 to cover “the use of the offender’s genitals with the genitals, anus, or the mouths of others or the use of anything else with the genitals or anus of others”. This is the protection provided for both men and women from being abused because in the original law, protection is provided only for women committed by men (Sirapat Piyavate, 2018).

On September 13, 2011, the Central Administrative Court ordered the Ministry of Defense to revoke the term “permanent psychosis” in Certificate of Conscription (Sor Dor 43), Certificate of Category 4 Person (Sor Dor 5) and Certificate of Military Service (Sor Dor 9) of persons who have not had sex reassignment surgery but have had breast augmentation because the said term is unlawful. In this regard, the Ministry of Defense revised the term in the Military Service Act, B.E. 2497 to be “gender identity disorder” instead in order to show that the person cannot continue to serve the military as required by law (Post Today, 2011).

On August 22, 2019, there was an attempt to set up the Standing Committee on gender diversity in the House of Representatives separated from the Standing Committee on children, youths, women, the elderly, persons with disabilities, ethnic groups and LGBT people in order to manage gender diversity having a problem of structural suppression in Thai society. But, only 101 people voted for support while the remaining 365 people objected. However, despite the lack of support for the establishment of the Standing Committee on gender diversity, this was the first time that gender diversity was taken place in the Thai parliament (Prachathai, 2019).

In addition, there are laws protecting sexuality orientation and gender identity as follows.

2.5.2.1 Gender Equality Act, B.E. 2558

After Thailand had become a party to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), and the Optional Protocol to this Convention, the government agencies changed the policy and the structure of the law related to discrimination against women in order to be consistent and support the participation in the CEDAW. At present, the reservation was withdrawn until only one item remained under the Convention, which is the issue of court rights. The important change is the change of the government structure. The Office of Women's Affairs and Family Development (currently changed to "Department of Women's Affairs and Family Development") was established. Its primary mission is to run operations in accordance with the CEDAW. The meeting was held to discuss this issue with all relevant sectors, both the government and private sectors and it was found that Thailand should have laws related to promoting gender equality. Therefore, "the draft of the promotion of gender equality" was prepared in 2014. But there was a dissolution of the parliament. During the National Council for Peace and Order Era (NCPO), the public sector pushed on this issue again and the government responded by pushing the law into the legislative process by the National Legislative Assembly of Thailand on March 13, 2015. This led to the promulgation of "Gender Equality Act, B.E. 2558". The reason for promulgation of this Act is that there are no clear measures to prevent discrimination between sexes. As a result, people who are discriminated against by gender are not protected and do not receive fair treatment. Therefore, there should be a law to stipulate measures to prevent unfair discrimination between sexes. This is in accordance with the international human rights principles based on the international obligations that Thailand has become a party to (Gender Equality Act, 2015).

However, Gender Equality Act, B.E. 2558 does not support the change of the title of the name even after having had sex reassignment surgery. Some universities also do not allow students to dress according to their sexual orientation such as dressing the student uniform in the exam room or in graduation ceremony. Dressing must be based on gender and the title of the name.

2.5.2.2 Civil Partnership Bill, B.E. 2556

Civil Partnership Bill, B.E. 2556 was the idea of the Ministry of Justice in 2013 which was initiated to comply with the 3rd National Human Rights Plan (2014 - 2018) on the LGBT human rights / gender identity plan. The Subcommittee on Considering Civil Partnership Bill, B.E.... settled the forms of LGBT people. Those of France may be used. It should be started as a life partner before developing into a spouse in order to give society an opportunity to learn, adjust, understand and then develop into marriage of LGBT people. The Subcommittee also considered the time frame for this law to be completed and effective, which was by the end of 2018 or the beginning of 2019. However, due to the political situation, the time frame has been extended and the content has been modified to be consistent with the context of LGBT. Currently, it is the 3rd draft Civil Partnership Bill. The orders of the draft are as follows (Chawinrot Thiraphatcharaphon, 2018).

The first draft Civil Partnership Bill was prepared in 2013. There were 15 sections prepared by Rights and Liberties Protection Department. In the second draft, there were 63 sections amended by Rights and Liberties Protection Department in 2017. The third draft was published on the website of Rights and Liberties Protection Department, the Ministry of Justice on November 5, 2018, consisting of 70 sections. The total duration since first draft until the 3rd draft was almost 6 years (Chawinrot Thiraphatcharaphon, 2018) and the latest draft Civil Partnership Bill which was approved by the Cabinet in December 2018 is now under consideration by the Council of State. There are approximately 50 sections with 4 categories, namely Category 1: marriage registration; Category 2: being a spouse; Category 3: child adoption, and category 4 legacy. For marriage registration, the law allows for the use of family registration. The Ministry of Interior stipulates that the family registration is like the marriage registration. The minimum age is set to 17 years, originally was 20 years with consent. Being a spouse is divided into 2 parts, namely the general chapter related to living together and relationships between spouses. It is supported like spouses, such as caring for each other. In the case of assets, if the agreement on separation of assets is done, the assets are considered as personal belongings. If not, the assets that are created together shall be the assets of the spouse. In addition, in case of the void of the marriage registration and the termination of being spouses

because of death, verdicts or separation, the couples are allowed to register for the break up. But, the term divorce is not used. After the Council of State, both the House of Representatives and relevant senators complete their consideration of the amendment, the bill will be returned to the Ministry of Justice and forwarded to the Cabinet to request approval again. It will be in the process of parliamentary consideration to pass a law, and submitted to the King and announced in the Government Gazette (Issaranews, 2020).

2.6 Concepts Related to Human Rights in Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity.....

2.6.1 Labeling Theory or Stigmatization

Labeling theory or stigmatization was originated during 1954 – 1970. The main concept was based on 2 theories as follows. Structural functional theory: It is the way to look at the overview of society by explaining that different social groups must have common goals. Each member of the society will perform his or her duties according to the position or social position that he or she is holding. There are regulations and traditions that everyone must follow. There is value, which refers to the motivation for people or social groups to decide or evaluate what they want or do not want or what is good or bad. The value is abstract over social regulations. It is like the standard that is a measure of social behavior whether it is desirable and worthy of praise. This standard is accepted by members of society. Another theory is symbolic interaction theory, which sees individuals as part of society, interacting with each other using symbols as a medium. The important point of interaction is to have and use the common meaning (Pimpawun Boonmongkon, 2008). Labeling theory believes that deviant behaviors do not occur by themselves, but are defined by other people in society, leading to the devaluation of those who are deflected to have lower status than ordinary people. This makes people who are stigmatized be pushed into the group and create their own sub-society. Therefore, there is the development of culture, belief, and value in many different ways from the big society (Link, Mirotznik, & Cullen, 1991). Society believes that stigmatized people are those without value. They are not human and unwanted and have a bad image (Saylor, 1990).

It can be seen that stigma is currently associated with individuals whose behavior deviates from social acceptance. For this reason, the theory of stigmatization is widely applied to individuals whose behavior deviates from social norms because violation of the rules and norms of society determines the behavior of a person. Therefore, if a person's act deviates from a rule or norm, he/she will be stigmatized. The society view deviation as a shameful behavior. It is an act that is unethical and harmful to society (Becker, 1981). Therefore, it can be said that stigma from society is a negative social attitude and reaction towards a person whose behavior deviates from social norms. Society will hate and does not accept that person to be a member of the group. However, stigma only occurs when society has persistent and violent negative attitudes towards individuals, and such attitudes will influence the reactions, interactions or behaviors of individuals caused by perception (Jiraporn Jirasatit, 1999).

The stigma would make a person feel excluded and discriminated against others. As a result, such stigmatization will reduce the chances of living a normal life in society. It also affects the self-perception of the stigmatized person. It will cause embarrassment, self-hatred, and self-stigma (Pensri Wongputh, 2002). Stigma often leads to exclusion and discrimination because stigma and discrimination are closely related. Some scholars say that discrimination is a form of enacted stigma.

In terms of the issue of stigma through the media, media agenda through a racist presentation, negative stereotypes, lack of space in the media and the use of language in the media have amplified the severity of stigma associated with LGBTQ people. The content of such media is accessible to the general public and has developed into the grand narrative that holds the leading power in Thai society, leading to an emphasis on stigmatizing and discriminating against LGBTI people in the media and a whole society. Such a phenomenon, therefore, affects the bias, hatred discrimination, human rights violation and pushes LGBT people to become marginal groups in wider society (Jaray Singhakowinta, 2014, pp. 64-76).

It can be said that stigma from society is a negative attitude and reaction of society towards people with behavior deviating from social norms. Society will react to them with hatred and does not accept these people to be the group members. However, stigma will occur only if society has a negative attitude towards individuals

consistently and harshly, and that attitude must also affect the reaction or behavior of people that result from perception (Jiraporn Jirasatit, 1999). Also, stigma causes discrimination, which is equivalent to “human rights violations” without knowing.

2.6.2 Valencia Declaration on Sexual Rights

Valencia declaration on sexual rights is a fundamental human right that was announced in 1994 in Valencia, Spain (Pansak Sugkraroek, 2002).

Sex is one dimension of human and it is normal to adapt and change all the time. Sex is caused by the interaction between the internal structure of the society itself and the individual at the same time. It appears in the life cycle of individuals who coordinate their individuality and create or strengthen mutual ties. Happiness in sex, as well as the happiness that comes from own actions is the source of physical and mental and intellectual and emotional strength. This happiness comes from sexual experiences that are free from conflicts and anxiety. Therefore, it is also the source of social and personal development.

This statement implies that society has to create conditions that determine the satisfaction of individuals to achieve the highest development and respect the following sexual rights. The right to freedom: Sexual coercion exploitation and all forms of sexual harassment at any time or situation must be eliminated. Fighting against sexual violence is the thing that society should give priority. The right to autonomy: It refers to self-confidence and body security as well as control and the pursuit of happiness from own body without any form of cruelty and violence. The right to gender equality: There is freedom without deprivation and separation in all forms together with respect for gender diversity regardless of male or female, age, race, religion, class, or any type of sexual orientation. The right to sexual hygiene: This includes receiving resources for research and the diagnosis of sexually transmitted diseases and more medical care. The right to sexual knowledge and facts that do not deviate: This will help make better decisions about sexual life. The right to extensive and comprehensive sex education program, from birth and throughout the life: Every social institution should participate in this process. The right to independent living: People can either get married or not and divorced or not or have

other forms of cohabitation with other sexes that they desire. The right to free decisions and responsibility for fertility: Everyone has the right to decide on the number and spacing of children and the opportunity to receive help for getting pregnant. Every child should be loved and wanted by parents. The right to privacy: Everyone has the right to make decisions about sexual life independently under the content of social and personal ethics. Satisfactory and rational sexual experience can support human development. (Pansak Sugkraroek, 2002).

Sexual health is a fundamental right and foundation for human beings. Sex is the most profound source of humans. It is necessary for happiness in the lives of individuals, spouses, families and society. Therefore, respect for sexual rights should be supported in every way.

2.6.3 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women

In the last century, the status of women of Thailand and in the global society has been inferior and unequal to men. It is often seen in the news that women have been exploited, abused and discriminated. Socio-economic and political exclusions have also been found. Such conditions are considered not respecting the human rights of women in every society. There have been demands in states and societies around the world to recognize the rights and roles of women. At the international level, there is the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). Thailand adopted and ratified the Convention by accession on August 9, 1985. The main objectives of this Convention is to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women and ensure that women and men have equal right to treatment and supervision from the state (Human Rights Committee, 2019). Once Thailand enters into a Party, it shall be binding to abide by this Convention and implementation. That is, the operation of Thailand must be in accordance with the provisions of the Convention by enacting laws within Thailand or revising domestic law to be consistent and support the obligations of the Convention. The operation or authorization in the past was consistent with the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand, B.E. 2560; Chapter 1: General Provision, Section 4 and Chapter 3: Rights and Liberties of the Thai People, Section 27: All persons are equal before the law, and

shall have rights and liberties and be protected equally under the law. Men and women shall enjoy equal rights. Unjust discrimination against a person on the grounds of differences in origin, race, language, sex, age, disability, physical or health condition, personal status, economic and social standing, religious belief, education, or political view which is not contrary to the provisions of the Constitution or on any other grounds, shall not be permitted. This indicates that Thailand has placed an emphasis on the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and is regarded as a member of the United Nations with a common intention to seriously eliminate discrimination against women. This led to the establishment of Gender Equality Act, B.E. 2558 (Sarana Boonbaichaiyapruk, 2018)

2.6.4 Yogyakarta Principles

In terms of international standards, although there is no specific law regarding LGBT rights, equality and non-discrimination based on sex, gender and sexuality are guaranteed in most international human rights laws. However, because the problem of discrimination against people who are sexually different from the mainstream is still common, human rights activist and various experts drafted Principles on the Application of International Human Rights Law in Relation to Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity, known as Yogyakarta Principles (National Human Rights Commission, 2009). These principles were the result of the workshop of human rights experts and international lawyers in developing various principles under the use of international human rights law in relation to sexual orientation and gender identity in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. On November 6-8, 2006, Thailand endorsed the Yogyakarta Principles as a co-chair of the meeting. The introduction of the Yogyakarta Principles on the Application of International Human Rights Law in Relation to Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity stated that “all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. All human rights are universal, interdependent, indivisible and interrelated. “Sexual orientation and gender identity” are integral to every person’s dignity and humanity and must not be the basis for discrimination or abuse” (Prachathai, 2008). The 29 principles have been defined as follows.

Principle 1: The right to the universal enjoyment of human rights: All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. Human beings of all sexual orientations and gender identities are entitled to the full enjoyment of all human rights.

Principle 2: The right to equality and non-discrimination: Everyone is entitled to enjoy all human rights without discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity. Everyone is entitled to equality before the law and the equal protection of the law without any such discrimination whether or not the enjoyment of another human right is also affected. The law shall prohibit any such discrimination and guarantee to all persons equal and effective protection against any such discrimination (Araya Sooksom, 2018).

Principle 3: The right to recognition before the law: Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law. Persons of diverse sexual orientations and gender identities shall enjoy legal capacity in all aspects of life. Each person's self-defined sexual orientation and gender identity is integral to their personality and is one of the most basic aspects of self-determination, dignity and freedom. No one shall be forced to undergo medical procedures, including sex reassignment surgery, sterilization or hormonal therapy, as a requirement for legal recognition of their gender identity. No status, such as marriage or parenthood, may be invoked as such to prevent the legal recognition of a person's gender identity. No one shall be subjected to pressure to conceal, suppress or deny their sexual orientation or gender identity (Office of the National Human Rights Commission of Thailand, 2016).

Principle 4: The right to life: Everyone has the right to life. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of life, including by reference to considerations of sexual orientation or gender identity. The death penalty shall not be imposed on any person on the basis of consensual sexual activity among persons who are over the age of consent or on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity.

Principle 5: The right to security of the person: Everyone, regardless of sexual orientation or gender identity, has the right to security of the person and to protection by the State against violence or bodily harm, whether inflicted by government officials or by any individual or group.

Principle 6: The right to privacy: Everyone, regardless of sexual orientation or gender identity, is entitled to the enjoyment of privacy without arbitrary or unlawful interference, including with regard to their family, home or correspondence as well as to protection from unlawful attacks on their honor and reputation. The right to privacy ordinarily includes the choice to disclose or not to disclose information relating to one's sexual orientation or gender identity, as well as decisions and choices regarding both one's own body and consensual sexual and other relations with others (International Labour Organization, 2014).

Principle 7: The right to freedom from arbitrary deprivation of liberty: No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest or detention. Arrest or detention on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity, whether pursuant to a court order or otherwise, is arbitrary. All persons under arrest, regardless of their sexual orientation or gender identity, are entitled, on the basis of equality, to be informed of the reasons for arrest and the nature of any charges against them, to be brought promptly before a judicial officer and to bring court proceedings to determine the lawfulness of detention, whether or not charged with any offence.

Principle 8: The right to a fair trial: Everyone is entitled to a fair and public hearing by a competent, independent and impartial tribunal established by law, in the determination of their rights and obligations in a suit at law and of any criminal charge against them, without prejudice or discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity.

Principle 9: The right to treatment with humanity while in detention: Everyone deprived of liberty shall be treated with humanity and with respect for the inherent dignity of the human person. Sexual orientation and gender identity are integral to each person's dignity (Office of the National Human Rights Commission of Thailand, 2016).

Principle 10: The right to freedom from torture and cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment: Everyone has the right to be free from torture and from cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, including for reasons relating to sexual orientation or gender identity.

Principle 11: The right to protection from all forms of exploitation, sale and trafficking of human beings: Everyone is entitled to protection from trafficking, sale

and all forms of exploitation, including but not limited to sexual exploitation, on the grounds of actual or perceived sexual orientation or gender identity.

Principle 12: The right to work: Everyone has the right to decent and productive work, to just and favorable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment, without discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity.

Principle 13: The right to social security and to other social protection measures:

Everyone has the right to social security and other social protection measures, without discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity.

Principle 14: The right to an adequate standard of living: Everyone has the right to an adequate standard of living, including adequate food, safe drinking water, adequate sanitation and clothing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions, without discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity.

Principle 15: The right to adequate housing: Everyone has the right to adequate housing, including protection from eviction, without discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity.

Principle 16: The right to education: Everyone has the right to education, without discrimination on the basis of, and taking into account, their sexual orientation and gender identity.

Principle 17: The right to the highest attainable standard of health: Everyone has the right to the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health, without discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity. Sexual and reproductive health is a fundamental aspect of this right (International Labour Organization, 2014).

Principle 18: Protection from medical abuses: No person may be forced to undergo any form of medical or psychological treatment, procedure, testing, or be confined to a medical facility, based on sexual orientation or gender identity. Notwithstanding any classifications to the contrary, a person's sexual orientation and gender identity are not, in and of themselves, medical conditions and are not to be treated, cured or suppressed.

Principle 19: The right to freedom of opinion and expression: Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression, regardless of sexual orientation or gender identity. This includes the expression of identity or personhood through speech, deportment, dress, bodily characteristics, choice of name, or any other means, as well as the freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, including with regard to human rights, sexual orientation and gender identity, through any medium and regardless of frontiers.

Principle 20: The right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association: Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association, including for the purposes of peaceful demonstrations, regardless of sexual orientation or gender identity. Persons may form and have recognized, without discrimination, associations based on sexual orientation or gender identity, and associations that distribute information to or about, facilitate communication among, or advocate for the rights of, persons of diverse sexual orientations and gender identities.

Principle 21: The right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion: Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion, regardless of sexual orientation or gender identity. These rights may not be invoked by the State to justify laws, policies or practices which deny equal protection of the law, or discriminate, on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity.

Principle 22: The right to freedom of movement: Everyone lawfully within a State has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of the State, regardless of sexual orientation or gender identity. Sexual orientation and gender identity may never be invoked to limit or impede a person's entry, egress or return to or from any State, including that person's own State.

Principle 23: The right to seek asylum: Everyone has the right to seek and enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution, including persecution related to sexual orientation or gender identity. A State may not remove, expel or extradite a person to any State where that person may face a well-founded fear of torture, persecution, or any other form of cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity.

Principle 24: The right to found a family: Everyone has the right to found a family, regardless of sexual orientation or gender identity. Families exist in diverse

forms. No family may be subjected to discrimination on the basis of the sexual orientation or gender identity of any of its members.

Principle 25: The right to participate in public life: Every citizen has the right to take part in the conduct of public affairs, including the right to stand for elected office, to participate in the formulation of policies affecting their welfare, and to have equal access to all levels of public service and employment in public functions, including serving in the police and military, without discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity.

Principle 26: The right to participate in cultural life: Everyone has the right to participate freely in cultural life, regardless of sexual orientation or gender identity, and to express, through cultural participation, the diversity of sexual orientation and gender identity.

Principle 27: The right to promote human rights: Everyone has the right, individually and in association with others, to promote the protection and realization of human rights at the national and international levels, without discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity. This includes activities directed towards the promotion and protection of the rights of persons of diverse sexual orientations and gender identities, as well as the right to develop and discuss new human rights norms and to advocate their acceptance.

Principle 28: The right to effective remedies and redress: Every victim of a human rights violation, including of a violation based on sexual orientation or gender identity, has the right to effective, adequate and appropriate remedies. Measures taken for the purpose of providing reparation to, or securing adequate advancement of, persons of diverse sexual orientations and gender identities are integral to the right to effective remedies and redress.

Principle 29: Accountability: Everyone whose human rights, including rights addressed in these Principles, are violated is entitled to have those directly or indirectly responsible for the violation, whether they are government officials or not, held accountable for their actions in a manner that is proportionate to the seriousness of the violation. There should be no impunity for perpetrators of human rights violations related to sexual orientation or gender identity (Office of the National Human Rights Commission of Thailand, 2016).

When considering the principles of marriage of LGBT people in Principle 24: the right to found a family, it is stated that everyone has the right to found a family, regardless of sexual orientation or gender identity. Families exist in diverse forms. No family may be subjected to discrimination on the basis of the sexual orientation or gender identity of any of its members. Therefore, the state should proceed the following operations (Paisarn Likhitpreechakul, 2008).

1) Take all necessary legislative, administrative and other measures to ensure the right to found a family, including through access to adoption or assisted procreation (including donor insemination), without discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity.

2) Ensure that laws and policies recognize the diversity of family forms, including those not defined by descent or marriage, and take all necessary legislative, administrative and other measures to ensure that no family may be subjected to discrimination on the basis of the sexual orientation or gender identity of any of its members, including with regard to family-related social welfare and other public benefits, employment, and immigration.

3) Take all necessary legislative, administrative and other measures to ensure that in all actions or decisions concerning children, whether undertaken by public or private social welfare institutions, courts of law, administrative authorities or legislative bodies, the best interests of the child shall be a primary consideration, and that the sexual orientation or gender identity of the child or of any family member or other person may not be considered incompatible with such best interests.

4) In all actions or decisions concerning children, ensure that a child who is capable of forming personal views can exercise the right to express those views freely, and that such views are given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child.

5) Take all necessary legislative, administrative and other measures to ensure that in States that recognize same-sex marriages or registered partnerships, any entitlement, privilege, obligation or benefit available to different-sex married or registered partners is equally available to same-sex married or registered partners.

6) Take all necessary legislative, administrative and other measures to ensure that any obligation, entitlement, privilege or benefit available to different-sex unmarried partners is equally available to same-sex unmarried partners.

7) Ensure that marriages and other legally-recognized partnerships may be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses or partners.

Considering Valencia declaration on sexual rights announced in 1994 in Spain and Yogyakarta Principles in 2006 in Indonesia, it was found that in the 12-year period, there have been significant evolutions in sexual rights. For example, there are the right to fair trial; the right to treatment with humanity while in detention; the right to being treated with humanity and with respect for the inherent dignity of the human person; the right to freedom from torture and cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, including for reasons relating to sexual orientation or gender identity; the right to work as everyone has the right to decent and productive work, to just and favorable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment, without discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity; the right to effective remedies and redress as every victim of a human rights violation, including of a violation based on sexual orientation or gender identity, has the right to effective, adequate and appropriate remedies.

It is another step forward in international sexual rights that Thailand participated in the meeting and signed the binding on the declaration of Yogyakarta Principles. At present, Yogyakarta Principles are considered the most complete instrument in the application of international human rights law on the issues of sexual orientation and gender identity (Chidsanupong Nitiwana and Wannapa Leerasir, 2017) with non-binding and un-enforcement in international law.

2.6.5 LGBT People with Political and Social Roles

Nowadays, LGBT people both living abroad and in Thai society are increasingly involved in political and social development. Society recognizes gender differences. Disclosure of identity to the public leads to the creation of values and benefits to society in different forms as follows.

Elin Sigurðardóttir (2019) is Iceland's first female Prime Minister and the first female Prime Minister in the world who has clearly declared lesbian. She served as Prime Minister from 2009 - 2013 with a role in the movement for gender rights.

Di Rupo is the Prime Minister of Belgium from 2011 – 2014. He is the person who answered the media questions clearly as a gay.

Gabor Szetey is the Secretary of State for Human Resources of the Government of Hungary. He is an economist and human resource director. The words of Gabor led the Government of Hungary to issue the law on same-sex registered partnerships which has been effective since 2009.

Jared Polis is the politician affiliated with the Democrats in the congressional District of Colorado and a former member of the Colorado Education Council. He is the first gay in Congress.

Xavier Bettel is Luxembourg's the 24th Prime Minister who got married in 2015 after the same-sex marriage law has been effective since 2014 in Luxembourg.

Tanwarin Sukkhapsit is the politician of Move Forward Party. He is the first person in the Thai Parliament clearly disclosing himself as the transgender person and dress according to the gender when attending the meeting at the parliament Thurdkeattiphol Saengmaneejeeranandacha and Rattaphong Sonsuphap (2020).

As mentioned above, LGBT people are more revealing their identities. They are accepted by society and have political roles. Issuing the laws that are effective for same-sex marriage is also right. The American Psychiatric Association announced in 1973 that homosexuality is not a psychiatric disorder. That is, LGBT people are general people and should be treated equally as ordinary people. It can be seen that people with social and political roles have shown their viewpoints more on gender diversity and participated in activities. For example, Justin Trudeau, the President of Canada participated in the Pride Parade in Toronto.

Even though the country leaders who are LGBT people are accepted at an international level with political equality and there are the country leaders who are lesbians, there are some restrictions of LGBT rights, fairness, human dignity that are not based on the differences of sexual orientation and gender identity, especially lesbians in the Thai society. Although there is Gender Equality Act B.E. 2558 which promotes gender equality, opportunities to access rights in various social, economic,

political dimensions, Civil Partnership Bill which is the right to guarantee marriage of two persons still does not occur in Thailand. It is just a “bill” that does not cause any real policy and practice. The right to found a family and the right to marriage registration are considered as fundamental human rights that LGBT people should be granted like those having male-female relationships in order to be in accordance with Yogyakarta Principles.

2.7 Related Research

The studies and research related to human rights security, fairness and equality conducted in women or LGBT people directly or related to lesbians can be used as evidence in this study because there are quite a few studies on this subject in Thailand. In the past, the studies about human security regarding rights, fairness and equality with gender diversity in various issues were interesting and extremely complex both with similarities and differences. It also overlapped with other matters such as lifestyle, ideas, rights, freedom, and equality. Therefore, the studies were divided into 3 main groups, namely 1) the study on human security, 2) the study on rights, fairness and equality, and 3) the study on lesbians as follows.

Auyporn Reungtrakul and et al. (2014) studied the promotion of human security in educational, social, and cultural aspects via collaborations between Chulalongkorn University and communities in Pathoomwan District. The results were as follows. First, most communities needed to develop their quality of life by improving their education, society and culture. In terms of the community schools, educational development focusing on improvement of students academic competences and teachers’ instructional skills were needed. Second, there was one procedural model of collaboration between Chulalongkorn University and Pathoomwan District Communities which was appropriate for applying in the communities and schools. Projects and activities were varied according to contexts and needs of each communities and schools. Overall experiment results revealed a good level of success in an implementation of the procedural model of collaboration. Pathoomwan District Community and Pathoomwan School had a very good level of success. Third, the components of the procedural model of collaboration between Chulalongkorn

University and Pathoomwan District Communities to promote human security in educational, social and cultural aspects, consisted of a) the aims, b) the objectives, c) the key principles of full services to fulfill the community needs, expert volunteer networks, cooperation in thinking and conducting process of all stakeholders, flexibility, understanding of and being trusted from the community, knowledge sharing, sustainable development, integration, and self-dependence, d) process, including networking creation, genuine needs, determining direction, coordinating and cooperation, carrying all activities, continuous monitoring and following up, and organizing the community data base, and e) outcome based on the objectives.

Nattawut Chaisayan (2015) conducted the study entitled “Same-Sex Certificated”. It was found that the state has recognized status of civil partnership of human beings by using sexual orientations as a primary factor for consideration. Only sexual relationship that can reproduce was considered. Such concept was applied as a fundamental element to enact law to recognize status of civil partnership of civilians without adhering to the principles and concepts in certifying civil partnership of human beings by taking into account of human behaviors borne out of love which could be arisen from all human beings either with different or with the same physical bodies. Therefore, the certification for civil partnership of human beings shall be given to all forms of love, as it is natural and fundamental right that the state should have recognized, not only recognizing the right to register marriage in particular form of love. In fact, the state shall also enact law to recognize civil partnership of all groups of same-sex couples. The state has never applied the concept of such theoretical model of marriage as part of the basis for legislation enactment. It has never understood that the form of marriage which harmonizes with natural condition is the true form of marriage per se, as it is the law of nature and the matter between natures and human, as it aims to reproduce human race., the sexual orientation is, therefore, the essential element for such form of marriage only, which is different from the form of marriage under the conditions stipulated by the state. the state can impose conditions on recognizing the status of civil partnership of human beings in the form of legislation with the aims to certify civil partnership of all civilians which provides legal rights and benefits to them as lovers who desire to cohabit together and to protect the rights and interests of entire civilians, according to the state’s will.

Therefore, sexual orientation is not the essential element for this form of marriage. If the state takes such concept, it will enact law to recognize civil partnership of civilians, by taking into account the human behaviors that express love as the essential element, not the sexual relationship. In this way, it will respect freedom of expression of loving behaviors and equality between all human beings, whose civil partnership recognized by state under the law equally.

Araya Suksom (2016) studied human rights to sexual orientation and gender identity in Thai legal system. The findings were as follows. Gender and the sex life of human are not only determined by nature, but also a social productivity. Behaviors, practices, and sexual expression of individuals can be changed according to time and the context of society in each culture, and they are various depending on the sexuality of each individual. Therefore, sexual diversity is linked to the sexuality of human. That is, the sexual diversity of people based on two main factors: sexual orientation and gender identity. The United Nations' guidelines to protect and recognize human rights of LGBTI require member states to recognize rights and freedoms of LGBTI. The member states are also required to have measures to prevent LGBTI from discrimination due to sexual orientation and gender identity. The measures include legislative measures, executive measures and other necessary measures to eliminate and prevent discrimination. The member states are also required to have measures to promote the equal rights of LGBTI. For the protection of human rights for sexual orientation and sexual identity of LGBTI by the United Nations is based on human dignity, non-discrimination and privacy protection. Therefore, human rights for sexual orientation and sexual identity in this thesis means the free will of the individual to determine his or her own destiny in terms of sexual orientation and gender identity through expression, sexual behavior or conduct, as well as the ability to build relationships with others. Individual as a human being and a citizen of the state have a right to be protected by the state. The rights that should be protected by state include the right to remain aloof, right to self-determination, and the right to participation. The right to participation can be classified to a right as a citizenship, political rights, economic rights, social rights and cultural rights. In Thailand, the human rights protection of LGBTI is based on the concept of binary sexes, divided into male and female. This division classifies the groups of LGBTI to be the minorities who are not

accepted by society and the legal system. The primary limitations and barriers for the legal recognition of sexual diversity in Thailand are due to the health status specification from the guidelines of the World Health Organization. For these reasons, the groups of LGBTI have been stigmatized and become targets of widespread violence and discrimination in society and the legal system.

Chawinroj Terapachalaphon and Panumas Kudngaongarm (2017, pp. 92-101) conducted the study entitled “Marriage Equality Rights for Sexual Diversity People in Thailand”. The concepts and the relevant theories which are the sources of marriage equality rights were studied. The causes of the lack of marriage equality of LGBTIQ in Thailand were analyzed. It was found that LGBTIQ couples in Thailand faced problems caused by the enactment of Marriage Law under Thai Civil and Commercial Code (CCC). The action caused LGBTIQ couples to lose their rights and duties under CCC and under other local laws as the laws refer to the rights of spouses, husband and wife and statutory heir with the reference to the mentioned problems. Although Thai Constitution B.E. 2550 and B.E. 2560 were legislated with the principle of non-discrimination against gender and Thailand also signed and ratified Conventional International Laws having the same principle, the problems still exist. Internationally, there are two types of legislation for LGBTIQ relationships, Marriage Equality Law and Civil Partnership Laws. The researchers proposed to amend Thai Civil and Commercial Code by certifying the relationship of people of all genders, sexual orientation and gender identity as “legal couples”, which refers to Marriage Equality for All.

Sirivimon Payaksee (2016, June) conducted the study on inequalities of rights with sexual diversity. In Thailand, although LGBT people feel more accepted by society, it is not enough for them to live happily or receive the same rights as everyone else. It is not possible to exercise complete rights and participate in society if society does not accept and understand that all members of society are equal and should receive equal human rights. It should also be pushed together and not neglected.

Wipada Ieamkong (2010) conducted the research entitled “Impact of LGBT movements in Thailand”. The result of this study revealed that LGBT movements in Thailand affected the public policy process and the dimensions of social acceptance of

LGBT people. First, the LGBT movements in Thailand to participate in the public policy process related to their own human rights indicated the increasing political space of the LGBT groups in political system. Second, the LGBT movements in Thailand had an effect on the dimensions of social acceptance on gender and sexuality more than in the past. The study was operated through 4 groups of LGBT including Rainbow Sky Association of Thailand, Thai Political Gay Group, Anjaree Group and Trans Female Association of Thailand.

Based on the research studies related to rights, fairness and equality, it has been found that the state plays an important role in determining rights and creating fairness and equality. Although the state has adopted Gender Equality Act B.E. 2558 and the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand B.E. 2560, giving rights to LGBT people, there are still unequal rights, especially the right to marriage and the right to found a family even Thailand has been bound by Yogyakarta Principles, which establish the principles of the right to found a family. For this reason, the social movement for rights, fairness and equality has resulted in the public policy. It is the creation of acceptance in human dignity and social empowerment although each of the social movements may not achieve the intended intent.

Matthana Chetmee (1996) studied the way of life and family life of Thai lesbians. The study aimed to understand the way of life of lesbians in Thai society and study the family life, ideas about a family lesbians and influence and effect of the ideal of family in Thai society on the way of life of lesbians in order to allow this study to reflect life and thoughts of lesbians in Thai society. The researcher collected data from two sources, namely documents of both academic and general publications related to lesbians and interviews together with participant observation of the target group. For data analysis, the researcher used two main concepts: the concept of sex and male and female roles and the concept of family. Both concepts helped to understand sex and family which depend on culture in each society. The phenomenon of lesbians may be seen as rejecting the concept of sex and family of society. However, this study found that the influence of family's idea has affected the thinking and the lifestyle of this group of women a lot. For example, some Tom-Dy couples imitate the life of heterosexual couples. However, lesbian couples' lives are also diverse even the Tom-Dy group that may be divided into two groups, namely Tom-Dy

group taking the male and female roles and the group rejecting male and female roles. When considering the stereotype of Tom-Dy, the latter group is different from the first group as they try to create their own identity which is different and unrelated to the male-female relationship model. In addition to Tom-Dy, there are other forms of lesbian that do not express like Tom-Dy. The outward appearance of the group of lesbian is not different from other women in general. The only difference is that they define themselves as women who love only women. This group of lesbian may still play the roles of men and women which are not different from Tom-Dy. But this study focused on those who are not both Tom and Dy and refuse to take on the roles men and women entirely, for the reason that they are women who want to love women who do not imitate a man or wants to be a man. The researcher can notice various phenomena and relationship patterns of lesbians. It might be that because such relationships do not have certain frameworks or rules like the male and female couples that are defined by the norms of femininity and masculinity.

Natee Teerarojjanapongs (2008) investigated the interest in Thai politics of Thai gays. It aimed to study the interest in Thai politics of Thai gays and the factors related to the interest in Thai politics of Thai gays by using the conceptual framework of gay and homosexual gender identity and the concept of politics. The scope of this study was to study the group of gays who were the members of four gay organizations in Mueang Chiang Mai District. The dependent variable was the interest in Thai politics of Thai gays which can be divided into three groups: keeping up with the news of the country, having political involvement and having political roles. The statistics used in the data analysis were frequency distribution, mean, percentage and standard deviation and χ^2 -Test. The political interest of the gays in Mueang Chiang Mai District can be concluded as follows. 1) They have a moderate interest in politics. Most of them receive political news from television. 2) Their participation in Thai politics is moderate. the highest level of political participation is on the exercise of the voting rights during election. 3) They have very little interest in becoming politicians. However, they wish to take an active role in gay rights reform and against social discrimination.

Kollman and Waites (2009) conducted a study on the overview of key political developments in global lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) organizing and

advocacy over the past three decades and a summary of recent academic research and debates on these issues in politics, sociology and other disciplines. 1) The recent global developments related to LGBT's human rights organizing and advocacy can be explained by political and sociological theories. 2) The risk is focusing on human rights rather than concepts such as equality, justice, liberation and self-determination. 3) The transnational human rights networks and global norms of LGBT rights affect domestic politics globally. Therefore, campaigns and activities promoting the right and supporting political parties which tend to support such rights should be organized.

Bang-on Thepthein (2008, pp. 65-77) studied the relationship of homosexuals' life. The research aimed to investigate same- sex relationships and family life using qualitative research methods, including philosophy and theory of phenomenology. It was found that the idea of "family" has affected the lives of the people involved. Because of the definitions they have given to themselves and the negative explanations on same-se couples, the conflict arises. When they have found out that they are different from others, they need to hide their own feelings and to conceal their behavior from others. Some same-sex couples imitate mixed-couple relationships in which one partner takes on a male role and the other the role of a woman living in partnership with a male. There are also a number of same-sex couples who do not want to marry someone of the opposite sex and do not want to imitate the roles taken on by mixed sex couples. Same-sex relationships are considered a social problem. The behavior patterns of such couples may reflect their desire to live as they want, rather than attempting to fit into the framework imposed by society, which has implications on various aspects of social life. Although the general public / society has tried to open to the same-sex couples and allow them to participate in social activities, the deep inside of society or even the sub-section of society like family institution still considers homosexual as a sexual disorder that is disgusting and unwanted.

Kanitta Suksamai and Phitak Siritwong (2016, pp. 123-133) conducted a study entitled "A Woman Loving a Woman: Gender's Ways of an Elderly Couple" with the aim to study the lifestyle of elderly homosexual women who began to love other women since childhood until being the elderly women and the obstacles in living life of the elderly homosexual women living in Nakhon Pathom Province. It was found

that the life of a woman loving a woman was caused by the feelings different from others. It led to the confusion creating the thought of being homosexual and eventually accepted their identities. This started from childhood that a girl began to reveal her boy-like appearance and emotions. The exposure of her homosexual side to intimate people was difficult because of emotional confusion with the future consequences. Until the puberty stage, she started loving a woman and revealing her true identity to intimate people especially her lover who understood and accepted the homosexual identity. So, she can face with the problems caused by conservative traditions, culture and society by ignoring the people's critics and proving herself to live like normal people. Nevertheless, a homosexual woman's life still has not been accepted by society because of the deviant and different sexual behavior. Once she got older, the way of life had changed as the aging body suffered from illness, so she needed someone to take care of her and helped support in careers and financial issues. The experiences through the lifetime had taught about the appropriate acts in the society and received the social acceptance.

Sumonthip Boonkerd and Kanlaya Paikoh (2017, pp. 15-21) conducted a study entitled "Mental Health Problem in Female Homosexual: Gender Discrimination". The results revealed that lesbians or female homosexuals are the people who identify themselves as Tom, Dy, lesbian or bisexual. They are regarded as sexual minority, so they face with both individual and organizational discrimination problems, such as prejudice, conflict and relationship issues. Therefore, they are risk of mental health problems. If the problems are unsolved, daily life or work may be severely affected. So, Thai society must be aware of human rights and equality in order to reduce prejudice and hate speech because homosexuals do not cause social problems. On the contrary, social pressure from surrounding people is a cause of troubles for homosexuals.

Wissuta Chansom, Chailai Sakdiworapong, and Sakol Satidwitayanan (2015, pp. 105-117) studied ways of life of lesbian. It was found that the ways in which the lesbians were raised in their families included strict or unattended liberal manner, lack of warmth, domestic violence, sexual oppression, and inequality of treatment towards female gender, which influenced their liking and interest in women. In terms of ways of life, after revealing their identity to their families, they will not care about social

views. They will live their married life openly as a monogamous family and plan in their life for family conditions and stability in life. They want same-sex marriage to be legally permitted in order to gain the rights and benefits for married couples. Moreover, the news and works of lesbians should be publicized in a creative and fair manner.

Atitaya Asa (2019) studied the characteristics of working-class lesbian family and analyzed and comprehended the strategies of survival strategy and the effects received from construction a lesbian family. The life experiences of three lesbians were studied. It was found that in the construction a lesbian family, which socially overlaps with the existence of heterosexual families, by continuously spending time and sharing the two partners' daily lives in the community, is the evidence of having a new family structure and new kinships as a fictive family. This fictive family denies their legal and blood relationship. It is a so-called queer family and queer kinships. They have variety of queer performativity which challenges traditional definition of being a family. The existence of a fictive family is a strategy to survive economic and social insufficiency. It does not only help supporting emotional stability but also significantly increases opportunities and expectations of their well-being as a population of the society which would also make their family members live less challengingly.

According to the studies related to lesbians, it can be concluded that although lesbians more disclose their identities to the public, their relationships are not socially acceptable. There is still sexual bias both from legal certification and being accepted by the family institution. The family still has the idea of raising children without having sexual deviations. There is still a concept that a right and appropriate relationship is the relationship of male and female. For this reason, revealing the identity of lesbian is not easy in Thai society.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The research entitled “ Human Security in Rights, Fairness and Equality through the Perspectives of Lesbians in Thai Society” was based on the qualitative research guidelines which aimed to explain and understand the concepts and lesbians in terms of “human security” through the concepts of “rights, fairness and equality of lesbians” . The methods employed for data collection, verification of accuracy and quality of data, analysis, interpretation, and explanations of research findings as well as ethics in research were as follows.

3.1 Paradigm of the Study

The study of the individuals who are lesbians in this study was based on the study of experience, thoughts, attitudes, memories, emotions, and personal conscience regarding the concept of “human security” relating to rights, fairness and equality of the individuals who have defined themselves as lesbians in Thai society from the document research, including textbooks, research reports, theses, dissertations, academic articles, newspapers and online media regarding human security in rights, fairness and equality. The factors and living conditions of lesbians were used for analysis and interpretation of the narrative interviews (Flick, 2009) and the data obtained from semi-structured interview and in-depth, biographic narrative interviewing (Wengraf, 2004), developed from traditional phenomenological research approaches. The data analysis was conducted under the constructionist paradigm focusing on the phenomenon as the object being studied. The interpretation was based on the context that was the condition in building concepts through the experiences of those who were studied using thematic analysis (Evans & Lewis, 2018) , and analyzed by interpretation (Supanee Chaumporn, 2009) in order to capture the important meanings of perception or views (Supanee Chaumporn, 2009) . The

methodology reflected the independence of data analysis as it was based on only one theoretical framework and independent from the epistemology stance (Evans & Lewis, 2018).

3.2 Conceptual Framework of the Study

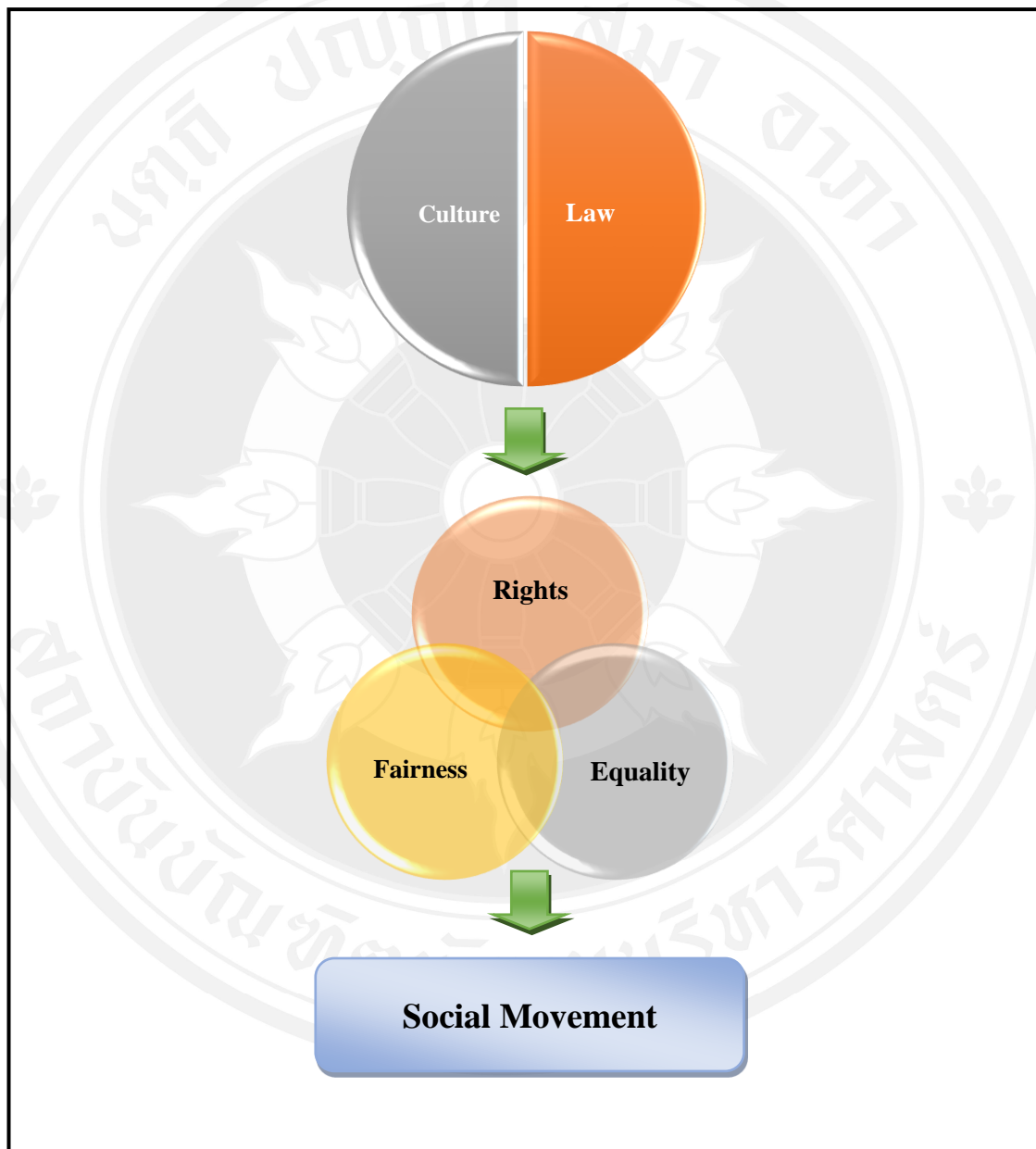


Figure 3.1 Conceptual Framework of the Study

According to the study of the concepts of human security, society, human rights, sexual orientation, gender identity, gender, gender diversity, history of lesbians and related theories, the concept framework for the research entitled “ Humanity Security on Rights, Fairness and Equality through the Perspectives of Lesbians in Thai Society” can be summarized as shown in Figure 3.1. The connection can be summarized and explained as follows.

In the digital era at present, Thai society is more open, especially in regard to gender diversity. When focusing on the study of lesbians, it has been found that sexuality and gender are not only created by nature, but partly influenced by society. It is because daily living behaviors, practices and sexual expressions of individual can be adjusted over time and based on the context of the changing society, which can be linked to beliefs, culture, values, traditions, and diversities according to the sexuality of individuals. The diversity of the sexuality of individuals does not need to be in accordance with the norms or the rules of society. There is the connection of Thai society with the lesbian’s subculture because lesbians are the subculture that is part of the main society.

In addition, Thailand is a country that accepts gender diversity in Asia. But, such acceptance is still at the superficial level. That is to say, lesbians are accepted but they are not legally accepted in terms of rights and being treated equally. These cause problems for lesbians and affect their security in life in society since there is no law supporting the rights of lesbians, such as marriage registration, financial transaction and child adoption. Regarding claiming the same rights as male and female spouses in Thai society, it is not approved and the certification of such rights is not necessary. Most of the people in society recognize that the relationships of lesbians are superficial and unstable unlike those of male and female. The relationships of lesbians are the relationships between two people, but cannot be certified by laws. Such prejudice and thoughts have an effect on lesbians, causing them be deprived of legal rights such as tax rights, constitutional rights or even human rights. These lead to inequality and unfairness in law enforcement.

Under the context of Thai society that is still based on the traditional conceptual framework of the two-sex system, namely male and female, it causes LGBT people to be a minority that is not accepted by society and supported by the

legal system. The limitations and barriers to accepting this gender diversity make LGBT people be stigmatized and become the target group of discrimination widely, both from society and the legal system. As mentioned earlier, it creates restrictions on access to basic living rights and legal obligations. Therefore, the structural issues based on the cultural and legal contexts that reduce human values and discrimination cause problems for LGBT people. They have called for a law to certify the rights that should be granted.

In order to achieve that principle of equality, which is an important principle recognized by international law and related internal laws, certain behaviors that result in obstruction of equality, such as discrimination, prejudice and oppression must be eliminated or prevented by law. However, if the different practices are related to “grounds of discrimination” as stipulated by law, and related to the characteristics of individuals in society which are often vulnerable or deprived groups and pushed into a marginal group, discrimination can occur in various dimensions of life in society, such as discrimination in employment and careers and discrimination in government or private services. For this reason, it can be seen that the principle of prohibition of discrimination will eventually lead to equality.

Although LGBT people are more accepted, it does not include acceptance from everyone in the society and exclusion from basic rights still exists. LGBT people do not have rights and are not treated fairly. They are still discriminated and experiencing inequality. These things lead to social unification and social movements in claiming various rights. It is an effort of the group in expressing identity in order to make society respect human dignity, which is considered basic human rights, especially, the group of lesbians, one of the LGBT groups whose differences between physiological genders are managed by gender that is based on social structure. It is believed that women are inferior to men. This natural difference cannot be changed. This is the first step in gender inequality. Later, understanding and explanation of inequality do not include awareness and gender. Lesbians are labeled as patients with mental problem despite having academic information against this belief. This change, therefore, causes misunderstanding. They face space limitations and the problems of acceptance from close people. So, they are rejected by society, including family, and people at work, making them have different ways of life.

Based on the discourses that are cultural products creating social movements, they are constructed to reflect the problems that social movements are facing or acting in demanding rights, fairness and equality. They may be in the form of symbols, messages, processes and beliefs. In this regard, the social movements of LGBT are formed by the unification of people who have the same attitude and position in same-sex love. They have the same objective or goal in the movements such as claiming rights, freedom, equality and acceptance from people in society in order to be accepted and have position within the society for self-expression. These social movements aim to create understanding and to make society accept gender identity and sexuality. Therefore, social movements of LGBT, especially lesbians are the effort to create human security. Based on the principles of human dignity in accordance with human rights, providing equal and fair services, reducing disparity in society, creating human security that covers various dimensions, such as housing, health, food, education, employment, family income, community, social support, religion and culture, safety in life and property, rights and justice in politics and the environment are required. Therefore, a person has the right to be protected as a human being and a citizen of the state. In this regard, human rights regarding sexuality and gender identity are significant under the scope of personal privacy, which consists of all of the rights mentioned above, which are an important part and the foundation of human security of lesbians.

3.3 Research Design

The objective of the research entitled “Humanity Security on Rights, Fairness and Equality through the Perspectives of Lesbians in Thai Society” was to understand the definitions of “human security” under the context and the perspectives towards rights, fairness and equality of lesbians in the Thai society. The study aimed to define the definitions of the concept of “human security” from the perspectives of lesbians through the analysis of “the narrative biography” of the informants using qualitative research methods. Semi-structured interview and in-depth biographic narrative interviewing were employed (Wengraf, 2002). Data were collected from the interviews of individual lesbian and lesbian couples in order to examine the ways of

thinking, perspectives, and expectations of the individual informant towards the concept of “human security” and study the relationships between the concepts of rights, fairness and equality of lesbians in Thai society. The results of the study were expected to be the guidelines for the development of the policy framework related to rights and equality of lesbians, interpreted from the “human security” based on the viewpoints of individual lesbian in terms of the effects on the way of life and the use in policy development. The data obtained from interviews were analyzed systematically using content analysis which helped to control the format of the obtained data to ensure the quality and accuracy of data.

The limitation of this research was that the informants were unable to disclose some information and the network of relationships of the informants and relevant groups of people to the researcher because some information affected their lives and some informants preferred pair interview rather than individual interview.

3.4 Research Methodology

3.4.1 Methods

In this research, two methods were employed as follows.

3.4.1.1 Primary data, including data from documents, textbooks, research reports, theses, dissertations, academic articles, newspapers and online media regarding human security in rights, fairness and equality as well as laws of organizations in the government and private sectors and the civil society, both in the country and other countries were studied. In addition, the history of people who provided information as well as photos, interviews, dates, times, places and activities of LGBT people, especially lesbians were collected as the theoretical framework and structure for data analysis.

3.4.1.2 Narrative interviews which were semi-structured interviews and in-depth biographic narrative interviewing (Wengraf, 2002), were employed to collect data for the analysis of daily life and society transmitted as the experiences related to human security in terms of rights, fairness and equality of lesbians through the perspectives of the informants. All informants have lived with their partners for at

least 4 years, aged between 25 - 50 years. There were 10 pairs of informants, a total of 20 informants. Data were collected from January - October 2019.

3.4.2 Selection of the Study Areas

The study areas were Bangkok and its Vicinity. The lesbians were purposively selected from those who were voluntary to provide information first. After that, the snowball sampling method was used to select the informants by using the data obtained from the network of social workers, friends having personal relationships with the target groups and recommendations from informal group gathering. Selecting and contacting informants were the important processes that helped the researcher to understand various contexts, such as social, economic and educational contexts and background of the informants.

3.4.3 Target Groups and Key Informants

3.4.3.1 The target groups were specified from three occupational groups, consisting of 10 pairs (20 persons) as follows.

Table 3.1 The Target Groups from Three Occupational Groups.

No.	Occupational Groups	Number (pairs)
1.	Government sector, civil servants, state enterprises	5 pairs (10 people)
2.	Private sector, running own business, multinational companies	4 pairs (8 people)
3.	Civil society, independent careers, private organizations	1 pair (2 people)

3.4.3.2 Background of Key Informants

The key informants were lesbians who have defined themselves as the members of both formal and informal lesbian groups. The scope of the study required the lesbian couples who have lived couple life for at least 4 years and aged between 25 - 50 years since they were considered the lovers concerning about the security of couple life. The views towards life of people aged 25 - 50 years of both men and

women are important as they have got through experiences and learned from adolescence and early adulthood. It is also the age range that needs to step towards success in order to build foundation of security in life and family. This is also true for the lesbian couples who have been dating for 4 years or more. Their viewpoints about their spouses are similar to those of male and female couples. They want to live together and have security in their married life and live a family life together forever.

3.4.4 Research Instrument

A semi-structured interview form used for in-depth interview was an instrument that helped to gain in-depth information. The data collection structure was briefly created, giving the informants the opportunity to develop structural answers from commonsense perception to explanations and understanding of themselves through the use of cultural experiences (Johnson, 2001). It aimed to give the informants the opportunity to use scope of interpretation, experience or perspectives to expose to things that are hidden from the normal point of view. That is to say, it was to penetrate through the reflection of the understanding of the nature of that experience. That is, in-depth interviews were conducted on the issues that may be confused and have various perspectives on understanding the phenomenon (Johnson, 2001) so that the informants can answer the questions flexibly. In order to create a framework for understanding the content of the interviews, the researcher defined the structure of the questions broadly related to following issues.

- 1) Background of the informants
- 2) Basic concepts of “human security”
- 3) Rights and equality
- 4) Gender of lesbians
- 5) Life experience
- 6) Life events
- 7) Emotions
- 8) Attitude, identity, occupation, social networks
- 9) Daily life
- 10) Lifestyle
- 11) Social interaction

- 12) Family of the informants
- 13) Values and principles of living
- 14) Political, economic, social and cultural structure in Thai society
- 15) Laws, regulations and social rules
- 16) Effects from society and adjustment in living life

The researcher avoided interfering and focused on listening rather than asking questions. The researcher also gave the informants the opportunity to answer open-ended questions and talk about their life and experiences freely. During the interviews, the informants chose the recording method themselves. A voice recorder or a video recorder was selected based on the informants' consent (Appendix) . Therefore, the researcher focused on collecting the information from narration and personal experiences from in-depth biographic narrative interviewing in order to analyze the data obtained from the informants efficiently. The researcher tested the data gained from the interviews with the informants who did not participate in the research and recorded the narration using a video recording method and the researcher was not involved in the process in order to test the quality of data and data collection. In addition, the quality of the researcher was tested by having other researchers conduct interviews on behalf of the researcher.

3.4.5 Data Analysis

The researcher used thematic analysis in the content analysis obtained from the study. Relevant theories were employed for analysis and systematization of the obtained data through the narration, gestures and symbols. The data were presented by data description based on systematic interpretation from the classified data in order to obtain a quality analysis structure used to present research findings.

3.4.6 Assessment of Accuracy and Reliability of Data

Triangulation was employed in this study. The quality of data, data collection process and the quality of the researcher were tested by testing the semi-structured interview form with informants who were not in the group of 20 informants in the study and data were collected by a video recording method. The quality of the researcher was tested by having other researchers use the semi-structured interview

form to collect data instead of the researcher. In this regard, the consistency of data collected through various methods was verified by comparing the results obtained from in-depth interviews of each key informant and each pair to see whether they were similar or different. The comparison of the important data from the observations along with other documents and research studies was also done to confirm the accuracy of the data. Data validation was carried out simultaneously with data collection. The results from in-depth interviews from each key informant and each pair were immediately checked in order to see whether the data received were true or not. This process was conducted until the data were most true in practice.

3.4.7 Presentation of Data Analysis Results

The descriptive method was used to present the data analysis results. The data from both audio and video recording were employed for data analysis. The framework of the presentation of the analysis results was as follows.

Chapter 4 : Results: Background and demographic characteristics of lesbians and the definitions of human security under the context of lesbian in Thai society were presented. The researcher intended to analyze and decipher the meanings of “human security in rights, fairness and equality” based on the perspectives of lesbians in Thai society who were the informants in this study in order to connect them and find out the relationships between the concepts of rights, fairness and equality with human security of lesbians through the life experiences of the informants. The international human rights law, the laws related to the rights, fairness and equality of lesbians in Thailand and social theories related to citizen awareness were used to analyze the relationships of rights, fairness and equality with the concept of human security of lesbians.

Chapter 5 : Conclusion and Discussion: The research results were concluded and discussed in order to use the recommendations from this study to develop into a policy and create a basic understanding related to the definitions of “human security” in terms of rights, fairness and equality based on the view of lesbians in Thai society.

3.5 Research Ethics

3.5.1 Informed Consent

Before the interviews were conducted to collect in-depth information, the research had passed the examination and certification of human research ethics according to the requirements of School of Social and Environmental Development, National Institute of Development Administration. The document explaining the information and the details of this research was distributed to the informants. The informants were also asked to express their willingness to participate in this study by signing the informed consent form.

3.5.2 Confidentiality

The pseudonyms were applied to the names of the informants and those related to the informants. The data obtained from the interviews were not presented without analysis and beyond the research. After the data had been transcribed, they were submitted to the informants in order to check and confirm the accuracy of the data and allow the researcher to use the data according to the intention of the informants.

3.5.3 Privacy

The informants chose the location for conducting data collection themselves. The data recording must be encrypted securely. The recorded data were also kept safely.

3.5.4 Trust Building

The researcher highly adhered to the research ethics and the academic neutrality in persuading and showing respect to the informants and strictly followed the research ethics. At the same time, being a researcher in the social sciences field allowed the researcher to access to techniques for establishing relationships with informants based on research ethics as well as the interaction creating a positive view on the research and a neutral attitude which made the informants trust and support this research.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH RESULT

The objectives of the research entitled “Human Security in Rights, Fairness and Equality through the Perspectives of Lesbians in Thai Society” were 1) to study human security in rights, fairness and equality of lesbians in Thai society, 2) to study the guidelines for solving problems of human security in rights, fairness and equality in Thai society through the perspectives of lesbians and 3) to study the guidelines for appropriately shifting the policy paradigm and legal issues to enhance fairness and equality of lesbians under the context of Thai society. Data were collected by qualitative research methods, namely in-depth interviews with the key informants, participant observation and non- participant observation and studying from relevant research studies.

Moreover, in this research, data were collected by various methods as presented in Chapter 2: Literature Review and Related Theories, such as the concept of human security regarding rights, fairness, equality and gender diversity and Chapter 3 : Research Methodology and Data Collection such as phenomenological study, in-depth interviews, and selection of the key target groups as mentioned in detail earlier.

Therefore, the case study aimed at understanding the phenomenon of human security focusing on lesbians in terms of rights, fairness and equality in the context of Thai society. Because of the methods of data collection and the characteristics of the key informant, large amount of descriptive data was obtained. So, the important points and various elements of lesbians consistent with the research objectives were taken into account when presenting the research results. Some parts of the results may have an effect on the feelings of lesbians, so the researcher did not reveal the names of the key informants and used pseudonyms instead. This was a preliminary agreement between the researcher and the key informants before conducting in-depth

interviews in order to obtain useful information and guidelines for enhancing fairness and equality for lesbians in Thai society. The findings can be presented as follows.

4.1 The Context of LGBT in Lesbians

Nowadays, the understanding or the meaning of the language in relation to “sex” of the person is not just linked to the sex which is the body organ or the sex according to the title of the name only. Many words or terms, such as gay, lady boy, Tom, Dy, transgender woman and transgender man, are used to refer to the people who do not express themselves as female or male according to their biological sex. The emergence or the integration of these people has challenged the concept of traditional sexual beliefs based on biological sex. This knowledge set is dismantled from the modern concepts, which have been influenced by the feminist concept and the concept of human rights and are integrated into the mainstream concepts of human and social development.

Therefore, the concept of sex that is occurring today must be understood. This may be a complicated matter in the context of Thai society that uses only the term “sex” with many dimensions of meaning. It is different from English language that many related words are used, such as sex referring to physical sex, gender, sexuality or sexual orientation, which refers to sex in terms of carnality, sensation moods, sexual desires, or affection.

4.1.1 What Is LGBT?

LGBT is defined that gender of the person is different from sex as it is more fluid. An individual can choose or specify a gender that matches his or her identity without having to refer to the biological sex and it is able to change at any time, resulting in more gender diversity. In addition, gender is also associated with an individual’s sexual orientation or sexuality, which is different and does not need to be limited by social norms that accept only heterosexual. Therefore, it is difficult to explain and define this diversity and fluidity. For this reason, it is often referred to LGBT.

LGBT is an acronym used to refer to a group of LGBT people, including lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender. But there are more groups than LGBT. The use of acronyms is also different, such as LGBTI which includes intersex or LGBTIQA which includes queer and asexual.

In terms of the lesbian's dimension, looking closely to the LGBT trend in Thai society when talking about lesbian, everyone will think about the diversity of males. This shows that we do not consider LGBT in other dimensions. Partly, it may be because of the presentation that mainly shows the image of gender diversity in men. But it still lacks one dimension that is lesbian or love between women.

This study, therefore, focused on the dimension of lesbian. The broad definition of lesbian is that women love or like other women. In the past, Thai people originally called it "Anjaree". The word "An" together with "Jareet" (norms) means "people who behave differently, matching to the term "lesbian" in English. Moreover, it has been found that in today's society, more LGBT people appear and show themselves in society. Some English words have been used to define the identity. For lesbians, there are definitions used in place of oneself to make it understandable and popular, such as lesbian, Tom which comes from the word Tomboy and Dy which is from Lady.

4.1.2 Types of Lesbians Based on Identity

There are many types, forms and groups of lesbians as follows.

Group 1: Highly feminine: They can wear pretty or fashionable clothes. They love beauty, fashion, and take good care of themselves. They are highly feminine. So, society is often mistaken that this group of lesbian likes men because it is understood that they are impossible to like women, which is a misunderstanding.

Group 2: Quite feminine: They are mixed up with braveness, not a sweet girl. They do not show their identity too much until it breaks out of the framework of feminine.

Group 3: Middle: They wear short pants and have short hair, but some have long hair. They do not try to be a man too much. They still wear clothes with details.

Group 4: Tom: They are Tom in a way that is not too harsh. They are cute. They dress like men to some extent. They wrap their chest with a strap. They may have piercing or tattoos.

Group 5: Tom: This group is closest to men or transgender men. They do not care about beauty. They do bodybuilding and have tattoos and piercing like men.

Therefore, these 5 types of lesbians are the presentation of their identities which are divided into different categories. However, the tastes of each type of lesbians are very open. Lesbians are able to like each other. It can be said it is personal preference and we cannot judge anyone from the outside (Rainbow Sky Association of Thailand, 2017).

4.1.3 Lesbians in the Context of World Society and in Thai Society

4.1.3.1 Lesbians in the Context of World Society

The law on homosexual rights in the country with outstanding lesbians in the world, such as Iceland is considered the most advanced in the world. Legal same-sex marriages took place 15 years ago, with no difference from heterosexual marriages in terms of legal interests and protections. Also, in 2006, homosexual couples started to have the right in child adoption (Mthai.com, 2009).

The modern Western world has entered a major social and cultural change, resulting in a change of perspective on gender, gender identity, rights of individuals' privacy and views on sexuality of people in society. The endorsement of the rights of LGBT is increasingly important and internationally recognized. Many developed countries have developed human rights concepts, starting from abolition of the idea that having sex with same sex is wrong and upgrading the progress to certifying legal status and certifying rights such as the right to marriage, couple life and founding a family of same sex couples and certification of transgender people. Denmark was the first country to register a civil union between same sex couples in 1989, followed by other countries such as Norway, Spain, England, France and other countries, which later developed the law into the same-sex marriage law like the male and female couples. It is considered to be another step in the civil partnership law or same-sex marriage law.

Therefore, many developed countries value the rights of lesbians and aim to amend laws and regulations to certify same-sex couples. Almost all countries in Europe and America, same-sex couples or same-sex marriage laws have been adopted to approve, which may vary in content and scope of benefits. When considering the development of the law, it can be seen that many countries began to develop the law by issuing the civil partnership law first, which is different from the marriage law between a man and a woman. When society has more understanding and accepts more on this issue, the law will be pushed through other judicial processes such as the High Court and the Constitutional Court. After that, the marriage law is developed to cover all sexes. Any sexes can register a marriage using the same law which leads to legal equality and non-discrimination.

On 8th October of every year, it is the International Lesbian Day. It is the day to celebrate the gender differences. It was first held in the 1980s from the demonstration of about 40 lesbians in New Zealand calling for equality on the International Women's Day, which was on 8th March before separating the day by leaving a period of 6 months from the International Women's Day. Aside from the International Lesbian Day, there are still many days of celebrations of gender differences such as National Coming Out Day and International Day Against Homophobia, Transphobia and Biphobia (BBC World Service, 2000).

According to the historical evidence of lesbians in Asia, there are fewer lesbians than gays. They are also more likely to be overlooked and concealed in Western society. This is because of insufficient recorded evidence and limited sources of information. Historical evidence of lesbians in Asia is often categorized under the relationship of sisters and female friends, which is the friendship relationship between women (Sang, 2003). This classification system is a form of control of lesbians as intangible gender identity and the phenomenon that is not seen in society. This causes lesbians in Asia to be under the control of sexuality that they have to show femininity through marriage because in Asia, family is considered the largest administrative region in society and those who do not comply with the so-called "norms" will be pressured (BBC World Service, 2000).

4.1.3.2 Lesbians in the Context of Thai Society

According to the lesbians in the context of Thai society, the relationships between women have appeared in Thai society for a long time. But there is no punishment for homosexuals to live like certain countries. This may be because Thai society has never seen sexual relations between lesbians as a form of gender identity. It is seen as the relationship arising from the intimacy between women and is a temporary and unrealistic behavior. This can be seen from the term “playing friend” which is an ancient word that appears in the Royal Institute Dictionary, referring to dating with female friends, or women having sex with the same sex (Ratchanechon Chailangkar, 2010).

During the influences of foreign culture in the year 1957 onwards, it was found that Thai society adopted the concept of the Western gender model from the sexologist together with the integration of existing cultures. Therefore, there is the term used to call girls who play naughty and dislike wearing girls’ clothes and like to play with boys as “Tomboy”. Also, a term of “lesbian” is used to refer to women who have sexual relations with women. Although there are new terms adopted from the West, some people in Thai society still use the word “lady boy” in referring to gays and lesbians.

After the influence of Western gender model in 1964, there appeared the novel entitled “Jan Dara” written by Utsana Phleungtham (Sulaiporn Chonwilai, 2012). The novel projected two female characters named Khun Kaew, a daughter of Luang Wisanantadecha and Khun Boonluang, a former wife of Luang Wisanantadecha (Chan’s secret wife) having sexual relations with each other. In addition to the term “lady boy”, appearing in the novel entitled “Jan Dara”, used to refer to the female characters who have male behaviors and same-sex sexuality, there is also the term “lesbian” appearing in the novel entitled “Rak Kaew” written by Krisana Asoksin (1974).

The advent of Western medical and psychological discourses used to understand sexuality caused women who were more likely to have same-sex behavior to be accused of being psychiatric patients with sexual deviation that should be treated. Especially clinical psychology, it tried to conduct the study to diagnose problems of mental disorders and behavioral disorders in order to correct symptoms

that are understood to be sexual disorders. At the same time, in Thai society, the terms “Tom and Dy” appeared to define lesbians. “Tom” was derived from the term “Tomboy” used to refer to women, teenagers, or adults who liked to dress like a man, behaved like a man and loved women. The word “Dy” was from the word “Lady”, used to refer to a Tom’s lover. The words “Tom and Dy” were used widely. But, in the era when the modern medical knowledge was derived from the Western psychology and gender concepts, it caused Tom and Dy to be labeled as a type of psychosis that must be treated.

In the Modern Period (1986), there was an increase in the grouping and presence of lesbians in Thai society, leading to the founding and the official launch of the group of lesbians in 1996 (Sinnott, 2001), known as “Anjaree”. Anjana Suvarnananda is one of the founders. Chantalak Raksayu is an editor of Anjaree Magazine, called “Anjaree San”. It is a monthly magazine with the content to create knowledge and understanding of lesbians as a right and a personal choice through academic content and by presenting the relationships between women and women in every aspect of society, both in Thailand and other countries.

However, when lesbians were introduced, they had to face terrors, prejudices and myths from the people in society who were worried that there might be the imitation of inappropriate behaviors. Therefore, a lot of attention and anti-homosexuality were created at the same time. Later in 2000, a new group called “Lesla” was established by Manthana Adisayathepkul. It was established from the website called Lesla.com. It is a social group that arises from the online world. The emergence of Anjaree and Lesla reveals the existence of lesbians in Thai society. Under this existence, there are the stories of lesbian lovers who live together as a family which is not different from a family of male and female. This can be seen from the love stories presented in Anjaree San. They are the love stories between women living together as a family that has not been accepted by society (Simon, 2003, p. 29).

In summary, lesbians in Western society, Asian society and Thai society are different according to each context. Previously, in the West, women were viewed as purity and beauty. But relationships between women were perceived as unnatural and must be punished. Later in the pre-modern era, lesbians had more identity. But the law against sex between women still remained. Finally, at the end of

the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, there were historical events that led to the movement for human rights and the liberation of LGBT people in Asia. In Asian society, although the relationships between lesbians is seen as inappropriate, there is not any reprimand or punishment because it is seen as a relationship that arises from the close friendship between two women who are intimate with each other. However, sexual relations between women are still not accepted and are seen as abnormal. In the past, the relationship between women appeared for a long time in Thai society. But there was no punishment for those who were homosexuals. It was just recognized as an inappropriate behavior. Later, Thai society was influenced by Western gender and medical discourses. As a result, lesbians were seen as gender dysphoria that had to be treated. In the following era, lesbians formed groups leading to the emergence of stories of lesbians living together. Although there are more and more lesbian couples live together as families, Thai society still refuses to accept the lesbian family as a family all the time.

Table 4.1 Summary of Lesbian Groups in the Context of Global Society, Asian Society and Thai Society

Global Society	Asian Society	Thai Society
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pre-modern era <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In England in the pre-modern era, lesbians were more recognized. But there was still resistance. So, they were stigmatized by society. As a result, men were increasingly fearful of lesbian's relationships (Craft-Fairchild, 2006). - In America in the 18th and early 19th centuries, there was the emergence of middle-class and upper-class women. The economic and educational opportunities for middle-class women were also increased. Colleges for women were established, leading to sexual relations between women (N. Miller, 1995). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pre-modern era – modern era <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The historical evidence of lesbians in Asian societies was less than that of gays. It was more likely to be overlooked and hidden than in Western societies. It was classified under the sister and female friend relationships (Sang, 2003). This was to control lesbians to have a gender identity that did not exist and was not recognized by society. - Most lesbians in Asia were forced to control their sexuality and express their femininity through marriage because in Asia, family was the largest administrative region in society. Women were under pressure if they did not 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pre-modern era <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Evidence appeared in the Palace Law, Section 124 in the early Ayutthaya period. The relationship between women was recorded. "Playing friend" between women occurred during the reign of King Borom Tri Lokanat, the 8th King of Ayutthaya. It was forbidden and there was the punishment for women having same-sex relationship in the palace. It was stated also that "If the women in the palace have sexual relationships with other palace women, they will receive a punishment of 50 lashes. If they continue to violate the rules again, they will have their necks tattooed with condemnation words and put in shackles and parade

Global Society	Asian Society	Thai Society
<p>comply with the norm (BBC World Service, 2000).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Modern era <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The intimacy between girls was seen through sexologists. So, the relationship between women in the late 19th century was viewed as anomalous and untrustworthy. The terms lesbian and homosexual woman were used. It became the starting point for social change, especially about the sexuality of women who were being watched by outsiders. - In France, the late 19th century was a time for lesbian self-declaration through wearing a tuxedo and monocle that dropped into a small hole in a shirt. - Marriage with a man was still the norm. 	<p>around the city in disgrace” (Ratchaneekorn Larpvanichar, 2012).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Modern era <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In the reign of King Rama III, Rattanakosin (1824 – 1851), a record of the behavior of “playing friend” in that era was revealed in writing through various literature, poems and murals. - Evidence of the relationship between women continued to be seen in Sunthorn Phu poems, such as the relationship between women in Phra Aphai Mani. - In the reign of His Majesty King Mongkut (1851 – 1868), the behavior or relationship between women in the palace was recorded in the diary of Townsend Harris, the United States Ambassador to Bangkok. He stated that 	

Global Society	Asian Society	Thai Society
<p>Consequently, the relationship between women was replaced by close friends. Bosom sex was a term used to describe a woman's relationship with a close girlfriend, where both of them were married (Hansen, 1995).</p> <p>- In New England, America, the relationships called Boston Marriages, were used to describe the love and friendship between two women living together without the financial dependence on men. These lesbian relationships created a history of gender equality allowing women to be independent without being associated with men. So, lesbians were more recognized, (Angelowicz Ami. A, 2012).</p> <p>- In France, there was a growing presence of lesbians who were the owners of bars and</p>		<p>“playing friend” was a common behavior in the view of foreigners. It was a form of sexual relationship of Thai women who did not have civilization and culture, which were considered human qualifications, until it led homosexual relationship. From the information mentioned above, it can be seen that the same-sex behavior between women that had been punished in the Ayutthaya period had been abolished. There was only prohibition. So, sexual relations between women in Thai society were under the norm of inappropriateness (P. A. Jackson & Sullivan, 1999). Also, there was no stigmatization of the relationship between women in the following era.</p>

Global Society	Asian Society	Thai Society
<p>cafés as well as the painters and the writers who focused on the stories of lesbians. Therefore, lesbians were recognized in public spaces (Rupp, 2011) .</p>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Late 20th century <p>-On June 28, 1969 at Stonewall Hotel, Greenwich Village, Manhattan, New York, massive riots erupted in police attacks on gay and lesbian communities. This incident led to the fight for LGBT rights. In the United States, there were more lesbian couples (National Park Service, 2016), leading to the demonstrations in major cities around the world to mark the events of Stonewall in June, known as Pride Month.</p> <p>- In 1970, lesbian couples living together</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Late 20th century- present <p>-In the pre-1960s, lesbian relationships did not create any disorder or fear to Asian societies. But from the 1960s to the late 20th century, intolerance towards gays and lesbians became the descriptive factor if the relationship between homosexual women was not expressed much (BBC World Service, 2000).</p> <p>- The tolerance toward homosexuals, existing in Asian countries made the spaces of lesbians in the West and Asia different.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Late 20th century <p>- Since 1957, Thai society had been influenced by gender and Western medical discourses. As a result, lesbians were recognized as gender dysphoria that must be treated. Evidence of lesbians during this period appeared mostly in medical documents.</p> <p>-During 1986–2000, the groups of lesbians named Anjaree and Lesla were formed. This was an important phenomenon in revealing the existence of lesbians in Thai society, which led to the emergence of lesbian couples living</p>

Global Society	Asian Society	Thai Society
<p>in America and San Francisco showed up at the Municipal Clerk's Office to demand legal same-sex marriage. But they were rejected. So, they went to the court, saying that the marriage law is limited only to heterosexual couples, which violates the fundamental right to marriage as an equal right. The needs of lesbian couples indicated the strength of same-sex relationships. During the mid-1970s to the late 1980s, no lesbian couple in America was entitled to marriage (Chambers & Polikoff, 1999).</p> <p>- A group of about 40 lesbians in New Zealand marched to demand equality on International Women's Day. As a result, October 8th of every year is International Lesbian Day.</p>		<p>together as a family.</p>

Global Society	Asian Society	Thai Society
<p>-Denmark became the first country to allow Civil Unions between same-sex couples in 1989. Other countries later developed same-sex marriage laws.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 21st century – present <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - There has been the introduction of the term “lesbian family”, referring to the family of two women who are in love or want to marry and adopt children, especially in the United States. But lesbian families are socially stigmatized because of the traditional family concept. As a result, the Institute of Marriage refuses to accept same-sex couples as married couples (Quinn, 2012). Lesbian couples are, therefore, unable to found families and have only the status of a domestic partnership (Chambers & 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 21st century – present <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In 2013, the Rights and Liberties Protection Department, Ministry of Justice drafted the Civil Partnership Bill. The Cabinet approved the principle at the beginning of December 2018, stipulating the law on life partners to support the rights and duties of life partners, consistent with the current situation where LGBTQ people live together as a normal family. However, there is no law to support their rights and duties as life partners. This is because the marriage registration according to the Civil and Commercial

Global Society	Asian Society	Thai Society
<p data-bbox="352 165 384 1962">Polikoff, 1999).</p> <ul data-bbox="408 165 1102 1962" style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="408 165 1102 1962">- There is a growing movement to ensure marriage or cohabitation among LGBT people. Moreover, lesbian couples in 28 European countries have gradually shifted to two forms of acceptance of marital status. First, the state accepts the registration of same-sex marriages as lawful spouses, having the same legal effect as a marriage between a man and a woman. Second, the state certifies that they are civil partnerships, receiving state privileges and have statutory duties (Ratchanechon Chailangkar, 2010). 		<p data-bbox="352 1167 608 1962">Code, Section 1448 states that it must be a marriage between a man and a woman only. Currently, this draft is still in the process of the Council of State (Issaranews, 2020).</p> <ul data-bbox="632 1167 1046 1962" style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="632 1167 1046 1962">- Nowadays, although more lesbian couples live together as families, but Thai social law still refuses to accept lesbian families as families at all times. For example, Rungthiwa Tangkanophas and Phallavi Jangtangatchatham were not allowed to register their marriage at Bang Rak in 2010 (MGR Online, 2013).

4.2 Basic Information of the Key Informants

The key informants in this study were 10 lesbian couples, a total to 20 people as shown in Tables 4.2 and 4.3.

Table 4.2 Overall Information of 10 Lesbian Couples (20 People)

Couple	Name (pseudonyms)	Age	Duration of living couple life	Educational level	Occupation	Income
1	F	35	5 years	Bachelor's degree	Private company employee	25,000
	G	36		Bachelor's degree	Seller	18,000
2	M	40	8 years	Bachelor's degree (abroad)	Facilitator / psychologist	50,000
	P	39		Bachelor's degree	Business owner	20,000
3	K	39	5 years	Bachelor's degree	Civil servant	25,000
	L	28		Bachelor's degree	General employee	20,000
4	C	36	5 years	Ph.D.	Military service	30,000
	A	39		Bachelor's degree	State Enterprise Officer	23,000
5	R	33	4 years	Master's degree	Civil servant (teacher)	24,500
	S	37		Bachelor's degree	Civil servant (teacher)	25,000

Couple	Name (pseudonyms)	Age	Duration of living couple life	Educational level	Occupation	Income
6	B	48	20 years	Master's degree	Business owner	100,000
	D	40		Bachelor's degree	Business owner	100,000
7	J	48	10 years	Ph.D.	Civil servant (doctor)	35,000
	O	48		Bachelor's degree	General employee	20,000
8	I	30	4 years	Master's degree	Military service	25,000
	N	26		Bachelor's degree	Military service	20,000
9	U	40	10 years	Bachelor's degree	Private company employee	25,000
	Q	36		Bachelor's degree	Private company employee	25,000
10	X	35	22 years	Bachelor's degree	Private company employee	25,000
	Y	30		Bachelor's degree	Private company employee	25,000

From Table 4.2, most of the lesbians are 30 years old and over. The duration of living couple life is 4 years and more. Most of them earn bachelor's degree, followed by master's degree and doctoral degree, respectively. In terms of occupation, they are civil servants, private company employees, business owners and general employees. The salary rates are between 20,000 - 100,000 baht / month. In addition, all of them are Buddhists. Their hometowns are mostly in other provinces, but they

have moved to live in Bangkok, followed by those whose hometown is in Bangkok, respectively.

Table 4.3 The Characteristics of the Sample Groups in Percentage

(n=20)

Characteristics		Number (N=20)	Notes
Sex	Female	20	
Age	20 - 30 years	3	
	31 - 40 years	13	
	41 - 50 years	4	
	51 - 60 years	0	
Educational level	Bachelor's degree	15	
	Master's degree	3	
	Ph.D.	2	
Occupation	Civil servant / state enterprise officer	9	
	Seller/business owner	6	
	Private company officer	5	
	Unemployed	0	
Income	L5,0015,001 - 25,000	15	
	25,001 - 35,000	2	
	35,001 - 45,000	0	
	50,000 and over	3	
Religion	Buddhism	20	
Duration of living	4 - 6 years	10	
Couple life	7 - 9 years	2	
	10 years and over	8	
Receiving cross-sex	Yes	1	
Hormone therapy	No	19	
Receiving sexual	Yes	2	* Breast
Treatment by surgery	No	18	surgery

From Table 4.3, all of the key informants are females, aged 31 - 40 years, followed by 41 - 50 years and 20 - 30 years, respectively. Regarding the educational level, the key informants earn a bachelor's degree, followed by a master's degree and a doctoral degree, respectively. They are mostly civil servants / state enterprise officers, followed by sellers / business owners and private company employees, respectively. Most of them earn 15,001 - 25,000 baht/ month, followed by 50,000 baht / month or more and 25,001 - 35,000 baht / month, respectively.

In addition, all of the key informants are Buddhists (100%). The duration of living couple life is 4 - 6 years (50 %), followed by 10 years or more (40%) and 7 - 9 years (10 %), respectively. Moreover, the key informants do not receive cross-sex hormone therapy (95 %), followed by receiving cross-sex hormone therapy (5 %). They did not receive sexual treatment by surgery (90%), followed by receiving sexual treatment by surgery (10%), respectively.

For other factors of the key informants, most of them had studied at girls' schools than in co-educational schools. In terms of family, they are from Thai families and Thai-Chinese families.

In terms of the family factors affecting the behavior of lesbians, Chinese Thai families tended to be more strict than Thai families because of the belief and values that women must be perfect housewives. Therefore, any action contrary to femininity would not be accepted. This was found in J*'s family and she commended on these issues as follows.

My family wants me to finish school before thinking about having a (boy) girlfriend. Like a normal family, they want their daughter to marry and have a family. It might be because I am a doctor, a career with honor. Even now, my family does not 100% accepting me, they are trying to understand me – (J* Couple 7, personal communication, September 15, 2019).” U*'s family is also the same. Her family is a Thai family style that keeps telling her to be in a relationship with a man and build a family like a normal male and female couple. They believe that a male and female couple is more secure in living together than a female couple. (U* Couple 9, personal communication, August 26, 2019).

According to the family background, most of the parents of the key informants are living together. The ways of parenting included being strict with rules and giving freedom, not warning when having same-sex relation and supporting homosexual behavior. Furthermore, some lack family's warmth, caused by the loss of a mother or a father or both at the same time since childhood or parents' divorce. This is a part that affects sexual behaviors since family is the institution that is most close to persons. Children, therefore, seek love from other women to compensate for the feelings they have never received from their parents. It is like having a person to take care closely and is a fulfillment in the life that is missing. In addition, another important reason is from father's behaviors. The behaviors of flirting and polygamy cause children to see and absorb these behaviors until leading to homosexual behavior.

4.3 Human Security in Rights, Fairness and Equality of Lesbians in Thai Society

4.3.1 Overview of the life of Lesbians through the Perspectives and Experiences of Lesbians in Thai Society

Being a lesbian is considered different from most people in society. For having close same sex relationship and choosing a woman as a partner, lesbians are needed to adapt themselves in many ways to live with a society that has mostly heterosexual relationship, which is the relationship between male and female. This may lead to various problems, such as negative relationships, conflicts, grievances, especially with those who have a negative attitude towards homosexuality. Therefore, anonymity of sexuality is the most frequently used among lesbians. It is a process used by lesbians with colleagues and family because of bad experiences about revealing identity and knowing that their sexual orientation may cause problems as well as discrimination, abusing and bad relationships. Therefore, adaptation is absolutely necessary for sexual orientation and gender diversity for both gays and lesbians.

The details of adaptation in life of lesbians based on the perspectives and experiences through the storytelling of 10 lesbian couples (20 people) are as follows.

The first couple of the key informants (G * and F *) told about their experiences in adapting in living life of lesbians as follows.

G * is 36 years old and lives with her mother. Her father passed away. She has 2 siblings who have their own family. At present, she is a seller. She has recognized herself since childhood that she does not like men. She likes to play with men and always like women. At first, her family did not accept it because they wanted her to be a woman. But over time, they have started to accept it and see that she is capable enough to look after herself and family. She stated that being a lesbian depends on each family. Some families can accept it, but some families cannot. The expression of lesbians towards their family is different between those who can reveal their sexual orientation and those who have to hide it. In addition, G * added that “it all starts with the family. The family is a fundamental unit of life in the development of people to be people and create good people to society. My family can accept my sexual orientation, so I do not need to adjust myself much. Only the understanding from family members is enough.” (G* Couple 1, personal communication, June 22, 2019).

F * is 35 years old and used to get married when she studied in Grade 11. In terms of family, her parents are divorced. She is an only child living with aunt since childhood. She is from a Thai-Chinese family. Currently, she is working in a company in Bangkok. She added that “I agree with G * that at present, LGBT is a normal issue. But, it has to start with the family because the family needs to adjust the attitude towards sexual orientation. The family must be open to the changes of today’ s society. For me, it took time to prove myself before my family accepted it. Opening up and accepting begins with the family because there are many families that do not accept that their children are LGBT, which often leads to problems. Therefore, if the family understands, it will make them be able to live in society.” (F* Couple 1, personal communication, June 22, 2019)

The second couple of the key informants (M * and P *) shared the experiences of adaptation in living life of lesbians as follows.

M * is now 40 years old. Her hometown is in Pattaya, Chonburi Province. She graduated with a bachelor’ s degree (abroad). She has 3 siblings. M * is the eldest sister. Currently, she is living with her girlfriend and doing business together in Chiang Rai Province. They like to learn about things they do not know. They intend

that after retiring, they want to build a learning center in the community in order to build new youths that respect others and create jobs for people in the community and nearby areas. In terms of adaptation to live life as a lesbian. M* said that they both are lucky. It means that she and her girlfriend are accepted by their families. They have been raised from the families that allow them to be independent and be themselves. They are not interested in society and almost do not need to adjust anything because they have stable jobs and do not suffering from financial problems. At present, they have decided to live together and they concern about future stability. However, to live together and have the same opinion or attitude, they need to talk about many aspects, such as gender diversity, consideration about people, living together in society, etc.” (M* Couple 2, personal communication, July 11, 2019).

P ** is 39 years old. Her hometown is in Pattaya, Chonburi Province. She has 1 younger brother. Originally P ** worked in a company with job security and high salary. She worked there for more than 10 years but she has resigned. She has been doing private business for about 2 years. Currently, she is living with her girlfriend and doing business together in Chiang Rai Province. She likes to exchange knowledge with people in the community. In terms of adaptation to live life as a lesbian in Chiang Rai Province, she said, “it is not different from in Bangkok. That is, Bangkok is a big city, so we are like little ones. We are not more powerful than others. Everyone is equal, but there are also people in Bangkok who are old culture. For example, when I presented my work, there were some reactions that may not be said clearly. But, it was like having body language. There were some teasing expressions that I felt they were not okay. For example, those people said that why a woman with a beautiful face has this taste. Now, we are together and have a clear goal and focus on the same goal. After being together, the relationship is still good. Secondly, we have a job. Actually, it is a merit job. It is the job done for the public. Now, we are looking in the same direction that our happiness is in us, isn't it? Well, we are not saying that we can live without money. We must have money. But along the way, we can do anything to create happiness. If asking whether we are stable or not, we (M * and P *) are both stable. While working at the company, it was also stable. M* was a good worker and worked well. So, after resigning she was still employed as a consultant. M * also has the potential to make money. So, what we do is to create

more happiness than property. We have grown up. If we die, what will we leave with the earth? Is it an idea or knowledge? But, actually if we do not have money, we each will do what we are specialized until we get money.” (P* Couple 2, personal communication, July 11, 2019).

The third couple of the key informants (K * and L *) described the experiences of adaptation in living life of lesbians as follows.

K ** is 39 years old, originally from Kanchanaburi Province. Currently, she is a civil servant working in a government organization in Bangkok. In the past, she studied at a girls’ school and moved to a vocational school after finishing Grade 9. She said that “ at that time, I knew that I liked girls because my friends also had girlfriends. My family did not accept this. After I graduated from vocational school (accounting), I worked as a civil servant. After working for a while, I decided to study at the bachelor degree level for career advancement. At present, I am the head of a financial department of a government organization. For the adaptation in living life of a lesbian she added that... If talking about the viewpoint from the current work, it does not affect a relationship with LGBT. I am not discriminated against by the supervisors or the organization. They do not care that I am dating a woman. Or even the people at work gossip me about bad things, I do not care. I do not care what other people say. I know what I am doing. Being a supervisor, fortunately, the followers understand me. Everyone pays attention to work. They tend not to interfere with my personal issues. Maybe, because I am the leader, no one is nosy with me. But, behind my back, I do not know if they say anything about me. I am the person who reveals myself as a lesbian. I often recommend L * to my colleagues. They also love L* because L* is a humble person and always helps other people.” (K* Couple 3, personal communication, August 14, 2019)

L * * is 28 years old from Bangkok. She earned a bachelor’s degree in architecture and product design. Originally, she engaged in a career in transportation logistics. She said, “I am the first child and lived with my father, so I have a habit like men since childhood. I often play with men. I have never thought of myself as a woman. Most of my friends are men, and they have never seen me as a woman. L * tends to like women (women refer to the women who like men (not the woman who like women). Personally, with a quiet personality, I am not good at talking. I always

listen to others. Previously, I often smoked and drank alcohol and went to club. Nowadays, I occasionally smoke when I drink alcohol. For the adaptation in living life of a lesbian she added that... I have recognized myself that I like a woman since childhood. I have liked and been interested in women since I was a child. Then I have developed relationships and personalities to the point that I have a female lover. I clearly reveal the identity of lesbians. My family has always known about it. My family has brought me up like an adult. I have to make a decision on my own. I live on my own. They do not force or discourage me. Or even in a society, I can adapt myself and do not need to care for everyone. I care only for important people.” (L* Couple 3, personal communication, August 14, 2019)

The fourth couple of the key informants (C * and A *) described their experiences of adaptation in living life of lesbians as follows.

C** is 36 years old, originally from Nakhon Pathom Province. She graduated from a girls’ school in Nakhon Pathom Province and continued to study at the bachelor degree level at the Royal Thai Army Nursing College. Currently, she is serving in the military with a position of a registered nurse instructor (and holding the position of Lieutenant Colonel). She is also a dance teacher. Regarding the family, C * said, “I am the eldest sisters and have 1 young sister, who is married and has 1 daughter. But, now my sister is a single mother. So, I have to help raise my niece. I am like a tower of strength for the family. When I was a child, my family often relocated to various provinces because my father served as the bailiff and my mother was a housewife. I was very close to my mother and was raised to be a woman with good manner in the way that a woman should be. My mother did not want to move to other provinces because there would be the problems with our school. Therefore, she decided to live in Nakhon Pathom Province, not moving to other provinces with my father. For the adaptation in living life of a lesbian, nowadays society is more open to sexual matters. Today, we can see LGBT people holding hands everywhere. If we consider this is normal, our lives do not have to try to adjust anything at all. For myself, I focus on the stability when choosing a partner. I need someone who is stable. If I have to choose, I always choose someone who is stable and older and able to take care of and protect me.” (C* Couple 4, personal communication, July 24, 2019)

A * is 39 years old. Her hometown is in Bangkok. She earned a bachelor's degree. She is an only child. Now, she is working at a state enterprise agency. A * said, "I graduated from a girls' school. I was taller than my friends. I always thought that with the big body, I can protect others. I realized that I liked women. But, my family thought that I can change. I was born in a family with a good financial status. My father worked in military service. My mother was also a civil servant. While I was studying in high school, the driver drove me to school every day. I was well raised, like a young lady. When I was in high school, I dated a girl with the same level of financial status. Her family ran their own business. My family always knew about our relationship, but they did not say anything because they loved me so much. If talking about the adaptation to living life as a lesbian, I am lucky to be born in a family that understands children and does not stigmatize me in terms of gender diversity. They open mind to accept regardless of how their children are. I have a very warm family and I have everything. My family take good care of me. My father is a very good role model. When I was a child, my parents told me to pay attention to study and not to have a boyfriend. From the interpretation in those days, I dated a woman because I cannot date a man. The driver drove me to school every day. I went to a girls' school. I always liked beautiful women. I also liked to play boys' toys and dressed like a man because my father was a soldier. After that I realized that I liked girls and I looked like Tom. At first, my parents cannot accept this because they still adhered to the way people lived in the old days those women had to pair with men only. However, I did not cause any troubles and my parents loved me so much. Until time passed, they gradually accepted me. I had been dating a woman when I was in high school. My parents did not say anything. The woman was quite well-off and our parents knew each other. Also, when I date someone, I have been dating her for a long time." (A* Couple 4, personal communication, July 24, 2019)

The fifth couple of the key informants (R * and S *) shared their experiences of adaptation in living life of lesbians as follows.

R * is 33 years. Her main occupation is a teacher. Her hometown is in Ang Thong province. But, currently she is living in Bangkok. She graduated from a girls' school in Ang Thong Province and obtained a bachelor's degree from Kasetsart University (Bang Khen Campus), majoring in General Science Teaching. Now, she is

doing a master's degree. Regarding the adaptation in living life of a lesbians, she said that "at school, most of the teachers do not have any problems. But, deep down we are not able to control or stop anyone's thoughts. In fact, I do not already care about how others look at me. But, being a teacher, I think I do not behave or do anything badly. I have not yet encountered problems since I was a civil servant. As for the perspectives of students' parents, there is still no problem. Most of the time, parents focus on their children's academic performance or behaviors when in school. So, they do not care what gender we are. Maybe because they are modern parents that are more open to sex, so are online media. For the students, those who understand my characteristics are high school students. It might be because of their thoughts and social media that they see. They understand and do not resist me in this way. As for junior high school students, they are still confused whether I am a man or a woman. I often let the children think on their own. I believe that the era is changing fast. Children will understand and accept more in teachers with gender diversity." (R* Couple 5, personal communication, September 1, 2019).

S* is 37 years. Her main occupation is a teacher. Her hometown is in Bangkok. She graduated with a bachelor's degree, majoring in Thai Language Teaching. S* said, "I have quite a neat appearance and I have a few friends. When I was in high school, I studied in a girls' school. For the gender diversity at that time, it was normal. While attending the girls' school, all of my friends were girls. It was common for all students in a girls' school. But, I was not interested in it because it was a very normal issue. After finishing high school, I studied at the university and I did not have any girlfriends at that time because my parents always drove me to the university. I did some activities at the university, but not many. I had a few friends until I graduated and started working. In terms of adaptation in living life as a lesbian, at the school the environment is normal. Nothing has changed. Other older teachers are fond of me because they saw that the former lesbian teacher had been dealt very hard. Also, I do not behave badly. I behave in accordance with the regulations. Therefore, there is no problem at this point. I clearly reveal that I am dating a woman. We should promote LGBT's rights because I think that I should receive the rights. Even though I am a civil servant and have various rights, there are still many people

that have not received the rights. At least, basic rights are something that everyone should get.” (S* Couple 5, personal communication, September 1, 2019).

The sixth couple of the key informants (B * and D *) discussed about their experiences of adaptation in living life of lesbians as follows.

B * is 48 years old and graduated with a master’s degree. She originally lives in Bangkok. She has 2 siblings. In the past, she worked as a private company employee about marketing. Currently, she is running her own business (selling new and used branded and luxury bags) with her girlfriend (D*). Talking about the adaptation in living life as a lesbian, she said, “I tend to stick to myself. I do not care what society gives or does not give me because today I can take care of myself. I have money to spend without having to rely on the government. The government cannot give us everything. In addition, for the law of same-sex marriage registration, I think that the government cannot fully support it because the government has to bear the costs. So, it is difficult to pass the law. In Thailand, it will take a long time to open to this matter. It looks like it is open, but it is not. Therefore, we have to take care of ourselves and operate a stable business to prevent impacts in the future when we get older.” (B* Couple 6, personal communication, July 30, 2019)

D * is 40 years old, and graduated with a bachelor's degree. Previously, she worked as a flight attendant. At present, she is selling new and used branded and luxury bags. Talking about the adaptation in living life of as a lesbian, she said that “the family has an influence on sexual behavior since it is the first institution that is closest to people. Therefore, parents should look after their children with love and understanding and pay attention to children so that they feel warm and rely on parents until they do not need to seek love from anywhere else. Parents should also be role models in living appropriate ways of life in society. I have my family that understands me and is fairly open to this issue. Therefore, there are not any obstacles in living. In my opinion, when we are in public, if we hold hands, hug or kiss in public, we will feel embarrassed because society sees that these are strange. But, our couple reveal ourselves clearly. We hold hands while walking, but we do not hug or kiss in the public because it will be the examples of bad behaviors for youths.” (D* Couple 6, personal communication, July 30, 2019).

The seventh couple of the key informants (J * and O *) shared their experiences of adaptation in living life of lesbians as follows.

J * is 48 years old, originally from Phuket. But, currently she is living in Satun Province. J * used to study at a girls' school when she was in junior high school. Later, she moved to a coeducational school when she was in high school. She was quiet and good at studying. She passed the entrance examination to the Faculty of Medicine. She said, "I had never had a girlfriend during my studies because studying in the faculty of medicine was very hard. In addition, my family wanted me to graduate before thinking about having a boyfriend like other normal families that want a daughter to marry and have a family. I started to know myself that I liked girls when I was in high school, but I did not want to have a girlfriend. In terms of adaptation in living life as a lesbian, I am a very private person that is hard reach. But with this girlfriend, she makes me dare to reveal my identity. However, it took a long time before I am sure that I can date this person. It may be due to my career. Sometimes, I always work and have no days off. Therefore, the one who is going out with me must understand this point. For my family, they still do not accept it 100%, but they are trying to understand me." (J* Couple 7, personal communication, September 15, 2019).

O * is 48 years old, originally from Trat province. She said, "I was not good at studying and did not like to study and read. But, it was enough for graduating with a bachelor's degree. After I graduated, I began to work and moved to Bangkok. As for the family, I have 3 siblings. I am a middle child. All my siblings have their own families. O* continued that "my family does not forbid me from dating women, but actually, they want me to date a man and have a family. Until today, they believe that I can take care of myself and family. As for the adaptation in living life as a lesbian, I do not expect help from government agencies because I can take care of myself until I die. I also do not care about others in society. I live my life happily every day and do not cause troubles for other people. I focus on family's understanding." (O* Couple 7, personal communication, September 15, 2019).

The eighth couple of the key informants (I * and N *) shared their experiences of adaptation in living life of lesbians as follows.

I * is 35 years old, originally from Ayutthaya Province. At present, she is serving in the military. I* said, “I have 3 siblings, including me. They all are women. As for myself, I am the third child. At that time, my father wanted to have a son because he had already had 2 daughters. For this reason, my father raised me like a boy. I had to dress like a boy. I have had short hair since I was young. When I was a child, my father always asked me when meeting beautiful women if those women were beautiful or not. I personally responded that they were beautiful. However, I think it might be because I was raised by my father and my father had a flirty personality, making me like this. In addition, when I was in junior high school, I went to a girls’ school. Then I moved to a coeducational school when I was in high school. Talking about adaptation in living life as a lesbian, I am personally unruly. I behave well, but I do not lose my identity. I focus on doing my best. I have a stable job and can support my family. I have the potential to do better than many others and I should not be judged just because I am in LGBT group. Therefore, in the end, everyone will accept the way that we choose and accept us.” (I* Couple 8, personal communication, September 14, 2019).

N * is 28 years old. She is originally from Phayao Province. Before moving to work in Bangkok, she lived with her mother. Her father passed away. There are 2 children in the family. She is a younger sister and has an older brother. Currently, her mother is remarried. Her new husband is a policeman. Her mother is a private company employee. After her mother had remarried, she moved to live in Chiang Mai Province. She said that “for me, I lived with my grandparents in Phayao Province until graduating from primary school. Then, I moved to Chiang Mai Province to live with my mother in order to study in Chiang Mai Province from junior high school until graduating from Chiang Mai University. During high school, I moved to live in a dormitory with friends because I felt that it was not safe living with my mother and stepfather. I felt uncomfortable. My stepfather was not a family leader. He was not respectful. He was alcoholic. So, I was closer to friends. When having problems, I always consulted friends. Regarding adaptation in living life as a lesbian, I have a stable job. I am a civil servant and can take care of myself. But, sometimes I still want to date a man. My mother and grandmother want me to have grandchildren and a complete family. But, I have already chosen and I live with present. The future is

something we cannot know, so let it be the matter of the future. I only live life every day in the way it should be and be a good person, not causing trouble.” (N* Couple 8, personal communication, September 14, 2019).

The ninth couple of the key informants (Q * and U *) shared their experiences of adaptation in living life of lesbians as follows.

U * is 35 years old, originally from Bangkok. U * said, “I had previously been dating men. I did not think I am going to have a relationship with women. But deep down, I wondered why I like looking at women and why I like girls. I went to a girls’ school, surrounded by women. Also, in the family, there were more women than men until I graduated from university and started working in 1996. For adaptation in living life as a lesbian, I have started looking at women since I was in high school. Once I used to flirt with a woman, in those days, called “Tom”, but it was unsuccessful. It might be because of my looks that Tom did not like. My family also told me to date a man and create a family like typical male and female couples. Until entering the university, I had another kind of society, both men and women. I had the first boyfriend when I was in year 3. I felt that I did not like having sex with him (used to have sex with a boyfriend). I felt unwell. I was not happy when dating my boyfriend who I had been together for 9 years. Until my boyfriend continued his education at a master’s degree, we were apart. Finally, we broke up. As the time passed by, my family had me date with a new boyfriend. We had tried to be together for a while. That feeling made me realize that I did not like men but did not hate them. I always wanted to break up with him. Finally, we broke up. In addition, for the acceptance of lesbians at present, I think that it still a specific group, a small group and not as open as it should be. Most lesbians do not reveal their identity. But I reveal myself. I also think that we should not hate or stigmatize LGBT as a bad person. Also, changing the views having on homosexuality shows that sexual norms can change with time based cultural beliefs and changes of attitudes of society. Currently, homosexuality is not considered an offense or abnormality, therefore, society should be more open to accepting LGBT.” (U* Couple 9, personal communication, August 26, 2019).

Q * is 30 years old, originally from Songkhla Province. She moved to further her study and currently she is working in Bangkok. Q ** said that “after graduating with a bachelor’s degree, I started working in 2009. I began to realize that I like

women since I can remember. When I was in junior high school, there was a man flirting me. I tried dating with him for 1-2 weeks, but I felt it was not what I wanted. I did like men, so I broke up with him. After that, I had a serious relationship with a girlfriend while I was in high school. Until now, I only date women. I am a woman who likes real women. I do not like women who look like men, like dressing like men or imitating men's characteristics. Talking about adaptation in living life as a lesbian, nowadays, LGBT appear at all levels of society. There is also more space in the era of globalization. There is an increase in gender diversity. There are not only the relationships of lesbians, gays or lady boys and women. These words are integrated into the daily lives of Thai society. The emergence of new address terms, identities, definitions, or gender identities demonstrates diversity. Disclosure and clarity in various types of identities are increasing. A group of young people dare to reveal themselves or their sexual orientation as part of their identity. These are the effects of the rapidly changing social and cultural dynamics according to the current world. Acceptance and legal legitimacy of LGBT have led to some success in resolving and improving government certification and acceptance, such as the needs of transgender networks that want to live with dignity and equality like others and eliminate the discrimination problems and the problem of being refused to accept to work because of being stigmatized as a transgender person with permanent psychosis. In terms of lesbians, I think it is about two people. People should not be judged by sex. Love is always beautiful. Do not judge if we can have a long relationship or not. People should be open-minded and give opportunity to LGBT people.” (Q* Couple 9, personal communication, August 26, 2019).

The tenth couple of the key informants (X * and Y *) shared their experiences of adaptation in living life of lesbians as follows.

X * is 38 years old, originally from Bangkok. X * said, “I am an only child. My parents have moved to a foreign country since I was young. They have been operating business overseas. When I was a child, I attended a girls' school. I have realized that I like women since I was in my childhood. I have never had a boyfriend. After that, when I was in junior high school, I moved to a coeducational school. I had the first girlfriend. After graduating from Grade 9, I moved to a vocational school. For adaptation in living life as a lesbian, now we get married. So, my aunt told me to

go to the district office in order to make the documents to give property to my girlfriend. If compared to the common male and female couples, it is the marriage property. In addition, the family of my girlfriend said that this issue must be done properly because we are now married. We have to share the responsibilities of properties such as buying a car. Moreover, we currently have a joint deposit account. In terms of society, currently this issue is more accepted. Thai society is now more open, but not 100% . Some are still attached to the traditional society, considering LGBT as an abnormality. I want Thailand to accept LGBT groups more, especially lesbians. If it is able to set a policy as we are equal human beings, for our sexuality, we should not be judged by the norms of who we are and we are not inferior to any person in society. We are human beings that should not be discriminated and everyone is equal. Also, society often judges people from gender norms that males are strong and have more leadership than females, so society judges us as a weak sex.” (X* Couple 10, personal communication, October 3, 2019).

Y * is 38 years old, originally from Bangkok. Y * said that “when I was in junior high school, I attended a girls’ school and like girls. According to the environment, it was normal because others also dated within the school. It was not a strange thing. After that, a man flirted with me, but I did not date him. I did not feel good with men. The reason why I have been dating my current girlfriend for almost 22 years because she is a good person. I do not judge her by sex. Regarding adaptation in living life as a lesbian, in this multicultural society, the coexistence of people in society requires changes of attitude and lifestyle and acceptance of changes and differences of various groups in order to live together in a peaceful society. If superficially considering, we may see that now Thai society is more open to groups of people with gender diversity than in the past. Some behaviors that had to be concealed due to their conflicting culture, values and beliefs are now revealed and accepted. One thing that is obvious is the existence in the society of LGBT people, who are called by various terms, such as lady boy, bisexual, homosexual and transgender people. These people are able to live more openly. But there are many other elements in life of each person before revealing who they are and being accepted in society. Therefore, I want society to be open-minded to accept LGBT people and not to view

them as abnormal people. They are human beings with human dignity.” (Y* Couple 10, personal communication, October 3, 2019).

Therefore, from in-depth biographic narrative interviews with 10 couples of lesbians (20 people), most of them told their stories through experiences of being lesbians from the past to the present. They also talked about the stories of human security, including rights, fairness and equality as well as the problems and obstacles that they have encountered in the society from the past to the present, the ways to solve the problems and the adaptation of living life as lesbians.

In terms of human security, it has been found that human security is the final goal of security in all areas. Therefore, other forms of security, such as military security should not be the final goal, but it should be just one way to achieve the final goal which is human security. The government, therefore, has an important duty to be a main security guarantor for the people and encourages people to have access to various rights, such as political rights, social rights, economic rights or cultural rights (Natthida Boonthum, 2011).

When considering the indicators of human security, human security consists of many components. However, one element that is often found is that many groups of people call for the legitimacy they should get from the state that is human security in terms of rights, fairness and equality in citizenship or political rights under the framework of the law. Therefore, the desire to receive rights, fairness and equality in each group of people is different. It has been found that LGBT people are those who have fought for equality in society for a long time. Although today society is more open to gender diversity, LGBT people still lack rights in certain matters. Moreover, the attitudes of people in certain groups of society make LGBT people continue to move harder in order to claim the rights they should receive.

Apart from human security, when considering equality and social justice, these words have similar meanings. In Thailand, their uses or meanings are different based on perspectives or contexts, especially the term social justice which is mentioned by legal scholars because at the current state of society, law is not the only answer that can create justice. Although the law has considered equality, equality law which is considered legal justice may not always create fairness in society.

In summary, the lifestyles of lesbians through the perspectives and experiences of lesbians themselves are similar. They have various ways of living that may not differ from other heterosexual couples. For example, some couples buy a house or rent a room to live together. Some couples live with the family of either party. But the main difference is family and social acceptance, which is considered an important factor in determining the relationship of lesbians to have specific characteristics that are different from other heterosexual couples. Society generally views that families must be founded by male and female only. Some LGBT or most lesbian couples live together as normal as other heterosexual couples while many couples have to live with the unacceptance of one party's family. Also, many couples have to hide their relationships from their family and society. In addition, if overlooked through acceptance from family or people in society, lesbian's married life is based on understanding of each other. They have a more emotional connection and help each other in every way that they can. The roles in the family are not clearly divided like the male and female couples, where the man is the head of the family and the woman is the housewife. For the expression of love in public areas, lesbian couples are not very expressive. But in their own area, they would fully express themselves. This indicates that every lesbian must have proper behavior and their expressions in gestures are suppressed by social rejection and social norms, causing lesbians to lack the freedom to live openly as a married couple like male-female couples.

4.3.2 Human Security in Rights of Lesbians in Thai Society

According to "human security", the term "security" is meaningful, important and widely used in daily life, individual security, group security, state security and international security. However, the basic meaning of security is "to feel free from threats, anxiety, or anger. It is the mental state of a person that feels safe from being threatened by others. Therefore, the meaning of security is an abstract mental state, not a concrete condition. It is an expression of how a person feels which depends on the viewpoints or attitudes towards the environment at that time. Security, therefore, has a very different scope in the same situation in other people's feelings. The security of one person may be the instability of another. Security issues, therefore, do

not mean being secured or insecure. It is a state or level of feeling that is secured or insecure and free from threats, especially on the basis of life. For example, when being threatened with respect by the surrounding society, the person will feel insecure. The feeling will vary according to the degree of the threat.

The majority of the lesbians stated that every human being, as a member of the country, should be given basic human rights. The value of humanity, including the acceptance of humanity, dignity, origin and rights based on the basis of natural rights should be concerned. The lesbian also stated as follows.

In terms of the importance to the word “life”, human rights cover the rights to human life, allowing people to have a good life in the society, including the right to life which is a basic right. Humans must be able to live and protected to be safe, meeting the basic needs of life, namely food, clothing, medicines and shelter. Every life is valuable. In order to allow all lives to be equal the most, people in society must give the opportunity to those who used to do wrong to correct mistakes and develop themselves to have a better life. The right to respect is the way that people treat each other with acceptance and give priority to the dignity and value of life with equality. (M* Couple 2, personal communication, July 11, 2019)

The main point of human security is receiving rights in terms of fairness, which is the legitimacy that a person can claim to protect the interests that the person has, which will be consistent with the human right principles, focusing on human dignity, rights, freedom and equality of persons recognized or protected under the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand or Thai laws or treaties in which Thailand is a party to” (Thanchai Sunthonanantachai, 2017).

Lesbians also need security like men and women. However, lesbians have been still stigmatized by society and restricted on rights and freedom or fairness and gender equality, which is against the human security principles and the international human rights principles that give priority to human dignity with the belief that humans are born with value. M* provided opinions as follows (M* Couple 2, personal communication, July 11, 2019).

I need a law to protect LGBT like man and woman couples. It is a must because it is the basic right of humans. It is also the basic right of the people in the country. But we have not reached it yet, just because we are the third world country or whatever. It makes people in the nation lose benefits. In fact, LGBT people gain very little benefits in this matter. It also causes the state to lose its own benefits as well. The economy should be stimulated in some ways, but it can't. Suppose that if M * and P * want to buy a house costing 10 million baht, but as we are not husband and wife, we cannot apply on the joint loan with that amount of money. So, the one with the highest salary base does the mortgage loan. If our salary base is at fifty thousand baht, we will be able to buy only a house costing 3 million. Instead of having the quality of life in a 10-million-baht house, we have to choose only the house we can buy with the limit loan. We have no choice. Actually, the economy can grow by 10 million, but only 3 million is possible. For the tax deduction, in the case of being husband and wife, it can be deducted if a wife is a housewife. But we are not getting anything at all. We have to pay full taxes.

P * added that "at present, sex is not just genital organs, or the organs that indicate gender. Sex is beyond a reproduction dimension. Actually, sex is the equality of humans. There have been changes in gender in Thai society from the past to the present. Lesbians are more accepted. Overall, it seems that at present lesbians are more accepted by society, but the acceptance must always give or exchange with something. (P* Couple 2, personal communication, July 11, 2019)

In terms of changing the perspectives towards sex in the country management system in order to cover gender diversity and provide the opportunity for society to reach LGBT, M * stated as follows (M* Couple 2, personal communication, July 11, 2019).

For the changes in sex in the Thai society from the past to the present, lesbians are more accepted. There has been a change in the LGBT group in terms of awareness and acceptance. Unfortunately, in L group or lesbians, there has been very little movement. If looking from the past since I was still a teenager,

at that time there was hardly any data set on the sexual orientation compared to the present day that the internet has more roles and knowledge becomes public. If there is a doubt, it is easy to find an answer. So, LGBT people come out because they have more self-confidence and knowledge. But, there is no difference among lesbians. Thailand does not have an organization that clearly operates lesbian relationships, unlike gays and transgender people just because the lesbian group has an external identity that looks more harmonious with the male-female system, so it is assumed that they do not have problems, and no need to do anything with them. Also, most lesbians already have a good living space in society. So, they think that it is not necessary to stand up to claim for rights or do anything because they do not suffer from having certain power bases such as status, education, position etc.

Therefore, regardless of gender, as the members of the country, all people and all genders must reach the goal of protection, guarantee of the rights of, and creation of gender equality. In addition, it must adhere to the basic principles of human dignity.

The study results showed that the basis of freedom has been emerged for so long. Maybe, it has been together with the emergence of human society because the “rights and freedoms” are consistent with the nature of the individual, which helps respond the basic human needs. As a social animal, human needs 3 basic needs which are material needs, social needs and psychological needs (Supanee Chaiumporn, 2017a). It has been found that humans are in need of all 3 aspects. LGBT is a part of society which needs social acceptance. When being accepted, they are brave enough to reveal themselves and live happily in society. F * stated as follows (F* Couple 1, personal communication, June 22, 2019).

In terms of family aspect, we have already bought a house and moved to live together. The owner of the house is F * . At first, we wanted to apply for a joint home loan, but we cannot do it because we have no legal relationship. If we say that our relationship is a girlfriend, it is not accepted by law. Also, we have to explain in detail why it must be this person. If something happens, like I die, the beneficiary is G * . Moreover, I am not confident in my former

family. One day if there is anything or if I die, my family will manage my funeral or do anything with me. I do not believe that my family will be able to look after this. Whatever my family does, I do not believe in them anyway. But, I trust this person. I believe in G * * and want to live with this person. (G* Couple 1, personal communication, June 22, 2019) added that “we have to work to support ourselves and our spouse and save money for the future or travel to places that we want to go to or whatever that makes us happy. In addition, we must be honest with each other and treat each other sincerely. We have to tell our partners that we love them and act more than talk. Also, what I need is social acceptance and non-discrimination at work. We can work. Some people are knowledgeable and able to work successfully in their careers, but they are often restricted only because they are homosexual.

“Right” is a formless thing which exists in humans since birth or occurs by law for the benefit of humans. Humans will choose to use it without being forced by anyone, such as the right to eat, sleep, but some rights have been given by the law, such as the right to use property, the right to complain when violated by law. Moreover, lesbian couples also want security in their lives and rights in their spouses, such as identification rights (such as name’s title, dressing), rights in the judicial process (such as body scan, prisons for female inmates), rights to access public services (such as public toilets, dormitories), rights acquired as a spouse (such as the management of the marriage property, being a statutory heir, tax deduction), rights granted by the state (in case the spouse is a civil servant or in the social security system), rights to make contracts (such as life insurance, consent in medical treatment) as well as being enacted into law and being effective as Civil Partnership Act. The lesbians commented on this issue as follows (personal communication, October 3, 2019).

I need civil partnership rights because we have to live together. We want equality. Also, we should not be discriminated just because we are LGBT people. In addition, in the digital age, Thai society is more open to gender diversity. It can be seen from the values towards famous people in academic, educational and entertainment fields. However, gender inequality is still often

seen, including victims of violence, social prejudice and deprivation of basic rights of living. The call for legislation to certify sex is an option to reduce these problems. While I was in America, to request a green card and marriage registration, we had to prepare a lot of documents to prove to the authorities that we have been together for a long time. We have been dating for 21 years. We have been together since teenage to the present day.” (X* Couple 10, personal communication, October 3, 2019).

Y* (Y* Couple 10, personal communication, October 3, 2019) said that “what we want and propose to the government is that we are citizens who work and pay the full amount of tax like other general people, but why we do not receive any rights like men and women. We should receive the rights as human beings and citizens of the country.

In the case of a marriage registration request for same-sex couples, it is rejected by the registration officer because the qualifications of the applicants do not meet the conditions of the marriage and are contrary to the Civil and Commercial Code Book 5, as implied by Section 1448 and Section 1459. So, they are not allowed to register a marriage. In this regard, the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) has collaborated with the LGBT Network, the Committee on Legal Affairs, Justice, and Human Rights, the House of Representatives and the Rights and Liberties Protection Department, Ministry of Justice to draft the law to ensure the status of married life of LGBT people and organized a public hearing for the draft law. The campaigns were also organized to allow the public to understand gender senility in order to promote concrete protection of the rights of LGBT and gender identity. Moreover, lesbians have also called for amendments to the law under Section 1448 in order to be given the same rights as men and women. M * commented on this issue as follows (M* Couple 2, personal communication, July 11, 2019).

I wonder what guidelines for resolving the problems of rights or fairness and equality based on the experiences of lesbians will be like. The marriage law must be amended as soon as possible because it can be used straight away and is the core of other laws, automatically enabling family-

founding rights in other dimensions. When we have the legal rights to protect us, our quality of life will be improved. So, we do not need to adjust ourselves. It is something we are worthy of. We do not ask for anything special, just equality because there is no equality in society.

For the legal issues to promote fairness and equality of lesbians that are appropriate under the context of Thai society, I think lesbians should be supported. They should receive the same rights as male and female couples as well as access to various rights. The Civil and Commercial Code, Section 1448 should be amended. (M* Couple 2, personal communication, July 11, 2019).

According to the Yogyakarta Principles, all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. All human rights are universal, interdependent, indivisible and interrelated. Sexual orientation and gender identity are integral to every person's dignity and humanity and must not be the basis for discrimination or abuse". There are 29 principles.

From the study, it was also found that if considering the principles of marriage of LGBT people in Principle 24 : The right to found a family, which defines that everyone has the right to found a family, regardless of sexual orientation or gender identity. Families exist in diverse forms. No family may be subjected to discrimination on the basis of the sexual orientation or gender identity of any of its members (Paisarn Likhitpreechakul, 2008)

It was found that lesbians want to found a family and have the same rights like male and female couples. P* stated as follows (P* Couple 2, personal communication, July 11, 2019).

We should have rights to marry. Although today we do not want to use it, in the future, if we want to use it, it should be an alternative that is not different from men and women. Also, Thai laws still discriminate LGBT a lot.

M * also added that "according to the question "If getting the rights from being a spouse, such as foster care, property management, inheritance, use of surnames, do you want to use it or not, and do you have any comments?" M

** answered that “I have no comments. But, the rights and the dignity from being a spouse must be equal to those of heterosexual couples and the Civil and Commercial Code, Section 1448 because the rights that the heterosexual couples are automatically obtained are the civil right. Lesbians are also the citizens and pay the tax (sometimes more than heterosexual couples because the single person cannot reduce tax), but the protection is completely different. Moreover, when your partner has an accident and needs urgent surgery and her parents live far across the country, you who have lived and shared happiness cannot sign the consent to allow the doctor to operate surgery or provide treatment. You can just look at your loved one, in pain, suffering, and may be death. So, we need this right.” (M* Couple 2, personal communication, July 11, 2019).

LGBT people are now more accepted in society. The implementation of the promotion and protection of the rights of LGBT people in Thailand is relatively progressive compared to many countries in the region. But, if compared with European countries and the United States, Thailand still needs to have campaigns to continuously promote the rights of this group of people. Although the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand, B.E. 2560 states that the protection of LGBT people is under the principle of prohibiting discrimination based on gender and gender diversity which guarantees that people have equal rights, LGBT people are still vulnerable to human rights abuses and discrimination. So, it is important that governments and relevant agencies pay attention and listen to their opinions and recommendations as well as suggestions on law to protect human rights of LGBT people.

When considering the problems and obstacles of the security of rights, there is discrimination against people regarding work and social benefit gain due to sexual orientation and gender identity. This is an important problem that is widespread in many countries. In terms of work, there is discrimination against persons because of sexual orientation and gender identity. It often occurs in the context of employment and career progression, including the job application process, working conditions and benefits from work and social welfare. Moreover, sexual orientation and gender identity are used as the reasons for terminating employment. This can be seen from

the fact that LGBT people are often dismissed simply because of minor problems, especially discrimination in the job interview process. If the person has a family life that is not in accordance with the tradition of people of the opposite sex, or wears clothes that do not conform to his/her gender, that person may not be selected for work because of the above reasons. In addition, violations of work rights due to sexual orientation and gender identity may also arise from sexual harassment as well as violence in workplace. Lesbians often face with these problems (UNDP, 2014). Sometimes when applying for a job, they are usually judged from the appearance, not ability, causing them to miss the job opportunities. R* gave the interview as follows (R* Couple 5, personal communication, September 1, 2019).

While working, I do not want to dress up as a woman. I want to wear pants like men. I do not want to wear a skirt to work. But with duties and responsibilities, I have to wear it. During the initial period of being a civil servant, I had to work in order to pass the evaluation of the assistant teacher position. I had to behave in accordance with the regulations. I wore a skirt to work every day. But I had to resist my own feelings and needs. In fact, I want to wear pants and leather shoes to work. So, I do not want to go to work when wearing skirts or dressing up like women. But, if it is a formal dress, such as a civil servant dress, I can wear it.” (R* Couple 5, personal communication, September 1, 2019).

In the case of lesbians, it has been found that in many countries, they face the problems such as rape, domestic violence and murder. The number of these problems is also increasing, especially the problem of rape because of the traditional prejudices and the belief in society that lesbians can change their sexual orientation if they are raped by men. This belief is a violation of health rights of lesbians. For example, they have to face the violence that has occurred and are forced to marry a man. These beliefs are based on the discourse: “Change Tom, and Modify Dy”. F* commented on this issue as follows (F* Couple 1, personal communication, June 22, 2019).

Before dating with my current girlfriend, I had 2-3 girlfriends (Tom). Before that, I also used to get married once. I did not want to get married. I did not like men. I was a manly woman and liked to play with boys, so my family was

afraid that I was Tom. The more I grew older, the more I did not like men. But I liked women. I always ran to hug them. At the school sports events, there were cute cheerleaders. I ran to hug them all. I really liked cute girls.

In addition, F * said that “I studied at the school where my aunt was a teacher. My aunt can see me all the time. She probably thought that she cannot let me be like this. My aunt did not want me to be Tom because our family is Chinese. My father is Chinese but mother is Thai-Malay. I grew up in a Chinese family, which was very strict. Also, our family was also acquainted with another Chinese family, often called “Tung Nung” (Tung Nung means being Chinese descent). Both families wanted to build a relationship. That family has a son. My family had a daughter. The son and the daughter attended the same school. I played with him like friend. But, our parents and relatives thought that we liked each other. So, they wanted us to marry when I was in Grade 11 and he was in Grade 12. I refused to get married. But, they had me choose if I would get married and continue studying or stop studying and go to work. At that time, I had not finished high school, but I had to choose. So, I asked them if I can continue studying after I got married. My aunt said yes. So, I agreed to marry. I also thought I could live with that man because he thought of me as just a younger sister. But, in reality it was not like that. After getting married, I had to do wife’s duties. I was told to put clothes in bags to stay at a man’s house. The wedding ceremony was not that big. There were only parents and relatives of both families. At that time, the person who managed the wedding was my aunt because she was the person who raised me and wanted me to leave the house. (F* Couple 1, personal communication, June 22, 2019)

Therefore, these problems affect sexual health and are also the violation of the sexual rights of the individuals, especially lesbians. It is considered the problems that should be recognized and urgently resolved.

4.3.3 Human Security in Fairness of Lesbians in Thai Society

Social justice is a key component of civil rights, reflecting justice for people in society. That is, everyone in society should be entitled to basic rights, protection, opportunities and social benefits. It is a social obligation in allocation of resources and provision of social welfare services by avoiding prejudice, discrimination and oppression (Thanchai Sunthonanantachai, 2017). The study found that in terms of fairness, it is related to education, government duties and the roles of the government in responding to people's needs, in particular, the examination of discrimination against different groups of society (Pendo, 2003). The theory of social justice of Rawls is strongly related to the awareness of the oppression of LGBT people, including the status and the misunderstanding of various groups on LGBT people. However, misunderstanding in society tends to be caused by differences in race and ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, social status, intellect, disability and other characteristics (Anderson, 2002). Under the misunderstanding, each person needs fair treatment. They do not want society to classify them and discriminate against them according to such classifications (Gaus, 1983). In case of LGBT people, they also need the same rights as other groups in society without being categorized and discriminated against by society.

In addition, LGBT people still do not receive justice from society. They are also being branded by society, especially lesbians that are still very restricted. They rarely disclose their identity in society and in the family. They also do not receive equality, including the equality of rights, duties and opportunities in society, economy and politics. Gender differences must not be the condition in determining the rights and opportunities of individuals in society. N* commended on this issue as follows (N* Couple 8, personal communication, September 14, 2019).

If talking about stigma and discrimination against lesbians, in addition to being stigmatized by the family, social media is also important in presenting news that will make each family have different ideas. Some families have negative thoughts about alternative sex. Some families are open minded, no matter what their children are. Especially, at present, technology is quite fast,

causing society to look at or focus on alternative sex more. The study found that the stigma included stigma from society, various media and family. In case of lesbians, whether they are accepted by family or not, the stigma will lead to being discriminated by various government and private agencies in Thai society in terms of job application.

There is a man at my workplace, who is quite old. He used to look and laugh at me just because I was dating a girl. I felt bad about such behavior. I viewed it as racist and discrimination. (N* Couple 8, (personal communication, September 14, 2019).

Gender inequality is one of the causes of inequality and is the source of violence that affects the physical, mental and social dimensions. Gender inequality is the cause of violence that creates many problems such as discrimination in education, occupation, wages, career advancement, access to public services, political participation, sexual violence and sexual harassment.

In the past, there was no clear specific law to help the victims of gender discrimination or the victims of violence because of gender, which may be male, female, or other genders. Therefore, in order to solve these problems, relevant laws should be drafted as the tools to protect rights, prevent any act which is discrimination, exclusion, restriction of rights or impairing rights either directly or indirectly because of gender reasons.

Solving these problems is very important because it helps bridge the gender gap to create equality which can strengthen the country in terms of both social and economic aspects. So, having a clear law on such matters will elevate the status of Thailand to be equal to civilized countries regarding the elimination of discrimination due to gender differences. In addition to complying with the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, it is also the way to value the protection of discrimination against people of all ages. C* commended on this issue as follows (C* Couple 4, personal communication, July 24, 2019).

Having laws to certify that people of the same sex can marry and adopt children is recognized as a social support to help prevent and reduce problems

of LGBT. It is the provision of equality without discrimination, resulting in greater security in life.

Many lesbians suffer from concealing their identity or expressing things that are not theirs due to fear of contempt, blocking from various job opportunities or even being opposed by society from people around them or even their own families. B * commended on this issue as follows (B* Couple 6, personal communication, July 20, 2019).

My family is a closed family. It is a Thai-Chinese family that does not accept the way I am. My mother always bought me earrings or beautiful dresses when she went abroad. But I personally did not like to wear them because it was not me. Until attending the university, I had a clear personality. But I still did not reveal it to the family. I still had long hair like a normal woman because if I told my family the truth, they definitely cannot accept it. But actually, I thought I was really similar to a man. Only my family still did not accept it. Until I graduated from a bachelor's degree and started working, my family started to accept it. This took a long time. I have to show the ability I have that I am able to take care of myself.

In addition, the study found that social justice is an important component of civil rights that reflects justice for all people in society. That is, all people in society should receive basic rights, such as the right to education and the right to life. All people must not be discriminated because of gender differences. It is the protection of life and property, opportunities and social benefits by avoiding prejudice and discrimination against lesbians, which may be developed until leading to coercion or being threatened by using power without reason. X* gave the interview on this issue as follows (X* Couple 10, personal communication, October 3, 2019).

For Thailand, if the law regarding marriage passes, we want to proceed it as quickly as possible. Ask why not registering abroad, in fact, we are in Thailand and live in Thailand as the citizens of the country. Even though we both register a marriage in a foreign country, we cannot use the law in

Thailand. Therefore, both of us have been pushing and fully supporting the law and urging the government to avoid prejudice against LGBT.”

Moreover, in many countries there is the news about the law of sexual orientation and gender identity. For example, in Germany, same-sex couples are allowed to register for legal living. It is not just a marriage, but they can have the same rights as other general married couples. Mexico has same-sex marriage law in certain cities, not throughout the country. Therefore, many countries are aware and pay more attention to human rights and equality. Everyone should have basic rights and opportunities to live with a partner. (X* Couple 10, personal communication, October 3, 2019).

In terms of fairness in relation to the confirmation of interpersonal relationships under Thai law based on the two-sex system, only male and female, it makes same sex couples are unable to exercise their rights in marriage as well as the right to child adoption and technology use for having children because they are not being a “spouse” under Thai law. According to Thai law, based on the provisions of Section 1448 of the Civil and Commercial Code, which prescribes that “A marriage can take place only when the man and woman have completed their seventeenth year of age. But the Court may, in case of having appropriate reason, allow them to marry before attaining such age. This indicates that Thai law applies the concept of a two-sex system to regulate legal relationships between individuals, by requiring that the right to marry is a matter between only male and female. In other words, “spouses” according to the law mean “heterosexual couples” only. It does not include same sex couples because the key informant said that in terms of child adoption, many couples, especially lesbians, have the potential to be able to raise children and are able to provide good education and nurture the children in a good environment with financial stability. J* gave the interview on this issue as follows (J* Couple 7, personal communication, September 15, 2019).

J * is now a doctor. She stated that in terms of security or fairness in LGBT, it must take a long time for Thailand to accept it and amend the law. In addition, personally, I am already secure in both work and family life. I can take care of myself. But, one thing that I want to appeal for LGBT people, not just

lesbians, is the law that allows same-sex couples to be able to register marriage for the rights to inheritance and property rights that both of them have acquired together as well as welfare and various benefits of the spouse. It is the basic right that everyone should receive equally, not being limited to only men and women.

Although LGBT people are more accepted by society than before, there is a report in Thailand which stated that LGBT people have not been yet truly accepted in Thai society. Prejudice caused by misunderstanding in different gender traits and identities, negative comments, parody, discrimination against lesbians in many aspects, especially in terms of working still exist. Moreover, it has been found that even though many lesbians have good and stable work, are honored in society and have good financial status, they are treated with unfairly and discriminated.

Therefore, most of LGBT people, especially lesbians in the world of work, are treated unfairly. They have to put more effort than others to gain acceptance and to prove that different sexual orientation does not affect the value of being an employee or a member of society.

4.3.4 Human Security in Equality of Lesbians in Thai Society

Equality means people get the same assistance without taking into account the differences of each individual. Therefore, some people cannot access to the rights and liberties that they deserve (Thanchai Sunthonanantachai, 2017). The study revealed that gender inequality is the problem of the fundamental human rights that has been around for a long time, and is still seen in Thai society continuously. It is the disadvantage of women compared to men. Unfair discrimination and violence against women have still existed in the last several years. The constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand, B.E. 2560, Chapter 3, Section 27 states that “All persons are equal before the law, and shall have rights and liberties and be protected equally under the law. Men and women shall enjoy equal rights. Unjust discrimination against a person on the grounds of differences in origin, race, language, sex, age, disability, physical or health condition, personal status, economic and social standing, religious belief, education, or political view which is not contrary to the provisions of the Constitution.

Thailand also joined the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and issued Gender Equality Act, B.E. 2558, which stipulates measures to protect people from unjust gender discrimination, which is consistent with international human rights principles.

Equity theory was developed by Adam (2005 as cited in Tin Pratchayaphrut, 1987) based on human similarity. Equality is based on from the idea that no one is inferior to others on opportunities or human rights (Virada Somswasdi, 2006). Based on the study, LGBT people need to achieve equality in society and receive the same equality as other male and female couples. According to the storytelling through the experience of lesbians, they stated that they did not receive equality from society. They experienced social exclusion in work or even access to various rights that they should be received. K* commented on this issue as follows (K* Couple 3, personal communication, August 14, 2019).

I need a law allowing same-sex couples to be married for the rights to inheritance and property rights they have created together as well as the welfare and benefits of spouses, the marriage that is accepted and not discriminated by society.

To prevent and solve this problem, Thai society should be aware of the importance of human rights and equality of people in order to reduce prejudice, using words to create hate or discrimination, so that these people will have the same rights and freedoms as those of heterosexuals and general people in society.

For the principle of equality, Rawls (1971) did not define it clearly. But there are three levels of equality, from the most basic to the most complex. It addresses the role of morality and ethics in affecting the way individuals behave. The government's failure to protect LGBT people bring arguments and movements in order to make various sectors in society adhere to the theory of social justice Rawls (1971), in terms of both equality and fairness (Bleiker, 2002) so that LGBT people can be assured of being treated equally as other groups in society. This is consistent with John Locke's

statement: “Man is Created Equal”. All men are equal by nature. No one has natural characteristics superior to others. But over time, they are different in education, roles, job duties. It is an economic stratification consistent with Smith (1759), stating that natural equality does not imply that people are economically equal (Suvicha Pouaree, 2016).

Organizational discrimination is a result of law and public policy that cannot effectively protect human rights. It causes the following problems. 1) the rights of conducting financial transactions: this causes same-sex couples to be rejected and unable to make joint loans from banks. 2) The right of partnership: same-sex couples do not have the rights to allow their spouse to claim their medical expenses and sign the consent for medical procedures since only the direct relatives are allowed. (L* Couple 3, personal communication, August 14, 2019).

Therefore, gender equality means that men and women have the same social, economic, and political rights. Gender differences must not be the condition in determining the rights and opportunities of individuals in society. Gender equality also involves justice and sharing of responsibility in both the family and society. If sexuality is something that blocks us from seeing the advantages and disadvantages of a person, it may lead to deprivation and limited opportunities for each individual. But, the problems of gender inequality in Thailand, which can be observed in society are the discrimination against women, gender inequality, and men having an advantage over women, sexual insults, violence against women and the rejection of having a different gender identity.

At present, there are many lesbians who are self-reliant. They try to be self-reliant in order to avoid problems and racism. Therefore, self-reliance, has become the guideline and the new hope for many couples which can bring benefits in many areas such as economy and society.

B* (B* Couple 6, personal communication, July 30, 2019) said that “we are always prepared because the world is changing fast. We both are always searching for knowledge. If we cannot do anything or do not understand business issues, we always study to keep up with the changes to

understand and be able to adapt to our business and changes. For our business, everyone understands and we are not excluded. Most people are open, understand and accept what we are. They accept the ability that we have and we give everyone the opportunity to ask for help.

We plan to retire at age 60. We will go out and travel, and invest in stocks, and live together. For our business, we will give it to our niece. Now, we have finished planning our business. We have prepared enough for this. The company is dealing with trading of new and used branded and luxury bags. We are going to sell them on the application. The market is more open. (B* Couple 6, personal communication, July 30, 2019)

The oppression of LGBT people in terms of both status and misunderstandings of different groups of people having on LGBT people is usually caused by differences in race and ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, social status, intelligence, disability and other characteristics (Anderson, 2002). Under the misunderstanding, each person needs fair treatment. They do not want society to classify them and discriminate against them according to such classifications (Gaus, 1983). In case of LGBT people, they also need the same rights as other groups in society without being categorized and discriminated against by society (Anderson, 2002). In this regard, it is found that LGBT are often discriminated against by society. R* discussed about this issue as follows (R* Couple 5, personal communication, September 1, 2019).

For the solution to the promotion of LGBT rights, I think legislation or law for homosexuals is needed. LGBT people should be given equal rights, like male and female couples. Everyone has one rights that should be granted, not being chosen to be granted. If the policy can be set regarding LGBT issues, I would like to determine the dress code according to gender, the use of name's title according to gender, not biological sex. Also, marriage laws should be equally applied to everyone.

For the ways to resolve the conflicts of rights for the efficiency and fairness of LGBT, LGBT association or group should be established in order to push this matter as the national agenda, pointing out the importance of LGBT. (R* Couple 5, personal communication, September 1, 2019)

According to the information mentioned above, it has also been found that LGBT, especially lesbians, still have to face many problems and obstacles or even the impact from society, affecting their minds and the well-being. They are also stigmatized by family and society. They also face career discrimination. Although they are more accepted, it is just the acceptance from certain groups of people. Some people still consider them as inappropriate issue and have a negative attitude towards lesbians. Therefore, lesbians have to face these problems. They always have to adjust themselves to live with society.

4.4 Guidelines for Solving Problems of Human Security in Rights, Fairness and Equality through the Perspectives of Lesbians in Thai Society

From the interviews of 10 couples of the key informants through the perspectives of lesbians, the guidelines for solving problems of human security in rights, fairness and equality in Thai society were proposed as follows.

If the law is a part of ways to solve problems / obstacles and social impacts, especially in lesbians, it has been found that the problem of human rights violations of LGBT people that occur in Thailand reflect important facts. Although the acceptance of human rights on the basis of gender diversity has been operated by the United Nations for over 20 years, the acceptance of gender diversity in Thai society is still very limited. Therefore, LGBT people have not been truly accepted by both society and legal system. When Thailand is a party to the UN human rights treaty, there is a commitment to improve the legal system, establish mechanisms and policies consistent with the UN protection guidelines for LGBT people and implement legislation to seriously protect LGBT people. However, the results of the study showed that Thailand has not yet implemented legal amendments and determined policies to be in accordance with the existing obligations under the treaty correctly and completely.

The guidelines for promoting human security are emphasized in 2 dimensions. When considering both dimensions, which are the quality of life and the threat, covering both freedom from want, equal opportunities and freedom from fear (Center

for Peace and Conflict Studies, 2013), the study also found that all lesbians looked for security in both dimensions, without denying that this group is often physically or verbally threatened. Therefore, the important thing does not only focus on responding basic human needs and the needs of lesbians, but the government should also have human rights measures that reflect what every human being should receive as a human being and step forward to the concept that equal rights must be created to ensure fairness for people in society, especially for lesbians without prejudice, discrimination and oppression. If it is successful, it will create security for humans in various fields, including human development in terms of health, potential and quality of life and social acceptance. M* discussed about this issue as follows (M* Couple 2, personal communication, July 11, 2019).

We need security from the government in treating LGBT people, especially lesbians, such as equal benefits or equal protection of our rights equivalent to male-female couples. In addition, we do not need anything special. We only ask the same thing that already exists. Acquisition of special conditions is not true equality. The way that the government gives assistance or discriminates against a specific group is not correct. (M* Couple 2, personal communication, July 11, 2019)

In addition, lesbians often do not receive help from the government. However, they have planned on the life with their partner and find ways to solve problems. Many couples have been living together for a long time and planning for the future together. D* gave the interview as follows (D* Couple 6, personal communication, July 30, 2019).

We have been living together for over 20 years, which is a very long time. Although we cannot have children, we have life planning like other heterosexual couples. We want to find a family and stability in life. Some couples want to have a private wedding ceremony to show their love for each other or take wedding pictures. But we need more rights in terms of medical care. We want to be allowed to sign on the consent for medical treatment in case of an emergency. We do not need anything rather than this right. We can live life and take care of ourselves. We do not have financial problems because

we have planned our future well. (D* Couple 6, personal communication, July 30, 2019)

Additionally, S * and R * discussed the ways to solve problems and obstacles that occur to lesbians as follows.

Both of us are teachers. We have ways for resolving the problems. We think that it is not a problem as it should be. We have bought a house together. But I still go back to my parents' home. We also buy a car together. S * is a 100% borrower. R* helps with the payment. We also make a joint loan for house buying. Some banks allow us to do it. We do not think that much. If we want to buy, we just buy it. One day, if we cannot live together or broke up, we will sell the house share the money equally. If anyone dies, the will must be made. (S* Couple 5, personal communication, July 11, 2019).

Although the United Nations has noted human rights in many areas, it does not define human rights in any way (Udomsak Sinthipong, 2012). It is a natural right that has been carried to humans since birth. Every human being has value as a human being, which is often referred to as having "human dignity". Since human being is humanity that is universal, borderless and cannot be transferred to one another with consideration of equality and non-discrimination as well as human participation and being part of that right, the application of human rights concepts in LGBT encourages the implementation of gender diversity in society and reaches various target groups in society. The target group that is focused on is lesbians. For the guidelines for solving problems / obstacles, the government should concern about the citizenship of Thailand. N* commented on this issue as follows (N* Couple 8, personal communication, September 14, 2019).

The government should promote civil rights. All of us must have the same rights. Everyone has 1 right that should be granted. But why we do not receive civil partnership rights."

P* and M * said that "for the way to solve the problem to promote the rights of LGBT people or to require measures or laws with homosexuals, the problems and the type of problems must be clearly specified. The problems of

each group are different. Therefore, the promotion or the law may have to be considered if it works with the problems of LGBT people or not.” (P* Couple 2, personal communication, July 11, 2019)

For the implementation of the rights of LGBT in Thailand, especially lesbians, it is a long way to fight because there are other obstacles, both within and outside civil society. For example, for understanding and educating people about gender diversity in society, there are still have bias and misunderstandings. The diversity of ideas within the civil society lacks the unity to drive and campaign for progress in various areas. Therefore, the approach to resolve the problems of lesbians may adhere to universal principles relating to rights of LGBT people, especially Yogyakarta principles that are universally accepted. It is a human rights principle that covers every context that can be adapted to use in all matters relating to rights of LGBT, legal movements or the law pushing on same sex couples.

Social justice is an important element of civil rights that reflects justice for people in society. Everyone in society should be given basic rights, protection of opportunities and social benefits they should receive. It is a social obligation to allocate resources and provide social welfare services by focusing on the avoidance of 3 issues: prejudice, discrimination and oppression (Rapeepan Kumhom, 2014). These factors are what the government agencies, or the government should find ways to be fair to everyone in society. (N* Couple 8, personal communication, September 14, 2019) stated as follows.

If I am able to propose the policy, 1. I would like to propose a law to protect all genders and civil partnership law that some sections have been omitted. I would like to revise this section and basic rights should be given, 2. It should be open to sex, such as organizing campaigns for the place of LGBT to make everyone see that this is normal and have cafés for lesbians or gays that are open for everyone. 3. Most voices / majority of voices should be listened to and the demand must be considered whether it is reasonable or not. 4. For occupation, it should not be limited because of gender. (N* Couple 8, personal communication, September 14, 2019).

M* added that “ If the policy can be formulated, the Civil and Commercial Code, Section 1448 should be amended, changing the marriage law from male-to-female to person-to-person and adhering to the principles of equality. Also, other related laws should be gradually amended. Actually, the same-sex marriage law is not as good as it should be.” (M* Couple 2, personal communication, July 11, 2019).

Therefore, if there is the law pushing on same-sex marriage and the law certifying the rights of transgender people, although the society has increased the level of acceptance, legal assurances are important in confirming equality. It will help improve the lives of LGBT people. It also helps to eliminate discrimination in society and oppression. There are specific laws that promote opportunities and equality in order to create fairness in society and protect those who have been violated due to gender issues.

The government must respond to the needs of the people, especially the examination of discrimination against various groups of society since people have the desire to receive fair treatment without discrimination. Lesbians also need the same rights as male and female couples without being discriminated from society. In addition, the government has a duty and responsibility to create a fair environment that can be implemented and enforced in society fairly.” Q* commented on this issue as follows (Q* Couple 9, personal communication, August 24, 2019).

One way is that society must be open and accept it seriously. The government should have laws to certify the rights and status of LGBT people such as the law certifying marriages of same sex couples so that lesbians or LGBT people can access the rights.

For promoting ways to solve problems and to promote fairness to lesbians, it is appropriate to have relevant laws to protect rights or any actions that are not acceptable or losing directly or indirectly. Also, people are equal in law. Men and women are equal. Those affected by discrimination because of gender issues are also

protected the comprehensively. U* added on this issue as follows (U* Couple 9, personal communication, August 26, 2019).

In addition to the drafting of laws relating to LGBT, I want to have fairness in the workplace in terms of rights. For example, for life insurance, I want my partner to be the beneficiary. The company should be open for this. It should not just provide to our parents. The person whom we live together that is a lesbian should be allowed to have this right” . (U* Couple 9, personal communication, August 26, 2019)

Therefore, establishing specific laws regarding gender equality promotes and encourages cooperation in treating all sexes with dignity and respect in order to create fairness and equality in society. This will lead to non-discrimination for lesbians and the promotion of security for lesbians in a fair manner.

Gender differences or gender diversity must not be the condition in determining the rights and opportunities of individuals in society. Gender inequality is one of the causes of inequality and is the source of violence that affects the physical, mental and social aspects such as wages, career advancement, access to public services, political participation, sexual violence and sexual harassment. (A* Couple 4, personal communication, July 24, 2019) gave the interview on this issue as follows.

It is important to understand that homosexual is not a mental disorder but it is an alternative way of living. Everyone should have this right. The right to choose sexual orientation. Prejudice that same-sex people are social problems should be eliminated because it is society that is part of creating impact and causing problems for homosexuals.”

In order to help the victims of violence caused by gender discrimination, which may be male, female, or other genders, relevant laws should be drafted as the tools to protect rights, prevent any act which is discrimination, exclusion, restriction of rights or impairing rights either directly or indirectly because of gender reasons. Solving these problems is very important because it helps reduce gap between gender to create equality which can strengthen the country in terms of both social and economic aspects. So, having a clear law on this matter will elevate the status of

Thailand to be equal to civilized countries regarding the elimination of discrimination due to gender differences. In addition to complying with the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, it is also the way to value the protection of discrimination against people of all ages as well. The key informants purposed many ways to solve these problems as follows. J* commended on this issue as follows (J* Couple 7, personal communication, September 15, 2019).

There are some characteristics of Thai society towards different sexuality. For example, teenage lesbians lack information and knowledge in self-protection, rejection and negotiation skills. There are no knowledge and answer sets for different sexuality. So, this group of teenagers have to search for answers by themselves. In addition, parents, teachers and adults lack understanding and do not accept them. As a result, LGBT teenagers dare not ask for advice on what they have to face, leading to many problems.

O* added that “now the view of Thai society towards lesbians has changed for the better. It may be because Thailand promulgated the constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand, B.E. 2560, Chapter 3, Section 27, with the principles of certification and protection that everyone is equal and is equally protected by law without discrimination because of any differences. Moreover, different genders apart from male and female must be treated equally and these groups must not be discriminated. Therefore, I think that it is more open. But from another point of view, I think that it will probably take a long time for amending various laws and Civil Partner Act. (O* Couple 7, personal communication, September 15, 2019).

Therefore, the law with clarity regarding gender equality promotes and encourages cooperation in treating all sexes with dignity and respect in order to create fairness and equality in society and eliminate discrimination due to gender differences. Aside from being in compliance with the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, it also gives importance to the protection of discrimination against people of all ages. Most importantly, it is the way to provide equality to alternative sex, especially lesbians.

Moreover, there should be an increase in the protection of the rights and freedom and the acceptance of sexual orientation, especially for lesbians as well as the acceptance of the choice to express gender identity that is different from the biological sex. The attitude must be adjusted that the gender diversity of human is nature and it is the behavior that can change according to the laws of the country and the today world current. L* gave the interview on this issue as follows (L* Couple 3, personal communication, August 14, 2019).

I think the attitude towards gender diversity, especially among lesbians at present is considered to be more open than before, especially in large cities or urbans. This is different from the rural society that gender diversity is still blocked and regarded as a strange thing. It must be acknowledged that the issue of gender diversity in Thai society is still new and needs to be developed a lot in order to lead to equality in the society.

Y* (Y* Couple 10, personal communication, October 3, 2019) added that “systematic knowledge creation will lead to the creation of insurance coverage for lesbians, so it should be coupled with the creation of correct understanding of gender diversity to law enforcement officials. The understanding is very important in establishing the foundation to ensure the legal rights in the future for LGBT, especially lesbians. It is also an important way to create understanding to society that gender diversity, especially lesbians, is a part of humanity that all people, including the government, must respect with true understanding

Therefore, having the law certifying homosexuals by granting various rights fairly and equally, such as being able to get married, adopt children and get inheritance in accordance with the law, is the social support that helps prevent and reduce problems of lesbians, resulting in greater security in life. Moreover, the importance of human rights and equality of people should be aware in order to reduce prejudice, using words to create hate or discrimination, so that these people will have the same rights and freedoms as those of heterosexuals and general people in society.

Table 4.4 Summary of the Guidelines for Solving Human Security Problems Related to Rights Fairness and Equality through the Perspectives of Lesbians in Thai Society

Problems of human security in rights, fairness and equality through the perspectives of lesbians in Thai society	Guidelines for resolving the problems through the perspectives of lesbians
<p>Marriage registration for LGBT people is not allowed due to contrary to the Civil and Commercial Code, Section 1448.</p> <p>The Civil Partnership Bill, B.E. 2561 does not provide full rights for LGBTI people.</p> <p>LGBT people are stigmatized and insulted by society as being in a different class or society. They are also not accepted by their families.</p> <p>They are often discriminated against by government personnel who lack knowledge and understanding of LGBT's ways of life. Perceived</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The law certifying same-sex marriage is needed. • The Civil and Commercial Code, Section 1448 should be amended. • Campaigns for legal movements in pushing for laws on same-sex couples should be organized. • The law ensuring gender fairness should be pushed. • The Civil Partnership Bill should be pushed like that of male-female couples. • Campaigns to raise public awareness about gender equality on the rights to sexual orientation, gender identity and gender diversity should be promoted. • Acceptance from society and family without bias or negative attitudes towards LGBTI people is needed. • The draft and laws on equality and prohibition of employment and professional discrimination should be developed and enforced. The

Problems of human security in rights, fairness and equality through the perspectives of lesbians in Thai society	Guidelines for resolving the problems through the perspectives of lesbians
<p>gender diversity is a consequence of being adhered to masculine and feminine cultures.</p>	<p>Employment Committee should be appointed so that LGBT people are protected by the employees' rights.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Equal protection under the law without discrimination in all cases should be promoted.
<p>There is an inequality of LGBT people in marriage and child adoption.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Correct knowledge and understanding of gender diversity should be disseminated and built. • The law supporting the right to marry and adopt children of LGBT people should be pushed for LGBT people to gain equality, leading to creating equality.
<p>There is injustice as society does not accept LGBT people as the general population and society does not try to learn about it and also misunderstands the way of life of LGBT people in many respects, namely gender identity, sexual orientation, gender expression as well as rights and protection in stigma, prejudice and gender-based discrimination.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There should be the space for LGBT people to become more powerful in society and it must be confirmed that all Thai people have equal rights and opportunities without the gender discrimination. • The issues of non-discrimination on the basis of gender orientation and gender identity should be integrated into the training courses for personnel in organizations such as schools and companies.
<p>LGBT people cannot access to social welfare services. This reflects the</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quantitative data on LGBT people, such as incidents of violence against

Problems of human security in rights, fairness and equality through the perspectives of lesbians in Thai society	Guidelines for resolving the problems through the perspectives of lesbians
limitations of social development work and the social welfare of Thailand has not yet reached the goal of universal human security that covers all groups of the population.	<p>women, rape should be systematically collected in order to push for policies. Also, the policies should be implemented and pushed until there is the development of human rights.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trainings to raise awareness and build capacity on gender equality, gender diversity, sexual orientation and gender identity should be organized in the labor, education and health sectors as well as other key services provided by government agencies.

From the Table 4.4, the problems of human security in terms of rights, fairness and equality in Thai society reflected through the perspectives of lesbians can be summarized as follows. Marriage registration for LGBT people is not allowed. There is inequality in marriage and child adoption because it violates the Civil and Commercial Code Section 1448 and the Civil Partnership Bill, B.E. 2561, which does not provide full rights to LGBTI people. They are also stigmatized and insulted by society as being in a different class or society. They are also not accepted by their families. Moreover, they are often discriminated against by government organizations or personnel who lack knowledge and understanding of LGBT' s ways of life. Perceived gender diversity is a consequence of being adhered to masculine and feminine cultures. There is injustice as society does not accept LGBT people as the general population and society does not try to learn about it and also misunderstands the way of life of LGBT people in many respects, namely gender identity, sexual

orientation, gender expression as well as rights and protection in stigma, prejudice and gender-based discrimination. In addition, LGBT people cannot access to social welfare services. This reflects the limitations of social development work and the social welfare of Thailand has not yet reached the goal of universal human security that covers all groups of the population.

The guidelines for solving human security problems in terms of rights, fairness and equality in Thai society through the perspectives of lesbians can be summarized as follows. They need the law certifying same-sex marriage by amending the Civil and Commercial Code, Section 1448. The Civil Partnership Bill should be pushed like that of male-female couples. Campaigns for legal movements in pushing for laws on same-sex couples should be organized. Social movement campaigns will drive the legalization by pushing the law on same-sex couples for gender justice. Campaigns to raise public awareness about gender equality on the rights to sexual orientation, gender identity and gender diversity to promote acceptance from society and family without bias or negative attitudes towards LGBTI people should be organized. In addition, the draft and laws on equality and prohibition of employment and professional discrimination should be developed and enforced. The Employment Committee should be appointed so that LGBT people are protected by the employees' rights, which is the promotion of equal protection under the law without discrimination in all cases.

Correct knowledge and understanding of gender diversity should be disseminated and built. There should be the space for LGBT people to become more powerful in society without the gender discrimination. The issues of non-discrimination on the basis of gender orientation and gender identity should be integrated into the training courses for personnel in organizations such as schools and companies. Trainings to raise awareness and build capacity on gender equality, gender diversity, sexual orientation and gender identity should be organized in the labor, education and health sectors as well as other key services provided by government agencies. Moreover, quantitative data on LGBT people, such as incidents of violence against women, rape should be systematically collected in order to push for policies. Also, the policies should be implemented and pushed until there is the development of human rights.

4.5 Guidelines for Shifting the Paradigm of Policy and Legal Issues to Promote Fairness and Equality of Lesbians under the Context of Thai Society

Based on the arguments on the issues of LGBT, especially the issues of fairness and equality through the process of policy and legal issues, the perspectives on the more complex dimensions of Thai society that is a multicultural society, gender and sexual orientation can be recognized. The advantages and limitations are also considered if they are pushed to be the guideline and policy as well as legal issues. For the guidelines on the paradigm shift in policy and legal issues to enhance fairness and equality among lesbians, the interviews of 10 lesbian couples (20 people) can be concluded as follows.

First, from the concept of fairness and equality in Thai society of LGBT that Thai society is considered as a multicultural society connected to the issues of gender and sexuality, it is important to see gender and sexual orientation as parts of society in various dimensions that are flexible to change and cause conflicts and competition. The government and the people in Thai society are the parts that define the definitions mentioned above. To change the meanings and practices as well as living linked and passed between social dimensions through different groups of cultures, the view that gender is part of a culture that is flexible, be able to change and adapt can help open up people's mind to accept the gender differences that exist in Thai society. L* commented on this issue as follows (L* Couple 3, personal communication, August 14, 2019).

We have to admit that the issue of gender diversity in Thai society is still a new issue and needs a lot of development in order to lead to equality in society. But it is a good sign for the acceptance of gender diversity in society.

Second, in terms of legal issues, most lesbian couples called for amendments to the Civil Partnership Act for certifying the status of same-sex couples. This law should consider the best practices to allow and ensure stable marriage between two people on the basis of equality and basic human rights that everyone should be granted regardless of gender, sexual orientation, or gender identity and gender

diversity. M* gave the interview on this issue as follows (M* Couple 2, personal communication, July 11, 2019).

We should be entitled to the same rights as male and female couples and allowed to access to rights. The Civil and Commercial Code, Section 1448 should be revised so that we can have the same rights as male and female couples.

Third, among the myths that society has about sex, the process of creating gender equity does not stop. Women's organizations have developed expertise. At the same time, the cooperation is expanded into networks to drive changes in both structure and culture. Movement strategies are developed consistent with social and cultural conditions as well as responding to new issues in order to create gender equality along with social justice. R* gave the interview as follows (R* Couple 10, personal communication, September 1, 2019).

Every person has one right to receive. It is not being chosen to grant rights or discriminated against. This issue should be seriously pushed at the national level, highlighting the importance of LGBT people.

Fourth, the challenges faced by lesbians today are partly due to social-political conflicts and the complex environmental resources that oppress various groups of women, especially women without power in decision-making and inaccessibility of resource allocation and political policy making. This causes them to step out and join the movements to protect their own rights when it is necessary to develop the demands and needs of different groups of women into a social, political and powerful agenda for political negotiation so that all women and all sexes can live in society with dignity and free from all discrimination. X* gave the interview as follows (X* Couple 10, personal communication, October 3, 2019).

We can see that many countries are awake. Society is moving and pushing LGBT people into political roles and participation and focusing on the rights of human beings and equality. Everyone deserves the basic rights and opportunities for married life.”

Therefore, if today's society is considered dynamic by linking it to the issue of gender and sexual orientation which are parts of a flexible society, the view that gender and sexual orientation are parts of a flexible and adjustable society will lead people to open and accept differences in gender that exist in society. In addition, human rights in all forms must be taken into account and individuals with various identities under different social contexts must also be recognized. For the rights of lesbians, because gender and sexuality are parts of culture and social components, the issue of inequality that exists should not be considered only for lesbians, but social inequality that occurs with LGBT people in society should also be considered. These people are often oppressed and restricted of rights from people in the main society. Additionally, gender and sexuality contribute to widening the view and understanding of gender diversity in Thai society. That is, the view towards male-female relationships as social standards or norms should be changed. Other forms of relationships should be considered as sexual diversity. However, male-female relationships should be seen as part of sexual orientation. In this sense, gender diversity encompasses all kinds of relationships, such as heterosexual, lesbian, gay and queer and other sexual groups. This view will help create equality, fairness and acceptance of gender differences in society. For the social movements of gender diversity in Thai society, it often emphasizes the claim, especially basic human rights which are the rights that everyone in society should receive. The concepts in a multicultural society regarding the way of life of LGBT people are greatly beneficial to social movements, leading to the claim of LGBT people as a sub-group in the main society to be socially accepted, able to live different sex life than a male-female relationship and receive various rights, which will lead to justice and gender equality in society and ensure security in life. (* * Lesbians, personal communication, June-October, 2019)

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION, DISCUSSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The objectives of the study entitled “Human Security in Rights, Fairness and Equality through the Perspectives of Lesbians in Thai Society” were as follows.

- 1) To study human security on rights, fairness and equality of lesbians in Thai society
- 2) To study the guidelines for solving problems of human security on rights, fairness and equality in Thai society through the perspective of lesbians
- 3) To study the guidelines for appropriately shifting the policy paradigm and legal issues to enhance fairness and equality of lesbians under the context of Thai society

This study was based on the qualitative research guidelines which aimed to define the definitions of the “human security” concept from the perspectives of lesbians through the analysis of “the narrative biography” of the informants. Data were collected from the interviews of individual lesbian and lesbian couples in order to examine the ways of thinking, perspectives, and expectations of the individual informant towards the “human security” concept and study the relationships between the concepts of rights, fairness and equality of lesbians in Thai society towards human security. The data obtained from the interviews were analyzed systematically using content analysis which helped to control the format of the obtained data to ensure the quality and accuracy of the data. Two methods were employed as follows.

- 1) Primary data: It was document research. Data from documents, textbooks, research reports, theses, dissertations, academic articles, newspapers and online media regarding human security in rights, fairness and equality as well as the laws of organizations in the government and private sectors and the civil society, both in the country and other countries were studied. In addition, the history of various people who provided information as well as photos, interviews, dates, times, places

and activities of LGBT people, especially lesbians were collected as the theoretical framework and structure for data analysis.

2) Narrative interviews: Semi-structured interviews and in-depth biographic narrative interviewing were employed to collect data for the analysis of daily life and society transmitted as the experiences related to human security in terms of rights, fairness and equality of lesbians through the perspectives of the informants.

Bangkok was selected as the area of the study because Bangkok is the capital city and the center of prosperity in every aspect, including economy, traffic and technology. In terms of utilities and others, Bangkok has a full range of facilities. When considering the gender diverse population, especially lesbians, although they are less expressive unlike gays, this group is contacted more easily in Bangkok than other provinces. They can also represent a diverse group of lesbians with diversity in domicile and occupation. The lesbians were purposively selected from those who were voluntary to provide information first. After that, the snowball sampling method was used to select the informants from a group of friends with personal relationship with the target groups and recommendations from informal group gathering of the target groups.

The target groups and the key informants were from a variety of occupations, including government sector, government enterprises, civil society, independent careers and private organizations. The informants consisted of 10 lesbian couples (20 people) who have lived together for not less than 4 years, aged between 25 - 50 years old. The lesbians of this age range were selected because it is the age range that requires security in couple life in the future. Moreover, people at this age range have been through experiences and learning from adolescence and early adulthood. It is also the age range that needs to step towards success in order to build security in life and family. This is also true for the lesbian couples who have been dating for 4 years or more. Their viewpoints about their spouses are similar to those of male and female couples. They want to live together and have security in their married life and live a family life together forever.

A semi-structured interview form used for in-depth interviews was an instrument that helped to gain in-depth information. The informants were asked about the basic concept of “human security”, the understanding of rights, fairness and

equality, gender of lesbians, life experiences, lifestyles, social interactions, informants' family, social impacts and adaptation in life. The informants were allowed to flexibly develop structured answers from commonsense perceptions to explanations and understandings by themselves on the issues that they considered relevant to the questions.

The researcher avoided interfering and focused on listening rather than asking questions. The researcher also gave the informants the opportunity to answer open-ended questions and talk about their life and experiences freely. During the interviews, the informants chose to record their interviews with a voice recorder and a video recorder.

Triangulation was employed in this study as follows. 1) Data triangulation was used to verify the source of information. Time, places and people were considered to see if the information obtained from different times, places and people was similar or different. 2) Methodological triangulation was to collect the same information from different places. It helped validate the accuracy and consistency of the data obtained by collecting relevant documents, observations, and in-depth interviews with the key informants. A semi-structured interview form was tested with 20 informants who were not the key informants in this study and were from different places. The consistency of the data collected by different methods was examined by comparing the results of in-depth interviews with each key informant and each couple to see whether they were similar or different. The data obtained from observations were also compared with the data obtained from documents and research studies in order to verify the accuracy of the data. Data validation was carried out simultaneously with data collection. The verification was tested immediately or at the same time in order to see whether the obtained data were true or not. This process was conducted until the data were most true in practice.

Thematic analysis was employed for analyzing the content obtained from the study. Relevant theories were employed for analysis and systematization of the obtained data through the narration, gestures and symbols. The data were presented by data description based on systematic interpretation from the classified data in order to obtain a quality analysis structure used to present research findings.

The conclusion of the study results is presented based on the following issues.

5.1 Conclusion

5.1.1 The context of lesbians

5.1.2 Basic information of the key informants

5.1.3 Human security in rights, fairness and equality through the perspectives of lesbians in Thai society

5.1.4 Guidelines for solving problems of human security in rights, fairness and equality through the perspectives of lesbians in Thai society

5.1.5 The paradigm of policy and legal issues to promote fairness and equality of lesbians under the context of Thai society

5.2 Discussions

5.3 Recommendations

5.1 Conclusion

5.1.1 The Context of Lesbians

LGBT is an acronym used to refer to a group of LGBT people, including lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender. But there are more groups than LGBT. The use of acronyms is also different according to the social context. At present, society's views on LGBT people in Thailand are complex and controversial. There are still hatreds and prejudices against LGBT people. Discrimination against them is embedded in various organizations in the country. In addition, discussions about sexual orientation in society are taboo. Also, there are limitations in sex education in the school. This indicates that openness to sex and gender diversity in Thai society is not enough to enable these people to live in society happily and equally with the general public, or receive rights equally to other citizens.

As for the issue of lesbians in the context of Thai society, it was found that the relationship between women has been present in Thai society for a long time. But there is no death penalty for homosexual people like in some countries. It may be because Thai society has never viewed sexual relations between women as a form of gender identity. It is only recognized as a relationship that arises from the intimacy between female friends, which is a friendship between women that is temporary and not a real behavior. However, when lesbians were introduced, they had to face fear,

bias and myths from people in society who were worried that there might be the imitation of inappropriate behaviors. Therefore, it caused people's attention and opposition at the same time.

With an effort to fight against myths, prejudices, and to build a social network of lesbians, in 2000, a new group of lesbians, called "Lesla" was founded. It was a social group formed from the online world. The emergence of such social group reveals the existence of homosexual women in Thai society. The love between a woman and a woman living together as a family has not yet been accepted by society. It is also still a subject of theoretical debate in Western societies, divided into two groups. First, it is the group believing in the biological sex. They believe that there are only male and female. This group will reject or criticize any display of gender identity/behavior that does not match the biological sex. Another group believes that humans can exhibit behaviors, emotions and gender identities widely without necessarily being tied to their biological or physical gender.

5.1.2 Basic Information of the Key Informants

The key informants were 10 lesbian couples (20 women), aged 25 years or more. The minimum duration of dating and living together is 4 years while the maximum is 22 years. Most of them earn a bachelor's degree. They work in a variety of occupations, including civil servants, private company employees, business owners and general employees. The salary rates are between 20,000 - 100,000 baht / month. In addition, all of them are Buddhists. Their hometowns are mostly in other provinces, but they have moved to live in Bangkok. Moreover, one key informant has received cross-sex hormone therapy and two of them has had breast surgery.

In addition, the key informants had studied at girls' schools than in co-educational schools. In terms of family, they are from Thai families. Their parents are living together. The ways of parenting were varied, including being strict with rules and giving freedom, not warning when having same-sex relation and supporting homosexual behavior. Divorced parents or the family losing a father or a mother at a young age cause the lack of strength in the family institution and make children seek love from other women to compensate for the feelings they have never received from their father or mother. The family that the father has many wives also makes children

absorb such behavior leading to homosexuality. As they have their father as a role model, they imitate the behavior of protecting women. Some families forbid their daughters from having a boyfriend. According to their interpretation in the childhood, they date women instead of men. Moreover, male-only family environment also causes children to imitate the leadership behavior.

5.1.3 Human Security in Rights, Fairness and Equality through the Perspectives of Lesbians in Thai Society

5.1.3.1 The Adaptation in Life Through the Perspectives and Experiences of Lesbians in Thai Society

From the narrative interviews of 10 lesbians (20 persons), most of the lesbians do not express themselves in society or reveal their gender identity much. However, they do not hide their identity or date a man to hide the truth. They also have developed their own social group and have lived their life more openly. For some lesbians, the difficult experience is not revealing their identity to society, but it is the family's acceptance and understanding because the family is the basic unit of life in developing people and creating good people for society as well as providing close training and care for children so that children do not need to seek love and warmth from anywhere. The family should also be a role model of how to live a proper life in society. Therefore, attitudes about gender diversity must be adjusted. Also, the family should open heart to lesbians and changes in today's society.

5.1.3.2 Human Security of Lesbians in Thai Society

Human security of lesbians in Thai society means human security in receiving rights and fairness, including civil rights or political rights. Usually, it is the duty of the government to guarantee, care and protect all people equally in accordance with their fundamental rights and constitutional liberties.

Most lesbians stated that every human being, as a member of the nation, should receive basic human rights. The value of humanity, including the acceptance of humanity, dignity, origin and rights based on the basis of natural rights should be concerned. Lesbian couples also need security in life like male and female couples. However, lesbians are still stigmatized by society. They are limited in the scope of rights and liberties in terms of fairness and gender equality, which is contrary

to the principles of human security and universal human rights principles that emphasize human dignity.

Therefore, the development and strengthening of human security among lesbians in Thai society is not just the government enacting laws to protect the rights of lesbians, but the government and society have to accept and respect differences and gender diversity and eliminate gender-biased thought, barriers and attitudes in order to provide opportunities for lesbians to feel human security, which is a true right both in terms of law and living a life free from paranoia or alienation in society.

5.1.3.3 Human security in rights of lesbians in Thai society

The issue of lesbians' rights is due to the current Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand (B.E. 2560, Section 27) which certifies that all persons are equal before the law, and shall have rights and liberties and be protected equally under the law. Nevertheless, some laws still do not provide the rights to lesbians such as the right to marriage registration (according to the Civil and Commercial Code and Family Registration Act, B.E. 2478, Section 1448, the marriage of only male and female can be registered. This is inconsistent with the Constitution and the Yogyakarta Principles on the application of international human rights law in relation to sexual orientation and gender identity, especially the right to found a family: "Everyone has the right to found a family, regardless of sexual orientation or gender identity. Families exist in diverse forms. No family may be subjected to discrimination on the basis of the sexual orientation or gender identity of any of its members".

Therefore, the informants thought that although security of rights in Thai society among lesbians are the basic rights under the welfare of the state, some laws still do not allow lesbians to be entitled to the rights as ordinary citizens. It is, therefore, the duty of the state to respond to lawful claims and protect the rights of lesbians like men and women. Lesbians should be granted with the rights as a human being and a citizen of the country.

5.1.3.4 Human Security in Fairness of Lesbians in Thai Society

In terms of human security in fairness among lesbians, it is the issue of the rights that must be protected by the state under the Constitution, namely the

certification of unfair interpersonal relationships, which makes same-sex couples unable to exercise their marriage rights as well as the right to adopt a child and the use of assisted reproductive technology because they are not “spouse”. In addition, human security in fairness of lesbians is also related to the fairness that society has to properly treat lesbians without discrimination, gender bias and violence. Lesbians think that the government fails to protect LGBTQ identity. They are still discriminated and stigmatized by society, sexually humiliated and discriminated against by government agencies and the private sector. They also lack social, economic, political opportunities. They cannot even disclose their identity to family.

5.1.3.5 Human Security in Equality of Lesbians in Thai Society

Gender equality means that men, women, LGBT and lesbians have the rights to social, economic and political opportunities equally. Gender differences must not be the condition in determining the rights and opportunities of individuals in society. However, for human security in terms of equality, lesbians in Thai society still do not receive equality compared to general males and females. They are also excluded from society in terms of work and access to the rights that should be granted. Many limitations have been found. The problems of gender inequality which can be observed in Thai society include discrimination against women, gender injustice, sexual harassment, violence, abuse of women and rejection of diverse and different gender identities.

The human security in equality that lesbians need is the Draft of the Civil Partnership Act, pushing for equal marriage in addition to the amendment of the Civil and Commercial Code, Section 1448. The Draft of the Civil Partnership Act must be enforced equally in order to make the rights of lesbian married couples equal to male and female married couples. They also need equal protection under the law without discrimination, such as joint financial transactions, such as a bank loan for buying a house, statutory right of inheritance if one of the parties dies and the need for social acceptance, especially the acceptance from their own family, which will greatly affect the adaptation to live in society.

5.1.4 Guidelines for Solving Problems of Human Security in Rights, Fairness and Equality through the Perspectives of Lesbians in Thai Society

For the problems and obstacles in human security of LGBT people in terms of rights, equality and fairness under the context of Thai society, they still not accepted, but not rejected as well, such as certifying legal relationships between persons under Thai law. At present, the relationships and the interests arising from the basis of same-sex relationships have not yet approved in Thailand. As a result, same-sex couples cannot exercise their rights to marry and form a family under Thai law. The problem of work discrimination and social welfare among LGBT people is widespread. Today, LGBT people are facing harassment, including work discrimination and social impacts in many forms. The same is true for lesbians. The key informants have also faced harassment and gender discrimination in the workplace through sarcastic remarks about their sexual orientation from their female colleagues. They have also been threatened, harassed and discriminated from society as well as family's misunderstandings.

5.1.4.1 Guidelines for Solving Problems of Human Security in Rights through the Perspectives of Lesbians in Thai Society

LGBT people are not truly recognized by both society and the legal system. Therefore, the government should have the measures concerning about the principles of human rights that reflect what all human beings deserve as human beings. The human rights concepts should be adopted for LGBT people to improve the law. The policies should also be formulated in accordance with the existing obligations under the treaties accurately and completely. Laws should be enforced to protect LGBT people seriously. The civil rights principle that everyone has one equal right for the sake of justice, especially lesbians without prejudice, discrimination and oppression should be promoted. The development of human beings in terms of health, potential, quality of life and social acceptance is also required.

However, there is the lack of unity in campaigning and driving the rights of LGBT people, especially lesbians. Therefore, universal principles relating to LGBT rights should be adhered to, especially the Yogyakarta principles, which are internationally accepted and cover all contexts that can be adapted to all matters

relating to the rights of LGBT people. For example, laws on same-sex couples should be pushed.

5.1.4.2 Guidelines for Solving Problems of Human Security in Fairness through the Perspectives of Lesbians in Thai Society

In addition to the role of the government that must review and amend the law to facilitate the rights responding to the needs of lesbians, the awareness about gender diversity should also be promoted among children and youth to create positive attitudes and fairness for LGBT people and lesbians. There should be the integration in working with the private sector, such as creating guidelines for solving problems, promoting fairness among lesbians and preventing any action that is unacceptable or violates any rights, either directly or indirectly. For example, in the case of life insurance bought from a private company, the beneficiary should be a partner when either party dies.

5.1.4.3 Guidelines for Solving Problems of Human Security in Equality through the Perspectives of Lesbians in Thai Society

The approaches in solving the human security problems in equality through the perspectives of lesbians are relevant and consistent with those used to solve the problems of lesbians' rights. That is to say, if a law is enacted to enhance the rights of lesbians, such as the law certifying same-sex marriage, employment benefits and social security benefits and certification of financial transaction rights among lesbians, the government action is needed to achieve the operational objectives of the legislation. There should be campaigns to educate government officials in serving the people without discrimination, and improve the organizational structure to be open to gender diversity. In addition, the enforcement of such laws in the private sector should be seriously monitored and evaluated to reduce inferiority, stigma and social discrimination against lesbians.

5.1.5 The Paradigm of Policy and Legal Issues to Promote Fairness and Equality of Lesbians Under the Context of Thai Society

For the development of concepts for fair policy and legal paradigms and the equality of lesbians in Thai society, it is necessary to strongly instill the concept of human rights in society, which recognizes that individuals have different identities

under different social contexts, and respects and appreciates the humanity of LGBT people as the basis of the social paradigm shift towards lesbians. This will lead to the development of guidelines and policies as well as the improvement of the law that certifies the rights of lesbians. The best practice to permit and ensure stable marriage between two persons on an equal basis should be taken into account.

The work of the lesbian group to improve the social paradigm includes organizing campaigns to drive society with the right knowledge for children, youth and people to change attitudes and gender biases towards LGBT people and lesbians, and creating networked collaborations to drive structural and cultural changes. Strategies for movement in accordance with social and cultural conditions are also developed. Lesbians are also pushed to face the problems of injustice and step out to unite in a movement to protect their rights.

5.2 Discussions

According to the indicators of human security, there are many components of human security, but one component that is often requested by many groups of people is the legitimacy they deserve from the government under the framework of the law. The need for rights, fairness and equality in each group of people is, therefore, different. LGBT people (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender) are the ones who have struggled for social equality for a long time. Although society is more open to gender diversity, they still lack rights in certain matters. Also, the attitudes of people in certain social groups cause this group of people to still have to move heavily to claim for the rights they deserve. This is consistent with a study by Araya Suksom (2016) studying human rights regarding sexual orientation and gender identity in the Thai legal system. It was found that in terms of gender diversity, the United Nations has established guidelines for the protection and guarantee of human rights in the matters relating to LGBTI people that cover a number of important rights and liberties. The state is required to ensure protection against discrimination due to sexual orientation and gender identity and determine necessary legislative and executive measures and other measures to eliminate and prevent discrimination. In addition, support and promotion of the equality of rights of LGBTI people through the

protection of human rights in sexual orientation and gender identity according to the United Nations are required. The adoption of human dignity, non-discrimination principles and protection of privacy principles must be applied to provide protection for the diversity of sexual orientation and gender identity among LGBT people. For human rights in regard to sexual orientation and gender identity in Thailand, the protection of human rights among LGBT people is still based on the concept of the binary sexes system that divides gender into male and female. This makes LGBT people become a minority who are not accepted by society and the legal system. The limitations and barriers to gender diversity acceptance in Thailand have been a major cause. The determination of health status according to the guidelines set by the World Health Organization has caused LGBT people to be subject to stigma and become targets of widespread violence and discrimination from both society and the legal system.

On the legal issue, since the recognition of human rights of individuals on the basis of gender diversity has been established by the United Nations for more than 20 years, and Thailand is a party to the United Nations Human Rights Treaties, it is obligated to improve the legal system and establish mechanisms and policies consistent with the guidelines for the protection of LGBT people set by the United Nations. Therefore, laws to protect LGBTI people have been enforced. For example, the Gender Equality Act B.E. 2558 is promulgated, and the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand B.E. 2560 provides the right to LGBT people. These laws provide a guarantee for a normal life in the LGBT community, and lesbians are free from discrimination and violence. However, Thailand has not made any amendments to its laws and policies consistent with existing obligations under the treaties accurately and completely. The guidelines for promoting human security focus on 2 dimensions. The first dimension is Freedom from Fear, such as hunger, diseases and suppression. The second dimension is to be protected from accidents that occur to livelihoods, whether at home, at work or in society. Human security consists of 7 elements: economic security, food security health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security. From the aforementioned information, all lesbians need for security in both dimensions. Therefore, the government must not act only to meet the basic human needs and the needs of

lesbians, but it must define the measures on human rights that reflect what all human beings deserve as human beings and create the principle of equal rights in order to bring justice to the people in the society, especially for lesbians without prejudice, discrimination and oppression. If it is successful, it will create security for human beings in various fields and lead to human development in terms of health, potential, quality of life, well-being and social acceptance. In addition, the law does not create guarantees the right to found a family and legal marriage as it should be. This is consistent with a study by Chawinroj Terapachalaphon and Panumas Kudngaongarm (2017, pp. 92-101), studying marriage equality rights for sexual diversity people in Thailand. It was found that LGBTIQ couples in Thailand faced problems because of the enactment of Marriage Law under Thai Civil and Commercial Code, stating that only the gender assignment at birth as a man and a woman can be a couple who has the marriage right to be legally married. So, LGBTIQ couples lost their rights and duties under Commercial Code and other local laws that refer to the rights of spouses, husband and wife and statutory heirs. Although Thai Constitution B.E. 2550 and B.E. 2560 were legislated with the principle of non-discrimination against gender and Thailand also signed and ratified Conventional International Laws having the same principle, the problems still exist. In other countries, there are two types of legislation for LGBTIQ relationships, which are Marriage Equality Law and Civil Partnership Laws. These reflect the fact that state laws have failed to address fundamental rights to found a family of LGBT people, as well as lesbians. As a result, social movements on rights, fairness and equality have taken effect in public policy in order to create acceptance of human dignity and social power although each social movement may not achieve the intended intentions.

In terms of the social issues on human security, rights, fairness and inequality among lesbians, in today's multicultural society, the coexistence of people in society requires changes in attitude and lifestyle and acceptance of changes and differences among different groups for peaceful coexistence in society. Even though Thai society is more open to LGBT people than in the past and some behaviors that had to be concealed because they were against traditions, culture, values and beliefs are more exposed and accepted, LGBT people as well as lesbians still face many problems and obstacles or even the impact of society. These absolutely affect the mind and well-

being of lesbians. They are also being stigmatized by family and society and discriminated against in a career. Although they are more accepted nowadays, they are still only accepted by certain groups of people. Some people still think it is an inappropriate behavior and have a negative attitude towards lesbians. Therefore, lesbians will always have to face these problems. They must also be adapted to live in harmony with society. This is consistent with a study by Sirivimon Payaksee (2016, June) studying the inequalities of rights with sexual diversity. It was found that in Thailand, although LGBT people feel more accepted by society, it is not enough for their living or receiving the same rights as everyone else. The exercise of full rights and participation in society is impossible if society does not accept and understand that all members of society are equal and should receive equal human rights. So, this issue must be pushed and not neglected.

Regarding the guidelines for solving the problems to achieve acceptance and coexistence in the society, it has to start with a family. So, parents and guardians should take care of their children with love and understanding, teach and provide close care to children so that the children feel warm in their hearts and minds until they do not have to seek love and warmth from anywhere else. Parents and guardians should also be the role models of how to live a proper life in society. This is consistent with a study by Bang-on Thepthein (2008, pp. 65-77), studying family life of homosexuals by understanding the sexual culture of homosexuals using the philosophy and theory of phenomenology. It reflects that “family” affects the lives of same-sex couples, including self-definition coupled with the negative descriptions of homosexuality. These emotional conflicts occur because the people involved feel that homosexuals are different from others, so they need to hide their own feelings and conceal their behavior from others. Also, same-sex couples do not want to marry someone of the opposite sex and imitate the roles taken on by mixed sex couples. This is consistent with a study by Kanitta Suksamai and Phitak Siriwong (2016, pp. 123-133), entitled “Narrative Woman Loving Woman: Sexual Orientation of Couple Elderly”. It was found lesbians have continually lived their lesbian life, which is caused by feeling different from others and confusing, and thinking that they are lesbians until they accept that they are lesbians. This started from their early life that their gender identity was different from female. They had emotion and felt like they

were males, making it difficult for them to reveal their identity to people close to them as they were afraid of the consequences that might occur. When they were teenagers, there were interested in the same sex, so they had to reveal their true identity to those close to and around them, especially those who can understand and accept the identity of lesbians. So, they can face various problems arising from the traditional lifestyle and social culture.

5.3 Recommendations

5.3.1 Recommendations from the Study

1) The state should enact the law certifying the civil partnership of humans by taking into account the behavior caused by love that can happen to human beings of different sexes or human beings of the same sex. The certification of civil partnership of human beings must, therefore, occur in all forms of love because it is the natural right. It is a fundamental right that the government must recognize without adhering only to the marriage registration of men and women in order to create equality in the law. Currently, there are a number of countries that have enacted laws to certify the status of family relationships among LGBT people, such as the UK, France, USA, Australia, Denmark and Germany.

2) Since persons' behaviors, practices and sexual expressions can change over time and within the social context of each culture, protection against discrimination because of sexual orientation and gender identity should be guaranteed. Moreover, necessary legislative and administrative measures and other measures should also be established to eliminate and prevent discrimination against individuals.

3) The government should support and promote the equality of rights of LGBT people through the protection of human rights regarding sexual orientation and gender identity as well as the ability to build relationships with other people. A person is entitled to protection as a human being and a citizen of the state, consisting of the right to be let alone, the right to self-determination and the right to participation. These rights are subdivided into civil rights, political rights, economic rights, social rights and cultural rights.

4) LGBT couples in Thailand are in trouble due to the provisions of the Civil and Commercial Code. Marriage conditions are only for men and women according to their biological sex. This causes LGBT couples lose their legal rights and duties under the Civil and Commercial Code and other laws referring to the terms “spouses, husband and wife and statutory heirs”. In other countries, there are two types of laws that certify the marriage of LGBTI couples: the law that provides equality in marriage and dignity, rights and duties to LGBTI couples equal to that of heterosexual couples, and the marriage registration law that provides certain rights and duties inferior to the marriage law. Therefore, the provisions of the Civil and Commercial Code should be amended. The relationship of persons of all sexes, sexual orientations and gender identities should be certified as a “lawful spouse”.

5.3.2 Policy Recommendations

1) Campaigns for public awareness on gender equality, rights to sexual orientation and gender identity and gender diversity should be developed and implemented. Or, the organization/ association responsible for presenting knowledge and building an understanding of sex gender diversity should be established. In addition, there should be the laws on non-discrimination and policies throughout the state apparatus, covering the private sector, civil society, mass media organizations and society as a whole.

2) The gender diversity content should be defined or outlined to be a course that provides the basic knowledge in this matter properly. The guidelines for creating good attitudes for administrators and teachers without prejudice against LGBTI people should also be set.

3) To lead Thailand to become “Thailand 4.0”, as LGBT people are one of the components of the country, the government must demonstrate the capacity to open up the space for LGBT people to become more powerful in society. In addition, Thai people should have equal rights and opportunities with no boundaries on gender, sexual orientation, gender identity or gender diversity.

4) The laws on equality should be enforced. Employment and professional discrimination must be prohibited to ensure non-discrimination against LGBT people.

5) There should be the legal measures that enforce life insurance companies to issue insurance policies that allow married or unmarried couples, regardless of gender or gender identity to have the right to be the beneficiary of the life partner's insurance.

6) Gender equality and non-discrimination practices should be integrated. The awareness in communities and schools about gender non-discrimination should also be created. This will affect the formation of positive attitudes towards LGBT people.

7) The gender-certified law and the law prohibiting LGBT discrimination practices should be enacted for equal protection under the law, such as joint financial transactions, whether it is a bank loan to buy a house or the right to inheritance if one of the parties dies.

8) The law certifying the status of same-sex marriage couples should be enacted. It should also take into account the best practice to permit and ensure stable marriage between two persons on an equitable basis and fundamental human rights regardless of gender, sexual orientation, gender identity or gender diversity.

9) The government agency that specifically regulates and supervises LGBT people should be established. Or, the agency should be renamed to cover LGBT people such as the Department of Children and Women's Affairs and the Department of LGBT Affairs.

5.3.3 Recommendations for Further Studies

1) This is the study of "human security, rights, fairness and equality of lesbians in Thai society, with the emphasis on "women". It was not conducted in other LGBT groups who may have different needs of human security in rights, fairness and equality. Therefore, other LGBT groups should be studied in further study. LGBT-Capital.com states that the LGBT population is around 483 million worldwide. The LGBT population in Asia is accounted for 288 million people or 60% of the global LGBT population. In addition, the LGBT population in Thailand is about 4 million or 6% of the global LGBT population. Thailand has the fourth largest LGBT population in the world (Business Today, 2020). Therefore, apart from lesbians, there are other LGBT people with different needs of life security.

2) To be consistent with the Twelfth National Economic and Social Development Plan (2017 - 2021) that the government has continued to focus on human development and place people as the center of development since the Eighth Economic and Social Development Plan, and to develop the country according to the guidelines set forth, the government must take into account the security of the people in the nation. When an individual has life security according to the dimensions framed by the government, the nation will be developed by the potential of the people in the nation. Therefore, educational institutions or government agencies must have the research guidelines on human security covering all 12 dimensions specified by the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security as the basis of future government policies. In addition, it will be consistent if the research findings are applied to be incorporated into the plan at any one stage of the 20-year national strategy (2018 - 2037) that 6 key strategies have set for country's overall development, namely national security; national competitiveness enhancement; human capital development and strengthening; social cohesion and just society; eco-friendly development and growth; and public sector rebalancing and development (Office of the National Economics and Social Development Council, 2018). The indicators of 12 dimensions of human security are related to the 6 goals of country's development in the year 2037.

3) This study was qualitative research which aimed at explaining and understanding the concepts and the understanding of lesbians on "human security" through concepts and direct experiences in "rights, fairness and equality among lesbians." So, there were limitations in data collection, accuracy and quality of the data testing, interpretation analysis, data verification by triangulation method and explanations of the findings from research with a limited number of key informants. Therefore, the study may be conducted by using other research methods such as quantitative research or mixed methods.

4) The context of area of lesbians providing important information should be extended to the region because the cultural context, customs and traditions of each region and each society are abstract that people in that society will learn by themselves. Some areas may change according to other societies. But some societies have a clear way for people in society to strictly follow. Different societies affect the

adaptation of people. Lesbians may either disclose or live their married life quietly in such a social context, which may affect the stability in the lives of lesbian couples such as ethnic groups in the North, the Northeast and Muslims in the South.

5) At present, Thai society has adapted to globalization of the world society. The process of learning to search for information is easy in this digital age. Behavioral expressions and LGBTQ social movements from around the world are recognized and seen through the media which cannot be blocked from the government or families. Therefore, in further research, the key informants should cover all groups of gender-diverse undergraduate students, aged between 18 - 22/25 years. This will provide a knowledge set that reflects the social and cultural phenomena of LGBT people as a result of global phenomena in order to be able to adapt to the context of Thai society. Although legal maturity begins at the age of 18, true adult roles and responsibilities come much later. Most of the undergraduate students are still in a semi-dependent state and live with someone who is older until they graduate and have a job. Therefore, the love of LGBT people leading to family formation of this age group may have different aspects than that of older people. Moreover, people of this age group are likely to reveal their sexual behaviors than other age groups.

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APPENDIX

Questions

“Human Security in Rights, Fairness and Equality through the Perspectives of Lesbians in Thai Society.”

Part 1: General information

Background of the interviewees such as name-surname, age, highest level of education, main occupation, side occupation, monthly income, hometown / present hobby, work experience, length of time spent together, political participation, such as elections, political party members, intentions after retirement, media and news channels, role models in life or philosophy of life

Part 2: Questions

1. What is your current concept of sex?
2. What do you think about the change in sex in Thai society from the past to the present? Are lesbians more accepted?
3. What are the solutions to the problem and to promote LGBT rights? Are measures or laws needed for people who are heterosexual or not, and how?
4. Do you need the right of identification, such as the title of the name?
5. What is your opinion on the right to marry?
6. When receiving the rights from being a spouse, do you want the right to child adoption, management of the marital property, inheritance and use of surnames? Or, do you have any suggestions?
7. Do you want to receive the right from the government, such as the right of a spouse of a civil servant, social security system and how?
8. If you can set policies, what policies are relevant to LGBTI people, both lesbians and gays?

9. What security do you need from the government in treating LGBTI people, especially lesbians, such as the benefits that will be received or the rights to be treated equally?
10. If you are discriminated against whether in a career or in society, what should you do?
11. What do you think will be the guarantee and protection of rights for lesbians?
12. What are the approaches for resolving the conflicts of rights with efficiency and fairness for LGBT people, especially among lesbians?
13. How was Thailand viewed gender inequality in the past?
14. What are social impacts on the lives of lesbians in rights, fairness and equality at present and what were they in the past?
15. Based on the experience you have, what are the solutions to the issues of rights, fairness and equality?
16. From the experience of fairness in society and the law as lesbians what aspects have an impact on your life?
17. What do you think about the legal issues to appropriately enhance fairness and equality among lesbians under the context of Thai society? Should lesbians be promoted and get rights like a man and a woman and access to various rights or not, and how?

The key informants were 10 lesbian couples, a total to 20 people.

Couple	Name (pseudonyms)	Age	Duration of living couple life	Educational level	Occupation	Income
1	F	35	5 years	Bachelor's degree	Private company employee	25,000
	G	36		Bachelor's degree	Seller	18,000
2	M	40	8 years	Bachelor's degree (abroad)	Facilitator / psychologist	50,000
	P	39		Bachelor's degree	Business owner	20,000
3	K	39	5 years	Bachelor's degree	Civil servant	25,000
	L	28		Bachelor's degree	General employee	20,000
4	C	36	5 years	Ph.D.	Military service	30,000
	A	39		Bachelor's degree	State enterprise officer	23,000
5	R	33	4 years	Master's degree	Civil servant (teacher)	24,500
	S	37		Bachelor's degree	Civil servant (teacher)	25,000
6	B	48	20 years	Master's degree	Business owner	100,000
	D	40		Bachelor's degree	Business owner	100,000

Couple	Name (pseudonyms)	Age	Duration of living couple life	Educational level	Occupation	Income
7	J	48	10 years	Ph.D.	Civil servant (doctor)	35,000
	O	48		Bachelor's degree	General employee	20,000
8	I	30	4 years	Master's degree	Military service	25,000
	N	26		Bachelor's degree	Military service	20,000
9	U	40	10 years	Bachelor's degree	Private company employee	25,000
	Q	36		Bachelor's degree	Private company employee	25,000
10	X	35	22 years	Bachelor's degree	Private company employee	25,000
	Y	30		Bachelor's degree	Private company employee	25,000

BIOGRAPHY

Name-Surname

Miss Thapanee Prongratsamee

Academic Background

- Bachelor's Degree in Education, Suan Dusit Teachers College in 1989
- Master's Degree in Business Administration, Dhurakij Pundit University in 2001
- Master's Degree in Public and Private Management, National Institute of Development Administration (NIDA) in 2011

Experience

1999 – 2019: Deputy Managing Director of Marketing, Bunditnaeneaw Co., Ltd.

1996 – 1999: Franchise Business Development Department, Samakkisarn (Dok Ya) Public Company Limited

1994 – 1996: General Manager Dokya Academic Co., Ltd.

- Advisor to the Senate of New Ways of Life Local Networks in Pathum Thani Province (appointed on 2 July 2021)
- Phan Waen Fah Literature Committee, 2020 – 2021, the Secretariat of the House of Representatives.
- Subcommittee on prevention and remedial situation studies on rape and sexual harassment, the House of Representatives in 2020
- Specialist of the members of the National Assembly, from 2020 – 2021
- The Audience Council of Thai Public Broadcasting Service in 2020
- Director of the Publishers and Booksellers Association of Thailand from 2019 – 2021
- Candidate of the Members of the House of Representatives, Bangkok, District 6 (Phaya Thai, Chatuchak-Khwaeng Chomphon, Ratchathewi) in 2019