

In 2011, during Thailand First Cycle UPR, there was no recommendation formulated to the Thai Government on SOGIE issues.

This joint submission has been prepared in consultation with a number of key Thai CSOs. It has been endorsed, in whole or part, by the 14 organizations listed in Attachment A.

### **A) Executive summary**

1. In 2007, although the Constitution itself did not include the term sexual orientation or gender identity as clauses of protection from discrimination, the statement of intentions document which accompanies the 2007 constitution explicitly states that reference to “gender” in the Anti-Discrimination Article (Article 30 of the Constitution) also covers lesbians, gays, bisexuals, intersex, pre and post-operative transsexuals<sup>i</sup>.
2. March 2015, The Military Government passed the 2015 Gender Equality Act. The law imposes a jail term of up to six months for anyone committing gender discrimination. The law was enacted on the 9th of September 2015. Article 3 of the law stipulates: “Unfair discrimination on the basis of gender means any act or failure to act which segregates, obstructs or limits any rights, whether directly or indirectly, without legitimacy due to that person’s gender as male or is female or a sexual expression that differs from that person’s biological gender.”

Though the bill seems inclusive, there are yet legal gaps to be seen in practice when it comes to the rights of the LGBTI, particularly in Section 17, which exempts acts by the public and private sector concerning the freedom, security and protection of others, or in accordance with of religious obligations or concerns of national security, which would not be considered an act of discrimination towards the LGBTI<sup>ii</sup>.

3. Under the, Thai Military Government, during 2014-2015, a new constitution was drafted. This draft has included the term ‘third gender’ for the prohibition of discrimination in relation to gender, and is understood to cover lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex persons<sup>iii</sup>. However, Thailand's National Reform Council rejected the draft constitution in a vote on the 10th of September 2015<sup>iv</sup>.
4. 2013, The National Human Rights Council of Thailand (NHRCT) was successful in proposing gender title changes for intersex persons. Due to this, intersex person can now choose their gender title of choice, whereas in the past s/he was forced to use the title indicated by their biological sex (mostly male) which is determined by either a medical

doctor or their parents. However, for transgender persons, their title will still remain according to their biological sex<sup>v</sup>.

5. All biological males in Thailand are required to serve in the military. However, transgender women, including any biological males who have undergone sexual reassignment surgery (SRS) or any form of surgery to physically appear more feminine, are not allowed to serve in the military. Until 2011, they were given a letter of dismissal stating ‘Permanent Mental Disorder’ as the cause. After much lobbying by the LGBT community, the letter now states the cause as “Gender Identity Disorder.” The change became effective in April 2013.
6. In 2010 at the UN General Assembly, countries opposing sexual orientation and gender identity rights campaigned to remove the words “including sexual orientation” as grounds for protection against extra judicial killings (IGLHRC 2012). During the time of the General Assembly, LGBT groups approached the Thai Human Rights Commission and asked them to pressure the foreign ministry to rule against this vote, held two protests, as well as delivered a letter to the Cabinet. Regardless of civil society’s efforts, Thailand abstained from voting in the ruling. However this advocacy urged the Thai government to rule in favor of the 2012 General Assembly resolution A/C.3/67/L.36 on extrajudicial killings, which reintroduced sexual orientation and gender identity into the resolution (UN 2012)<sup>vi</sup>.
7. However, there is no legislation that recognizes gender-related laws and supports civil union for LGBTI people, resulting in a wide range of discrimination against same-sex couples and still has in place laws and policies which discriminate against LGBTI individuals.

## **B) Discrimination in Employment**

8. The visibility of the transgender workforce into the labor market is considered a relatively new phenomenon. Transgender individuals are still facing different kinds of discrimination beginning with the process of application and selection until the period of employment.<sup>vii</sup> Some are even refused to be taken into consideration of their application by both government and private establishments due to their “improper” gender identity. Gays and lesbians are often questioned about their sexual orientation, while transgenders are still required to dress according to their biological sex. LGBTIs are sexually abused, humiliated<sup>viii</sup> and ignored by their colleagues which further leads to issues at the workplace. Moreover, LGBTI workers rarely receive support in career advancement, promotion and equal payment. All of these reflect a discriminatory working environment for the LGBTIs.<sup>ix</sup>

9. One example of such discrimination is the dismissal of Kath Khangpiboon, a 28 year-old transgender lecturer of the Faculty of Social Administration at Thammasat University. She was notified of her dismissal after lecturing at the university for 10 months. <sup>x</sup> Another case happened in July 2015. A Thai transgender woman who had been working with an international organization for 15 months was dismissed from her position on unjustified claims of her underperformance. Before the dismissal, she had been discriminated against due to her gender identity and there had been no policies regarding safe and friendly spaces for transgender in the organization. <sup>xi</sup>

### **Recommendations**

10. Develop an anti-discrimination legislation and a monitoring body specifically for discrimination in employment and occupation with effective implementation mechanisms and consider an Equality and Non-Discrimination in Employment and Occupation Act and an independent Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) as an advisory and monitoring body.
11. The state should encourage organizations to set policies which protect the LGBTIs from all kinds of harassment including but not limited to verbal harassment and ignorance of the company's discriminatory actions done to LGBTI workers. It should also encourage the set up of report mechanisms for discriminatory behavior, which affects the performance of LGBTI workers in the workplace.
12. Since the emergence of the transgender workforce is considered a relatively new phenomenon to many organizations, the state should encourage gender sensitivity trainings for the supervisors and the executives of those organizations so that they are aware of the sensitivity of the issue.
13. The state must set measures and policies that protect LGBTIs who are migrant workers and those working for international organization who are not covered by the Thai labor law.
14. The state must ensure that LGBTIs will have equal access to promotions and opportunities in career advancement.

### **C) Family**

15. According to section 1448 of the Thai Civil and Commercial Code, A marriage may take place only between a man and a woman who have completed their seventeenth year of age. However, the Court may, with appropriate reason, allow them to marry before attaining such age. <sup>xii</sup> Code 1448, specifies that men and women can marry and by implication outlaws unions of same-sex couples or transsexuals.

16. This also has implications for laws relating to the custody of children, transfer of property and taxation as family life under Thai law is based on the assumption of a husband, a wife and children. Applications for bank loans, insurance and other financial matters also follow this practice. The limitations of the law to cover only heterosexual couples remain so despite the fact that in Thailand same sex couples, transgender couples, bisexual couples and polyandrous couples actually exist<sup>xiii</sup>. Moreover, laws on sexual assault are also a concern for transgender women as there are no explicit statutes against the violation of a constructed vagina.
17. Before the 2014 coup, there was an effort in drafting the marriage law which would allow the legalization of same sex marriage, but eventually not all gender identities and sexual orientations are covered by the Bill. For example, transgenders would still have to refer to the old marriage law which defined them according to their biological sex. This is due to the fact that Thailand is still lacking the law that acknowledges gender identity. Civil society organizations then drafted the Civil Partnership Act which respected the diversity of “family” and equality for all genders. However, after the coup, the CSOs suspended the submission of the draft and would resume the process again after a democratic government has been elected. Nevertheless, there is still a concern for the CSOs about whether the new Constitution would allow a submission of petition by the people.
18. In September, 2012, there was a case of a lesbian couple who had been together for 8 years. One day, one of the partners fell sick and needed to be taken to an emergency room in a private hospital but the other partner did not have the right to sign the informed consent form. This caused her partner to pass away the following week. She said that if her partner had received immediate treatment, her life could have been saved. Moreover, she could not use her medical benefits despite the fact that she was a civil servant. According to the Being LGBT report, there are many particular health and well-being issues that affect LGBT individuals in Thailand including HIV, sexual-reassignment surgery and access to health services.
19. The absence of partnership law has also had detrimental effects on the children of LGBTI families as society deems them incapable of producing offspring, while those who have children from previous relationships remain unacknowledged. There was a case of a same sex couple who was in a de facto relationship and was assisted by reproductive technology in having a child but the child could only be acknowledged by the law through using the name of one of the partner’s brother as a father. There is no legal prohibition on LGBT parenthood and child adoptions are treated as single-parent cases. Laws concerning family matters are found in the Civil and Commercial Code of Thailand.
20. In July 2015, there was a case of a foreign gay couple who received surrogacy service from a Thai surrogate. However, after the baby had been delivered, the surrogate refused to give the couple the child custodial rights<sup>xiv</sup> because she did not believe that a same sex couple could take care of the child. This conforms to The Protection of Children Born from Assisted Reproductive Technologies Act B.E.2558, which does not allow same sex couples

to receive reproductive technologies services either. The Act is evidence of existing discrimination against the LGBTIs and disrespect of equal rights for all.

### **Recommendations**

21. Revise the Civil and Commercial Code 1448, to refer to marriage as between "two people" and other laws concerning family and property rights to use "married spouse" rather than husband and wife /or establish legal guarantees that civil partnership laws provide the same legal rights to same-sex couples as to heterosexual couples, including parenting rights.
22. Revise The Protection of Children Born from Assisted Reproductive Technologies Act B.E.2558 to include LGBTI couples.
23. Once laws under which LGBTI couples are protected are enacted, the government should set measures in revising regulations in both private and public sectors in accordance with international partnership rights.
24. The state should push for the equality for all kinds of partnership in accessing welfare and benefits offered by both the private and public sectors.
25. The state should raise awareness in all sectors of society
26. The state should adjust the laws, regulations, practices, processes of government services in accordance with the diversification of family life.

### **D) School and Education**

27. Many effeminate male students have reported being afraid of attending school toilets or school camps, with some indicating that they were ridiculed and not welcomed in either male or female toilets. In one school, group-specific sleeping arrangements had been provided for group on a school camp upon their request after they had experienced unwanted sexual advances from other boys. Even though LGBTI students complained or informed their teachers that they were being bullied, the teachers response was that it was their own fault<sup>xv</sup>.
28. Teasing and bullying behavior by teachers or school personnel: These behaviors include sarcastic remarks in class, staring, cutting grades and blaming LGBTI students for things they did not do<sup>xvi</sup>. There are the announcement posted on the school bulletin boards, Some of these announcements mention Transwomen and Tomboys (a girl who exhibits characteristics or behaviors considered typical of a boy)<sup>xvii</sup>
29. There are a lot of reports of negative portrayals of LGBT people in school textbooks that label them as deviants. In the textbooks, it is advised that sexual deviants should keep their

abnormality a secret and that their acquaintances should keep their distance and not enter into a relationship with those that sexually deviate<sup>xviii</sup>. This leads to an unsafe educational environment for young LGBT persons.

30. Thai students have to wear either ‘male’ or ‘female’ school uniforms based on their biological. Event though some universities have rectified their dress codes after much campaigning to allow transgender students to wear uniforms based on their chosen gender, this has yet to be seen in primary and high schools. has a new guidelines which are more inclusive of transgender students but it’s not possible for the primary and high school[1]. This leads to an unsafe educational environment for young LGBTI persons, which is further exacerbated by punitive regulations and pressure for students, which school regulations do not permit<sup>xix</sup>.

### **Recommendations**

31. Eliminate gender-based dress codes or ensure that transgender students can choose their own uniforms.
32. Develop and enforce clear anti-bullying policies covering students of all genders, emphasizing management of bullying perpetrators in a manner involving no discrimination on the basis of the sex, sexual orientation or gender expression of either perpetrators or victims.
33. Integrate content and participatory activities increasing understanding of the extent and consequences of bullying and teasing into various existing school subjects, for example into sex education, guidance, or homeroom classes.
34. Build safe spaces for LGBTI students, for example through the provision of “third gender toilets” for male-to-female transgender students, activity rooms or separate sleeping arrangements as one way to prevent bullying targeting this group of students.
35. Revise current educational curricula in each subject and remove biased terminology and explanations related to sexual/gender diversity.
36. Provide channels of assistance to bullied students, e.g. hotlines, web boards, or mobile applications.
37. Promote acceptance of sexual/gender diversity within society at large through public campaigns, popular media, or activities of civil society organisations.
38. Create collaboration networks between schools and civil society organisations working on sexual/gender diversity and gender-based violence.

## E) Media and Publications

39. At present, LGBTI mainstreaming in the media has gained much acceptance in many countries around the world, yet Thai media still portray LGBTI people in a negative way, or as stock characters or comic relief on television shows. There is a substantial lack of official media reporting on incidences of harassment, discrimination and violence towards LGBTI people, which hinders the promotion of positive images of Thailand's attitudes towards LGBTI people.

This case exemplifies the tense relations between mainstream media and LGBT issues.

40. Newspapers are notorious for its headlines saturated with derogatory and sensational intent towards LGBT stories, particularly those concerned with murder and violence. Recently on March, 2015, Thairat, a famous newspaper had described the "Lou Queernal," an LGBTI carnival recently held in Nice, France, as a party for "sexual deviants." "There were many queers joining the event from lesbian to gay and bisexual people." They chose to describe carnival-goers with the term 'sexual deviants'<sup>xx</sup>.

41. In 2012, the LGBTI community was angered at a local bookstore chain's (Se-ed Books's) policy to ban or label publications with LGBTI content in the same category as pornography. Activists mobilized against this with much support from both LGBTI and non-LGBTI communities. The bookstore issued a letter to its publishers on its screening standards, classifying all LGBTI content as erotica and inappropriate material for minors<sup>xxi</sup>.

42. In 2010, the gay-themed film 'Insect in the Backyard,' which was also directed by a transgender woman, was banned by the Ministry of Thai Culture's National Film Board (Nation, 2010). The movie was seen by the board as a "disruption of national order and public morals," and was banned using Article 29 of the Film Act 2010 (Bangkok Post, 2010). According to the director, "the ban is a signal to film-makers that gay-themed films featuring negative portrayals of Thai society will be taboo" (Nation, 2010). The filmmaker appealed the decision. The case has been pending in the Constitutional Court for three years. This instance is the first time since the enactment of the Film Act 2008 that a movie was banned because it dealt with the issue of sexual orientation and gender identity.

### Recommendation

43. The State should enact bodies to monitor publication content and implement penalties or warnings for publications which publish derogatory content, while providing remedials for cases of violations. The State should also provide channels for the general public to report incidents of discriminatory content or actions regarding publications.

44. The State should collaborate more with CSOs in developing standards for

publications in lieu of an increase in respect and sensitivity to news coverage according to the principles of journalism ethics and respect for the rights, freedoms, and equal human dignity.

45. The State should promote gender sensitivity training for journalists, editors, and those involved in publications so as to promote perspectives towards sexual orientation and gender identity that respects the rights and diversity of LGBTI people in a manner that upholds equality and human dignity.

## **F) Health**

46. Public Health care services do not cover all forms of gender diversity even though article 30 of the 2007 constitution mentions prohibitions on discrimination. Changes in related laws yet to cover national implementation of laws regarding health care.
47. The attitude of some health care providers who are prejudiced against LGBTI persons also represents a barrier to health and well-being. Many LGBTI individuals while seeking health care services have faced discrimination which includes, but is not limited to, unequal standards of health care given to LGBTI persons, the disclosure of sensitive and private health information, the refusal of treatment, placing transgender persons in hospital wards opposite of their preferred gender identity, and the perception by health care professionals that LGBT persons are mentally unstable (Ojanen, 2010).

## **Recommendation**

48. The new Constitution should protect the rights and health care needs of LGBTI persons by adding Sexual orientation and Gender identity expression and intersex identities in changes related to new laws.
49. Develop a sensitivity curriculum for LGBTI health services for health providers.
50. Provide standardized comprehensive health care services for transgender men and women, such as the use of hormones, the use of hormones with antiretroviral therapy or other drugs, and transgender men's health care.
51. Develop more knowledge and research on HIV risk for LGBTI populations beyond the priority focus of MSM and transgender women.
52. Encourage health funding for LGBTI communities for a broader range of issues than only the treatment of disease and for funding to be managed by communities, not only medical authorities.



53. Develop gender sensitivity on LGBTI issues for mental health services as well as conduct sensitivity trainings for health care professionals.

54. Encourage the state to allocate resources to raise awareness about sexual diversity, as well as hold the state accountable for human rights abuses and discrimination against LGBTI individuals.

Ensure that gender mainstreaming policies for health include traditionally marginalized groups such as transgender men and women, and lesbian and bisexual women to introduce easily accessible mechanisms for individuals to be able to choose who can allow LGBTI partners have the right in decisions on health care in emergency cases as heterosexual families.

### **G) Intersectionality**

55. The issues concerning LGBTIs crosscut into other issues in nature since LGBTIs are also part of other such as physical and mental disabilities, the , sex workers, people living with HIV, drug users, indigenous persons, the labour force, a migrant workers, former incarcerated persons, the homeless, victims of domestic violence, people living in the three Southernmost border provinces of Thailand, and stateless persons, *etc.* All these identities further reinforce the marginalization of LGBTIs in all aspects. This makes the LGBTIs more vulnerable and prevents them from accessing their rights and other opportunities in life.

### **Recommendations**

56. The state should play a role in creating equality and justice and in eliminating all kinds of discrimination. The state should also adjust its mindset regarding equality and justice according to niversal Human Rights principles and promote education of these the principles to all social institutions including families, communities, educational institutions, religious organizations, mass media, legal institutions, concerned organizations in the justice system, and health care institutions etc.

### **H) Human Rights Defenders (HRDs)**

57. Thailand still lacks the appropriate and effective Laws and policies to protect HRDs

58. Current judicial systems and procedures enabling the protection of people with diverse sexual orientation and gender identity are yet to exist. This is due to the lack of sensitivity, stigma and inaccurate perceptions towards the issues and rights of LGBTI people both among heterosexuals and Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity (SOGI) groups.
59. The situation of transgender people working as HRDs in Thailand is under deterioration as proven evidence of proliferated reports on alarming issues highlighted as follows;
60. Among a few transgender activists who work on human rights issues, Saran Chuchai (also known as Aum Neko, a trans-woman student) raised questions over the philosophy of Thammasat University known as the People's University, through a series of campaigns. In 2012, she posed in a lewd manner with the university founder's statue and questioned whether showing respect to the statue is an application of human equality<sup>xxii</sup>.

Later, Aum released an anti-uniform campaign through posters filled with sexual explicit content, which stirred criticism both from within the university and the general public<sup>xxiii</sup>. She received a suspension of two semesters.<sup>xxiv</sup>

On the 1st of July, 2014, a right-wing newspaper, ASTV Manager published a "mock column" which threatened the SOGI activist and Lèse Majesté critic with sexual violence. The column described in vivid detail a fictitious future scenario in which Ms. Chuchai, if captured and imprisoned, would repeatedly face sexual assault to "return happiness" to inmates<sup>xxv</sup>. After the coup, she was summoned to report to the National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO)<sup>xxvi</sup>. The risk of incarceration under a military court for lèse majesté and the fact that she would be forced into a male prison made her decide to leave the country<sup>xxvii</sup>.

61. In the case of Natchacha Kong-udom (a transgender student) on the issue of citizens' rights and political rights, September 2014, Natchacha joined a demonstration and raised a three-finger symbol in front of a cinema; she was arrested and brought to the Pathumwan Police Station and later to the Army Sports Center<sup>xxviii</sup>. In December 2014, She managed to display protest signs such as "Where is the NHRC when the guns come out?". The National Human Rights Commission Chairperson Amara Pongsapich was caught off guard by a sudden disruption at the police station for failing to obey the prohibition set by the National Council for Peace and Order. Meanwhile, Kong-udom lodged a police report at the Tung Song Hong Police Station against plainclothes military officers she accused of harassing and threatening her with sexual harassment at the NHRC event. On the same day the Special Branch Division 3 of the Police Department visited her family in Nong Khai Province<sup>xxix</sup>.

After that incident, she participated in the One Year after the Coup's event on the 22nd of May 2015 leading to an arrest warrant being issued and her being taken into custody again

on the 24th of June 2015. A bail request was submitted but the court ruled to have her incarcerated in a men's facility although a request was submitted to the military court for the incarceration to be carried out in a women's facility. This was turned down on the grounds of her birth gender being male and there are no Laws provided for transexuals to be seen as their chosen gender. While in prison, she was the recipient of verbal abuse, constant threats by male inmates and continuous body searches by the male officers which required her to strip naked. This is only one of numerous examples of how a tranwoman suspect in custody would be treated as a male inmate in Thailand<sup>xxx</sup>.

### **Recommendations**

62. Provide legal security to enable LGBT activists who are also HRDs to carry out their work for the protection and promotion of human rights.
63. Establish national policies and strategic implementations to guarantee rights, build awareness, and eliminate stigmatization, bias and stereotyping.
64. Stimulate Gender Recognition objectively and concretely.
65. Create Gender Sensitivity widely, within all contexts and segments of society.
66. Integrate said issues with other propelling rights, i.e., economic, political, social and cultural rights, as Human Rights.

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<sup>i</sup> United Nations Development Programme report, "**Being LGBT in Asia: Thailand Country Report: A Participatory Review and Analysis of the Legal and Social Environment for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) Persons and Civil Society**", page 8, 2014, available at: [https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1861/Being\\_LGBT\\_in\\_Asia\\_Thailand\\_Country\\_Report.pdf](https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1861/Being_LGBT_in_Asia_Thailand_Country_Report.pdf)

<sup>ii</sup> <http://www.bangkokpost.com/news/general/683196/gender-act-loophole-denies-equality>

<sup>iii</sup> Panel spokesman Kamnoon Sittisamarn said the new measure would ensure all sexual identities were protected under the constitution and treated equally by the law. "We are putting the words 'third gender' in the constitution because Thai society has advanced," he told Reuters. "There are not only men and women, we need to protect all sexes. We consider all sexes to be equal." Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand (2015, draft), <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/01/15/thailand-politics-idUSL3N0UU1BS20150115>

<sup>iv</sup> <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-34149523>

<sup>v</sup> The Asian NGO Network on National Human Rights Institutions (ANNI), **2013 ANNI Report on the Performance and Establishment of National Human Rights Institutions in Asia**, page 85, 2014, available at: <http://www.forum-asia.org/uploads/books/2013/ANNI%202013-FINAL.pdf>

<sup>vi</sup> United Nations Development Programme report, page 8, 2014, available at: [https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1861/Being\\_LGBT\\_in\\_Asia\\_Thailand\\_Country\\_Report.pdf](https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1861/Being_LGBT_in_Asia_Thailand_Country_Report.pdf)

<sup>vii</sup> International Labour Organisation, **Discrimination at Work on the Basis of Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity: Results of Pilot Research**, 2013, available at: [http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---asia/---ro-bangkok/---sro-bangkok/documents/publication/wcms\\_356950.pdf](http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---asia/---ro-bangkok/---sro-bangkok/documents/publication/wcms_356950.pdf)

<sup>viii</sup> <http://www.bangkokpost.com/news/special-reports/584465/trapped-beneath-the-transgender-glass-ceiling>

<sup>ix</sup> International Labour Organisation, available at: [http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---asia/---ro-bangkok/---sro-bangkok/documents/publication/wcms\\_356950.pdf](http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---asia/---ro-bangkok/---sro-bangkok/documents/publication/wcms_356950.pdf)

<sup>x</sup> <http://www.prachatai.com/english/node/5185>

<sup>xi</sup> Petition No. 433/2558 of the Nation Human Right Commission.

<sup>xii</sup> <http://www.thailawforum.com/database1/marriage-law-thailand.html>

<sup>xiii</sup> <http://nypost.com/2015/02/27/thai-throuple-believed-to-be-worlds-first-gay-married-trio/>

<sup>xiv</sup> <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/20/gay-parents-fight-to-leave-thailand-with-surrogate-baby-daughter>

<sup>xv</sup> Mahidol University, Plan International, UNESCO, Page 82  
<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0022/002275/227518e.pdf>

<sup>xvi</sup> Mahidol University, Plan International, UNESCO, Page 82  
<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0022/002275/227518e.pdf>

<sup>xvii</sup> [www.tearongnamcha.org/artical/2015-02](http://www.tearongnamcha.org/artical/2015-02)

<sup>xviii</sup> Outdated textbooks and a lax content approval system ensures the confusion regarding LGBT issues in Thai schools continues, Published: 29/09/2014, <http://www.bangkokpost.com/print/434916/>

<sup>xix</sup> <http://www.pinknews.co.uk/2015/06/10/top-thai-university-changes-uniform-guidelines-to-accommodate-trans-students/>

<sup>xx</sup> <http://bangkok.coconuts.co/2015/03/05/thairath-blasted-calling-lgbt-sexual-deviants>

<sup>xxi</sup> United Nations Development Programme report, available at [http://www.asia-pacific.undp.org/content/dam/rbap/docs/Research%20&%20Publications/hiv\\_aids/rbap-hhd-2014-blia-thailand-country-report-thai.pdf](http://www.asia-pacific.undp.org/content/dam/rbap/docs/Research%20&%20Publications/hiv_aids/rbap-hhd-2014-blia-thailand-country-report-thai.pdf)

<sup>xxii</sup> <http://www.nationmultimedia.com/opinion/Thailands-SMART-LADY-has-emerged-30215115.html>

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- <sup>xxiii</sup> <http://www.prachatai.com/english/node/5082>
- <sup>xxiv</sup> <http://www.prachatai.com/english/node/3690>
- <sup>xxv</sup> <https://asianhrds.forum-asia.org/?event-violation=sexual-orientation-and-gender-identity>
- <sup>xxvi</sup> National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO)
- <sup>xxvii</sup> <http://www.prachatai.com/english/node/5082>
- <sup>xxviii</sup> <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2014/11/five-arrested-the-hunger-games-three-finger-salute-thailand/383020/>
- <sup>xxix</sup> <http://www.prachatai.com/english/node/4598>
- <sup>xxx</sup> <http://www.prachatai.com/english/node/5224>