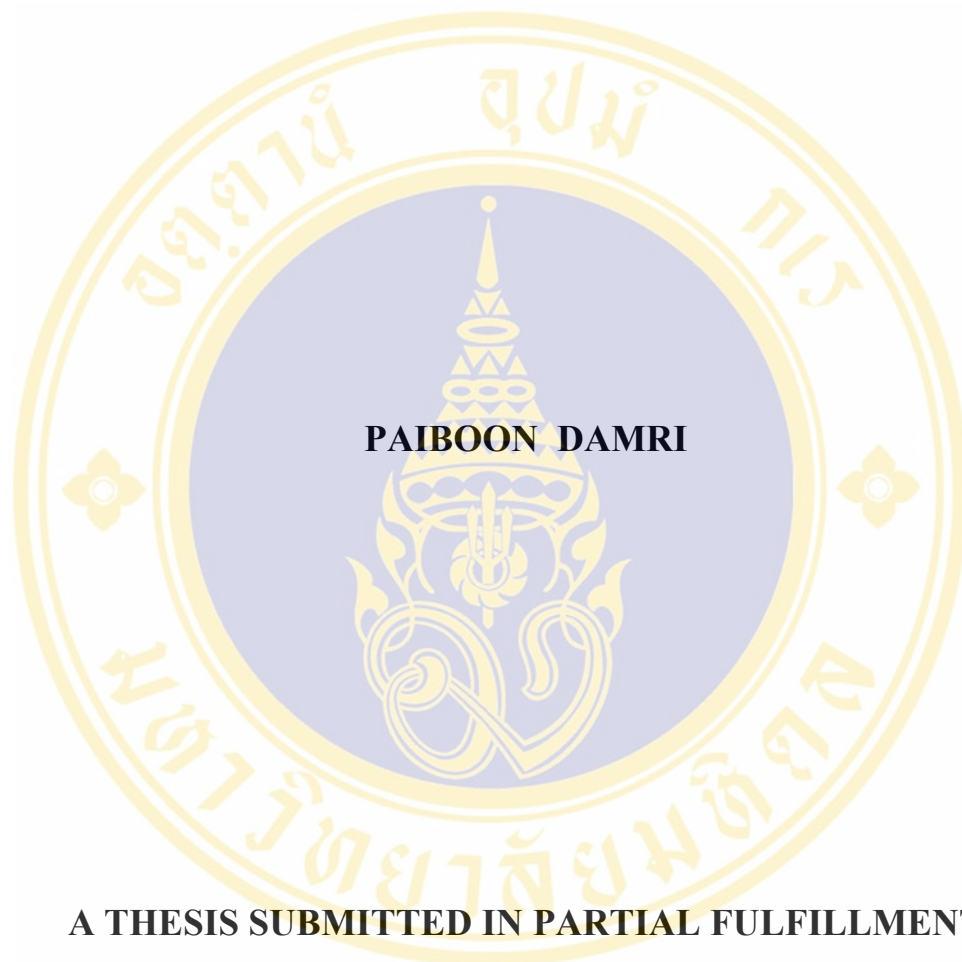


**THE PROCESS OF HOMOSEXUAL EXCHANGE
OF YOUTH IN MAHA SARAOKHAM**



**A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
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(POPULATION EDUCATION)
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**Thesis
entitled**

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OF YOUTH IN MAHA SARAKHAM**

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ABSTRACT

This research was done to analyze the sequential process that leads to homosexual exchange by studying the contexts important to making decisions in each stage. The research was qualitative in nature, with the sample group consisting of 11 male youths who engage in homosexual exchange. Data collection was done through the use of in-depth interview, while data analysis was done through analytical induction.

It was found that most people in the sample group were aged 17 years, were still studying at Matthayomsuksa level, and had divorced parents. The sample group lived with their mothers, most of whom owned small family businesses. They received an allowance of about 20 – 60 baht each day. They had had homosexual exchange during a period of at least four months to at most three years.

Research results showed the process of homosexual exchange of male youths in three sequential stages, as follows:

Beginning stage: The start of the process – The sample group had homosexual experiences with transvestites and defined homosexual exchange positively, receiving more sexual pleasure from them than heterosexual sex, plus also getting income. They define themselves positively by differentiating themselves from transvestites, gays, homosexuals, male prostitutes, and male child prostitutes. They also perceived the homosexual exchange occurring in their community, and the close friend had this activity which was supportive in their decision to engage in homosexual exchange.

Continuing stage: The stage of socializing into group networks – The sample group had perceived social pressure but also knew how to neutralize the guilty feelings they felt by rationalizing their homosexual exchange as an appropriate way for a student to make good money and as being less disgraceful than prostitution. This therefore became a motivation for continued homosexual exchange. The sample group was socialized into necessary skills, such as homosexual exchange techniques, protection against AIDS, and the ideals and norms of the group. One of the norms was to keep the homosexual exchange secret in order to continue finding sexual pleasure. The second norm was to not always use homosexual exchange to make money, thus differentiating the group from prostitutes. Social influence from the group's network fostered feelings of closeness and warmth, which were supportive of continued homosexual exchange.

Maintaining stage: Regular engagement in homosexual exchange – Several factors enabled the male youths to maintain in homosexual exchange: the influence from each male youth's network and the client's network; the secrecy of their exchange, while continuing their daily lives; their denial of the stereotype of the "running kid," a mark of stigma; and their primarily secret practice of "deviant" behavior. In their expectations of the future some of the male youths expected to have rich clients, some desired to have clients of the same age, and some wanted someone to talk nicely to them. For future plans, some of the sample group wanted to study and get as high as a bachelor's degree, whereas others just wanted a professional certificate in order to work, marry, and cease their homosexual exchange.

KEY WORDS : HOMOSEXUAL EXCHANGE / YOUTH / MAHA SARAOKHAM

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กระบวนการแลกเปลี่ยนรักร่วมเพศของเยาวชนชายในจังหวัดมหาสารคาม (THE PROCESS OF HOMOSEXUAL EXCHANGE OF YOUTH IN MAHA SARAKHAM)

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บทคัดย่อ

การวิจัยมีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่อวิเคราะห์กระบวนการที่นำไปสู่แบบแผนการแลกเปลี่ยนรักร่วมเพศ โดยศึกษาสภาพการณ์สำคัญที่เป็นเงื่อนไขในการตัดสินใจเข้าสู่แต่ละขั้นตอน เป็นการวิจัยเชิงคุณภาพ กลุ่มตัวอย่างเป็นเยาวชนชายที่มีพฤติกรรมแลกเปลี่ยนรักร่วมเพศ จำนวน 11 คน เก็บข้อมูลโดยวิธีสัมภาษณ์เชิงลึก และวิเคราะห์ข้อมูลแบบอุปนัยเชิงวิเคราะห์

พบว่ากลุ่มตัวอย่างส่วนใหญ่อายุ 17 ปี กำลังศึกษาในระดับมัธยมศึกษาตอนต้นและตอนปลาย บิดามารดาหย่าร้างกัน กลุ่มตัวอย่างอาศัยอยู่กับมารดาซึ่งมีอาชีพทำธุรกิจเล็กๆ ภายในครอบครัว ได้รับเงินค่าใช้จายเป็นรายวันๆ ละ 20-60 บาท มีพฤติกรรมแลกเปลี่ยนรักร่วมเพศ ตั้งแต่ 4 เดือน ถึง 3 ปี

ผลการวิจัยแสดงให้เห็นกระบวนการแลกเปลี่ยนรักร่วมเพศ มีลักษณะเป็นลำดับต่อเนื่อง 3 ขั้นตอน ดังนี้
ขั้นเริ่มต้นของกระบวนการ กลุ่มตัวอย่างมีประสบการณ์รักร่วมเพศกับกะเทย แล้วให้ความหมายการรักร่วมเพศในเชิงบวก คือ ให้ความสุขทางเพศมากกว่ารักต่างเพศ และให้รายได้ กลุ่มตัวอย่างนิยมตนเองในเชิงบวกเช่นกัน คือ ปราศจากเอกลักษณ์กะเทย เกย์ พวกรักร่วมเพศ ผู้ชายและเด็กชายตัว กลุ่มตัวอย่างรับรู้ว่ามีพฤติกรรมรักร่วมเพศในชุมชนเพื่อการแลกเปลี่ยน และรับรู้ว่าเป็นสนธิสัมพันธ์พฤติกรรมนี้ จึงเอื้อต่อการตัดสินใจแลกเปลี่ยนรักร่วมเพศครั้งแรก

ขั้นสืบเนื่องการแลกเปลี่ยนรักร่วมเพศ กลุ่มตัวอย่างปรับตัวเข้ากับกลุ่มย่อยโดยลดอิทธิพลการควบคุมทางสังคมลง ด้วยการอธิบายความสมเหตุสมผลของการแลกเปลี่ยนรักร่วมเพศ ว่าเหมาะสมกับสถานภาพนักเรียนนักศึกษา ได้เงินค่าตอบแทนสูง มีความน่ารังเกียจน้อยกว่ากลุ่มผู้ค้าประเวณี ซึ่งเป็นแรงจูงใจให้แลกเปลี่ยนรักร่วมเพศครั้งต่อไป กลุ่มตัวอย่างได้รับการขัดเกลาโดยใช้สื่อวีดิทัศน์ วีซีดี และการขัดเกลาจากสมาชิกเครือข่ายและลูกค้า เรียนรู้เทคนิคการแลกเปลี่ยนรักร่วมเพศ การป้องกันโรคเอดส์ ภูมิคุ้มกันฯ คำนิยาม อุดมการณ์และบรรทัดฐานกลุ่ม ซึ่งได้แก่ ชำรงการแลกเปลี่ยนรักร่วมเพศเป็นความลับ เพราะทำให้สามารถแสวงหาความสุขทางเพศต่อไปได้ และการไม่หาเงินพัวพันหรือซึ่งมีความแตกต่างจากกลุ่มผู้ค้าประเวณี การขัดเกลาก่อให้เกิดความมั่นคงต่อการเป็นสมาชิกเครือข่าย เป็นแรงสนับสนุนให้แลกเปลี่ยนรักร่วมเพศต่อไปเป็นนิจสิน

ขั้นชำระการแลกเปลี่ยนรักร่วมเพศ มีเงื่อนไขสนับสนุน ได้แก่ เครือข่ายกลุ่มตัวอย่าง และเครือข่ายลูกค้า ช่วยแนะนำ จัดหาลูกค้า กลุ่มตัวอย่างปรับการดำเนินชีวิตประจำวันสอดคล้องและปกปิดการมีพฤติกรรมแลกเปลี่ยนรักร่วมเพศ การไม่ยอมรับเอกลักษณ์ “เด็กวัง” กลุ่มตัวอย่างคาดหวังให้ลูกค้าเป็นกลุ่มคนร่ำรวย เพื่อจะมีโอกาสได้รับเงินเพิ่มขึ้น คาดหวังให้ลูกค้าเป็นกลุ่มวัยรุ่นเพื่อให้คนทั่วไปมองว่าเป็นความสัมพันธ์แบบเพื่อน และคาดหวังให้ลูกค้าพูดจาสุภาพ กลุ่มตัวอย่างวางแผนอนาคตเรียนสำเร็จระดับปริญญาตรี หรืออย่างต่ำระดับประกาศนียบัตรวิชาชีพชั้นสูงแล้วทำงาน เมื่อแต่งงานแล้วจะเลิกพฤติกรรมแลกเปลี่ยนรักร่วมเพศ

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. Rationale and justification

Prostitution has existed since ancient times. In the lifetime of Buddha it was considered an honest job. Prostitutes were respected and had high status. In Greek and Roman eras, prostitution took place in the church, which considered it as one kind of religious ritual. Prostitutes did not receive compensation from prostitution and all money would be used for religious activities so they would receive high virtue. The same kind of prostitution was found in many countries in North Africa, West Asia, and the Western Islands zones. It was only later that there was compensation for prostitution. For example, there was brothel in Athens where the prostitutes and owner received compensation, but all profits still went to support religion. At the time, it was a legal activity. Prostitution has been in Thai society ever since the ancient period as well. It can be seen from old inscriptions of laws, such as the one from the Ayudhya period that talked about prostitutes. During Rama V's reign in the Chakri Dynasty, the number of prostitutes increased tremendously because female slaves volunteered to be prostitutes. The problems in this period included the spread of venereal diseases, fighting between male travelers, and the luring of female to be prostitutes. Therefore, the Diseases Travel Act was used in the 127th year of the Rathanakosin Era to solve problems and control government benefits that should be received from prostitution tax, called "Street Maintenance Tax". Prostitution was legal during the period. Afterward, there were protests against female and child trade all over the world via the United Nations, which stated that prostitution caused disgrace and that female and child trade, slave trade, kidnapping, molestation of women, and forcing women into prostitution were unethical. Thailand was a member of the United Nations so the Diseases Travel Act of the Rathanakosin Era had to be cancelled and the Suppression of Prostitution Act announced in 1960 instead. It defined prostitution as "willingly accepting sex or willingly accepting any activity to satisfy others' sexual needs for

payment, no matter whether the receiver and actor are the same or different gender” (Institute for Population and Social Research, Mahidol University, 1994: 138-139; Supatra Supharb, 1992: 67-69). Prostitution has been illegal ever since. The above definition of prostitution shows that prostitutes were not only female but male as well, with clients who were both female and male. Nowadays, the act has been cancelled and the Prostitution Prevention and Suppression Act came into use in 1996 instead. The meaning of prostitution was still the same, with both male and female clients.

Child prostitution occurred from sexual strange and exceptional preferences of males. Thai society accepts the promiscuity of males, with the value of males being dominant in society (Orathai Ard-am et al., In Orathai Ard-am and Chanya Sethaput, Eds., 1994: 11-12). Young adults and children have a “fresh and new” character to them. Clients feel safe from AIDS when using their service instead of adult prostitutes. They also think that chance of getting robbed is less. Therefore, young female prostitutes were popular for sex travelers. Sexual preferences then changed to even stranger ways, so prostitution was expanded to young males (Wallop Tangkananurak, 1992: 98-100). The government tried to intervene in the child prostitution problem by using the Child Prostitute Elimination Strategy in 1992. The government had announced the policy to solve child prostitutes. In 1994, the government gave clearer policies and problem-solving about children in the sex business, saying there was a need to eliminate child prostitutes; children in the sex business must be reduced and eliminated from the country (The National Women Coordinating and Encouragement Committee Bureau and the United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund, 1994: 12). From the child prostitute elimination policy, the government proceeded in many aspects to prevent and solve this problem, such as expanded education opportunities, occupational skill training, promotions in work for disabled people, arrests and suppression, helping and developing social services, and improving the law. The present sex value in Thailand is that males have power over females, with females existing to satisfy male sexual needs (Schur, 1984: 110-111). Therefore, a male has the right to “use sexual service” rather than “give sexual service”. The government has proceeded in many aspects to prevent child prostitutes, including the restraining of male child prostitution (although male child prostitution was always found in the media). The direct type of male youth prostitutions can be found include

brothels, and indirect types are hotels, bungalows, guesthouses, beer bars, gay bars, a-go-go, discotheques, night clubs, pubs, karaoke, cocktail lounge, sauna, coffee shops, cafés, restaurants, salons, through calling a phone number, and wandering (Communicable Diseases Control Department, the Ministry of Public Health, 2002: A1). The main causes of prostitution in male youths were having poor family and lack of family warmth that drove them into wanderers and earn their own living (Kamol Rodkhilai, et al., 1997: 123; Wanchai Rujnawong, 1999: 14, 16) and the desire to have sex pleasure (Tawikoon Manyaporn, 1994: 82) which made many male youths voluntarily become prostitutes because they feel that prostitution is an honest job where a person gets money fast for an easy job (Prakob Sriwajana, 1994: 84) an easy job, get more money and men can do too (Kittikun Angkasai, 1997: 244). Because of their desire for money, it is the male child prostitutes who would do anything for the clients.

It is currently found that male youths have a new sexual behavior. That is, they have homosexual relationships with transvestites in the form of half-sex service. Transvestites buy sex services and male youths sell the service. Male youths are not lured to sell sex service. They are not wanderers but still stay with families and are studying. The behavior of this type does not occur directly or indirectly in the sex service place like before. Transvestites use their houses or dormitory rooms for such a service. They do this secretly and none of them has ever been arrested for the behavior mentioned. Male youths occasionally receive money for their sex services this way, depending on whether the transvestites have money or not. Even so, these male youths have been satisfied with homosexual activities. The main goal of having homosexual relationships is not for money but for sexual satisfaction these male youths can have. The fact that male youths choose to have homosexual behavior indicates the form they are satisfied with. This is because persons seek their most satisfaction or choose to interact with those who can respond to their needs. That is, transvestites can respond to the needs of male youths. Such respond is in the form of “reciprocity.” And if the transvestites can return appropriate satisfaction to male youths as expected, this will be regarded as “exchange” (Olsen, 1978: 91). Therefore, homosexual relationships this way is “exchange” with reciprocity. In addition, the fact that male youths have had homosexual relationships up to the present indicates

that they accept such exchange. This implies that the exchange is right and fair (Blau, 1964: 92-95). Since homosexual intercourses are relationships between males and males, it is not identified or determined who is the “active” and who is the “passive.” It depends on satisfaction or agreement. However, the compensation or money occasionally received show that it is not determined exactly and certainly whether to pay or to receive the money or not. Exchange without fixed criteria between things to barter and compensation this way is “social exchange” (Olsen, 1978: 93). So, homosexual relationships of male youths and transvestites are a kind of social exchange. In this case it is called “homosexual exchange” in the type of reciprocity and fairness. Both male youths and transvestites are satisfied in return. Homosexual exchange is an interesting behavior to study because it is a new type of sexual relationship occurring in male youths. There are similarities and differences between the homosexual exchange type and the sex service type.

It was found that male students in Maha Sarakham have had homosexual exchange. The researcher did a preliminary study by asking 5 men who liked having sex with other male youths. Two informants gave information regarding homosexual exchange, saying there were dozens of male youths involved. Three informants who were male but acted rather girly felt that the number should be closer to “hundreds”. Maha Sarakham is an “Educational City”, with educational institutes at every level and every type, both private and governmental. Some young people from other countries come to study here, especially in the Muang district. Finding male students who have this behavior interested the researcher and made wonder why and how these occurring evolved. There was also the issue of creating a sequential model that reflected the real experiences or perspectives of young males. This research therefore began taking shape to study “The Process of Homosexual Exchange of Youth in Maha Sarakham” by using a qualitative approach through symbolic interactionism, social exchange theory, deviant behavior, and Howard S. Becker’s sequential model of deviance to analyze this research.

2. Research objective

This research was done to analyze the sequential process that leads to homosexual exchange by studying the important conditional contexts that would support the decision making in each stage.

3. Research questions

This research would like to answer the following questions:

3.1 Before entering in homosexual exchange process, what contexts arose where the male youths defined and interpreted them, and what contexts would encourage the male youths to decide to the first exchange?

3.2 When entering in the beginning stage, what contexts must be met for going on to the next stage? Which contexts are supportive and which are obstacle conditions to homosexual activity? How would these conditions be given importance in deciding to continue the homosexual exchange. The rationalization, socialization to subculture, including homosexual techniques, ideals and norms, would be studied as well.

3.3 Contexts necessary for maintaining homosexual exchange:

3.3.1 The networks for homosexual exchange, what are they composed of, and how are they related?

3.3.2 The management of problems and obstacles in their daily life, how do they do when interact with others outside the subculture?

3.3.3 If they have stigma, how do they deal with those?

3.3.4 The expectation to homosexual exchange, to clients, and their future plans, what contents are they?

4. Benefits

Researching the process of homosexual exchange in young men was done in personal level and had never been studied before. The study would give importance to the opinions and experiences of young males by focusing on the analysis of defining and interpreting homosexual exchange, the definitions and interpretations of the sample group themselves, followed the various conditioning contexts respectively. All of these are important factors in deciding to enter the next stage in the process of

homosexual exchange. This research therefore contains new contents. The research results would be beneficial in establishing policies, projects, the prevention of and solving the deviant sexual behavior in young men in the area studied.

5. Scope of the research

This research is qualitative in nature and follows the natural line of inquiry in order to get information from 11 young men who enter in homosexual exchange and live in Muang district, Maha Sarakham. The contents of study include the definitions and interpretations of homosexual exchange, the definitions and interpretations of the sample group themselves and various contexts according to the important conditions that support or repress decision making in various stages in the homosexual exchange process. Creating familiarity with the sample group resulted in earning their trust, which enabled the researcher to receive much honest information from the perspective of sample group by the use of in-depth interviews in major and some observations, which would be analyzed by the symbolic interactionism, the social exchange theory, the deviant behavior, and Howard S. Becker's sequential model of deviance.

6. Research definition

This research used a naturalistic inquiry, which gave importance to the experiences of young men. The definitions in this section are therefore the definitions formed from the sample group's opinions or perspectives.

Transvestites – men who want to be women and act girly, such as walking with their hips sashaying or talking in high voices. Teenaged transvestites usually dress like girls, such as wearing girly clothes and make-up. Adult transvestites would clothe themselves normally as men; some of the men have gone through surgery to make them women. Transvestites want boyfriends who are real men.

Gays – men who are real men (they do not act girly). Gays dress normally but want other men as boyfriends.

Homosexuals – men who love other men and want them as a boyfriends, such as transvestites and gays. Homosexuals include those who are the boyfriends of transvestites and gays.

Male prostitutes – male transvestites, some of them are “sex fiends” and want to have sex with men, or men who want a lot of money in order to buy expensive items and therefore prostitute themselves.

Male child prostitutes – male children who want money in order to buy unnecessary things that their parents won't pay for, or those who want money because their regular jobs pay too little. Some children prostitute themselves because they were tricked or tempted, or are naughty and ran away from home.



CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

This research focuses on analyzing individuals who enter in homosexual exchange as the actors on the foundation of the individuals' definition for and interpretation of the exchange. Therefore, the symbolic interactionism was used as a guideline to analysis. The research also placed importance on the individuals' reasons in considering homosexual exchange, which has become the alternative where they receive the most satisfaction, and integrated it with the social exchange theory. Because homosexuality is not considered a normal sexual orientation, the researcher also included deviant behavior in analysis. The research analyzed homosexuality in the form of its process development, and therefore Howard S. Becker's sequential model of deviance was used in understanding the process of homosexuality. At present there is no research done on homosexual exchange; the researcher thus had to review studies regarding process of prostitution that used the basic premises of symbolic interactionism as a foundation, combined with deviant behavior and Howard S. Becker's the sequential model of deviance in those studies.

1. Symbolic interactionism

Symbolic interactionism is a major principle of interpretive sociology or the sociology of everyday life, which emphasizes the importance of subjective meaning in organizing the social structure of everyday life. The sociology of everyday life is a theory that focuses on receiving experience, on observing, understanding, talking, analyzing, and communicating with people experiencing various situations naturally, free from the machinations of the researcher. The research will try to understand and analyze these social situations from society members to see their feelings, thoughts, beliefs, and values in a certain situation. Put simply, it is to see the common sense meaning and their everyday life meaning of members of society (Pongswat

Swatdipong, 1995: 1; Schwandt, In Denzin & Lincoln, Eds., 1994: 124-126). The root of symbolic interactionism comes from George Herbert Mead, a philosopher from the University of Chicago who lived around 1863–1913, along with other pioneer thinkers such as John Dewey, William James, Charles Pierce, William Thomas, and Charles Cooley Mead. There were many articles written but what had the most impact for this theory would have been the classroom lectures and the notes written by students. Herbert Blumer, a student, further distributed the theory and was given the honor of being the father of symbolic interactionism because he coined the two words himself (Pongswat Swatdipong, 1995: 1; Sutep Suntornpesat, 1997: 186-191).

Symbolic interactionism consists of the following 3 assumptions (Blumer, 1962 cited by Pongswat Swatdipong, 1995: 1-2):

1. Human society is composed of individuals who have a sense of self, which means “the ability to be an object to oneself.” That is, humans have the ability to do things towards themselves just like they do to others, such as perceiving, indicating, and interpreting materials and situations themselves.
2. The actions of individuals are not released because of natural forces but as a result of the desires of the individuals from noting and from interpreting the situations that the individuals have created.
3. A joint act or a group act is the result of an integrated action by individuals to each other, from the way each individual interprets and considers the impact of the action on each other.

From these assumptions, individuals are actors and indicators. Indication is an internal social process, meaning the actor is communicating with himself. Blumer (1969: 10-12) explained symbolic interactionism that “worlds” which were shown to humans consisted of “objects” that were the result of symbolic interactionism. An object is anything that can be indicated: tangible objects, such as people or buildings, and intangible objects, such as feelings and values. The nature of objects would consist of the meaning it has for particular individuals. One object can therefore have meanings that are similar or different, depending on the individual. Therefore, when the environment is full of objects that individuals can give meaning to, the human world becomes a meaningful world in the interpretive process that individuals learn

from society. Interpretation is therefore a way of dealing meanings to features and processes that individuals can choose, evaluate, organize, stop, act on, or change, according to the situations they face. The actors can establish the direction of the desired action.

The 3 basic principles of symbolic interactionism can be summarized as follows (Blumer, 1969: 2-5):

1. Human being act toward things on the basis of the meanings they have for them.
2. The meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction one has with one's fellows.
3. These meanings are handled in, and modified through an interpretive process used by the person in dealing with the things he encounters.

From these principles, the actions of humans are not dependent on situational conditions, social roles, norms, values, or other things but based on the meanings given to objects and the arrangement of actions towards those objects. For example, to explain why a man will behave toward a boy as though the boy was a prostitute, the explanation would start from the meaning of the boy to the man. The meaning is not established in advance by the man, but will occur between interactions between the two of them. The behavior that the boy expresses such as his words and actions would be construed as the behavior of a prostitute if they were similar to other experiences the man has had with prostitutes. Other people may not construe the boy as being a prostitute because they have no experience with male prostitutes. This process of giving meaning changes all the time according to situations. The adjustment is a process of interpretation that affects an individual's actions. For example, if a man who has had experience in dealing with male child prostitutes goes to his friend's house and sees his friend's son acting like a prostitute, the man will tend to think less that the boy is a prostitute than if he had seen the boy elsewhere. Although the man will tell himself that the boy's behavior is that of a prostitute, the boy is the son of the man's friend and therefore this will lead to an adjustment when placing meaning to the boy's behavior, which would be that the actions are not damaging. The way the man acts will be consistent with the new meaning. The main principle of this theory is that

the social world of humans does not consist of various objects that have true intrinsic meanings, but that the meanings of the various objects would depend on the interpretation of the humans toward those things, which humans learn from interactions with others. According to this view, humans do not follow social roles but choose their actions consciously all the time. Social actions are a process of adjusting actions so they are integrated, as each person will act according to how he interprets others' actions.

This research uses symbolic interactionism for analysis in order to understand the definition of homosexual exchange and the definition of themselves according to the experiences of the sample group, as well as understanding about the interpretation of homosexual exchange and themselves when various contexts occur. The results of definition and interpretation are conditions in which the sample group decided to enter into the various stages in the process of homosexual exchange.

2. Social exchange theory

The social exchange theory states that humans use rationality, that the actions of humans are dependent on things they feel are an efficient means to reach goals. Humans strive for the highest satisfaction, such as keeping their existing relationships if they believe that the rewards are greater than the costs. They will also choose things that they feel are utilitarian. Exchange is a social process. Individuals enter into an exchange process for self-oriented reasons; however, as time passes, this will develop into a collective orientation. For exchange in everyday life to occur, individuals must be under 3 basic principles: individual who perceives the opportunity for exchange; an individual who acts upon the exchange; and an exchange where both parties benefit (Wallace & Wolf, 1995: 279).

The social exchange theory has the following assumptions regarding social actors and various activities (Olsen, 1978: 91):

1. Social actors will interact with others able to fulfill their desires or help them in reaching their goals
2. All actions create cost to the actor, such as waste of time, energy, or other resources

3. Social actors will try to control this cost so that it is in the same or in a lesser proportion than the outcome or benefit received from that action.

4. When choosing between alternative courses of action, the actor will choose the course that gives the most benefit at the lowest cost

5. Actors will stop actions that have a higher cost than benefit received.

Exchange is divided into 2 major categories (Wallace & Wolf, 1995: 322), which are social exchange and economic exchange. Social exchange differ from economic exchange in that the value of the benefits or things exchanged will not be set nor will the conditions of the exchange be clearly established, but the obligation will become a social exchange obligation which does not have a set form or time of exchange. Social exchange builds trust between individuals and joins individuals into a social group. As it is hard for individuals to measure and assess the value of what they are exchanging, exchange tend to start with small things and slowly develop into larger things as trust develops. Therefore, social exchange will create trust in social relationships through repeated exchange that expand from small things, which is the norm of reciprocity that states that if one individual gives something to another, the receiver will feel an obligation toward the giver and will give something back so the feeling of obligation will cease. This establishes the exchange transaction, where an infringement will result in a sanction or an end to the relationship. Economic exchange are those where the value of what is exchanged is clearly stated. The obligation is a contractual one, with negotiations set to establish the conditions of exchange. In social exchange, the exchange back cannot be negotiated; the benefit or thing exchanged might not be in the form of objects but in the form of social interactions or in the reflection of feelings, such as respect or friendship. Economic exchange have negotiations with money as a medium of exchange; the value of the exchange is dependent on the object used in the exchange.

Olsen (1978: 93) concluded that when someone gives something to another in the hopes that he will receive back something desired, once the other person gives him something suitable, the exchange transaction is said to have taken place. Social transactions are different from economic transactions in the following 4 ways:

1. Social transactions are not dependent only on quantitative mediums such as money
2. In social transactions, one party cannot establish clearly what the other party must give back in order to be considered equal, whereas in economic transactions, each party will enter in an exchange where the quantity and conditions are clearly and equally set.
3. Social transactions will use less rationality than economic transactions. That is, in the social life of humans, individuals may not be able to find information about the benefits or costs for the alternative actions, or cannot calculate the benefits and costs that would be received from choosing a certain alternative each time.
4. In social transactions, actors will not consider the highest and the lowest benefits but will consider the benefits and costs they can accept – that is, they will consider what is satisfying instead of considering the maximizing principle.

Because satisfying human desires is usually dependent on interactions with others, such as desires for sex, love, professional success, and family happiness, individuals therefore have need for exchange. This need to communicate with others will feature exchange between individuals; these exchange are the starting point for creating a norm in which both parties must be giver and receiver or satisfy each other's desires. Because of human rationality, this would also have to be a norm of fair exchange in order to be maintained (Olsen, 1978: 262). Blau (1964: 92-95) suggested that at the beginning of exchange, the norm would take little importance. Put another way, at the beginning of human exchange, there need not be a norm but once the exchange have formed into the next step, both parties must create a norm together. Therefore if there is a norm of fair exchange, both parties would be more likely to adhere to the norm and increase interactions with each other. Blau created some ground rules for exchange by stating that exchange should be voluntary, that the actors hope for benefits from the other party, and will choose one alternative from many in behaving in order to get the highest social benefit he can from the interaction. What individuals most want from a social exchange is not money or materials but esteem, compliance of others to one's wishes, social approval, and money, respectively. Whether the exchange will be a long-term one depends on the fairness of

the exchange, whether it was according to expectations. It cannot be measured from the price of the exchange, because a social exchange is different from an economic exchange in that it is more complex. In any case, Blau used economic theories to explain the pricing level or the value individuals place on exchange. He felt that the social exchange rate depended on two important principles, one of which is demand and supply. If demand is high but supply is low, the price of the item would be high. The second principle is the timeframe for receiving the item. The more time that is available, the lower the price of the item will be. The assessment of the price or value of the exchanged items is dependent on the social roles of the individuals in the exchange, by comparing the benefits gotten with the costs. If an individual feels that the benefits outweigh the costs, approval of the exchange takes place. Therefore a sense of fairness in the exchange can be considered from the approval of the exchange from both parties. If any of the parties violates the norm of fair exchange or if one of the individuals feels that the exchange is not balanced or fair, disapproval will ensue.

Humans create social relationships because humans desire many things in life that they cannot supply by themselves, which makes it necessary to depend on others for help in fulfilling these desires. Everyone wants knowing and unknowing benefits that would satisfy them from social relationships. Individuals who maintain a relationship do so because both parties receive benefits that they are satisfied with. It can be said that normal social interactions are actually exchange where social actors exchange items and services, both material and immaterial items, such as food, residence, acceptance, and consideration. In explaining how social actors interact with each other, the theory suggests looking at the actors as rational decision-makers, where they would decide whether to enter in an exchange when they have considered the benefits and costs of that action, and then choose the method that is most attractive or most beneficial. In any case, in exchange like this sometimes the individual does not expect the highest benefit. It might be something that the individual can accept or a benefit that they are satisfied with, depending on the norm of fair exchange.

This research uses the social exchange theory in its study in order to analyze the homosexual exchange in the sample group. In making the decision to choose this type of behavior even though it goes against social norms, what do they receive in

return and from whom in what capacity; what are the rules and conditions which make them satisfied with homosexual exchange behavior?

3. Deviant behavior

Deviant behavior is divided into 2 definitive thoughts (Jessor, 1968: 23-36):

First, deviance is defined as departure from social norms. In this case, social norms are shared expectations of what is right for members of society. It is used as an indicator of what behavior is right and what is deviant. Individuals who do not follow the norm will create a social response.

Second, deviance is socially defined behavior, such as:

Becker (1963: 9) stated that deviant behavior meant behavior that has been marked by a social audience; the deviance is therefore a result from others' reaction to the action of that individual.

Goode (1978: 163) stated that deviance meant the behavior of a group of individuals that is considered so dangerous or shameful that the perpetrators need to be punished.

Rubington & Weinberg (1987: 2) felt that the feature of deviance was not dependent on internal features or the context of the action but dependent on the external features that have been set or "marked" as such; that is, the reaction of others towards that action.

For the first definition of deviant behavior, the focus is on social norms as a gauge in judging what behavior is deviant. The second definition focuses interest on the "social audience" as the assessing body and definers of what is deviant behavior. Because of this difference, the study of deviant behavior has 2 perspectives:

3.1 Normative perspective

From this perspective, the stand on considering what is deviant depends on whether it violates social norms. The rules or standards to define deviant behavior therefore come from social norms, which refer to rules or expectations of behavior for members of a society. This perspective feels that there is a social consensus or agreement because there is order in society, thus there is a consensus on

appropriate behavior that is consistent with the expectations of members. The consensus is shown by social norms, which are rules used to guide predictable behavior. Behavior that violates norms is called deviant behavior. Deviants are those who violate the consensus of social norms. In this study of deviant behavior, importance is placed on individuals who violate the norm, focusing on finding explanations on why the behavior is different from the norm.

3.2 Relativistic perspective

The relativistic perspective is a study of deviance that gives importance to the fact that social life has diversity and complexity, and therefore judging an individual's behavior by way of social consensus is not based on truth. Individuals or groups compete and have conflicts with each other for self benefit more than any collective orientation. Therefore, human behavior cannot be a result of consensus but from compromises of self benefit from both parties, or as a result of the party with more authority. Creating social order is a process that is ever-changing. Rules and expectations used in guiding behavior will thus happen through a social process of relationships, not from any strict expectations from stable norms. They are created and changed by the social interaction process. Relativistic perspectives define deviancy by the social audience as a replacement of objective viewpoints with subjective viewpoints. Deviancy is therefore dependent on how the social audience defines the action and actor (Orcutt, 1983: 17).

For the types of deviant behavior, Becker (1963: 20) has categorized them by the reaction of society for marked behavior that is acknowledged and not acknowledged as deviance, as follows:

	Obedient Behavior	Rule-breaking Behavior
Perceived as Deviant	Falsely accused	Pure Deviant
Not Perceived as Deviant	Conforming	Secret Deviant

From the display of power by social reaction towards marking who enters in deviant behavior, the process of marking by social response is a tool that creates

deviancy more than deviant behavior. Deviancy does not occur only from a violation of rules; it can be seen from cases where deviancy occurs when individuals are accused of wrong-doing when they have not done anything wrong, or when they have been arrested by the police even though they are innocent. This is called the process of criminalization. Secret deviancy is being deviant and doing wrong but without anyone knowing until there is a reaction from society. Secret deviants will not be considered as deviants even though they have broken the law and therefore are considered normal until they are arrested by the police or there is a negative reaction from society, whereupon they would be discovered as deviants.

Lemert (1967: 40-41) ranked deviant behaviors as primary deviance and secondary deviance, with primary deviance being behavior that violates norms where the actor does not see himself as deviant and has not adhered to the deviant behavior. He only sees it as normal variation in everyday life. The deviance is even consistent with everyday life and normal activities. It is not an obstacle in adjusting to others; he still has a status and role that society can accept. The secondary deviance extends from the primary. Lemert believed that continuous social responses might make the primary deviance escalate into secondary deviance through the process of stigmatization, which is a process that marks the individual as a deviant.

The development of deviance from primary to secondary (McCaghy, 1976: 85-86):

1. Primary deviance from violations of social norms
2. Receiving social penalties from violating social norms in step 1
3. Increasing the rate of primary deviance further
4. Receiving harsher social penalties and social rejection from the deviant behavior
5. The deviant behavior persists, until resistance to social penalties is displayed
6. The patience of society has reached its peak, until a stigma must be placed on the particular deviant behavior
7. The deviant behavior escalates as a reaction from the individuals entering in deviant behavior toward receiving a stigma

8. The acceptance of the deviants and the adjustment toward the role of deviants

Although social norms exist to regulate and control behavior, actions that conflict with the norm may not be deviant behavior if the actions are not discovered and there is no response from the social audience. The violation of norms therefore does not establish someone as a deviant, and he can continue his life in society as always. His deviancy is therefore secret. Behavior that violates social norms or primary deviance does not necessarily lead to secondary deviance if the deviancy is secret.

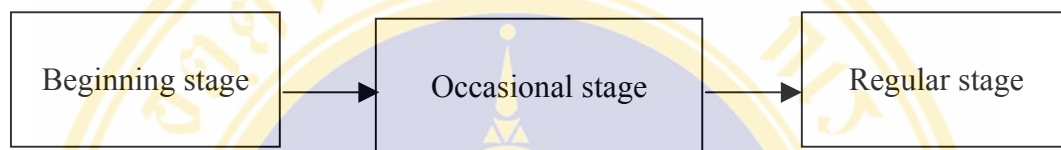
This research studies the relativistic perspective of deviance, since the homosexual exchange is considered a sex deviance, and as these individuals hide the action it can be considered primary, secret deviance. The interest is then placed on how the sample group deals with problems and obstacles in entering in homosexual exchange when they have to still function in their family, at school, and in general society, without anyone knowing, seeing, or responding to the deviant behavior, which does not escalate into secondary deviance.

4. The sequential model of deviance

The sequential model of deviance from Howard S. Becker was developed from the symbolic interactionism, through focusing on deviant behavior analysis especially. Becker presented the sequential model of deviance in his study on the process of becoming a marijuana smoker. He stated that an example hypothesis in analyzing the process model of causation by stating that (Becker, 1963 cited by Pongswat Swatdipong, 1995: 22) all assumptions did not have effect at the same time or together. It is therefore necessary to use one that covers or explains the fact that the process is a sequential one. In explaining individuals who smoke marijuana, we must consider or explain the sequential process in changing the behavior and view of people, in order to understand the phenomenon. There is a need to explain each stage; what was a reason in one stage may have less importance in other stages, such as explaining how individuals enter into situations where there is marijuana to smoke, explaining why those individuals voluntarily try smoking it, and explaining why after

that one initial smoke do they continue smoking. In each frame, the explanation is a reason that is necessary for the behavior; that is, no one would be a professional smoker if they did not pass the stages stated. The individual must have marijuana, must try smoking it, and must continue smoking it. Therefore, the explanation for each stage is a part of explaining the behavior of smoking marijuana.

In studying the process in becoming a marijuana smoker, Howard S. Becker found the 3 stages in becoming a marijuana smoker as follows:



It can be seen that becoming a marijuana smoker is a condition that is developed sequentially. Each stage will have its own conditions that lead to the next stage. Behaviors in each stage occur from conditions that enable continuous behavior. The conditions that encourage development to the next stage do not occur at one time or at the same time, but in a sequence, with a condition having power in one stage but not having effect in another. The sequential model of deviance helps in understanding deviant behavior in a continuous process of development, or sequence, which moves from the position of a person accepted by society to increased positions of deviance.

This research of homosexual exchange of male youths has considered the behavior as a social process, and therefore used Howard S. Becker's sequential model of deviance in creating understanding. The process of homosexual exchange has the characteristic of being sequential and occurring in stages.

5. Relevant researches

In the research of Yuttachai Damrongmanee in 1997 on "Host : service provider in lady's club", the sample group included 16 men working in bars for women located in Bangkok. A sequential model of deviance was found for becoming a host, which started for the sample group because of the condition of having economic problems, such as the earnings from their former job is less than their expenses, the existence of debts, and having to depend on themselves. The sample

group decided to become hosts because of the supporting factors (a need for money and low education). At the same time, they were also encouraged to become hosts from interactions with the more experienced hosts or with the bar manager, thus changing the group's attitude and changing their definition of a host, from an unfavorable profession to one that is satisfactory with high returns. The new attitude and definition were able to change their feelings from thinking of the job as male prostitution to become a means of giving them a better life. Before applying to become hosts, the sample group received information on what the job was like from the more experienced hosts, from magazines, and from observations made in the bar. The sample group lessened the intensity of social pressure by choosing to apply to bars that did not make it obvious that there was any prostitution. The reasoning that they used to deal with social disgrace was that it made economic sense, meaning it was "good money, easy job" and that it was an honest job where they have nothing to lose, since it is the women who come to use their services that are condemned in society's eyes.

When they applied to become host, the sample group went through professional training from the bar, such as how to dance, how to work, table-side activities, and how to take care of themselves so they look good. They also went through informal training from their colleagues, from observation, and from their own experience. Hosts need to adjust themselves to the new role, such as tolerating dancing and table-side activities, avoiding drinks, acting like a professional singer, going with the guest after the bar closes, and being careful of themselves. The relationships between the hosts include both sincerity and insincerity, as they are in competition for the most guests. Respect is given by seniority, such as who was host first or after. The relationships between the hosts and the PR (the person who encourages the guests) is one of mutual benefit, where the PR will get commission if he is able to entice the guests to hire a host for table-side activities and where the host will get a part of the PR's tips as well. The relationship between the hosts and the guests is one of honesty, where the host will not steal the guest's belongings.

In the research of Amorn Tongjeow in 1996 regarding "Traditional masseuse : Entering the occupation and adaption", the sample group consisted of 15 people in a

traditional massage place in Bangkok. A sequential model of deviant behavior was found for the masseurs, from the condition that their families were poor, they had low education, they lacked professional opportunities, and their mother, aunt or friend was a masseuse, making them realize that being a masseuse earns good money and does not need to use much knowledge, energy, or investment. This made the attitude of the sample group toward this profession change from seeing it as distasteful to seeing it as a comfortable job with high pay, without having to enter in sex. A strong attitude can overcome any feeling of guilt toward social norms, such as having high income which would lead to a better life. The sample group explained the rationale of the job by comparing it to other occupations such as prostitutes, modern masseurs, bargirls, and a-go-go girls, saying that these girls were directly involved in the prostitution business, whereas traditional masseurs were only secretly or indirectly involved; society therefore throws less criticism their way and thus lets them feel more superior than the other girls. The relationships between the masseurs are only surface-deep, as no one wants another person to be better than them. The relations between the masseurs and the clients would be to get as much benefit from the other as possible. The masseurs therefore learn to take care of and please the clients. The masseurs and the PR people are dependent on each other, as the PR people push clients to the masseurs and the masseurs in turn give money and other things to the PR people. Professional training that the group received would include massage training at a place the establishment arranges for them. Informal training occurs by learning various techniques from their masseuse friends, in order to get the highest benefits for themselves. This entire process teaches them the whole masseuse subculture, the symbols and techniques used in working, and an attitude that prevents them from looking at this as a job that gives money for sex, looking at themselves as bad, and looking at clients as wanting sex. The job is different from other prostitution jobs because traditional masseurs are able to choose which client they want to have sex with; in addition, most of the masseurs have already had sex and thus feel that violating sexual norms is normal. The masseurs therefore move from giving traditional massages to selling sex. Adjustments that would be made include taking

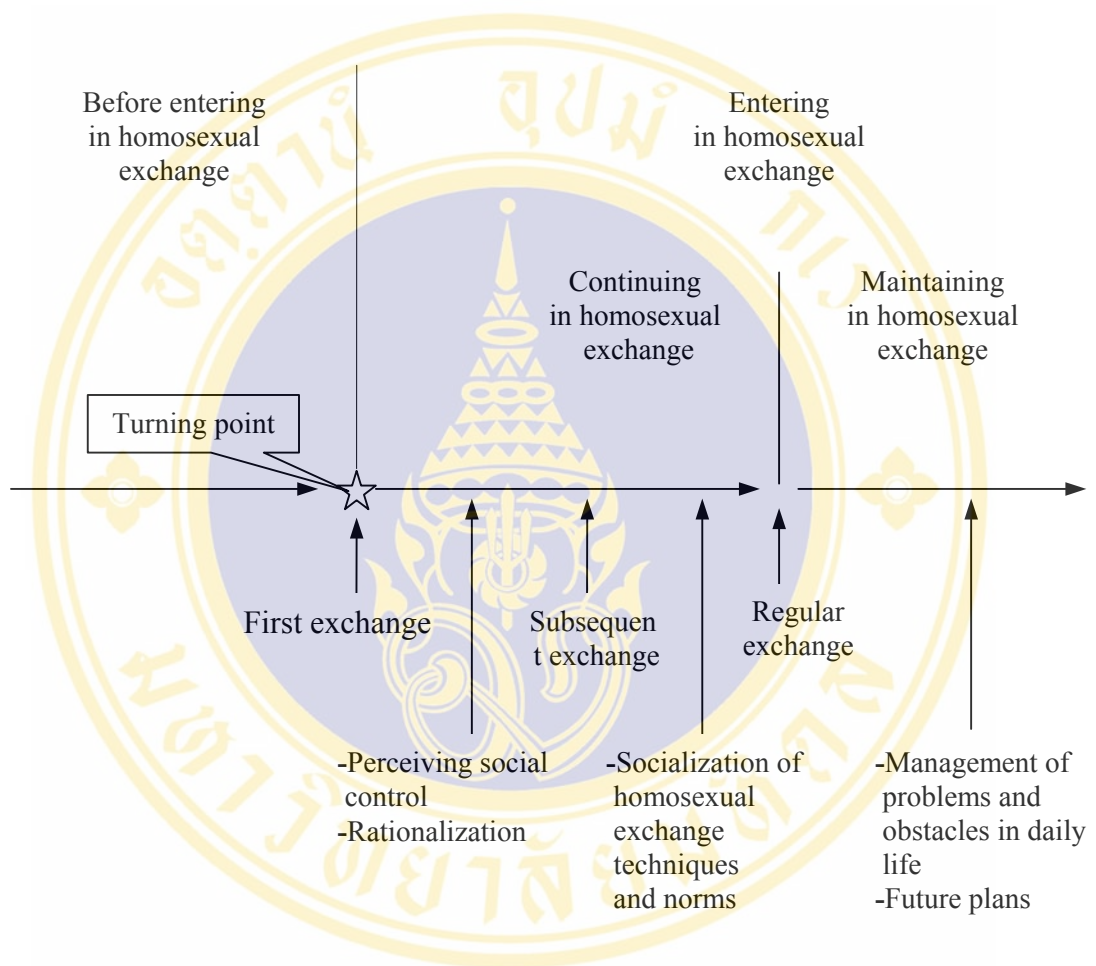
care to look beautiful all the time, preventing sexually-transmitted diseases, and finding reasons to encourage oneself.

In the research of Suleeman Narumol in 1994 regarding “Becoming the masseuse : A case of a masseuse in the massage parlour”, the sample group included 9 masseurs in the Bangkok area. A sequential model of deviance was found for becoming a masseuse, which starts with a pressing situation, such as poverty, problems between parents or between the parents and the sample group, divorce, and inability to fulfill family expectations. The stress from these situations pushed the sample group to separate themselves into a new situation where they had to depend on themselves and needed money, while at the same time they were motivated by interactions with masseurs and other people involved, which made them think of the profession as a tool to find money. They received training for two roles, the first of which was professional training to become a masseuse, which included massage training, bathing training, and learning the steps of the job. The second role was of prostitution, which comes hand in hand with being a masseuse and includes such things as training in how to invite the client, training in giving sexual services, and negotiating prices. The hidden prostitution side of the profession has become the main part of being a masseuse. Further training includes more massage techniques, the use of language and words, behavior toward clients, and developing their attitude from beliefs such as not having close relations with fellow masseurs, a belief that men are not sincere with masseurs, and a belief that the profession is only temporary. This training period gives the people a chance to understand the attitude, values, and responses of society and gives them time to adjust. Those who are still confused in their roles will tend to swing back and forth between the role of a masseuse and that of a normal person. Adjustments that are made in order to lessen the conflict between roles and to lessen the stigma of the profession include smoking, drinking, taking drugs, having fun, and making it a secret. Afterwards the masseuse would accept her role and develop into a professional masseuse, and even with social punishments the masseuse feels that it is worth it as the benefits received from the job are more than any benefits from society.

In conclusion of the sequential model of deviance that leads to prostitution, the start comes from stressful or pressuring conditions such as economic factors (poverty, earnings less than expenses, debt, need to depend on oneself), family factors (problems between the parents, divorce, low education), and other supporting factors (mother, aunt or friend is prostituting, interactions with prostitutes). This would change the attitude of the sample group from socially accepted values to defining these professions as comfortable with high returns. Obstacles include the fact that these occupations are socially unacceptable, but the group explains the rationale behind entering in the activity by using economics (that is, telling themselves that the money is good and the work is easy), by comparison with other prostitution jobs (telling themselves that a particular vein is more superior than another), work factors (telling themselves that the job is easy and not tiring, that it is an honest job, that it would make their lives better), and educational factors (telling themselves that the job doesn't need any extra knowledge to do). The sample group weighted these factors and gave more importance to the pressing conditions and supporting factors rather than the obstacle, therefore deciding to enter into prostitution. After entering, the sample group received training, both formal training that included training for the kind of job they applied for and informal training from their colleagues and from their own experience. The sample group learned prostitution skills and adjusted themselves to the role of a prostitute as well as to their colleagues, such as respecting the senior members who were there first, learning how to lessen the conflict in roles and lessen the stigma of the job, such as through drinking and taking drugs. More training lets the sample group absorb attitudes, values, work techniques, norms and values of a subculture, which enables the sample group to accept the situation, role, and profession of being a prostitute, such as taking care of themselves and protecting against diseases. Because the sample group must also function in normal society and meet people, they become adept at avoiding stigma by hiding their true profession.

From the symbolic interactionism, social exchange theory, deviant behavior and Howard S. Becker's the sequential model of deviance as well as a review of all the research about prostitution, a hypothetical model was constructed, as follows:

Hypothetical model of homosexual exchange of male youths



CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The focus of the research was to understand the sequential process of homosexual exchange, which happens during the social interactions of male youths. The research done was qualitative in nature, using the method of naturalistic inquiry.

1. Method of naturalistic inquiry

Blumer (1969: 22, 27-28) was the initiator of this method. He stated that social truth will always mean an empirical world. In studying the nature of an empirical world, “there is a need to respect an empirical world and organize a method that reflects that respect”. He developed a method appropriate to an empirical world that he called “method of naturalistic inquiry.” From the stand of symbolic interactionism that said humans acted upon various things through their definition of said things, the meaning of the method was as follows (Pongswat Swatdipong, 1989: 103-111):

1. Research is a symbolic interactionism process. According to Herbert Blumer, any experiments involving humans were a form of interaction where stimulants could not be controlled, affecting the one under experiment as they enter into the experiment with their own definition of the situation. Once inside he would define and interpret various things during interactions with others; the tester did not change their nature or actions.

2. Research methods must be evaluated by an empirical world. Research according to symbolic interactionism must be evaluated for validity by empirical methods. In developing social knowledge, the researcher must enter into an empirical world closely, often, and cautiously in order to be confident that thoughts, information, and interpretations were valid. That is, an empirical world must come before research methodology. Being obsessed with one method will make the researcher stagger under the law of instruments, which is defining the problem through only the desired

method. However, usually sociologists would derive an empirical world to fit theories rather than test theories by using the systematic empirical testing.

3. The researcher must take on the role of the researched. Trying to understand the actions of others necessitates seeing things as they do, otherwise the researcher would define things as he himself sees it as an “outsider”. Therefore, to really reach understanding, the researcher would have to take on the role of the people he studies.

4. The sensitizing concept should be used more than the definition concept. The sensitizing concept is only a directional guide for observation. It is flexible, able to be adjusted better than the definition concept, which sets limits and is equal to distorting the truth and lessening the complexity of the phenomena into quantities (thus overlooking the qualitative properties of the process of social truth).

5. Use the processual model of causation, which hypothesizes that a process must always occur in order to result in an observable phenomenon. A main principle is that an observable phenomenon is created by a sequential process, where one stage does not automatically establish the next stage. The role of sociologists is to find the necessary stages to get the phenomenon to occur, and sustain it once it occurs, as humans act upon their interpretation of situations. Interpretations are not fully established ahead of time from factors that happen beforehand even when the factors are part of the interpretation.

The method of naturalistic enquiry is divided into 2 steps, as follows:

1. Exploration – This consists of 3 related missions (Blumer, 1969: 40). First, the researcher must familiarize himself with the phenomenon studied. Second, the researcher must develop and improve the studied conceptualization, which includes creating an understanding of the problem studied, basics of various theories and relationships, and all manner of necessary information. Enabling the researcher to familiarize himself with the social phenomenon will enable him to rid himself of wrong assumptions he possesses. These first two processes will let the researcher start the process not with a “blank mind” but an “open mind”. The last mission would be to communicate the characteristics of the phenomenon studied, but because the social phenomenon is never-ending, the researcher cannot explain all the characteristics and would have to use the basics of theories to guide and establish limits on the study.

2. Inspection – This step analyzes the explored information in order to develop theoretical roots and relationships that are important to the study. This step includes 2 related missions: developing concepts and creating theoretical suggestions. The principle in creating concepts is studying various convincing factors that have unique features, in order to find analytical points. It would start by comparison of various factors and pulling the shared analytical points out, which would be the creation of sensitizing concepts, the researcher would compare the convincing factors with the concept and adjust it. This process will continue until no other adjustments to the concept are made. The result is a developed sensitizing concept.

The method of naturalistic inquiry is logical complete that it both explores and inspects theories. During the inspection frame, the researcher would create theoretical suggestions by comparing the framework with the information received from the first step of exploration. The theoretical suggestions developed by the researcher would be proved by his empirical observations, meaning it would have had to be empirically tested at least once. The result would be a “grounded theory” based on empirical or constructed data (Guba & Lincoln, 1988: 99).

2. Sample group

The sample group consisted of 11 male youths who at present enter in homosexual exchange and live in Muang district, Maha Sarakham province. This is to facilitate easy appointments.

2.1 Getting to the sample group

Getting to the sample group was a process of searching and meeting with them. There were 2 channels used in this research:

2.1.1 Search and meet through the researcher’s friends – Because society does not accept homosexual exchange, the sample group would be secretive. Searching them out by focusing directly on them would not be a good method, as it would take them a long time to trust and be familiar with the researcher enough to give honest information about their activities. Although the group hides the exchange, two groups know of it: their friends who enter in the same activities and the clients. Having clients help look for the sample group is a good method. The researcher

consulted with friends on this issue, and friends introduced a man who had been the sample group's client. This man introduced the researcher to 2 other clients. All 3 of the researcher's new friends rounded up a list of 30 names and phone numbers. They began setting up appointments, where 18 agreed to meet (for the rest, the person who picked up the phone said no one by the name lived there). Of the 18, 12 showed up for the first meeting. Throughout the course of the research, 6 people consistently gave information: Diang, Siangnoi, Kuum, Kaen, Om, and Kham. This is a good method in getting to the sample group, as they are familiar with the researcher's friends, thus trusting and being open to the researcher. For example, when Kham met the researcher he began talking about his transvestite experiences, saying that he had loved 2 beautiful transvestites.

2.1.2 The snowball technique was also employed, which was helped by the cooperation of the previous sample group finding the next people. After meeting up with the sample group using method 2.1.1 and having them become familiar with and trust the researcher, the researcher asked them to help in introducing, contacting, and setting up appointments with their friends. The researcher met with 10 people through the snowball technique. There were only 5 people who came to the meeting and consistently gave information through the research: Sudket, Jilan, Kapom, Daengnoi, and Soh. This technique was as good as the first method. The group was close to their friends, and therefore trusted the researcher and open with information. For example, Soh told the researcher about his brother having a transvestite boyfriend even though the researcher had not yet asked about his family.

2.2 Locations for meeting the sample group

There were two locations for meeting the sample group to collect information:

2.2.1 Restaurants – At the beginning of collecting information the sample group told the researcher to meet in any place on the condition that there would be little light. Because they usually met in the evening, the researcher chose a restaurant on the hope that they'd eat dinner while talking. The researcher chose restaurants that were private.

After using the restaurant a few times, problems cropped up. The researcher couldn't collect information well because there was insufficient light; tape recorders weren't permitted by the sample group, who said they'd be so nervous they wouldn't be able to talk. The restaurant sometimes turned on speakers that interrupted conversation. Sometimes the sample group would keep looking around, interrupting the conversation. When asked if their girlfriend was there, they'd answer that they thought they knew some people. It was obvious they were worried about seeing someone they knew. With these obstacles, the researcher changed the meeting place.

2.2.2 The home of the researcher's friend, who was a client of the sample group – The researcher informed the group of the inconveniences of the restaurant, and asked them to choose a place for meeting. They chose the home of the researcher's friend during the evenings. At the home, obstacles to collecting information disappeared because the house was private, the researcher's friend lived alone, and there were no worries about anyone seeing. The sample group gave information openly without fear of being overheard. They've been to the house before and were familiar with the owner and premises. In these talks, the researcher's friend never interfered. The researcher observed that the group felt free to talk, some lying down.

3. Data collection

The main method of data collection was in-depth interview. The researcher was the interviewer of each person. In the first meetings, the researcher only wanted to create familiarity with the person and therefore used the local dialect and words to show closeness. The conversation started on general topics, such as life at school, favorite music and sports, computer games they liked playing, and entertainment places they liked so the researcher would know part of their interests and attitudes. When the group was more familiar with the researcher, the researcher began asking about their background, such as their age, education, family condition, parental occupation, place of residence, and allowance. The researcher would inform them of the researcher's own profile, place of work, the objectives of the study, the academic benefits and good results for the public, and the need for information. The researcher

assured them that they would not be harmed, as pseudonyms would be used. It would be presented holistically and no one could know which person gave what information. Then an in-depth interviewed on the group's sex and homosexual experiences, the definition on homosexual experiences, transvestites, gays, and homosexuals as well as themselves started. They also defined male prostitutes and male child prostitutes, the separation of themselves with these groups, homosexual exchange, social control, and the rationale behind their homosexual exchange. Also, their homosexual exchange techniques, norms, the networks of the exchange, solving problems and obstacles in their daily lives, the opinions about "running kid", and their expectation to the exchange, to clients, and plan for the future. The interpretation on homosexual exchange and themselves would be interviewed as well. The researcher would observe the group's willingness to give information; if they weren't really talking then the interviewer would not keep pressing for details on the issue.

The interview was a sociological interview, which is like a digging tool. Sociological interviews are not like conversations in that one person asks questions and the other answers, but it is a creative interview where both people are open and together talk about their mutual experiences in order to understand each other. As the subject is a rationale, feeling human, in order to understand him the researcher would have to be creative and develop familiarity, take on his role and see from his point of view (David & Layder, 1994: 125). The researcher used a semi-standardized interview; that is, an interview where questions had been set beforehand but would be open enough to let the interviewer be free to ask deeper questions. It is assumed that the interviewer is familiar with the phenomenon studied, enabling the setting of questions and being able to develop probing questions throughout the interview. To get to the heart of the subject, the interview is informal and thus would also include an exchange of information about each other. The researcher both asked and answered questions. Both parties were involved in each other's thoughts. How much information is gotten each time depends on the situation. There is no set time frame for the interview (Berg, 1998: 61).

In these interviews, the researcher prepared some probing questions which inadvertently led to unexpected information, such as when the sample group said they had more pleasure with transvestites than with their girlfriends. This let the researcher

ask probing questions that weren't prepared beforehand, such as asking "why is it more pleasurable?" The interview was conversational in tone, and sometimes the sample group would ask questions such as "if I wore a black shirt at night, would you remember me if you saw me?" The interview timeframes were not set; if no conflicting or no new information is gotten then the interview would be short. If information conflicts, the researcher would spend more time asking questions to verify information. The questions aren't in order; it depends on the conversation as to what is asked first or later.

A part of the data collected comes from informal observations, where the researcher observed not only eye contact but the use of all senses (Bailey, 1996: 65-71):

1. Observations of physical surroundings – The researcher gave interest to the physical surroundings of the subject, such as the lighting, colors, and temperatures, which would enable understanding of the subject's definitions and actions toward those things.

2. Observation of members – The researcher observed the people in the situation as well as their condition, character, gender, ethnicity, form, dress, and hair, all of which would express something during the interactions.

3. Observations of nonverbal and verbal behaviors – Observations include not only who is doing what with whom, where, how, what the sequential model is, and unexpected behaviors, research also has to understand the meaning behind these behaviors and place importance on the following:

- 3.1 Body language – such as facial expression, eye contact, touch, distance

- 3.2 Verbal behaviors – The researcher must record the definitions, with importance placed on such things as using slang or technical words or using subculture words. The researcher must understand what the subject means, and observe the tone of the conversation, whether it is polite, informal, happy, soft, or bored.

Observational information will help increase the richness of the interview, such as observing dress, hair, body language, and walk to flesh out the perspective of the group.

The researcher met with two networks in the sample group – one network included 3 people (Diang, Sudket, and Jilan), another 2 (Kaen and Soh), in order to observe relationships in the network, their specific language use, and dress. It was found that the network of 3 would ride Diang's motorcycle in and dressed similarly, with dark shirts and loose pants as well as a cap pulled low over the face. They looked innocent and mischievous. During the conversation they'd tease each other, showing good relationships in the network. Kaen and Soh arrived on Soh's motorcycle. They look rather adult; they didn't tease each other but helped answer. For example, Kaen liked to talk and would answer in stead of Soh often and showed how he cared by saying that Soh was so thin because he had to help very late in his brother's shop, saying his brother should find more people to help.

Data collection from interviews and observations were written down in notes. When the interviews or observations were over, the researcher would hurriedly write down the details. All sound and video recorders were not allowed by the sample group.

Data collection was done at the same time as data analysis. In analyzing data, the researcher developed and improved on the joint characteristics as well as relations among data. The joint characteristics and relations were able to answer some research problems fully when collected from all 11 people.

4. Timeframe in data collection

The timeframe in data collection was divided into 4 periods, as follows:

1st period – the researcher searched for the sample group through friends. The timeframe is 2 weeks.

2nd period – meetings to become familiar took place, which took 1 week per person (1-2 times per person).

- The sample group people that could be approached 1 time were Kham and Soh.

- The sample group people that could be approached 2 times were Kapom, Kuum, Kaen, Daengnoi, Diang, Jilan, Siangnoi, Sudket, and Om.

3rd period – in-depth data collection; it took 1-2 weeks per person (2-3 times per person).

- The researcher collected depth information from Kaen, Jilan, Kham, Daengnoi, Soh, and Om 2 times.

- The researcher collected depth information from Kapom, Kuum, Diang, Siangnoi, and Sudket 3 times.

4th period – there was additional in-depth data collected, since some new interesting points needed additional collection from data analyzing; it took 2-3 weeks per person (3-4 times per person).

- The sample group that could be collected additional depth information for 3 times are Kapom, Kaen, Kham, Jilan, Daengnoi, Soh, and Om.

- The sample group that could be collected additional depth information for 4 times are Kuum, Diang, Siangnoi, and Sudket.

During periods 2-4, which are the periods that the researcher used to approach the sample group to make familiarity and collect in-depth information, there was a problem in that after the first approach some people could not be contacted again, with some not coming to the appointment. Therefore, it was necessary to contact new sample people to replace them. The 1st period of data collection until the last period took 14 months (March 2002 until April 2003).

5. Research ethics

Homosexual exchange violate social norms. Therefore, in searching for the sample group, interviewing them, and observing them, the researcher respected their personal rights, carefully avoiding anything that would emphasize their guilt. The practices in this research are as follows:

1. The researcher clarified the status, work place, and objectives of the research to the sample group and assured them that all the information will do no harm to them.

2. The sample group did not allow any audio or visual recorders in data collection.

3. Pseudonyms were used to prevent damage to reputation of the sample group.

The researcher also gave the same considerations to other individuals involved, such as the researcher's friend who entered in homosexual exchange and helped introduce and set up the meetings with the sample group.

6. Testing reliability and validity of data

Reliability means the consistency of the data between the interpretation of the researcher and the thoughts of the subject. A way to assess the reliability of data is to use triangulation. The researcher checked the data by (Supang Chantavanich, 1997: 129-130):

1. Data triangulation – evaluating the same information from different people. In this researcher, the reliability of data was tested by asking similar questions to 3 people in the sample, such as asking Diang, Sudket, and Jilan about the first homosexual exchange of Sudket and Jilan and getting the same answers. Also, another way would be to ask the same person the same question but at different times.

2. Methodological triangulation – using different methods to find the same data. To evaluate the reliability of data, different methods were used to find the same data, such as making observations about the sample group's dress, dress color, way of talking and walking in order to verify data given on how they saw themselves sexually.

Data validity is research truth, which has 2 features (Supang Chantavanich, 1997: 207-208):

1. Truth from research summary – It must be valid according to interpretation principles of data, or consistent with internal validity. This occurs when the sample group feels so comfortable with the researcher they display natural behavior (phenomenological validity) for the researcher to observe and interpret. Internal validity occurs from ecological validity and contextual validity in the research.

2. External validity – In qualitative research, quantitative statistics cannot be used to verify data because of the size of the sample and the variables. Therefore, it would be summarized as to whether the same phenomenon would happen in the same situation.

In this study, the researcher tried to have internal validity; that is, consistency with data. A research summary that is consistent with data will depend on getting data that is true from the viewpoint of the sample group. To do so, the researcher entered in:

Emphasizing familiarity with the sample group by letting the researcher's friend, who is the sample group's friend as well, introduce the researcher to them. Although using this method made the sample group close to the researcher, the researcher did not rush the process of data collection, seeing as how the group was not yet that close to the researcher, seen from their unwillingness to talk at first.

Using the validity test according to Whyte (Supang Chantavanich, 2540: 206), which includes reading what the researcher has interpreted from interviews and observations to the sample group and asking if it was valid. However, because the researcher could not take detailed notes, there was only a summary given to the sample group in order to let them decide if it was accurate, such as how Kham saw himself sexually, which would be "someone who is a homosexual but different from homosexuals in general, only entering in sex with beautiful transvestites."

For external validity, the results of this research can most likely be used to explain groups that have similar conditions and limitations as this sample group.

7. Data analysis

Data analysis was done after some data was collected. The data was in the form of discussion. After evaluating its reliability, analytical induction was used (Huberman & Miles, In Denzin & Lincoln, Eds., 1994: 430-432)

1. Create a rough definition of the phenomenon
2. Create a hypothetical explanation
3. Do a convincing study according to the assumptions and established goals, or assumptions that are consistent with each particular case
4. If the assumption is not consistent with reality, new assumptions may need to be created or the phenomenon re-defined, with the research part cut.
5. The confidence in the assumptions created may be stated after several case studies were evaluated. If a case that conflicted with an explanation was found, new suggestions and explanations would need to be created.

6. Evaluating the case studies, re-defining the phenomenon, and creating new assumptions for use in explaining would be continuously done until the universal relationship would become stable and accepted. Conflicts found in each case study would be used to re-define or re-create new suggestions.

In data analysis, the researcher used 3 periods of analysis, as follows:

1st period – When some data was collected, the researcher analyzed this according to the symbolic interactionism theory and the social exchange theory, resulting in a rough summary of the data analysis that would be used as a guideline to finding more information. For example, the data regarding the sample group having more pleasure in homosexual activities than heterosexual activities indicated a need for increased data about being the “passive” and being the “active” in homosexual exchange.

2nd period – The collector collected more data, which would include the same information for some important points in order to verify the data’s validity, as well as new data. The data would then be analyzed again.

3rd period – The data was analyzed by organizing the relationships between information and various phenomena that happened, and then summarizing the data analysis for the last time.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

1. Background of sample group

The verdict of society in regards to homosexual exchange, which everyone is aware of, is that it is something disgusting. If anyone enters in such behavior, there will be a negative reaction from society. The sample group had known of these social establishments before entering in the exchange and knew of the negativity to follow. Studying the background of the group would enable the researcher to know the social and cultural factors, as well as their experience, would result in understanding the definition and interpretation of homosexual exchange for the sample group. The following backgrounds were discovered for the sample group:

1.1 Age, education level, family condition, and parental occupations

The background of the sample group in regards to age, education level, family condition, and parental occupations is shown in Table 1.

Table 1 Age, education level, family condition, and parental occupations

Name (pseudonym)	age (years)	Education level	family condition	Parental occupations
1. Jilan	15	Matthayom 3	Divorced, live with mother	Mother sells street-side food
2. Siangnoi	15	Matthayom 3	Divorced, live with mother and step-father	Mother is a government worker; step-father is a construction worker
3. Daengnoi	16	Matthayom (non-formal)	Divorced, live with mother	Mother is a beautician
4. Diang	16	Matthayom 3	Divorced, live with mother	Mother is a department store employee
5. Soh	16	Matthayom 4	Divorced, live with relatives	Relatives opened a food shop
6. Kuum	16	Professional Certificate 1	Parents live together	Farmers
7. Sudket	17	Matthayom 4	Parents live together	Open a store
8. Kaen	17	Matthayom 5	Divorced, live with mother and step-father	Mother and step- father sell food in front of the house
9. Om	17	Professional Certificate 1	Divorced, live with mother	Mother sells street-side food
10. Kham	17	Professional Certificate 2	Parents live together	Farmers
11. Kapom	17	Professional Certificate 2	Parents live together	Farmers

From the table, the sample group consists mostly of those aged 17 years, studying Matthayomsuksa level, with divorced parents. They chose to live with their mothers, with 3 of their mothers getting re-married. Their parents enter in small businesses within the family such as a street-side food stall, a store, a beauty shop, or a food shop.

1.2 Residence and allowance

Table 2 consists of the background on the sample group's residence, the allowance they receive from their parents, and the monthly allowance from the lending fund for education.

Table 2 Residence, allowance from parents, and allowance from lending fund

Name (pseudonym)	Residence	allowance from parents	Allowance lending fund for education
1. Kaen	Live with mother, step-father, and step-sister	Daily, 30 baht	-
2. Kham	Live with parents	Daily, 50 baht	-
3. Jilan	Live with mother, grandmother, uncle, and cousin	Daily, 20 baht	-
4. Siangnoi	Live with mother, step-father, and step-brother	Daily, 40 baht	-
5. Daengnoi	Live with mother and sister	Daily, 50 – 60 baht	-
6. Om	Live with mother and two brothers	Daily, 40 baht	-

**Table 2 Residence, allowance from parents, and allowance from lending fund
(Cont.)**

Name (pseudonym)	Residence	allowance from parents	Allowance lending fund for education
8. Sudket	Live with parents, brother, and sister	Weekly, 300 baht	-
9. Kuum	Live alone in dormitory	Weekly, 500 baht	-
10. Kapom	Live at temple	-	Receives allowance in the first year: 2,300 baht monthly
11. Soh	Live with relatives	-	-

From the table, it can be seen that the sample group consists mostly of those who live with their families, while only 1 person lives with his relatives, 1 person lives in a dormitory, and 1 person lives at a temple, as most of their families or relatives have houses in Muang district while the people who live in a dormitory and at the temple do so because their parents are in another district. The group receives a daily allowance from their parents totaling about 20 – 60 baht. There is 1 person who receives no allowance, and only 1 person who receives a monthly allowance of 2,300 baht from the lending fund for education.

1.3 Homosexual exchange period

The period that the group entered in homosexual exchange is shown in Table 3.

Table 3 Homosexual exchange period

name (pseudonym)	Homosexual Exchange period
1. Siangnoi	4 months
2. Jilan	5 months
3. Om	6 months
4. Sudket	7 months
5. Diang	8 months
6. Kapom	1 year
7. Kuum	1 year
8. Daengnoi	1 year
9. Kham	2 years
10. Soh	2 years
11. Kaen	3 years

From the table it can be seen that the sample group has entered in homosexual exchange during a period of at least 4 months to at most 3 years.

As a summary of the sample group's background, most of the people are aged 17 years, studying in Matthayomsuksa level, with divorced parents. The sample group chose to live with their mothers, most of whom have not re-married (only 3 have). Parental occupations are small family-run businesses. Most people live with their families as they have houses in Muang district. The allowance they get from their parents total 20 – 60 baht a day. The sample group has entered in the exchange of homosexuality during a period of at least 4 months to at most 3 years.

2. Defining homosexuality and defining oneself

Understanding the behavior of individuals through the use of symbolic interactionism, which states that actions are dependent on the definitions an individual gives to the objects, therefore necessitates a search for the actors "definition of situation". William L. Thomas stated "if men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences" (Schur, 1971: 8). That is, if an individual defines something a

certain way, he will act toward it according to his definition. Therefore, studying how the actors define the situation would be important, as it is a way to understand the person's thoughts and feelings. This would lead to explaining the process more clearly, as the meanings of various objects are created by social interactions that coalesce into "shared meaning."

This research started with a search for the definitions of homosexual behavior and the definitions of self that the sample group had. A shared meaning for homosexual behavior was that it gave more sexual pleasure to the group than any other type of sexual behavior; it even gave them some income for entertainment. For their self definitions, the group felt that they were free from the stereotypes of "transvestites," "gays," "homosexuals," "male prostitutes," and "child prostitutes."

2.1 Homosexual behavior give more pleasure

Everyone in the sample group has had experience in masturbation, heterosexual behavior, and homosexual behavior. They compared the pleasure they received from the various forms of sexualities and feel that homosexuality give more pleasure than masturbation and heterosexualities.

2.1.1 Give more pleasure than masturbation

A part of the sample group feels that homosexual behavior where they are the "passive" give them more pleasure than masturbation.

Kaen: "A transvestite 'doing' me is better than me 'doing' myself...the transvestite would massage me first, making me feel comfortable."

Diang: "I like letting a transvestite 'do' me. Actually I can 'do' myself but I feel more pleasure when a transvestite 'does' me."

Jilan: "I'm sexually happy. I used to masturbate but it isn't as good as when 'uncle' does it for me."

Kapom: "There's more sexual pleasure than 'doing it myself.' "

"doing" means having homosexuality

Some people in the sample group felt that homosexual behavior where they were the “passive” gave them more, as well as prolonged, sexual pleasure than masturbation.

Siangnoi: “I like it when my teacher masturbates or ‘sucks’ me because it feels better than masturbating. It’s comfortable, someone’s doing it for me, and the pleasure lasts longer. If I do it myself the pleasure is less than when someone else does it.”

Kham: “I have more pleasure than when I masturbate because I don’t have to do anything; someone else is doing it. The pleasure lasts longer too.”

2.1.2 Give more pleasure than heterosexualities

Some people in the sample group feel that homosexual behavior where they are the “passive” gives more pleasure than heterosexual behavior with their girlfriends when they are the “active”, since “men will know what men want.”

Kuum: “I have a girlfriend. If I had to compare, I’d say having someone else ‘do’ me – that is, having my teacher ‘do’ me – is more pleasurable because my girlfriend doesn’t ‘do’ me. Men will know what men want, such as how and where to lick. Women don’t know.”

Om: “Compared with my girlfriend, I get pleasure from her but I admit it’s less than the pleasure I get from ‘aunt’ because ‘aunt’ will ‘do’ me but my girlfriend won’t.”

Siangnoi: “I think it’s more pleasurable than sleeping with my girlfriend because I have to ‘do’ her, she doesn’t ‘do’ me.”

Sudket: “He ‘does’ me and I like it. It’s more pleasurable than with my girlfriend because she doesn’t ‘do’ me.”

Some people in the sample group feel that homosexual behavior where they are the “passive” not only give more sexual pleasure, their bodies and minds are also comfortable because they receive massages and get to listen to

“suck” means oral homosexuality

people express concern about them, which are things their girlfriends don't do for them.

Daengnoi: "Transvestites take care of me by giving massages, finding snacks for me to eat, and doing stuff to give me sexual pleasure...my girlfriend doesn't take care of me but expects me to take care of her."

Soh: "He will take care of me every time. He'll ask if I'm tired and if I say I am, he'll wipe my body for me and massage me, find me things to eat. If I say I'm not tired he'll jerk me off and 'suck' me ... I like it when someone takes care of my needs. I get sexual pleasure...my girlfriend doesn't take care of me."

When the sample group compares the sexual pleasure that they receive from masturbation, heterosexualities, and homosexualities, it is homosexualities that this group feels gives longer, more pleasure than masturbation and heterosexualities. This would be because the sample group are the "passive" and feel that "men know what men want." When they masturbate or enter in heterosexualities, they are the "active" and thus have less sexual pleasure. Also, before homosexualities, the sample group gets other treatment such as massages and expressions of concern, making them more relaxed. They don't receive this before entering in heterosexualities.

2.2 Giving income

One definition of homosexual behavior is entering in homosexualities that gives the sample group an income. Mostly the income is used for entertainment purposes or to buy things to use. When averaging the income per month of 4 people, it can be seen that they receive about 300 – 900 baht per month.

Kaen: "I didn't actually think about using it to find money. I just wanted to drink beer so I let him treat me. We have sex sometimes. The transvestites give me money by themselves, starting with the first one. I got money 3 times a month, each time about 200 – 300 baht. The highest I got was 900 baht, the lowest 100. Sometimes they don't give me money because they say they don't have any to spare at the moment. It doesn't matter; if I get it, that's great. I use it to go to pubs almost every week with my friends."

Kham: “I receive an income 2-3 times a month, about 200-300 baht each time. I didn’t think about taking money, but he would give it to me. Sometimes he wouldn’t give me anything. I go with him because I want to drink free beer and tease the transvestites. It makes me happy. I started getting money from the 3rd transvestite. I use it to go to pubs once or twice a month, using 100-200 baht, or taking my girlfriend out or buying stuff.”

Daengnoi: “I get money 3 times a month, usually 100-300 baht each time. The highest I got was 1,000 baht. I didn’t purposely want money from the transvestites – they just give it to me. Sometimes they don’t give me anything. Going to see them makes me happy, because they always buy something for me to eat. I started getting money from the 2nd transvestite. My girlfriend and friends and I would go to karaoke almost every week and share the costs. Sometimes I’d pay up for my friends and my girlfriend.”

Diang: “I wasn’t thinking of getting money from the transvestites; they just gave it to me. I go to see them because of the sexual pleasure I get, plus the beer I get to drink. Sometimes they don’t give me money because they don’t have any. I started getting money from the 2nd transvestite. I get money about 3-4 times a month, getting 100-200 baht each time. I use the money to go to discotheques with my friends. Sometimes I pay for my friend. I also buy clothes often, shirts and pants that cost about 200-300 baht.”

There were 4 people in the group who received 200-600 baht per month.

Kapom: “I get money 2-3 times a month, about 100-200 baht each time. Sometimes he wouldn’t have money to give me, but we’d still get sexual pleasure from each other. I started getting money from the 2nd transvestite. I use it to go to discos and pubs 2-3 times a month, using 200-300 baht each time.”

Siangnoi: “I get 200-300 baht about 1-2 times a month, which started from the first gay I was with. I didn’t think about asking him for money, he just gave it to me. He’d buy things to eat, like beer, and we’d have sex. I use the money to go to karaoke with my girlfriend and 5-6 friends about once or twice a month, pooling 100 baht each. I take my girlfriend out and need to use money, such as when buying her clothes and things.”

Om: "I got money first from 'Aunt' and then some transvestites. I'd usually get 100-200 baht about 2-3 times a month. I didn't mean to ask or anything, just having him treating me to beer and having sexual pleasure is enough. I go to karaoke or discos about 2-3 times a month, sometimes I go out with my girlfriend. These outings cost 200-300 baht."

There was 1 person who wanted to save money to buy expensive items.

Soh: "I get 200-300 baht about 2 times a month. I didn't think about asking for money but I'd get it every time I go see him, when I get sexual pleasure. I began receiving money from the first transvestite. I don't like going out so I'm saving money for a new motorcycle and a computer."

There were 3 people in the sample group who received 100-400 baht each month.

Kuum: "I didn't think about getting money, just letting him treat me to beer and having pleasure together is enough. I received money from the first gay. I usually get 100-200 baht about once or twice a month. My friends and I go to pubs and discos about twice a month. I also buy clothes and take my girlfriend out."

Jilan: "Uncle comes to the house once or twice a month, giving me 100-200 baht. I get money from transvestites too. Uncle was the first to give me money; I didn't think to ask him, he just gave it to me. Sometimes the transvestites don't give me money but that's okay, since we get pleasure from each other. I use the money to go to karaoke with my friends, each of us paying 100 baht. We go once or twice a month."

Sudket: "I get money 1-2 times a month, about 100-200 baht each time. I wasn't after the money but he gave me some. I got money from the first transvestite. Sometimes I don't get money but all I want is for him to buy me snacks and give each other pleasure. I go to discos with my friends, paying about 100-200 baht. We go almost every week."

It can be seen that the sample group averages an income of 200-900 baht a month for homosexualities but they've never thought of making it a profession, since their goal is mainly sexual pleasure and free beer. They don't place importance on receiving money: "if he doesn't give any, that's okay; if he does, that's great."

They use the money for entertainment or for shopping, their expenses being about 200-900 baht each month which is the same amount they receive from homosexuals. This is an example of a group who gives importance on the money they get as a source of entertainment or shopping.

The group feels that in heterosexual relations, they are the ones who have to spend money such as on food or services for their girlfriend, which is the opposite of homosexual relations where they do not have to spend any money.

Kham: "By the time the girl agrees to be your girlfriend, you'd need to spend hundreds of baht on her, taking her to dinner or to karaoke before being able to 'do' her. But with the transvestites, they treat you on beer. I drink because I like it, especially when it's free."

Diang: "You don't need to spend money on transvestites like you do when you want to 'do' a girl. The transvestite pays for everything and the beer too."

Om: "Aunt likes to take me to movies or other places and buys me snacks...sometimes also clothes."

Besides homosexuals giving them sexual pleasure without having to spend money, they also get money too sometimes. For heterosexuals, they have less pleasure, don't get money, and even have to spend money. It can be seen that for this group, money is important because they consider it as one of the factors to have homosexuals.

It can be summarized that the group defines homosexual behavior compared to masturbation and heterosexual behavior into 2 definitions: first, homosexual behavior gives them pleasure more than masturbation and heterosexual behavior because they are the "passive", which gives them more pleasure than being the "active". The second definition is that homosexual behavior give them an increase in entertainment income.

The group has had experience with masturbation, heterosexuals, and homosexuals. Because they felt that homosexuals gave them more pleasure and even got them money sometimes, they would choose homosexuals when wanting sexual pleasure because individuals strive for the highest satisfaction, or choose to interact with people who respond to their desires. Being the "passive" in homosexuals gives this group more pleasure and responds to their needs more than

being the “active” in heterosexualities. In giving themselves to homosexualities, they hope for benefits such as pleasure and free beer, and sometimes even income. Although the money is not their main objective, it is still important to their decision because it lets them buy entertainment. Olsen (1978: 91) stated that when one person gives someone something and the receiver gives something back, this is the form of “reciprocity.” If the receiver gives appropriately to what the giver expected, the exchange has occurred. Therefore, the homosexualities of the group is an “exchange.” Also, because they have continuously entered in homosexualities for a while, they have shown acceptance and shown that the exchange are fair (Blau, 1964: 92-95). In entering in homosexualities, it was not identified clearly whether the sample group had to be the “passive” or the “active” even though the group expressed pleasure at being the “passive,” since the roles would be up to the satisfaction of both parties. The benefit of homosexualities is pleasure, but it was not identified how much pleasure both parties had to have. The money that the group received also is not set as to whether they would receive money every time or how much, as can be seen from the sporadic times the group gets money and how much they get (100-300 baht) each time. The exchange has no set rules about what is exchanged, and therefore is a “social exchange” (Olsen, 1978: 93). The homosexualities is a social exchange, in this case a “homosexual exchange” where there are the reciprocity and fairness, and where the parties are satisfied with what they get.

2.3 I’ m not “transvestite” or “gay” or “homosexual”

The group enters in homosexual exchange. For people in general, entering in homosexual exchange is for transvestites, gays, or homosexuals. Also, as the group gets money from the activities, they may even be in the same category as prostitutes. The sample group has protected their self-esteem by defining themselves as different from the definition they give to transvestites, gays, and homosexuals. They define the mentioned group by physical actions and the clothes worn. They also took sexual orientation into consideration, such as loving men or wanting boyfriends. They defined transvestites as girlish and wanting a boyfriend; gays were defined as not being girlish but still wanted a boyfriend; homosexuals were the same as transvestites,

gays, men who were the boyfriends of transvestites and gays. The sample group felt they did not fit into any of those definitions.

Kuum: “Transvestites are men who want to be women and who love ‘real men’ as boyfriends. Teenaged transvestites would dress like girls while older transvestites dressed like men. Gays are like my teacher; they dress normally and have wives but like to sleep with gays who are ‘real gays.’ Gay kings are the ones who ‘do’ the gay queens, who are the receivers. Homosexuals are men who love men, whether it is like transvestites loving men or real men loving each other. I’m not a transvestite; I don’t want to be a girl. I have a girlfriend. I’m not gay nor a homosexual. I ‘do’ a gay but I don’t love a gay at all.”

Kapom: “Transvestites are girly men, with some dressing as women and some dressing as men. They love men and want a manly boyfriend, someone who isn’t a transvestite. Gays are gays who are not girly and act like normal men; they love manly gays as well. Homosexuals are men who love transvestites or men. I’m not a transvestite or gay. I’ve never been girly, never thought to love a man. I already have a girlfriend. I ‘do’ transvestites since I like the pleasure but I don’t love them. I’m not a homosexual.”

Siangnoi: “My teacher is gay, a gay who has sex with gays and loves ‘real gays’ who aren’t transvestites. Gays will look at normal gays. Transvestites dress like women, although some don’t. They like ‘real gays’ as well. Homosexuals are men who love men, whether real men or transvestites. I’m not a homosexual. I’m not gay. I don’t love men or transvestites. I’m not a transvestite, as I don’t want to be a girl or ever dressed like one. I have a girlfriend. I have sex with a gay but I never thought to love him like a boyfriend.”

Kaen: “Transvestites are girly and like to wear girly clothes; some have been through surgery. Transvestites like handsome gays. Gays are men who love handsome men. Gays are not girly and don’t wear girly clothes. Homosexuals are men who love other men, such as real gays or transvestites. I’m not girly. I love girls and have many girlfriends. I’ve never thought of loving a transvestite or other men. I’m not gay, transvestite, or homosexual.”

Soh: “Transvestites are girly and love normal men who aren’t girly. Gays are men who aren’t girly and love normal men. Homosexuals are transvestites

who love normal men or normal men loving each other. I'm not a transvestite; I don't act like a girl. Transvestites give me pleasure but I don't see them as girlfriends. I'm not gay or homosexual because I don't love gays. I used to have a girlfriend but we broke up because I didn't have time to go see her. I'd like a new girlfriend but have no time to get one."

Daengnoi: "Transvestites want to be women but were born as men, so they are girly. Some dress like girls. Transvestites like real men, not other transvestites. Gays are men who dress normally and love real men. Homosexuals are men who love men, some being transvestites and others being real men. I'm not a transvestite because I was born a gay and like being a gay. I have a girlfriend and never thought of loving a gay."

Someone used to love transvestites but at present do not, and do not have thoughts about loving men in general.

Om: "Transvestites are girly and love real men; gays are not girly and love real men; homosexuals are men who love men, whether transvestite or real, with some being two normal gays loving each other. I'm not a transvestite, I'm not girly, nor am I gay or homosexual even though I used to love 'aunt', who is a transvestite. I don't love 'aunt' anymore nor do I feel like loving another transvestite or man."

Some of the sample group defined homosexuals as men who have transvestites as boyfriends, while they defined transvestites and gays similar to the majority.

Diang: "I'm not homosexual. Homosexuals are real men who love transvestites. I don't love transvestites. I have a girlfriend. I'm not a transvestite, as they want to be girls and act and dress girly. They love real men. I don't want to be a girl. I'm not gay because gays are real men who love real men, and I've never loved a gay or transvestite."

Jilan: "I'm not homosexual because I love girls. I have a girlfriend. Homosexuals are normal gays who love transvestites and have one as a boyfriend. If two normal gays become a couple they are gay. Transvestites are gays who want to be girls and act girly. I'm not a transvestite or gay, because I don't want to be a girl or love a gay."

Sudket: “Transvestites are men who act like girls and love real men. Gays are normal men who love normal men. Homosexuals are normal gays who love transvestites. I’m not a homosexual and not gay because I don’t like transvestites or normal gays. I’m not a transvestite either; I’ve never done anything girly. I had a girlfriend but we broke up, and now I’m in the process of getting another.”

One person defined himself as a homosexual who loved beautiful transvestites; he defined transvestites, gays, and homosexuals similarly to the rest of the group.

Kham: “Transvestites are men who are actually women and like doing girly things. Transvestites love men like girls love men. Gays are men who look manly but love men and sleep with men. They aren’t interested in girls. Gay kings are gays who are the husband or the ‘active’ while gay queens are the wife. Homosexuals are manly men who love other men or transvestites.

“I’m not a transvestite because I’m not girly. I’m not gay because I’ve never thought to love a man. I think I’m homosexual in that I love beautiful womanly transvestites. Those who look like men, I’ve never felt the urge to love.”

The definition of transvestites, gays, and homosexuals by the group can be summarized as the following:

Transvestites are men who want to be women. They act girly. Teenaged transvestites usually dress like girls and make-up. Older transvestites dress normally. Some have gone through surgery. Transvestites want boyfriends who are manly real men.

Gays are men who are manly, dress normally like a gay, but want to have another manly man as a boyfriend.

Homosexuals are men who love men and want them as boyfriends. Examples are transvestites, gays, and who are coupled with transvestites and men who are coupled with gays.

Although the group has entered in homosexual exchange, almost all of them felt that they were different from transvestites, gays, and homosexuals. They have never been girly or considered wanting to love a man. Although they all admitted to having pleasure when entering in homosexual exchange, it was only that the pleasure was stimulated by a transvestites, gays, or homosexuals, not because the

sample group had any initial desire for them. Also, most people in the group have or used to have girlfriends, which made them even more different. Therefore, the sample group denied association with the stereotypes of transvestites, gays, and homosexuals, saying they were not any of these.

Only one person defined himself as a homosexual who loved beautiful transvestites.

2.4 I'm not "male prostitute"

The sample group has a stereotype for male prostitutes, which the sample group defined from discussions before they had any direct experiences, which created an advance preconception (Schur, 1971: 40). The sample group had a stereotype of male prostitutes, because of being transvestites, and the need of a lot of money. The sample group defined themselves very differently from these stereotypes as they were not transvestites and did not barter homosexualities for money.

2.4.1 Only "transvestites" are male prostitutes

The majority of the group stereotypes male prostitutes as transvestites. The nature of transvestites is that they love men and want sex with men. Some are "sex fiends".

Kaen: "Male prostitutes are transvestites, according to their nature of loving men and wanting men as boyfriends. Gays in general don't like transvestites so they have to dress beautifully like girls to get gays to like them. Earning money and getting to sleep with gays, transvestites will brag to their friends that they have many boyfriends. I'm not a transvestite, I never thought of selling sex. The money they give is not for the sex but kind of as a way of commitment, for next time, something like that."

Diang: "Most male prostitutes are transvestites. Transvestites like boyfriends and sleeping with men, so they sell themselves in order to sleep with men and brag to their friends that men love them. I'm not like them; I didn't mean to get money, I just do it for fun and free beer as well as sexual pleasure. They give me money because they like me, not as a fee."

Jilan: “Male prostitutes are transvestites. Normally transvestites love men and want to sleep with them but very few men want to do that. I’m not a transvestite and I don’t sell myself. The transvestites give me money by themselves. It’s not a fee but because they like me, and we give each other pleasure.”

Siangnoi: “Male prostitutes are transvestites. I think they’re sex fiends who can’t get enough of sleeping with men so they sell themselves to satisfy their need. I’m not a sex fiend. They give me money but it’s not a fee. They just like me and the sex.”

Sudket: “Male prostitutes are transvestites, as they like to sleep with men often so they would sell themselves. I’m not a transvestite, I just want to have fun, eat snacks, and have sexual pleasure. If they give me money, I take it, not as a fee but because they are pleased with me.

Someone had the stereotype of male prostitutes as men who are not transvestites but have no jobs.

Om: “Male prostitutes either like the job or do it because they have no job. Those who like the job might be transvestites because they like to sleep with men. Those who are not transvestites probably have no job so they sell themselves; it’s not that they don’t study. I’m studying and not working, but the transvestites give me money by themselves not as a fee but because they’re pleased with the sexual pleasure we have together.”

2.4.2 Only males who want lots of money are prostitutes

Part of the sample group felt that male prostitutes entered in the job because they wanted a lot of money to buy expensive things. Earnings from previous jobs were not enough so they’d prostitute themselves to get more money.

Kham: “I think male prostitutes purposely try to get money. They want lots of money, maybe to buy a car. They have jobs but the jobs don’t pay enough. I go to see transvestites because I want free beer and sexual pleasure. I think a little bit about the money but it’s not a fee, it’s a way of showing they are pleased with me.”

Kuum: “Male prostitutes want money to buy expensive things like cars to show off. They work but their salaries aren’t enough so they try to find

more money. I don't mean to get money. I go see gays or transvestites to drink beer and have sexual pleasure. If they give me money, I take it. I see it as a trust, not as a fee."

Daengnoi: "Male prostitutes are good looking. Most are waiters in restaurants, and young. They sell themselves to transvestites because they need money. Transvestites give them a lot. They use the money to buy things like CD players. I don't go to transvestites to get money, but if they give any, I take it. It's not a fee but to show they like me."

Soh: "Male prostitutes include transvestites and real men. They sell themselves because they need money, such as to buy drugs. They have a job but it doesn't pay enough. I don't want money to buy things, and the transvestites give me money themselves. It's not a fee but because they like me."

The majority of the sample group stereotyped male prostitutes as transvestites because by nature they love gays and want to have sex with men, but few men would want to enter in homosexual exchange, so they sell themselves as a way to sleep with men. Transvestites believe that having sex is a sign of success in love. Some transvestites are sex fiends and want lots of sex, so they sell themselves to fulfill their need. Another part of the group felt that male prostitutes entered in that jobs because they wanted lots of money to buy expensive items such as cars. The earnings from their normal jobs are not enough. Therefore, prostitution is a way to fulfill the need for sex of transvestites and the need for money of men who want to buy expensive things. The sample group think of themselves differently from male prostitutes because they are not transvestites, they do not sell sex for money. From this, the sample group felt that they were not male prostitutes.

2.5 I'm not "child prostitute"

The sample group felt that male child prostitutes wanted money as the allowance from their parents were not enough. Some children are tempted by the money while others are tricked. The sample group felt that they were different from because they did not sell themselves for money and neither were they tempted or tricked.

Only children who want money are prostitutes

The majority of the sample group had a stereotype of male child prostitutes as wanting money to buy unnecessary things, but whose allowance was not enough.

Sudket: “Male child prostitutes want money; the money they get from their parents is not enough. They want to buy cigarettes, beer, drugs. Foreigners have a lot of money and they tempt the children with it. I don’t sell myself and don’t feel any desire to.”

Siangnoi: “Most male children who prostitute themselves do so to foreigners in Bangkok. I think the kid want money to go out and buy games. Parents don’t give them enough money. I don’t want to sell myself; I don’t use that much money.”

Kapom: “Male children prostitute themselves because they want money for games or drugs, and their allowance isn’t enough. I’ve never wanted to sell myself or use money for these kinds of things.”

Daengnoi: “Male children prostitute themselves because transvestites tempt them with money. They want the money to entertain themselves but their parents don’t give them enough. I’m not selling myself. The transvestites give me money by themselves.”

A part of the sample group had a stereotype that male child prostitutes, besides getting enough money from their parents, feel that the work is easier than farming.

Kham: “Male children who prostitute themselves get little money from their parents. The children want lots of money and will sell themselves because it’s easier than farming. Some kid buy drugs with the money. Some are still at school, living with parents. Some are out of school and don’t want to farm so they sell themselves. I don’t smoke or use drugs. I drink because the transvestites treat me. I don’t sell myself.”

Some of the sample group felt that male children sell themselves because they are tempted by money or have been tricked, or gotten into the habit of shopping.

Kaen: “Male child prostitutes are primary kid. Foreigners tempt them with money, so they sell themselves and use the money on games. The transvestites don’t tempt me with money; I don’t sell myself.”

Om: “Male child prostitutes are at primary school. Foreigners trick them. They don’t come from poor families but they’re young enough to be tricked. I haven’t been tricked. I’m not selling myself.”

Jilan: “Male child prostitutes such as at Pattaya were probably tricked. Once they have money, they continuously want money to buy things like drugs. I haven’t been tricked by transvestites and I’m not a drug addict, as my mom and grandma are concerned about this issue. I don’t sell myself.”

Some of the sample group felt that male children prostitute themselves because they are bad boys and have left home so they sell themselves in order to get money to use or for drugs or other things.

Diang: “Male child prostitutes are disobedient, addicted to drugs, don’t go to school, and run away to Bangkok. Foreigners give them money for sex and they take it because they need the money. I’m not like them. I’m still in school, I don’t do drugs, and I don’t sell myself.”

Soh: “I think male child prostitutes are naughty, addicted to drugs, and leave school. They don’t have money to buy drugs so they sell themselves. Or some kid want money to buy mobile phones or clothes so they sell themselves. I’m not a drug addict and don’t want mobile phones. I’ve never considered selling myself.”

Someone felt that male children prostitute themselves because they don’t get enough money from their jobs to go out or buy unnecessary things.

Kuum: “I think the male children who prostitute themselves in Pattaya because foreigners like kid come from elsewhere to work, but they don’t get paid enough. They want money for drugs, beer, and going out, so they sell themselves. I don’t need money to go out or buy this kind of thing. I don’t smoke. Beer is given by the transvestites. I’ve never considered selling myself.”

The majority of the sample group stereotyped male child prostitutes as kid who need money to buy unnecessary items or services such as cigarettes, drugs, beer, or going out. Allowances from parents are not enough, so they

solve the problems by selling themselves. Some children were tempted by money while others were tricked into selling themselves. Some were naughty and ran away from home, therefore needing money to support themselves. Some work but receive insufficient pay in order to buy things. The sample group felt that they were different from these male child prostitutes because they did not sell themselves for money, they were not tempted or tricked, they did not run away from home and therefore don't need to support themselves. Because of these differences, the sample group denied that they were at all similar to male child prostitutes.

3. The sequential process of homosexual exchange

The process of homosexual exchange is a sequential process with many factors coming into play, all of which support going forward to the next stage. This research found the stages in the process:

- Homosexual experiences before homosexual exchange process
- Beginning in homosexual exchange
- Continuing in homosexual exchange
- Maintaining in homosexual exchange

3.1 Homosexual experiences before homosexual exchange process

The process of homosexual exchange starts with homosexual experiences that the sample group has had with people close to them from school or from their neighbors, as in the following situations.

3.1.1 Homosexual experiences with teachers

“Siangnoi” experienced homosexual activities with his male teacher, which started with activities that Siangnoi was familiar with and had done before, such as masturbating. Siangnoi was the “passive”.

“One of the male teachers at school is gay. He's married and has 2 children. I've known for about 2 years. He would tease the male students and

touch their ‘things’. Everyone in my class has had their thing touched. One day my teacher told me to go to his house in the evening, so I went. He told me his wife had taken their kid to see her mother. He gave me a beer and then jerked me off with his hand. I was used to him grabbing my penis and jerking off with my friends so it wasn’t strange.”

The teacher developed Siangnoi’s homosexual experiences in other forms, such as giving oral sex with Siangnoi as the “passive” and entering in anal sex with Siangnoi as the “active”. Siangnoi cooperated because the teacher told him he’d get more pleasure this way than what they had been doing and more pleasure than heterosexual sex with his girlfriend.

“I went to my teacher’s house the next week. He gave me a beer and ‘sucked’ me. I let him because he said it would be more pleasurable than jerking off. I was curious, and he told me that he trusted that I wouldn’t tell anyone. I liked it. It was warm. I had more pleasure than by jerking off. Later on, he would give me beer and then give me a blow job. He then told me to ‘take him from behind.’ At first I didn’t want to because I was afraid it would stink and hurt but he said to try and I’ll be hooked. He said it would be better than ‘doing’ my girlfriend. It didn’t stink or hurt. He told me to close my eyes, then took my penis and put it in his ass.”

Siangnoi had homosexual experiences with a gay friend of his teachers and with a transvestite friend.

“Another week, my teacher’s gay friend was there. He gave me beer and told me he’s going on an errand to take care of his friend. His friend hugged me, gave me a suck job, and told me to ‘take him from behind’, which I did. His friend called me over to his house twice in the evening. The 2nd time, there was a transvestite about 30- 40 there. He ‘sucked’ me and let me ‘take him from behind’. I did it because I’ve done it before. These 3 rotated in calling me over for about 2-3 months.”

“Kuum” also experienced homosexual activities with his

“thing” means penis

“take from behind” means anal homosexuality

teacher, who used step-by-step efforts to get Kuum to enter in homosexuality with him.

“My teacher is male, married and has no kid. His wife works in Bangkok. He looks like a regular gay but in fact he’s gay. I’ve known him for about a year, since I started. He invited me to his house one day.”

The teacher started by letting Kuum become familiar with touching, by letting him give a massage.

“When I got there, my teacher turned on a normal movie video and told me to massage him.”

The teacher familiarized Kuum with homosexuality by letting him watch movies and tested his readiness by suggesting he do something. Kuum refused.

“2-3 days later, my teacher told me to go to his house in the evening. He let me watch a porn video of two gays. I think it was him, because the gay was fat, white, and moved like him but the video didn’t show his face. He told me to massage his legs and ‘suck’ him but I refused, not daring to. I didn’t think he’d ask me to do that.”

The teacher kept on trying by letting Kuum drink beer and switching to be the “active”. He masturbated Kuum, who cooperated because he had once done it with his friend. Kuum then let his teacher “suck” him because he had once received oral sex from a girl. His teacher encouraged him to let his imagination run free.

“Another week, the teacher invited me over and gave me beer to drink and new gay porn to watch. I massaged his legs while he masturbated me. I didn’t object because I’ve done that before with friends at school and at home. The next week, I was given beer and he ‘sucked’ me. I let him because I’ve had girls do it to me. I liked it. He told me to think of my girlfriend while he was doing it, and I had an orgasm.”

The teacher led Kuum to become an “active” in giving oral sex. Kuum cooperated because he was close to the teacher and trusted him.

“The next week, he got me to ‘suck’ him. I did it for him; it wasn’t strange, since he’s done it for me. It was like we were close, and trusted each other.”

Afterwards, Kuum experienced anal sex as the “active” with a transvestite.

“After ‘doing’ it with the teacher, a senior student introduced me to a transvestite who was a 2-3 years older. He asked me to his house and I went. I was curious to know how transvestites slept with each other. He gave me a beer, massaged me, and jerked and ‘sucked’ me and then ‘entered him from behind’. I did it because this transvestite looked like a girl, he was slender, had a small waist, and dressed like a girl. I just imagined him as a girl. I had sex with him and my teacher for 2 months.”

3.1.2 Homosexual experiences with friends

“Kapom” had homosexual experiences through masturbating with friend who was transvestite. Kapom was the “passive” and cooperated because he had entered in the activity before. He also received oral sex as the “passive” because he saw the act in present media and felt that it was a normal sexual practice.

“When I was studying, there was a transvestite in the same class. We’d been friends since we were little and went to the same school. He was a transvestite since Matthayom; he was beautiful and walked, talked, and acted like a girl. He wanted to be my ‘girlfriend’ but since we were both gays I felt it was impossible. He had a motorcycle that he let me ride with him to and from school. My parents told me not to be seen with him often because others would think we were together. I said I was just getting a ride home. He would masturbate me often and sometimes ‘suck’ me. I let him because we were close. I used to masturbate with friends. It was a normal tease. As for his doing a ‘suck’, I saw it as normal in movies and videos.”

After Kapom continued studying in another district, he had

“enter from behind” means anal homosexuality

homosexual experiences with an older transvestite, receiving masturbation and oral sex.

Kapom: “When I went to study in the city, I didn’t have sex with my transvestite friend again. An acquaintance introduced me to a transvestite about 30 years old. He was girly but dressed like a gay. He treated me to whisky and took me to his place. He masturbated then sucked me. He’d do the same, the next few times we went out. I’d had sex with my friend for years, but with this older transvestite it was just 2 months.”

“Daengnoi” also had homosexual experiences with his transvestite friend, with him receiving masturbation and oral sex because he had done this before. Daengnoi was also the “active” in anal sex, since his transvestite friend was like a girl and he used his imagination to help.

“I’d known my transvestite friend for 2 years. He was better at school so I let him help me with homework. He lived in a dormitory. I went to see him and he’d tease me by masturbating me. I let him because I’d done it before with friends at my old school. Sometimes he’d suck me, and I’d let him because a masseuse had done that to me before and it was pleasurable, but I didn’t go to masseurs anymore, it’s expensive. As for entering him from behind, he told me to. It was also that we were close, went out together. He looked like a girl; he had long hair and was pretty, acted like a girl. I just thought of him as a girl. He’d suck me and then I’d enter him.”

Daengnoi also had homosexual experiences with an older transvestite, as the “passive” masturbation and oral sex.

“There was an older transvestite aged about 30-40 that I met in a karaoke. He knew my transvestite friend, and invited us to drink at his house, where we all got drunk. He masturbated me and sucked me. We went drinking after that and repeated the situation. I had been having sexual activity with my friend for years, and entered in it for 2-3 months with the older transvestite.”

3.1.3 Homosexual experiences with neighbors

“Jilan” had homosexual experiences with an “uncle” through masturbation, where he was the “active” and the “passive”. He cooperated because he had done it before. He also was the “passive” in oral sex.

“I have an uncle who isn’t family, he just knows my mother and grandmother. My mother tells me to call him ‘uncle’. I’ve known him since he was little. He acts and speaks like a man, was married then divorced without kid. When he walked he’d puff his chest. I thought he was a transvestite. He’d stay at my house for about 4-5 days when there were festivals or when he had business in the city. My mother let him sleep in my room. During the night he’d hug me, touch my penis and suck it, and put my hand around his own penis. I cooperated because I’d done this before with friends and didn’t think it was strange.”

Jilan also had homosexual experiences with many teenaged transvestites after “uncle” went to work abroad.

“There were some transvestites at my school who acted and dressed like girls. In the evening, I’d get bored. Uncle was abroad. I wanted sexual pleasure so I went with my friends to the fields, where many teen transvestites were. It was dark and I don’t know how many there were. They gave me beer and then when they were drunk began to jerk me off and suck me. They’d invite me rather often but they changed places. I had sexual relations with uncle for a year, with this gang for 3 months.”

“Om” had homosexual relations with “aunt”. Om was the “passive” of masturbation – he’d done it before with friends – as well as oral sex, because “aunt” said it would feel better than masturbation.

“There was a 20-something transvestite who wasn’t a relative but knew my mother and came over to my house frequently. I’d known him since I was little. I called him ‘aunt.’ He dressed like a gay but talked and walked like a girl. He liked to ask me to the movies and other places, treated me to snacks, and gave me money. I’d go to his house a lot. Sometimes he’d buy me clothes. He’d take me to his room and tell me to lie down, then he’d masturbate me and suck me. I used to masturbate with friends and didn’t think it was strange. I let him suck me because he

said it would feel better than masturbation. I never did anything to him because he'd tell me to lie still."

Om also had homosexual experiences with a teenaged transvestite after "aunt" paid less interest in him.

"There was a teenaged transvestite who liked to invite me to his dorm. We knew each other because he liked to tease people as they walked in and out of the school gates during break time. I talked to him; he was dressed like a girl. He invited me to his dorm, treated me to beer, and then masturbated and sucked me. I went to see him often because aunt didn't invite me much. I was with aunt for just a semester and with this transvestite for about a month or so."

People in the sample group had homosexual experiences with various individuals in their social circle. For example, "Diang" had a friend who had a transvestite boyfriend. He therefore met with transvestites until he received a homosexual experience as a "passive" of masturbation. Diang cooperated because he used to do it with friends. He also let the transvestite give him oral sex because he felt it was a normal sexual practice, given that it is seen in various media.

"A male classmate had a transvestite boyfriend. We liked to go out together and one time at his dormitory I met some transvestites. They were dressed like girls and talked in high voices. They treated us to beers and as we were leaving they chased us into the bedroom. They pounced on me, masturbating and sucking me. I didn't think it was wrong because I masturbated with friends before. When the female classmates left the room, we'd all masturbate each other. As for sucking, I've seen it in porn magazines and videos so I don't feel guilty about it."

Diang also had similar homosexual experiences with an older transvestite, where he was the "passive" of masturbation and oral sex.

"I got to know a transvestite in the mini-mart. He talked to me first. His voice was sweet and soft but he dressed like a gay; he invited me to his house, where he masturbated me and sucked me off. I had sexual relations with him and the teenaged transvestite for about 3 months."

"Soh" is another in the sample group who has had homosexual experiences with transvestites, in part because his brother encouraged him. His brother has a transvestite boyfriend and encouraged Soh to be close to other

transvestites until Soh had homosexual relations with one. Soh lived with his brother – who is actually his cousin – after his parents divorced. His father left for another district with his sister and his mother re-married and went to Bangkok. They never send money and hardly visit. Soh's well-being and school expenses are looked after by his brother, who owns a restaurant. Soh works there.

“One transvestite, about 30, dressed like a man but made his voice high. He went to eat at the restaurant a lot. He'd bring snacks for me. At first I didn't like him because I was embarrassed when he'd touch my hand but I talked to him because he was a customer. My brother told me to 'keep talking to him, he's good to us, comes to our shop often and brings us things'. My brother has a transvestite boyfriend, as well as a girlfriend. He hasn't married yet.”

The transvestite started by taking care of Soh and then having homosexual experiences, with Soh being the “passive” of masturbation – which he had done before – and let the transvestite give him oral sex because he trusted the transvestite. Because of the pleasure he received from these activities, he then became the “active” in anal sex with the transvestite.

“The transvestite would invite me to his home. I wasn't really free but when I was I'd go see him. Every time he'd take care of me, ask me if I was tired. If I said yes he'd wash me, massage me, and give me things to eat. If I told him I wasn't tired he'd masturbate me and suck me. I was familiar with masturbating with friends, and I let him suck me because I trusted him. Afterwards he let me enter him from behind. He'd suck me then let me enter him. He taught me how, and I did it because I trusted him and was close to him. He pampered me. I'd never had someone do that before. I was happy. I liked it when I was pampered over. It gave me sexual pleasure.”

From his experiences with the first transvestite and from support from his brother, Soh began having homosexual experiences with a 2nd transvestite.

“There was a transvestite aged about 30-40, dressed like a man, who came to eat at the restaurant. He'd talk to me and told me that his friend, the first transvestite, had recommended the place. He invited me home. My brother told me 'whoever does good to us, do good to them' or 'whoever loves us, love them.’

So I went. He gave me snacks to eat, massaged me, and sucked me. The two invited me for 2-3 months.”

“Sudket” had homosexual experiences with a teenaged transvestite he met at a discotheque. The transvestite invited him to his dorm, and Sudket became the “passive” of masturbation. He had had this kind of experience with his brother and friends. He was also the “passive” in oral sex, as it was a continuation of the masturbation.

“I met the transvestite in a disco. I went to discos once a month and saw him twice. He dressed exactly like a girl. He invited me to his dorm with 2 of his transvestite friends. I received masturbation and oral sex. I didn’t think it odd, as I’d done it before with my brother and friends. I let him suck me, as he did it rather fast after masturbating me, and I was drunk. I went out with them for about 2-3 months.”

“Kham” was also another who had homosexual experiences with transvestites. He felt that he loved transvestites who looked like girls, and therefore he found himself getting close to “beautiful” transvestites which led to his homosexual experiences. He was the “passive” of masturbation (which he’d done before) and oral sex (which he’d seen on various media and therefore did not think it strange).

“I fell in love with a transvestite who lived in a village next to mine. He dressed and put make-up on like a girl, with a girl’s body – large breasts, small waist. He’d won the lottery and went to have breast injections. I’d known him for a week but I loved his face. I wanted him as a girlfriend; if only he’d been born a girl, I’d be courting him. Even if he is a gay, I still love him. I would talk to him at home often. We drank beer and I ‘lost my virginity’ to him. He masturbated and sucked me. I let him because I’d masturbated before with friends and one time had a transvestite impulsively jerked me off while I was in the bathroom. As I had a beautiful transvestite masturbate me, I didn’t think anything. When he sucked me, I felt it was natural, because books and videos showed gay-gay and girl-girl sessions a lot.”

Besides having sexual experiences with the beautiful transvestite, Kham also had experience with a transvestite who looked like a gay. He

was the “active” this time, for anal sex – the transvestite told him he’d have more pleasure than normal sex.

“The transvestite was an adult, dressed like a gay and looked like one but had a sweet voice. He knew my aunt, who introduced us. We liked each other. He invited me to his house, treated me to beer, and sang karaoke. I wanted to see if a boyish transvestite could ‘get me up.’ He jerked and sucked me, and it was pleasurable like the beautiful transvestite. I went to see him often and he told me to enter him from behind. I did it because he assured me that it would be a lot better than sex with girls. I was drunk and curious; he took my penis and slid it into him. I was the beautiful transvestite’s boyfriend for 3 months but he went to Bangkok so we broke up. Now I’ve been having sexual relations with the boyish transvestite for 2 months.”

“Kaen” had homosexual experiences with a transvestite he met in a pub. The transvestite invited him home, where Kaen was the “passive” of masturbation (it was something he’d done with his friends) and oral sex (a continuation from masturbation).

Kaen: “I got to know the transvestites in a pub. They were girly, and when we got out of the disco they invited me for drinks at their house. I went with 3 of my other friends. The transvestites massaged my legs, then alternated with masturbating me. I wasn’t embarrassed because I’d done it before with my friends. I went to their house a few times afterwards, where sometimes they suck me. I was having sex with transvestites for about 3 months.”

It can be seen that the sample group had homosexual experiences with 2 groups of people: one group consisted of individuals who were closely involved in their social relationships at school and at home, such as teachers, fellow students, and neighbors; the other group consisted of those who were closely involved with the group outside the mentioned circles. In any case, the sample group felt that the majority of both groups were transvestites. Teenaged transvestites would dress and act like girls, while adult transvestites would dress like a man but still act like a woman. The majority of the group had homosexual experiences with both kinds of transvestites. Getting to know the 2nd transvestite and the next one depended on introductions or communications from the 1st transvestite or from their own initiation.

The sexual experiences would be done during the evening. A majority of the group would consume alcoholic beverages as well, such as beer or whisky. The location most often used would be the homes of the transvestites. The transvestites developed the homosexual experiences of the group, at the beginning starting with drinking, massaging, and then leading into the act, with the transvestites being the “active” and the sample group being the “passive”, and finally leading the group to become the “active” as well. The development of homosexual experiences with an adult transvestites would be slow and sequential whereas those with a teenaged transvestites would be hurried.

The homosexual experiences developed all of the sample group into the “passive” of two forms, masturbation and oral sex, where masturbation grew from activities the sample group was familiar with, such as having friends masturbate for them which they saw as normal. When transvestites masturbated them, they didn’t see any difference except the “active” was a transvestite and was thus easily accepted. Oral sex developed from the homosexual experiences of masturbation through the cajoling of transvestites who said oral sex would give them more pleasure than masturbation. Also, some people had already received oral sex from their girlfriends so they would use their imagination for the development. Also, powerful media images let them accept and have oral sex.

The homosexual experiences developed 6 people in the group into the “active” – 1 for masturbation, 4 for anal sex, and 1 for oral sex and anal sex. Therefore, 5 people in the group had never been the “active”. Four of the people who developed into the “active” had their first experiences with an adult transvestite; the other 2 people started with a teenaged transvestite. The homosexual experience of masturbation was an activity the sample group had done before and therefore accepted easily. Oral sex developed from the familiarity and trust between the sample group and the transvestites. For anal sex, this came about because of cajoling from the transvestites, who said the sample group would receive more pleasure than from heterosexual sex. Because some of the transvestites were like women, the sample group used their imagination and accepted the homosexual experience of anal sex.

It can be said that the homosexual exchange of the sample group came about through familiarity with the activities from friends. When they do

the same activities with transvestites, the sample group therefore accepts it, and the exchange sequentially develops, with each person being a “passive” as it is the way of gaining the most pleasure and relaxation, without having any motive for material gain.

3.2 Beginning in homosexual exchange

Each of the sample group members has had homosexual experiences with various individuals before, developing their experiences as a “passive” and sometimes as an “active” as was presented earlier. This enabled familiarity with the physical and mental sides of homosexuality, which would be supporting conditions for the sample group to enter into their first homosexual exchange. It is however just a supporting condition that is insufficient to push the sample group into the first homosexual exchange. It was found that there were many other conditions that had an effect, such as having homosexualities for exchange in their community, and persuasion of close friend to engage in homosexual exchange for extra money.

3.2.1 Homosexual exchange in the community

Most people in the sample group know from friends and other people that in their community, homosexual exchange were done for money and other things, which is what male youths use to solve the problems of lack of money.

Kuum: “An older student told me that one teacher liked to invite good-looking students to his home to ‘do’ him. He’d pay 100 baht each time. The teacher also invited him, and he did whatever the teacher asked. If he wanted money, he’d go see the teacher.”

Daengnoi: “My friends told me he saw men living together in a dorm...about my age. They’d go out drinking often. They had a new motorcycle, so they had money. My friend told me they prostituted themselves to transvestites. He would see transvestites pick them up in the evening and send them late at night.”

Sudket: “I heard from friends that whichever man transvestites liked, they’d give money to...but they wouldn’t just give money, they’d want sex as well.”

Kaen: “I knew that by sleeping with transvestites I’d get money, because I’d heard it from friends that when you sleep with a transvestite, he gives you money.”

Siangnoi: “My friends told me about another male classmate who prostituted himself to teachers, sometimes asking him for money or for cases of beer.”

Kapom: “I kind of knew from friends that transvestites like to give money to men but they’d ask to sleep with them as well.”

Om: “My group knew if you let a transvestite ‘do’ you, he’ll give you money.”

In knowing about the homosexual exchange in their community, the sample group realized that they could get pleasure as well as material things such as money or goods from the exchange. The community also had an environment that encouraged homosexual exchange because the transvestites were ready to engage in these activities and some of them were known to the sample group, such as being their teachers. These conditions supported their first homosexual exchange.

3.2.2 Persuasion by close friend to earn money

Some people in the sample group perceived more of homosexual exchange from the behavior of close friend, such as knowing that this activity gave friend more money and was a way to solve the problem of lack of money. For example, “Jilan” knew that his close friend “Diang” had money to use from homosexual exchange. When Jilan had money problem, he’d let Diang support the behavior.

Jilan: “I’m in the same class as Diang. We’re close...I saw he’d have new clothes continuously and had money. I talked to him, told him I didn’t have money to go out and wanted some. I knew he went out with a transvestite at the dorm because I asked from my friend’s transvestite boyfriend. I told Diang to take me to see a transvestite and said this one had more money than the one at the dorm.”

“Sudket” had homosexual exchange that started from comparing himself to his close friend “Diang”. Sudket felt that he “wasn’t in the league” with Diang regarding girlfriends, finances, and clothes.

“Diang was smooth with girls. I went out with him a lot, knew he had lots of pretty girlfriends. Diang is always good to me, always paying for me. He dressed well. I only had my brother’s hand-me-downs; I used to have a girlfriend and we’d had sex, but we’ve broken up and she has a new boyfriend.”

Sudket wanted money for clothes and wanted a girlfriend.

“I wanted money to buy clothes like Diang. I wanted lots of girlfriends, because having lots of girlfriends meant you were good.”

Diang told him that if he wanted those things, he needed money; he also said their looks were “in the same league.”

“Diang told me I’d have to invest in taking them out and dressing well. Girls liked it. Looks had partly to do with it. He said we looked better than most.”

Sudket knew Diang got money from homosexual exchange.

“Before going to discos, Diang would say he didn’t have enough money and would go to ask for some at a transvestite’s house. He told me to wait at the gate; he’d go in for just a moment and would come out with money.”

Sudket wanted money to use so decided to enter in the same activities.

“I didn’t have money. Diang got money from transvestites. I was Diang’s friend so I should have transvestites who liked me and would give me money. I told Diang I wanted money so he took me to a transvestite’s house.”

The sample group’s homosexual experiences prepared them in the techniques for exchange, and they were able to be both the “passive” and the “active”. From their perceiving of homosexual exchange in their community, they knew the community had a ready environment for these activities. This can be seen from how the teenaged males would use the exchange as a way to solve the problem of lack of money. Also, knowing the homosexual activity of close friend gave them a ready supporter for homosexual activity. These factors led them to be ready for

homosexual exchange and became supporting factors in getting the group at the turning point into their first homosexual exchange.

3.3 Continuing in homosexual exchange

Society prevents its members from violating rules or norms through social control. Regarding homosexual exchange, society members perceive it violates norms; as society members, the sample group also perceives this, as well as the control that society exercises in order to stop the actions. Social control consists of obstacles toward homosexual exchange. However, the group has found ways to lessen society control with rationalizing their homosexual exchange.

3.3.1 Perceiving social control

Social control is a tool to control society members, making them adhere to established norms and includes rewards and punishments. Official rewards include a certificate in writing and unofficial rewards include smiles and acceptance. Official punishments for violating norms include jailing and unofficial punishments include criticizing, teasing, and being cut off from family. All of these are examples of external control. External control is exerted by general people, such as officials and villagers, through social response and by significant others such as parents and relatives. Perceiving the attitudes and feelings of others will help in deciding how to act. Internal control is exerted by the individual, borne from being taught so deeply that he has developed a conscience where he doesn't dare act against norms (Suda Piromkaew, In Paungpet Suratanakhavikul and Cherman Rachapantharak, Eds., 2001: 74). Social control, whether internal or external, are tools to organize society and prevent deviant behavior. For homosexual exchange, it was found that the group perceived of external control (the response of society and significant others) and internal control (the response of themselves).

3.3.1.1 Perceiving social response

Some people in the sample group perceived of external control over homosexual exchange. They've experienced with the response

of society regarding male prostitutes, such as yelling that they have to secretly do it. Homosexual exchange is a kind of prostitution; the sample group therefore feels that if anyone saw, they would have the same sort of reaction.

Kaen: “In my village, there are some transvestites prostitutes. People would talk to them politely to their face but would criticize them viciously behind their backs. I think if a real man began prostituting himself the villagers would criticize him as well.”

Kham: “Male prostitutes need to do it secretly because they’re embarrassed. They sell themselves at night so no one knows and they don’t get criticized.”

Diang: “I get money from transvestites. If someone knows, then things are over. Society doesn’t let men sleep with men. They’d be critical.”

Some people in the sample group have had experience with male prostitutes who are shunned and looked upon as freaks in society.

Daengnoi: “Transvestites will move in their own circles because people dislike and shun them. If they knew the transvestites were prostitutes, they’d be even more shunned. If a man prostituted himself, I think it’d be worse, since a man selling himself to other men is weirder than a transvestite.”

Siangnoi: “I’ve heard people say that male prostitutes are even more disgusting than female prostitutes because they actually sell themselves to men. They said the world was getting crazier and crazier.”

3.3.1.2 Perceiving response from significant others

Some people in the sample group perceived of external control for homosexual exchange through experiences with significant others, who felt that those who entered in such activities would bring disaster to society.

Kaen: “My mother would say that female prostitutes spread disease to men, who spread it to their wives and children. Male prostitutes

would make the world a desert because it was really unnatural for men to sell themselves to other men.”

Sudket: “My parents said male prostitutes were freaks to sell themselves to other men, which stopped progress.”

Some of the sample group had experience with and guessed the response of significant others regarding those who enter in homosexual exchange.

Daengnoi: “My mom wondered how male prostitutes could do what they did. Men are stronger than women, and they should go find work to do.”

Diang: “If my mom knew I got money from transvestites, she’d yell at me to stop.”

3.3.1.3 Perceiving self response

The sample group perceived the internal control of their own selves in the responsive feelings they had regarding violating social norms.

Diang: “I know I’m doing wrong because men don’t sleep with other men, transvestite or not, and get money from it. I feel like a prostitute sometimes.”

Kuum: “Sleeping with transvestites and gays is wrong and disgusting, and I even get money from it. I can hide it from others but not myself. I feel bad sometimes.”

Daengnoi: “I didn’t mean to get transvestites’ money; they just gave it to me. I know it’s bad, like I’m prostituting myself. I feel bad about it.”

Kham: “I know that it’s wrong for transvestites to give me money for sex because it’s like prostitution. I do feel disgusted at myself sometimes.”

Om: “I know it’s wrong to get money from transvestites, as it’s like prostitution.”

The sample group has perceived social control both externally (from society and from significant others) through criticism and internally (from themselves) through their responsive feelings for themselves. Experiencing these social controls will stop them from entering in such behavior, or if they do it they will hide it from people, making them feel dishonest and disrespected. These are obstacles to homosexual exchange.

3.3.2 Rationalizing homosexual exchange

Although the sample group perceives that homosexual exchange violate social norms and that society would respond disapprovingly, they still have homosexual exchange. They begin developing feelings of guilt for doing wrong, so in order to continue in such activities they need to lessen their guilt through rationalization, such as an acceptable way of student suitability, increasing income, an easy job, and better than prostitution. That decreases the violence of social control's influences.

3.3.2.1 Suitable for students

The sample group felt that entering in homosexual exchange was suitable for students who wanted to earn money, more so than construction work or waiter-work, as they are easier jobs, don't end too late, and don't make students sleepy in class.

Kaen: "I used to work as a waiter in a hotel from 6 PM to 2 AM for 2 months before quitting. I was so tired and slept in class. The waiter job wasn't heavy but it made me so tired during the day. Getting money from transvestites is easier. I'm not tired."

Kapom: "There aren't any jobs for students to do. There's just this way that's easy money. Construction is too heavy for children; waiter jobs go on late, making you tired."

Siangnoi: "I have friends working as waiters at night. They fall asleep during class. I don't feel sleepy at all."

Sudket: “I think this is an easy way to get money. You don’t lack sleep. My friends who work as waiters get tired because they lack sleep. Construction is too heavy.”

Kuum: “There aren’t any good jobs for students that don’t end too late, just this.”

3.3.2.2 Easy job, good pay

The sample group felt that homosexual exchange was an easy job with better money than such jobs as construction or repair.

Om: “While we’re still studying, working in other jobs is inconvenient. Some of my friends are electric repairmen. There’s a lot of work but they get low pay. The owner would give them 30 baht out of a 200 baht repair, claiming they were still students. They worked all day for 30 baht. That’s not worth it. Transvestites give better money.”

Kham: “Other jobs are heavy, like construction jobs. They get low pay too. Compared with transvestites, the job is easy and has good pay.”

Jilan: “Getting money from transvestites is easy, quick, and comfortable. You don’t have to carry heavy things like in construction work.”

Daengnoi: “It’s easier than working in construction like my dad, tired and hot.”

Someone felt that homosexual exchange did not need as much strength as construction and therefore is suitable even to small males who can’t work in construction.

Diang: “Getting money from transvestites is easy and doesn’t tire you out. My friend helps his dad over the summer in construction, carrying cement pails. His hands are blistered and scarred. He gets paid in combination with his father. I think it is hard work but my friend is big and strong. I’m small and not as strong as he is. The work would be too heavy for me. You don’t need strength to get money from transvestites.”

3.3.2.3 Less disgraceful

The sample group compared themselves to prostitutes in terms of good and bad. They rationalized they were less disgraceful because they got money only sometimes; it wasn't a profession.

Kaen: "I'm not as disgraceful as female or male prostitutes. I don't do this as a profession. They do it every day. They're more disgraceful than I am."

Diang: "I think I'm better because I don't do this regularly or as a profession, but they do this as a job and don't think about getting another kind of job."

Sudket: "If I compare myself to females and male prostitutes, they are worse than I am because I'm not taking this up as a profession."

Kham: "I'm better than female or male prostitutes because I don't do this as a job."

Some of the sample group rationalized they were less disgraceful because they didn't do it just for money or regularly, whereas prostitutes made a profession off of it.

Daengnoi: "I only get money when I don't have money to go out. This is better than those who sell themselves as a job. I don't do that. I'm better than they are."

Om: "I'm better than female or male prostitutes; I'm less disgraceful because I don't do this as a profession and don't get money all the time."

Kuum: "It's not as disgraceful as those who do it regularly for money, as a job."

The sample group felt that all prostitutes and homosexual exchange were bad and disgraceful but saw themselves as better than the prostitutes. Their family gave them low allowances to buy things; they get money to buy things, not as a profession.

Soh: "I know that both what I do and what prostitutes do is bad and disgraceful but I'm saving up to buy a motorcycle and a computer. No

one gives me money, I need to find it myself. I think I'm better than prostitutes because I buy stuff, not as a profession."

The sample group rationalizes homosexual exchange as an appropriate way to find money considering their strength and lives as students. They don't have to work late into the night like waiter jobs, which does not result in lack of sleep that would affect their studies. Their earnings are better than heavier jobs such as construction or repair, who receive low pay because they are students. They aren't strong enough to do construction. Homosexual exchange doesn't need the use of strength. When comparing themselves to prostitutes, they feel they are less disgraceful because they earn money only temporarily when they need it, not as a profession. One person used homosexual exchange to earn money in order to buy expensive items such as a motorcycle and computer.

The homosexual exchange of the sample group is hidden so that no one knows, and therefore there is no external response. There is only an internal response from their own selves, saying they are doing something wrong. This response is an obstacle or a limiting condition to further homosexual exchange, but the group still enters in the activity. They used a technique of neutralization by rationalizing that homosexual exchange are appropriate for people who have their slight bodies and are students to earn money that doesn't include lacking sleep. The pay is also better than other jobs. The money they receive is consistent with the definition of homosexual exchange in terms of earnings. When comparing themselves with prostitutes, the sample group felt they were less disgraceful because they only used it as a temporary means of getting money, not as a profession, which enables them to carry on with homosexual exchange proudly. It can be seen that their rationalizations are a technique of neutralization, helping to protect them from self-criticism, lessening any feeling of wrong-doing, and lessening internal social control. They still feel they are honorable and good. The sample group gave great importance to rationalizing homosexual exchange so that the supporting conditions for this exchange would have more weight than the dissenting conditions or obstacles. Therefore, the sample group would continue to enter in homosexual exchange.

Individuals learn how to adjust and integrate themselves with others in society through the socialization process, which is where society directly or indirectly teaches those who are to be members about roles, rules and values of the society that have been established for behaviors and relations of society members. Socialization is done throughout life, starting with the family. When individuals step into the external society, they would receive socialization from various individuals as well as context of society (Palanee Thitiwattana, In Paungpet Suratanakhavikul and Cherman Rachapantharak, Eds., 2001: 84-95). In entering into a network of homosexual exchange, the sample group adjusted themselves to the subculture of people who enter in homosexual exchange by the network socializing, getting to learn skills necessary such as techniques about homosexual exchange, protection against sexually-transmitted diseases, ideals, and norms of the group.

3.3.3 Socializing techniques of homosexual exchange

Techniques of homosexual exchange are necessary, and it was found that the sample group was socialized these through videos, VCDs, group members, and clients.

3.3.3.1 Socializing from videos and VCDs

Most people in the sample group are socialized techniques of homosexual exchange from videos and VCDs along with friends who enter in the same activities or with friends in general. The sample group was socialized the form and steps in homosexual acts.

Kham: “I watched videos and VCDs that I borrowed from transvestites or friends. We’d watch them at my friend’s dorm. He also earns money from transvestites. Sometimes we’d watch it together and at other times we’d watch with other people, depending on who wants to come. I don’t know if they earn money from transvestites. We’d watch pornographic movies with all men, all women, and some men-women sex. The all-men pornographic movies teach me methods of how to do things. Blowjobs and anal sex seem to be the base of these. I don’t watch often, maybe once every two months, but it taught me how to act with transvestites.”

Kuum: “An older friend who does what I do would invite me to his dorm to watch new pornographic movies he has. Usually the 2 of us would watch, although sometimes others would come too. I don’t know if they had anything to do with transvestites. I watch these if I’m free, such as all-men, all-women, and men-and-women. If the pornographic movies are all-men, I’d watch their methods and see if there are any new techniques. Usually the pornographic movies would have new blowjob or anal sex scenes. We’d meet up once a month or so to see the pornographic movies.”

Diang: “I’d watch videos or VCDs at home when my brother and grandfather are out. I’d meet Sudket and Jilan. Sometimes friends from school would come over when they hear about it. The pornographic movies are borrowed from transvestites or friends. If it’s an all-men movie, I’d look at how they do things such as blow jobs and anal sex. I don’t watch frequently, about once a month or so. Watching lets me learn techniques to use with clients.”

Kapom: “I watch videos and sometimes CDs. My friend invites me to watch over at his dorm. He earns money from transvestites like I do. When he has new movies he’d invite me over. We’d watch every kind of sex. If it’s all-men sex, I’d watch what they do. Two men, sometimes they’d enter in oral sex, and anal sex, more men in daisy-chain oral sex. I’d watch a movie every two months, which would help me learn techniques.”

Siangnoi: “I watch all-men pornographic movies with my friends who enter in the same activities as I do. He borrows the movies from transvestites and invites me over to his dorm. Sometimes other friends would come over and we’d watch the movies, which would have blow jobs and anal sex. Once a month or two we’d watch a movie, which has a part in teaching us how to ‘do’ a transvestite without having the transvestite tell us.”

3.3.3.2 Socializing from clients

Some people in the sample group are socialized homosexual exchange techniques from clients who are older transvestites, regarding using their imagination in these exchange.

Kaen: “A transvestite aged about 30 or so let me ‘enter him from behind’ and told me to look at the picture posted on the other side of the room, which showed a man and woman about to have sex. He told me while having anal sex with him to think about doing it to a girl.”

Jilan: “When I entered in anal sex with a transvestite, he told me to shut my eyes tightly (shut them completely) and think of my girlfriend. He was rather old, about 40 years.”

Om: “The transvestite was aged about 30 – 40 years, who taught me to enter him from behind. He told me to think of my girlfriend, which I did.”

Someone was socialized homosexual techniques from clients that were appropriate with their body forms.

Siangnoi: “I’m small, and one of my clients was large. He placed me on top of his body and sucked me. I used this method with other clients, who seemed to like this.”

3.3.3.3 Socializing from group members

Some people in the sample group were socialized techniques of making clients happy from other members in the group, such as talking politely, remembering techniques of homosexual exchange that clients like, and telling clients that they can “do” everything.

Sudket: “Diang taught me how to make clients like me, such as by talking politely and massaging the client too instead of letting them massage me all the time. Whenever a client likes something, he’d say so, and it would be good to remember it, as whatever it is he likes doing, he would want to do it again the next time.”

Jilan: “Diang told me to do anything the clients wanted or liked, and not to say that I wouldn’t, didn’t know how, or didn’t like it. I needed to hook the client first.”

Most people in the sample group were socialized techniques of homosexual exchange through watching videos and VCDs with their

friends who enter in the same activities. The movies are borrowed, and usually the location would be a friend's dorm when it is empty. From clients, the sample group was socialized the skill of using their imagination in the exchange. From group members, they were socialized how to make their clients happy. Socializing the necessary skills for homosexual exchange not only lets the sample group learn various techniques but also gives them the attitudes and values that would help mold the sample group to be like the others, which is an important part in continuing the homosexual exchange behavior of the sample group.

3.3.4 Socializing about protection from AIDS

Every one in the sample group was socialized the method of protecting themselves against AIDS from their clients, who taught them to use condoms. This is a necessary skill in entering in homosexual exchange, as would be presented by some:

Soh: "The transvestite would tell me to use condoms all the time. They are his, so I don't have to bring any. He told me that it would prevent AIDS and taught me when to wear them, which would be before he sucked me. Afterwards he'd let me enter him from behind but I would be wearing a condom."

Kuum: "My clients have condoms at his room. He told me to use them every time because he was afraid of AIDS. I would be wearing it before he gives me a blow job. If we enter in anal sex, it still stays on. I knew we had to wear it but at first I didn't know when I would need to do so when I was with a guy, but now I do."

Kapom: "The transvestite would have condoms; I don't bring any. He says it would prevent AIDS and puts one on me. Sometimes I'd put one on before he'll give me oral sex then have us enter in anal sex. At first I didn't know when to use it."

Kham: "Transvestites would protect themselves against AIDS, getting me to use one all the time. I am also afraid of getting AIDS. I'd wear one when he begins to masturbate me; afterwards we'd enter in oral or anal sex."

Siangnoi: “I wear a condom every time. The client would have it ready. He told me it would protect against AIDS; it would be worn before the oral sex.”

Om: “Clients would tell me to use condoms, which he has. I’d wear it from the very beginning before he gives me oral sex. Sometimes we’d enter in anal sex.”

Although the socializing about AIDS prevention with condoms has the feature of being taught by clients who are prepared and tell the sample group about condoms, the sample group only does it at the request of the client. In any event, the sample group has been socialized about condom protection and when to wear it, which would be before entering in oral sex that is usually followed by anal sex. Socializing how to protect against AIDS is a necessity for the sample group in becoming a network member. It is an adjustment of sexual activities to protect one’s health and the network against diseases, which is important in getting the sample group continuing in homosexual exchange.

3.3.5 Socializing about ideals and norms

People would enter in activities according to the ideals they hold to explain the advantage of the activities and living together. The sample group was socialized homosexual exchange norms from interactions between group members. The first norm is to keep the exchange a secret because to keep on having exchange they would have to be able to continually find sexual pleasure, which would necessitate secrecy. The second norm is to not use this method to find money all the time, which differentiates the group from prostitutes. Therefore, homosexual exchange is used to make money only sometimes.

3.3.5.1 Keeping homosexual exchange a secret

Homosexual exchange gives more pleasure to the sample group than other forms of sex, which makes it a method they enter in. They were socialized from group members that secrecy ensures no reactions, disgust, or

orders to stop from others, enabling them to continue with this kind of pleasure. One of their norms is therefore keeping everything a secret

Kaen: “I talked to Soh and we told each other to be careful not to let anyone know so no one would yell at us and we could keep on going to see transvestites. If anyone knows, we’d be yelled at and accused of being prostitutes or told to quit. We’d stop having fun, and where else can we find this kind of pleasure?”

Kham: “My friends and I keep this a secret. We tell each other it would be easier to keep things a secret so it would be easier to see transvestites. If anyone knew what we were doing, we’d get embarrassed and have to stop.”

Kuum: “An older friend who entered in the same activities told me I had to keep it a secret and not tell anyone. If people knew, they’d yell at me. If I wanted to have pleasure, just go to transvestites. If anyone knew, I’d have to stop.”

Kapom: “My friend, who does the same, told me to keep it a secret and not let anyone know. If people knew, they might tell my parents and then I’d have to stop, which means I wouldn’t receive this pleasure anymore.”

Jilan: “I do as my friends say. We help keep it a secret known only to the group. No one else knows. If people knew, they’d yell at us and say we were prostitutes and we’d have to stop seeing transvestites and lack the fun.”

Om: “My friends would say to keep it a secret and not let anyone know. When people know they’d punish us and say we were prostituting ourselves to transvestites. We would have to stop and not receive this kind of pleasure anymore.”

Daengnoi: “My friends and I would tell each other to be careful and keep it a secret. If people knew we’d have to stop because they’d yell at us. We wouldn’t be able to have this pleasure again. We’d have to keep it very secret.”

Diang: “My friends and I have talked about it and we agreed not to let anyone know we get money from transvestites. If anyone knew, they’d yell at us and our mothers would force us to quit. We have to keep it secret and continue having fun.”

Siangnoi: “My friends and I are careful not to let anyone know. If no one knows, it’s easier to do things. When people know, they’d yell at us and it wouldn’t be pleasurable or fun anymore.”

3.3.5.2 Not using homosexual exchange to find money all the time

The sample group was socialized another norm in comparison with prostitutes: their homosexual exchange are sometimes used to earn money when it is needed for going out or shopping whenever there is a lack of money, not as a profession. This is different from prostitutes who earn money all the time to support themselves. The sample group therefore only use the exchange to earn money some of the time.

Sudket: “I think I just want money to go out. I don’t want to do this as a profession. When I need money to go out, I then do a homosexual exchange. I don’t do this often. Prostitutes do this all the time to make a living and do nothing else. My friends say we’re not prostitutes, because we only find money just to go out.”

Jilan: “Between me and prostitutes, there is a difference. Those people would do things continually, almost daily, as a profession. I only do it sometimes when I don’t have money and want some to go out or go shopping. I’d go see transvestites for that. If I still have money I don’t go, even when they contact me.”

Kuum: “I don’t earn money every day, only when I don’t have money to use. I am not like a prostitute; I don’t find money to buy things to eat. I just get money to go out, which isn’t every day. I don’t make a profession of this.”

Kapom: “I get money from transvestites only when I don’t have money. I don’t do it on a regular basis. It’s not a profession. My friends and I don’t go out so often that we have to earn money everyday. Prostitutes do it everyday.”

Soh: “I’m not really free. I have to help in the store at home. If I’m free and a transvestite calls me, I go. It’s not a profession because I don’t do it often. A profession is doing it everyday. I talked to Kaen and we agreed we should do this only when we lack money, because we’re different from prostitutes.”

Kham: “I don’t do this as a profession like prostitutes. I only earn money when I want it, not everyday like them. My friends tell me not to go see transvestites every day, as we just use money to go out and we don’t go out everyday.”

Daengnoi: “I find money only when I don’t have it. Prostitutes find money this way almost everyday. I’m not like that. This isn’t a profession. My friends tell me to do this only when we need money, since this is not our profession.”

Siangnoi: “I find money to go out when I don’t have money only. If I have money I don’t do it. I’m not doing it as a profession. Since my friends and I don’t go out or shop everyday, we don’t have to earn money everyday, unlike prostitutes.”

The sample group was socialized homosexual exchange norms from interactions between group members. The first norm is to keep the exchange a secret because to keep on having exchange they would have to be able to continually find sexual pleasure, which would necessitate secrecy. If no one knows then they can keep on finding pleasure more easily and do whatever they like.

The second norm is to not use this method to find money all the time, which differentiates the group from prostitutes. Therefore, homosexual exchange is used to make money only sometimes when they need the money to go out or to go shopping, which is different from prostitutes as they find money every day whether or not they already have money.

In receiving socialization from interactions with their networks, the sample group was socialized necessary techniques in homosexual exchange as well as how to protect themselves from AIDS. In addition, the group was also socialized about the rules in being group members, absorbing beliefs, attitudes, values, and the norms of homosexual exchange such as keeping the exchange a secret in order to continually have sexual pleasure. Another norm is not to use the method to find money all the time, which differentiates them from prostitutes. The acceptance of these two norms enables the group to see homosexual exchange as normal or as something that is not embarrassing to the group. This gives them a new form of sexual pleasure, from females to males, and gives them a way to find money that is different from prostitution. It can be said that socialization is a process of molding each person into a group member with the same qualities as others, in techniques and norms. A kind of “group” is created, enabling feelings of security and warmth that there are people who understand and that they can talk to when they have problems, which increases the group’s cohesiveness. All of the above are supporting conditions for the sample group to enter in homosexual exchange continuing.

3.4 Maintaining in homosexual exchange

In the existing of various behaviors, support from related individuals or conditions as well as the elimination of obstacles to such behavior is required. For deviant behavior, not accepting that one fits the stereotypes is one way that individuals exist the deviant behavior. It was found that one of the reasons the sample group could exist with the deviant behavior is through the support of networks – the sample group networks and the client networks – as well as solving problems in every day life and denying they fit into the stereotypes.

3.4.1 Sample group networks

The sample group networks creation has two distinct characteristics: creating a network unintentionally and intentionally. There are 2-3 members in each network, and the members of one network do not know the members in another.

3.4.1.1 Creation of a network unintentionally

Most of the networks for the sample group are created unintentionally, such as when the members know each other because a client had asked one person to contact the other. The two people would then get to know each other and become friends.

Soh: “I know Kaen, as I’d seen him in school. I met him 2 times at a transvestite’s house but we never talked. We became close when a transvestite asked me to contact him and vice versa. We started talking and I found out that he’d been getting money from transvestites before I did. I think many boys earn money from transvestites. I’ve seen a few at the transvestite’s house, who told me they were his boyfriends like I was. I don’t know those kids.”

Siangnoi: “I know a friend who does what I do. We met because a transvestite told him to contact me. Our houses are near each other but we go to different schools. I think many boys do what I do because I’ve seen them around transvestites, who told me they had come to ask for money. I don’t know them and never talked to them.”

Kapom: “I have a friend who does what I do, the one who told me to go to a transvestite’s house. I didn’t know how he made money until a transvestite told him to contact me, so we talked. I don’t know any of the others who get money this way.”

Some people in the sample group created networks through chance meetings, such as getting to know each other at a client’s house and then being friends later on.

Kuum: “An older friend earns money from transvestites. I got to know him at a client’s house. We talked and I found out he did what I did. I don’t know the other boys but I know they earn money like I do. My friend says a lot of boys do it.”

Kham: “I have a friend that I met when we were at a transvestite’s house. We started talking and are close. We’re in the same school but in different periods. There are many boys who earn money this way but I don’t know them.”

3.4.1.2. Creating a network intentionally

There is only one way of creating a network intentionally, and that is to invite a friend to become a member.

Diang: “I have 3 friends in the group – me, Sudket, and Jilan. I don’t know any of the other boys who earn money from transvestites. Sudket told me he wanted to have money to buy clothes like I do, wanted many girlfriends, so I told him if he wanted the money he should go see transvestites. I took him to see a client of mine. Jilan also told me he wanted to have money to use and if I could help him, and asked me to take him to a transvestite, which I did.”

3.4.1.3 Relations in the network

People in the same network will depend on each other, help each other, give advice, find clients, and exchanging norms in regular homosexual exchange.

1) Finding clients

Most people in the sample group would find or suggest clients to members.

Sudket: “Diang finds clients for me, and so does Jilan. I’ve never found one on my own. I just let Diang get me some. I trust Diang to find clients with money.”

Jilan: “Diang contacts me. I don’t find clients because Diang already does so. He chooses well and knows who has money.”

Kuum: “My friend earns money from transvestites. He helps find transvestites for me when I need money but I’ve never gotten a client for him.”

Siangnoi: “We help each other find clients when we have no money. I recommend clients to my friends.”

Kaen: “Sometimes when Soh has no money I take him to my clients.”

Kapom: “My friends help find clients for me, and I help find clients for them.”

Kham: “Some of my clients were referred to me by friends.”

2) Keeping norms

The network members will talk of the norms in maintaining homosexual exchange, in that it should not be used to find money all the time.

Jilan: “Some of my clients come to me because Diang or Sudket won’t take them. The client has money but I didn’t, so I accepted. If I or Sudket had money, we won’t take clients.”

Sudket: “Some of my clients had asked for Diang but he wouldn’t go because he had money, so he contacted me instead.”

Kaen: “I would tell the client to see Soh when I still have money.”

3.4.2 Client networks

Clients are very important to maintain homosexual exchange because they directly participate in this behavior. Homosexual exchange therefore depends on clients’ participation as well as the relationships between the sample group and clients that is characterized by supporting the expansion of the client networks for the sample group. Most of the clients are transvestites, both teenagers and older transvestites. The first client of all sample group members still sometimes comes back to have homosexual exchange activities.

Om: “I have 6-7 teenaged and older clients who come see me, both previous and new ones. My first client was a teenaged transvestite who still comes to see me. At first he’d come once a week or so, then it became once or twice a month. I haven’t met any clients who wanted to enter me from behind or wanted me to masturbate or suck them. Not every client wants me to enter him from behind. Some clients who have entered in anal sex one time do not want to enter in it at another time.”

Soh: “All my clients are transvestites. Some tell me to enter them from behind. I haven’t met clients who wanted to enter me from behind or

wanted me to masturbate or suck them. What they want to do depends on the person. Some people are satisfied with sucking me. Some want me to enter in anal sex. I have many clients, I don't know how to count them all. My first client still comes to see me. I have both old and new clients coming to see me. The old clients come back probably because they are still interested in me.”

Jilan: “I have about 6 clients, all transvestites at various ages. They come regularly, both old and new clients. I have about one new client each month. My first client still comes to see me sometimes. Some of my clients come to me because Diang or Sudket won't take them. The client has money but I didn't, so I accepted. If I or Sudket had money, we won't take clients.”

Diang: “I have had many clients, all of whom were transvestites. Most were aged 30 – 40. There weren't many teenagers. I don't count my clients. I have new clients about two or three times a month, who call me once a week. After 3 times, they will call me about once a month. My first client still calls me sometimes. I think he calls me because we're familiar with each other.”

Kapom: “I have lots of clients who come by. My first client is a transvestite in his 30s who still comes by. I have about 2 new clients every month. New clients will call me about once a week, but after 2-3 times, they'll ask for me once a month. All my clients are transvestites. Some of them want me to enter them from behind but some don't. I haven't met a client who wanted to enter me from behind. What they do often is masturbate or suck me. They haven't asked me to do that to them.”

Sudket: “I have many clients, who are all transvestites. Most are in their 30s but there are a few teenagers. They were all Diang's clients, some are also Jilan's. I get a new client every month. My first client, a teenager, still comes by sometimes.”

Daengnoi: “I have many clients, all of whom are transvestites. Most are 30-40 years old. My first client still comes to see me. A new client would see me once a week for about 2-3 times, then they would contact me once a month. I have about 1-2 new clients each month.”

Kham: “I can't count my clients, there are too many. My first client still comes to see me. I have a new client each month. All my clients are

transvestites who would masturbate and suck me – I’ve never met a client who wanted me to do those things to him. Some want me to enter them from behind while some don’t. No one’s asked to enter me from behind.”

Kaen: “I don’t remember how many clients I have. My first client, a teenaged transvestite, still sees me sometimes. I get 1-2 new clients a month, and both old and new clients see me regularly. I think the old clients see me because we’re familiar with each other, they are still interested in me, or they couldn’t get other people.”

Some people in the sample group had gays as clients.

Kuum: “I have many clients, but only my first client, my teacher, is gay. Other than that, they’re all transvestites. My teacher calls me about once a month. Nowadays my teacher is the one who enters me from behind. Transvestite clients have never yet asked to enter me from behind. I have a new client every month, who will call me about once a week but then will start calling once a month.”

Siangnoi: “I have 5 clients, 2 of whom are gay: my teacher (who was my first client) and his friend. The other 3 are transvestites. I have not met a client who wanted to enter me from behind or wanted me to masturbate or suck them. My teacher and his friend still call me about once a month, whereas the transvestites would call me once every 2 weeks. I have a new client each month.”

The client network is made up mostly of transvestites, both teenaged and older. Most of the sample group’s first client would be the one who initiated them into homosexual exchange. Those who have entered in homosexual exchange of more than 7 months will be unable to count their clients because there are many who come by. Those who have been entering in homosexual exchange less than 7 months report about 5-7 clients. In any case, the first client of the sample group would still come by sometimes. They have not met a client who wanted to be the “active” in anal sex and have not met anyone who requested to be the “passive” of masturbation or oral sex.

3.4.3 Relations between the sample group and clients

The relationships between the sample group and clients is characterized by the clients helping to get more clients and protecting the sample group from drugs.

3.4.3.1 Finding clients

The client networks would find new client for the sample group through recommendations to others.

Om: “The clients who come see me do so from their friends’ recommendations.”

Diang: “My clients tell me they were referred to me by my old clients.”

Siangnoi: “Clients refer each other. My clients come see me from their friends’ referrals.”

Jilan: “Sometimes the clients contact me and say their friends referred me.”

Sudket: “Sometimes the clients come see me and say their friends told them.”

Kaen: “The transvestites would refer each other to see me.”

3.4.3.2 Protection against drug

Another characteristic of the relationship between the sample group and the clients is that they protect the sample group from drug addiction.

Diang: “My regular client would ask me often if I am on drugs. He forbids me to use drugs, that if I do, to not go see him again. He says the body deteriorates fast.”

Sudket: “An older transvestite tells me not to use drugs, that it would deteriorate my body.”

Jilan: “My transvestite client tells me that if I start using drugs, he will cut contact from me completely.”

In creating network, the sample group usually unintentionally creates network. The network consists only of 2-3 people who know each other. The relations in the network consist made up of help and suggestions, finding clients for each other, and expanding the client network. They also remind each other not to use this method to find money all the time, as they refer clients to others in the network if they already have money to use. The fact that their first client still comes to see them may be in part because of maintaining their clientele. The relations between clients and the sample group consist of referring others as clients to the sample group, which expands the client network. They also protect the sample group from drugs, which helps the sample group take care of their bodies in order to prevent it being an obstacle to homosexual exchange. Because of the various ways that the sample group network and client network help the sample group members, such as through expanding the client network and helping each other out, these are supporting conditions for maintaining homosexual exchange.

3.4.4. Management of problems and obstacles in daily life

The sample group enters in homosexual exchange while they are still teenagers and in school. They still need to depend on their family, study, live their daily lives, and interact with others in society. The sample group perceives about social control that they would receive the response from others who see them enter in homosexual exchange, but no one in society knows at the moment. In keeping their activities a secret and still being able to enter in these activities, the sample group used various ways to manage problems and obstacles in daily life at home, school, and interactions with their girlfriends.

3.4.4.1 Talk normally at home

Most people in the sample group hide their homosexual exchange by talking normally with their families at home when talking about transvestites in general.

Jilan: “At home, I won’t talk about transvestites before others do. When someone mentions transvestites, it doesn’t have anything to do with me. I listen to them and join in and talk normally. No one thinks anything.”

Kaen: “My parents sometimes talk about transvestites but it’s not about me. I take part in the conversation too, but they don’t ask about me or anything.”

Om: “At home, if anyone talks about transvestites, I talk normally. No one suspects anything. No one has asked me about my activities with transvestites.”

Kuum: “If my parents talk of transvestites, I talk with them. It’s not about me, and they don’t suspect anything.”

Some people in the sample group use a listening strategy.

Siangnoi: “At home when my mom talks to her friends about transvestites, it has nothing to do with me. I just listen. My mom has never asked me anything.”

Sudket: “If my parents talk about transvestites, I just listen and don’t say anything. My parents have never asked me about transvestites.”

One talks about other subjects.

Kham: “At home, I would talk about my girlfriend and girls. I don’t talk about transvestites and no one has asked me about them.”

One says he dislikes transvestites.

Daengnoi: “I keep it from my mother. I tell my mom that I dislike transvestites. Once I told her a transvestite liked me. She didn’t believe me because she knew I didn’t like transvestites.”

3.4.4.2 Talk less at school

Most people in the sample group keep their homosexual exchange a secret by talking less about transvestites with their friends.

Diang: “My friends and teachers don’t know anything. No one asks me. I am careful not to let them know. If friends are talking about transvestites I just listen and not say anything; my friends would then think I don’t know anything about transvestites. They know I have a lot of girlfriends. I would talk about them more.”

Kapom: “My friends don’t know. I usually talk about funny things that happened at the temple. When my friends talk about transvestites, I just listen and don’t talk as much, so they’d think they knew more about transvestites than I did.”

Kuum: “My friends don’t know I get money from transvestites. I won’t talk about transvestites first. If I talk, I’d talk about girls and my girlfriend. If my friends talk about transvestites, I just listen. My friends don’t suspect me. No one knows.”

Sudket: “My friends and teachers don’t know. When my friends talk about transvestites, I just listen. My friends think I don’t know anything about them, and no one asks me anything.”

Kham: “No one knows. My friends know I like talking about girls. When my friends talk about transvestites, I don’t say much. They believe I like girls more.”

Siangnoi: “I don’t let my friends suspect anything. If my friends talk about transvestites I don’t talk much, I just listen. I let them think they know more than me. No one asks me about transvestites.”

Jilan: “I am careful not to let anyone know. I don’t talk about transvestites first. When my friends talk, I listen more than I speak.”

Daengnoi: “I don’t let my friends know. If a transvestite talks to my group, I don’t talk much; I let my friends do so. My friends think I dislike transvestites.”

Soh: “No one asks me about transvestites but I’m careful not to let others know. When my friends talk about transvestites, I don’t talk much. I just listen.”

Some people in the sample group talk normally because they feel talking normally about transvestites would be a way of not making their friends suspicious.

Kaen: “My friends don’t know. I will talk when my friends talk about transvestites. I talk a lot. If I keep quiet my friends will get suspicious. I tell them I go out drinking with transvestites but not about getting money. No one knows.”

Om: “My friends don’t know, and I act like them. When a transvestite comes to see a friend, his friends tease him. I do so too. When they talk about transvestites, I do so too. This way no one suspects anything.”

3.4.4.3 Meet their girlfriends consistently

Most people in the sample group keep their homosexual exchange a secret from their girlfriends by meeting their girlfriends consistently and talking normally.

Kham: “I keep it a secret from my girlfriend. We study at the same place. When I go to see transvestites I tell her I’m going to a relative’s or friend’s house.”

Siangnoi: “I have a girlfriend I see often but she doesn’t know and doesn’t ask. We talk about transvestites normally because they are around.”

Jilan: “I go see my girlfriend every day. She doesn’t know and doesn’t ask about transvestites. We talk about transvestites sometimes, but in general.”

Kapom: “My girlfriend doesn’t know and doesn’t ask. I go see her regularly. If we talk about transvestites, we talk normally.”

Diang: “My girlfriend doesn’t know anything. I have many girlfriends and I see one or two of them each day. We talk about transvestites sometimes.”

Kaen: “I have many girlfriends that I go see often. My girlfriends have never asked me. They don’t know anything. Sometimes we talk about transvestites.”

Kuum: “I go see my girlfriend every evening. We sometimes talk about transvestites as a general topic but she never asks me about them.”

Sudket: “I go see my girlfriend often. Sometimes we talk about transvestites but she doesn’t know about me.”

Only one person used the strategy of disliking transvestites.

Daengnoi: “I told my girlfriend I don’t like transvestites, and therefore we don’t talk about transvestites much. My girlfriend never asks about them.”

Most people in the sample group keep their homosexual exchange a secret by conversing normally about transvestites with their families, saying little with their friends at school, and consistently meeting with their girlfriends, in order to avoid them from knowing about their homosexual exchange.

3.4.4.4 Appointment with clients by self or by friends

In keeping their homosexual exchange a secret from friends, family, and people in general, they make appointments with clients mostly by themselves through the phone or through friends in the group.

Diang: “At school, I’d talk to Jilan. If transvestites contact us, we talk about whether to go and who would go. We don’t talk close to people. Talking while kicking a ball around in the field is good but talking in the restroom is bad because someone might hear. After school, I play some sports then go home and help with household chores and my brother’s homework. Transvestites might call at that time and talk to me directly.”

Sudket: “If transvestites contact me, they will call in the evening and talk directly. Sometimes Diang and Jilan call me, but usually they’d come see me at home in the evening. We’d talk about who would go see which transvestite next to the road, and we’re careful not to let anyone hear by using a time when no one walks past.”

Jilan: “Diang and Sudket sometimes come see me at home and ask me out. If transvestites contact us through Sudket we talk about who would go. We talk at a distance from people. Sometimes Sudket calls me himself. Transvestites call me directly at home in the evening.”

Kapom: “My friend studies at the same place and does the same thing. If transvestites contact him, he’d tell me. I don’t let transvestites call at the temple, I’m afraid the monks would know. Transvestites would call my friend, and my friend and I find somewhere quiet to talk.”

Kham: “My friend who earns money from transvestites studies at the same place. We talk at noon if transvestites contact us and decide who goes. We talk in the open space of the motorcycle parking space so no one passes by.”

Kuum: “I talk to an older student who does the same thing. If transvestites contact him, he talks to me. We’re careful not to let others hear. I live at a dorm and transvestites call in the evening to talk to me directly.”

Kaen: “Soh and I study at the same school. If transvestites contact us, we’d talk at school at a distance from others. I don’t have a phone so when I have appointments I would call transvestites at the phone box next to the street.”

Daengnoi: “Transvestites would call and talk to me directly at the store at about noon or in the evening.”

Siangnoi: “Transvestites would contact me directly in the evening.”

3.4.4.5 Having in homosexual exchange at the same time as going out in the evening

The entire sample group keeps their homosexual exchange a secret from people through the use of their time during the evening to enter in homosexual exchange, which coincides with the time they use for going out normally, which lets them make use of the darkness as well.

Kham: “Transvestites make dates about 7 PM to 9 PM. I actually have class so it’s a problem sometimes, but after 7 PM they’ll let students go to practice their mechanics. I just skip – everyone has done so. I think this is the time of going out for teenagers. Everyone goes out at 8-9 PM. I go see transvestites during this time and get home at 9 PM, the same time as when I get home from school. No one at home suspects anything or asks anything.”

Kaen: “I go see transvestites at about 7 PM and come home about 8-9 PM. It’s the normal time I go out, which I do almost every night to flirt with girls. My parents don’t object. If I go to pubs I get home later. If I go see transvestites or flirt with girls I get home quicker and sleep more. I go see transvestites

at night because it's dark. No one remembers or sees clearly. I've never gone during the day."

Diang: "I see transvestites during the evening, as they are free around 8-9 PM. It's the same time I go out. I leave around 6:30 PM. Going to see transvestites at night is good, as it's dark and no one can remember anything. If I go in the daytime, people will remember. The transvestites have never set a date during the day, though."

Jilan: "When I go to see transvestites, I tell my mom I'm going out with friends. She doesn't ask me anything because I normally go out to see my girlfriend during this time. I go out about 6 PM and return 8-9 PM. It's dark at night and people can't see clearly – transvestites don't set dates during the day. If we go out, people would see and I think they'd remember."

Kapom: "I live at a temple with 2 other friends who study at other places. In the evening we help clean the temple and then go out. The monks don't let us come back after 10 PM because they are going to close the temple. I go out to see transvestites at about 7 PM."

Om: "I go see transvestites at about 6 PM. I tell my brother I'm going to see my friends. My 2 brothers go out at night every day, like me. When I go see transvestites, I go when it starts to get dark."

Siangnoi: "I go see transvestites in the evening, about 6 PM and return at 8 PM. I tell my mom that I go out to see my friends. Going out at night is convenient because it's when I usually go out to see my girlfriend. My mom doesn't ask."

Kuum: "Transvestites would set dates for about 6 PM to 7 PM. I tell my friends I'm going to friends' homes. I don't think my friends suspect anything because I go out a lot. Transvestites would set dates at night. It's dark and no one sees clearly."

Sudket: "When I see transvestites, it's usually at the same time I go out. I tell my parents I'm going out with friends and leave at about 6 PM. It's getting dark."

One enters in homosexual exchange at night, when he usually goes out, but it doesn't ruin his job because he goes only twice a month.

Soh: “I return about 8-9 PM to help at the store. I don’t think going to see transvestites is a waste of time because if it was, my brother would have told me. Helping at the store doesn’t interfere with me getting money from transvestites because I don’t do this as a profession. I only go twice a month. The transvestites never set a date for the day because it isn’t appropriate. People would see.”

One has homosexual exchange at night after finished with his family work.

Daengnoi: “Monday to Saturday I help in the salon, cleaning and laundering the towels. At night I am free to go out. My mom doesn’t care when I get back, only that I help in the store. I go see transvestites after the store closes, around 7 or 8 PM. I’ve never gone and will never go on a daytime date. People will see and remember.”

3.4.4.6 Wearing normal clothes

Some people in the sample group enter in homosexual exchange with their normal clothes because people can’t see clearly at night and they can wear anything.

Soh: “I wear my normal clothes to see transvestites. Any color will do because at night people can’t see well. Transvestites don’t set day dates. It’s inappropriate because people could see.”

Kham: “I go see transvestites in my training clothes. It’s dark at night and no one can see clearly or remember what clothes someone wears.”

Kuum: “I wear normal clothes that I wear everyday. Transvestites appoint dates at night. It’s dark and people can’t see clearly.”

Kapom: “I wear normal clothes. It’s dark so I don’t have to wear black.”

Some people in the sample group wear normal clothes to appear normal.

Kaen: “I wear normal everyday clothes, nothing special. Dressing normally will not make people suspicious.”

Siangnoi: “Going out at night is appropriate because it’s dark and no one can see. I dress normally because wearing special clothes might rouse suspicions.”

3.4.4.7 Wearing dark clothes

Some people in the sample group wear dark clothes to camouflage with the dark. People can’t see clearly.

Om: “It’s starting to get dark. I wear hats and jackets with hoods. Sometimes I wear dark clothes that would help hide me. I tell my brother that teenagers wear these clothes nowadays. My brother doesn’t say anything.”

Daengnoi: “I wear dark, loose clothes like teenagers. People can’t really see me at night and don’t remember. If transvestites set dates in the day I wouldn’t go. People would remember.”

Diang: “I just wear clothes like teenagers, loose and dark. I pull a cap over my head so people can’t really see my face. If I wear other colors, people remember.”

Sudket: “I dress like Diang, with dark clothes and a cap. He said dressing this way makes it hard for people to remember.”

Jilan: “I wear dark clothes and a cap so people don’t remember me.”

3.4.4.8 Avoiding clients during the day

Most people in the sample group keep their homosexual exchange a secret and aid this by avoiding clients during the day.

Diang: “During the day, I’m careful to avoid clients but sometimes I do. They will greet me and try to hug me. I once met a transvestite while buying some snacks. I’m afraid people will see and think I ‘had something’ with the transvestite. When transvestites are seen close to someone, people will start saying that the person is sleeping with him. Even my friends say this. When I meet them, I don’t talk and just walk away.”

Om: “When I bump into clients during the day, they’ll greet me. I’m afraid people will see me close to them and say I prostitute

myself. When I go somewhere during the day, I'll see if there are any transvestites. Transvestites like to come in groups and make a lot of noise. People will look. If a transvestite hugged me I would be embarrassed. I would walk away and pretend I didn't hear them greet me."

Daengnoi: "I don't want to see my clients during the day because when they see me, they greet me loudly and try to hug me. I get embarrassed. Sometimes when I'm walking in the market and a transvestite greets me, I will pretend not to see and walk away quickly. If I can't get away I talk to them as though I hardly know them, giving them short answers and trying to get away."

Kaen: "I am careful not to see clients during the day. Transvestites try to hug in greeting. Other people would think I was the transvestite's boyfriend. I quickly walk away and not talk to them. I don't get close and don't let them hug me."

Sudket: "I saw a client during the day coincidentally. I didn't want to meet. I quickly walked away but he saw me and teased. I had to go quickly and tried to pretend I didn't see. If others see him greet me, they'd think I was his boyfriend."

Siangnoi: "I had to quickly walk away from clients I met during the day. I don't talk and pretend I don't hear. If I talk to them, people would think I was their boyfriend. I've heard people think that way."

Soh: "I met some clients during the day. I was embarrassed and didn't want to talk to him in front of other people so I left quickly. I don't want others to see how close we are or they'd think I was getting the transvestite's money."

Kuum: "I would be careful not to meet with clients during the day because they like to hug. Other people would know. I walk away quickly but if I can't get away I tell them not to touch me because I'm embarrassed then go away."

Jilan: "During the day I'm careful to avoid clients because they like to hug. Others will think I'm the boyfriend. I use the method of walking away quickly."

Kham: “I’ve met clients during the day. They hug me and I immediately tell them to protect myself ‘don’t touch me, I’m not drunk yet.’”

3.4.4.9 Making excuses when someone see

Some people in the sample group use excuses when other people see them with transvestites.

Kuum: “I once went out with a transvestite and my friend saw me. I didn’t see him. The next time I saw him, he asked me why I was with a transvestite. I shrugged and nonchalantly said I was just there. I became more careful and tried to avoid people seeing me. I have to look before I go into some places and avoid people.”

Kapom: “My friends saw me once when I went with a transvestite. My friend asked me then why I was with a transvestite. I told them I respected him and that he was like a brother. I then had to be careful not to see anyone I knew when I was with transvestites. I’d look before I went into places and avoid people I know.”

Kham: “I have to be careful not to see people I know. One time my friend saw me and asked what was I thinking, going with a transvestite. I shrugged and said I was having fun and there wasn’t anything going on. After that I was careful and would avoid people I knew immediately.”

The sample group managed daily problems and obstacles in order to keep their homosexual exchange secret by talking about transvestites normally with other people in their families, talking less with their friends at school, meeting their girlfriends consistently and talking normally, letting clients contact themselves directly through the phone or through friends, seeing clients in the evening, wearing normal clothes, wearing dark clothes so people can’t see, avoiding clients during the day, and using excuses when people see them with transvestites.

By management their daily problems and obstacles and keeping their homosexual exchange a secret, there is no reaction from society and the sample group can go on with their violation of social norms. It is a primary form of deviant behavior with secrecy. The homosexual exchange are consistent with the sample group’s time for doing daily activities and roles that society accepts, making

them seem like normal people (Lemert, 1967: 40-41). This is a supporting condition in homosexual exchange maintenance.

3.4.5 Don't call me "running kid"

In the client networks, a specific name for male youths who enter in sexual exchange is "running kid." However, most people in the sample group dislike that stigma, saying the phrase is insulting, since it assumes that the sample group runs to the transvestites when sometimes the transvestites run to the kids.

Daengnoi: "I don't think it's appropriate that transvestites call us 'running kid' because I don't 'run' to the transvestites but they 'run' to me instead. I don't think any kind of phrase is needed for me."

Kuum: "I don't want a nickname. Transvestites call us 'running kid' but I don't like it. It's like we're running to them when it's they who do the running."

Kham: "Transvestites call us 'running kid' but I think they do a lot of the running. I don't know if nicknames are good or bad."

Siangnoi: "Transvestites call us 'running kid' – I don't know if it's appropriate but I don't like it. It's like we run to them. We don't have a nickname."

Kaen: "Transvestites call us 'running kid' – it's like when transvestites call we have to go running. I don't want a nickname."

Jilan: "I don't want nicknames because they're bad. I'd rather not have one."

One feels that as his homosexual exchange is not a profession, there shouldn't be a nickname.

Kapom: "Transvestites call us 'running kid' but I don't know if it's appropriate. I feel that nicknames are unnecessary because this isn't a profession."

One feels that nickname shouldn't be used because after he stops, he doesn't want to have a lasting residual nickname.

Diang: “Transvestites call us ‘running kid’ – I don’t feel anything with this phrase but I don’t want a nickname for myself. I’d rather not have a nickname because once I stop these activities I don’t want a lasting nickname.”

Most people in the sample group do not want the nickname “running kid” because it makes them feel like they run after transvestites when the transvestites are the ones who run after them. They do not want a stigma because when they stop they do not want anything that would encourage social reactions. They are only doing these exchange temporarily, not fixedly, and they do not accept the stereotype of “running kid.” This becomes a supporting condition in maintaining homosexual exchange.

3.4.6 Expecting about the exchange and clients

It was found that the sample group expected homosexual exchange to be existent and to have rich clients, young clients, and clients to talk nicely to them.

3.4.6.1 Expecting to have rich clients

The sample group expected to have rich clients because in the future, things would have a higher price. They would have higher expenses and would need more than at present. Clients who will be able to pay would be rich people.

Diang: “I want to continue doing these things. I get money, I get to have sex. I want a rich client because in the future I bet things would be more expensive. Clothes, pubs, and things would adjust their prices. I’d need more money in order to have enough, so I want rich clients who are able to pay me a lot of money.”

Kaen: “I want to continue doing this. Young males want to have fun this way and get money. I don’t need to ask my parents for any. I want rich clients. In the future, the prices of things would increase. I’d have to pay more to go out and buy things. I need to get more money from transvestites, and rich people will pay me more easily than poor ones.”

Daengnoi: “I want to be able to get money from transvestites continually. I’d like to have rich clients – in the future, things would be more modern and would cost more, so I’d need to use more money. I feel that rich clients would pay me more.”

Kham: “I would like to get money from transvestites continually. I feel that there is a need for more money in the future, because new, strange things would be available at high prices. I would need more money to be able to buy them. I’d like rich clients because they can afford to pay me a lot, since they have a lot of money.”

3.4.6.2 Expecting to have young clients

Part of the sample group would like young clients the same age in the future. This is so that other people would think they were friends, not homosexual partners.

Sudket: “I prefer younger clients, because when the clients take me out somewhere and I’m with a young person, other people would only think that I have a transvestite friend, while if I’m with an older person, they’d think an older transvestite is tricking me.”

Jilan: “I prefer young clients to older ones because when the client brings me somewhere such as restaurants, a young client would look like a friend. I don’t get embarrassed. If I’m with an older client and people look at us, I get embarrassed.”

Siangnoi: “I want clients to be the same age as I am, because it would feel better when we go out. Other people would just think we’re friends whereas if I went out with an older transvestite, people would say that I’m the transvestite’s boy toy.”

One expects most of his clients are young and rich, so money for homosexual exchange would be more convenient.

Diang: “I prefer younger clients because even though he’d be a transvestite, people don’t look at us as often as an older client. I don’t know what they’re thinking. I don’t go out much with young clients because they don’t have much money, as they need to ask their parents for an allowance. Rarely will they have

money to go out or for sex, so I would like young, rich clients where it would be convenient to go out.”

3.4.6.3 Expecting clients who talk nicely

Some people in the sample group expect for future clients who talk nicely to them, especially when the sample group goes to see the clients at a time when the clients don't want to enter in a homosexual exchange with the sample group.

Kuum: “I would like to keep doing this. Young men like having fun. Being with transvestites is fun and I get money. I feel that in the future, I'd like clients who talk nicely. Sometimes when I go see a client for money but he doesn't want to see me he'd yell at me, like 'I don't have any money, get the hell out of here.' I want clients to talk nicely, since I do give them sexual pleasure.”

Kaen: “I want clients to talk nicely to me, like when I go see them when I need money but they don't want me yet. They'd be like, 'I'm not free for you, so get yourself the hell off somewhere else.' It's opposite of what they say when they want me, like 'What would you like to eat, dear? I'll go buy it for you.' I want clients to talk to me nicely even when they don't want me at the moment, because sometimes clients come to see me when I am not in the mood either, but I don't yell at them.”

The sample group expect homosexual exchange to be existent in the future and to have rich clients who are able to pay them more than in the present (as goods and services would be more expensive in the future and they would need more money for these), and young clients so that other people would see them as friends (whereas for older clients, the sample group would be looked at as a homosexual partner). In addition, the sample group expect clients who talk to them nicely even when during times that the clients do not desire the sample group, because both parties give and receive sexual pleasure. It can be seen that the sample group views the homosexual exchange as a suitable way of finding money to buy goods and services in the future, which they plan for by expecting to get rich clients. They would like to prevent damaging criticisms from others by expecting that the clients would be

the same age. They also expect to avoid yelling and insults from clients, and thus is a motivating condition for them to maintain in homosexual exchange.

3.4.7 Future plans

The sample group has laid plans for their homosexual exchange. All of them will not expand their network to other provinces. As for their studies, getting a job, and creating a family, they plan to get at least a professional certificate and at most a bachelor's degree. Once they have a job and are married, they will cease exchange.

Jilan: "I don't want to find money in other provinces. I just want enough money to go out. I would like to be an electronics or electrical repairman; after finishing my studies I'd be hired labor at a shop first and then open my own. When I get married, I need to quit seeing transvestites because I'm afraid of being found out. If I like studying, I'd go for a bachelor's degree."

Om: "I don't want to find money in other provinces. I'm not a professional. I want to be an electronics repairman because I think there would be a lot of money and continuous jobs. I'd open a repair shop, sell electrical appliances. Once I get a job I'd stop seeing transvestites, then marry and have kid."

Sudket: "I don't want to find money from transvestites in other provinces, as I get enough here. I want to study computers, since many people use them. If I can, I'd like to get a bachelor's degree. After graduating I'd get a job, stop going to transvestites, marry, and work."

Kapom: "I don't want to find money from transvestites in other provinces because I'm not doing this as a profession. I'd like to study electronics and open a repair shop and sell appliances and parts. I'd study up to a certificate then work, opening a shop at home. I'd marry and stop seeing transvestites as I have to consider my wife's feelings."

Kuum: "I find money to go out and buy other small things without asking my parents for money. I don't want to find money in other provinces. I'm learning electronics and would open my own repair shop. I want to get a bachelor's degree. Once I start working I'd stop going to transvestites because I'd marry and have children."

Kaen: "I'll continue getting money from transvestites first. I don't want to find money from transvestites in other provinces because I'm not a prostitute. I would study auto mechanic because I like it. After I graduate I'd be an employee first before opening my own shop. I'd then get married and would stop going to transvestites as my wife might know."

Siangnoi: "I don't want to find money from transvestites in other provinces, as that isn't my profession. I just want money to go out. I want to study computers then work – I'd like to get a Bachelor's degree. Once I get a job, I'd stop getting money from transvestites. I also want to get married which means stopping it as well, as my wife wouldn't like it."

Kham: "I don't want to find money in other provinces. It's just a way of finding money to go out. I want to be an auto mechanic, and just finish a certificate. I'd open my own repair shop. After I get a job I'd stop going to transvestites. I'd like to marry and have children."

Some people in the sample group do not want to get married but they would stop seeing transvestites when they graduate and have a job.

Soh: "I don't want to find money in other provinces. This is enough to live on. School fees are paid by my brother, and I have to help him work. I want to be an auto mechanic or computer mechanic. I just want a certificate and then I'll work as a repairman. I don't think the money from transvestites would be enough for a computer or even a motorcycle. When I have a job I wouldn't go to see transvestites. I would also need to continuously help my brother work. I don't plan on getting married because I can't even get a girlfriend."

Daengnoi: "I don't want to find money from transvestites in other provinces. I want to graduate as a mechanic – I haven't thought yet what kind. If my mom wants me to help in her salon then I would help but I wouldn't do it, as it is a girl's job. My father's construction job pays well but it is heavy work. If I get a good job and good money I would stop getting money from transvestites. I haven't thought of getting married because having girlfriends continuously is more fun."

Diang: "I don't want to find money from transvestites in other provinces. I don't need lots of money. I think I'd study computers. I want to get a Bachelor's degree and work. I know from friends and teachers that there are jobs in

this field. If I get a job I'd stop seeing transvestites. I don't want to be married – I like having lots of girlfriends instead of just one.”

Most people in the sample group plan to study at most a bachelor's degree or at least a professional certificate, work, marry, and stop seeing transvestites because they need to earn money for their families. Some do not want to get married but would like to stop getting money from transvestites when they get a job. The sample group has future plans of stopping the deviant behavior, starting jobs after they finish school, and getting married. They would stop going to transvestites because to them that earns money to go out; they would have a real job and a certain income for raising their families. The future plans of the sample group are therefore plans for stopping the deviant behavior. The deviant behavior at present is only temporary and would be stopped after a while. Therefore it partly motivates or supports the group's homosexual exchange maintenance.

The research results can be summarized according to the hypothetical model of homosexual exchange as follows:

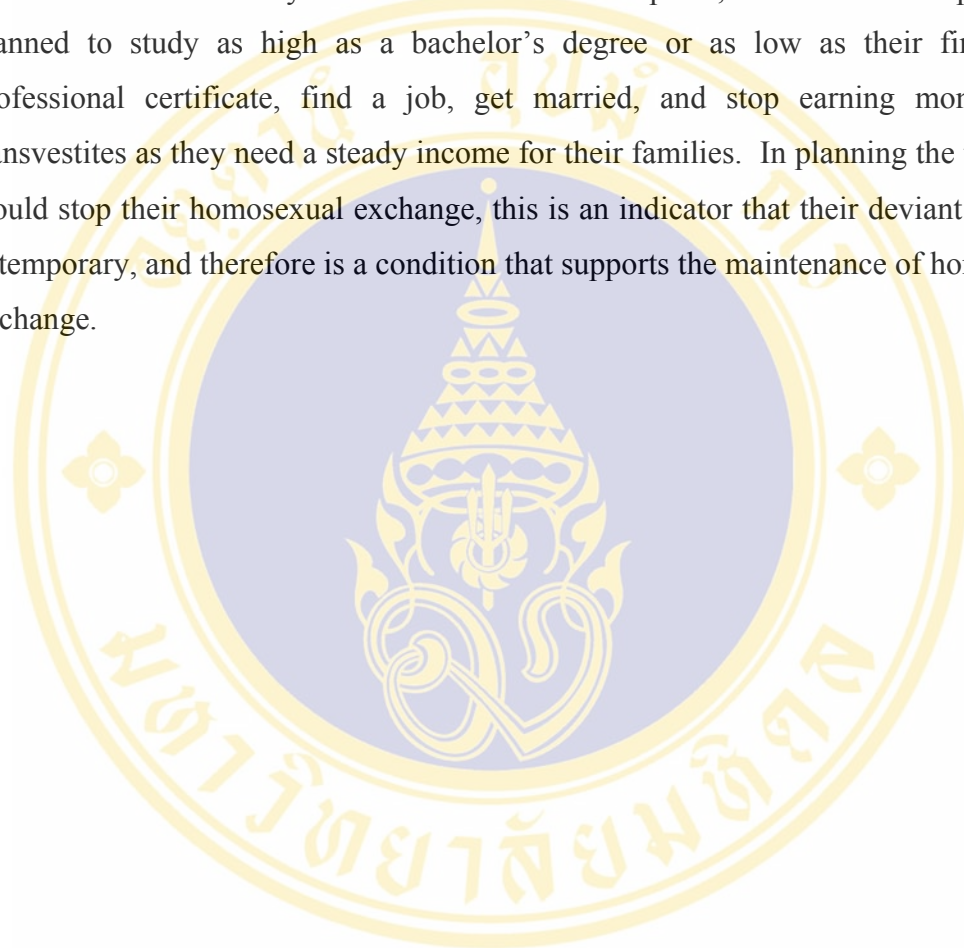
The contexts in entering the first homosexual exchange include the sample group having a homosexual experience with individuals close to them, such as teachers, friends, neighbors, and other individuals who are transvestites, both teenagers and adults. The homosexual experience begins with sexual activities that the group is familiar with and has done before, such as masturbation, followed by sequential development. Every sample group member developed into a “passive”. Because they have had these experiences, they found out that homosexual behavior give them more pleasure. There is familiarity in both physical and mental senses with homosexual behavior, which supports their decision to enter into homosexual exchange. From their perceiving of the homosexual exchange between male youths and transvestites in the community, they found out that the youths had homosexual exchange when they have need for money or other things. The sample group also perceived of close friend engaging in homosexual exchange who do not lack money. These conditions supported the turning point of the sample group, enabling them to decide to enter into their first homosexual exchange.

The contexts for continuing the homosexual exchange include decreasing the power of social control, or using the technique of neutralization, through rationalizing

the homosexual exchange as a process that is suitable and appropriate for students like them to not lack sleep or use too much strength but receive good money in return. There is also less disgust than prostitutes, as it is only a temporary solution when money is lacking. Rationalizing the situation helps to lessen the internal societal control, or self-criticism of seeing oneself violate social norms. These conditions support their decision to continue engaging in homosexual exchanges. Also, the sample group received socializing in skills necessary for members, such as homosexual exchange techniques, protection against AIDS, and the rules, regulations, beliefs, attitudes, values, and norms of the group, such as keeping the homosexual exchange a secret so that they can continue receiving pleasure. Another norm is to not use this method to make money all the time, thus differentiating the group from prostitutes who use sex as a way of earning a living. The socializing created feelings of security, warmth, and cohesion in the group, which supports their continuing homosexual exchange.

The contexts for homosexual exchange maintenance include having a network of the sample group and having a network of clients. The clients help enlarge the network of clients through recommendations to others and arranging for more appointments, as well as helping the sample group stay safe from AIDS and drugs, keeping their bodies strong and supporting regular homosexual exchange. It was found that the group dealt with social control and management everyday problems and obstacles by making their homosexual exchange secret, such as talking about transvestites normally with their family, talking less to their friends about transvestites, going to see their girlfriends consistently, setting dates with clients themselves through the telephones or friends in the network, meeting clients at night during the normal times they go out, wearing normal clothes or dark clothes, avoiding customers during the day, and making excuses when someone sees them out with transvestites. Keeping the exchange a secret enables no reaction from society; therefore, they are secret deviants that society accepts, who can go about their normal lives with general people. These are motivating conditions for maintaining homosexual exchange. It was found that the sample group members do not see themselves as deviants and do not accept the stereotype of a being a “running kid”. The sample group expects homosexual exchange to be existent and to have rich clients

in the future who are able to pay the sample group more money in accordance to the higher living costs. They expect the clients are teenagers, so they would be seen as friends in others' eyes, and they expect the clients would talk to them nicely. These hopes show how they want to adjust the homosexual exchange so they would receive pleasure and earn money in the future. For future plans, most of the sample group planned to study as high as a bachelor's degree or as low as their first initial professional certificate, find a job, get married, and stop earning money from transvestites as they need a steady income for their families. In planning the time they would stop their homosexual exchange, this is an indicator that their deviant behavior is temporary, and therefore is a condition that supports the maintenance of homosexual exchange.



CHAPTER V

DISCUSSIONS

In this research, the following issues would be discussed:

1. Being a primarily secret deviant is important factor in maintaining homosexual exchange.

The sample group deals with external social control through keeping their homosexual exchange a secret in all other areas of their life: home, school, and general society. They talk about transvestites normally with their parents, express opinions less with friends at school, consistently meet their girlfriends and talk normally, appoint clients themselves over the telephones or through friends in the group, meeting clients at night during the normal times they go out, wearing normal clothes or dark clothes, avoiding customers during the day, and making excuses when someone sees them out with transvestites. Keeping their deviant behavior a secret through the activities mentioned enables the group from experiencing social reactions and avoids them being seen as deviants, they can still live normally. For internal social control, the sample group uses rationalizations to prevent self-criticisms that the behavior is appropriate as work for students that does not impact studies and is not as bad as prostitution. They have pride in themselves and do not feel different from normal people. They are able to function as a family member, such as helping with housework. They can even do normal activities such as go to school, read, be with their friends, and be with their girlfriend. Also, homosexual exchange can even be integrated with normal activities such as having homosexual exchange after helping with housework or finishing from participation in mother's job. They feel they are not deviants, only people who sometimes break social norms, which makes them secret deviants who do not develop into secondary deviants (McCaghy, 1987: 85-86). The sample group has homosexual exchange that are consistent with their normal life, and does not affect anyone in their families or society. Comparing with the prostitutes that

sometime they are arrested but prostitutions are existent, therefore, the homosexual exchange is a form of half-sex service and kept secret, nobody in the network is arrested. These are important factors in maintaining homosexual exchange.

2. Socializing in homosexual exchange through videos, VCDs, and the client networks are important factors to maintain homosexual exchange.

The research found that when the sample group has entered homosexual exchange, they receive socializing to learn about the subculture of homosexual exchange to become a group member. This socializing is different from people who become masseurs or hosts, who have professional training according to regulations in their place of work. The trainers would train how to massage (Amorn Tongjeow, 1996: 90-92), how to bathe, and other techniques (Suleeman Narumol, 1994: 143). There is a dancer and the bar manager teaches the job (Yuttachai Damrongmanee, 1997: 77-81). The place of training would be the workplace. For youths who engage in homosexual exchange, the training is not professional. The sample group has 2-3 members group. There is no bar manager and no trainer. Most of the socializing involves watching videos and VCDs borrowed from friends or transvestites. The content of socialization includes the techniques of homosexual exchange between 2 men and many men. The location for socializing is a member's room in dormitory, used when free. The movies are watched once every couple of months. Using the dormitory is convenient, as the dormitory is not so strict with rules about visitors. There are many dormitories that try to keep their occupants by not being strict about rules for visiting, enabling convenience in meeting up to watch movies. It is also more private than at homes. These factors enable them and their general friends to come watch, which makes the group feel no different from their friends. Therefore, the sample group can be socialized about techniques at any time, not just in the beginning stage of the homosexual exchange.

It was found that the sample group also receives socializing from customers, such as getting them to use their imagination during homosexual exchange. A proportion of the group's new clients come from old clients who recommend them. Each person has at least 5-7 clients. Their first client still comes by, meaning that there is a high chance the sample group would get additional homosexual socializing

from their first client, their old clients, and their new clients. Besides socializing techniques, the clients also socialize them about preventing AIDS by wearing condoms and forbidding them to use drugs, which equals to helping the members to be healthy and ready for exchange.

Socializing from these sources not only lets the sample group to be socialized techniques necessary in homosexual exchange, they also absorb beliefs, attitudes, values, and norms of the group, such as keeping the homosexual exchange a secret in order to keep receiving sex, as well as not using this method to earn money continuously, which differentiates them from prostitutes. Because the sample group is able to receive socializing in all forms of matter what stage they are, the sample group members are therefore knowledgeable about homosexual exchange, and also solidly hold the values, beliefs, and norms of the group. The sample group feels that homosexual exchange are a normal issue, putting value on getting pleasure and earning money that is different from prostitution, and having member group, all of which are important factors to maintain homosexual exchange.

3. The process of homosexual exchange in the sample group was self-adjustment to be in accordance with homosexual exchange in the community.

The fact that the sample group experienced in homosexuality with transvestites was adjustment of their sexual behavior to conform to the state of living their daily life which was closely related with transvestites who favored sexual relationships with male youths such as school and college teachers, friends, and neighbors. Transvestites in the group mentioned were skilful in convincing the sample group to accept development of homosexual experience. That was, the sample group preferred to be the “passive” which was the adjustment of their sexual behavior in the form with which they were most satisfied. It was because they experienced that they received more sexual joy than having heterosexual relationships in which they were the “active”. Moreover, the sample group adjusted their own feelings and thinking to be self-confident that they were not included in the group of sexual deviants and prostitutes by defining themselves as different from the group of males mentioned.

Next, the sample group perceived that homosexuality in the community was for homosexual exchange between transvestites and male youths. That was,

transvestites favored that male youths could give good sexual feelings. Whereas, male youths wanted some things in return such as money or things. The sample group perceived additionally that their close friend had this type of behavior to earn money for going to entertaining places. And entertaining places were every where without restriction about ages of their guests. Therefore, the sample group had homosexual exchange behavior because it was behavioral adjustment to be in accordance with the facts the community had homosexual exchange, that there were entertaining places which provided opportunities for youths to be able to go for entertainments, and that it was in accordance with the behavior of their close friend who behaved this way. Also, it was in conformity with the sample group that got used to homosexual relationships because they used to have such experience before as mentioned above.

The sample group explained reasonableness of homosexual exchange that it was a correct and appropriate action for school and college students to do and that they could earn high incomes. It could be seen that they just adjusted their feelings to decrease self-blaming for polishing their behavior by using media of videos, VCDs, and the network group concerning technical skills in AIDS prevention. The sample group always had opportunities to socialize. Here it was adjustment of behavior to have necessary skills for homosexual exchange. However, socializing orders, rules, regulations, attitudes, values, and norms was adjustment of concepts to hold for performance, for example, norms of keeping homosexual exchange to be a secret and not too often to earn money this way.

Relationships among members within the network of the sample group were in the form of assistance with one another such as recommending and providing clients to each other. That was, they held this principle: as long as the sample group still have money, no homosexual exchange will be offered; and a member who needs money will be sent instead. It could be seen that the relationship within the network was adjustment of behavior in receiving clients for maintaining norms of the sample group.

As for hiding homosexual exchange behavior while living their daily life, the sample group used different methods at home, at school or college, and in social activities in general as follow: When talking about transvestites, they talked normally with their family members. They talked less about this matter with their school

friends. They helped with housework and helped their families to make livings. They went to school and came back home as usual. They selected to have homosexual exchange in the evening, the same time as they regularly went out. And they wore their usual clothes. Their performance showed their behavioral adjustment in the daily life to get along with their homosexual exchange behavior, and to be able to hide this type of sexual behavior. Furthermore, it was adjustment of feelings and thinking; although they had homosexual exchange behavior, they were still able to follow the norms as being family members and society members without faults.

Unacceptance of being labelled “running kid” as called by clients was adjustment of the feelings that they did not always offer sexual service to transvestites. Sometimes transvestites offered sexual service themselves. The subjects themselves felt that they did not belong to the labelled group like other groups of prostitutes in general.

The sample group expected the homosexual exchange to be in existence and expected their clients to be in the group of the rich. This was preparation for self-adjustment to be in accordance with the state of higher cost of living in the future as viewed by these subjects in the sample group. However, expecting to have clients at their own age was adjustment of their opinions that if clients were at the same age as the sample group, it would reduce the influence of social control which viewed that they were “boy toy”. And expecting the clients to speak politely with them was adjustment the feeling of being looked down upon.

The sample group planned for their future to graduate at least at the upper-vocational education certificate level or at most at the bachelor’s degree level; after that they would get married, and would give up the homosexual exchange behavior. These expectations were adjustment of their opinions to prepare to live their lives in the future, and to confirm that their current homosexual exchange behavior was just temporary behavior and that before long they would stop.

It could be said that the homosexual exchange process was self-adjustment of the sample group in both behavior and feelings and thinking in order to be in accordance with the homosexual exchange existing in the community between transvestites and male youths. That was, transvestites preferred sexual relationships with male youths and could give what youths wanted while male youths wanted

money to go to entertaining places. Homosexual exchange occurred only during the period of adolescence. When the sample group passed the period that they had planned to give up their behavior, they would quit this behavior, and then they would have correct sexual behavior according to the social norms like other people in general.



CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Conclusions of research results

In this research of homosexual exchange of male youths in Maha Sarakham, the objective was to analyze the sequential model leading to homosexual exchange of male youths by studying the conditional contexts important in making the decision to enter into each stage, according to their experiences. Data was collected through in-depth interviews. Eleven male youths with present homosexual exchange were interviewed, and the qualitative data was analyzed by the symbolic interactionism, the social exchange theory, the deviant behavior, and Howard S. Becker's sequential model of deviance. It was found that the majority of the sample group was 17 years old and studying in Matthayomsuksa level, with most of their parents divorced. The sample group mostly chose to live with their mothers (only 3 of whom have remarried), most of whom owned small family businesses. Most stay with their families because they have homes in Muang district. They receive an allowance of 20-60 baht each day. They have had homosexual exchange during a period of at least 4 months to at most 3 years.

The results of the study show 2 points of the homosexual exchange of male youths:

1.1 Socialization in homosexual techniques and norms are important in homosexual exchange regularly.

1.2 Homosexual exchange is a sequential process.

1.1 Socialization in homosexual techniques and norms are important in homosexual exchange regularly.

Socialization of sexual techniques and norms affects the regularity of homosexual exchange because it consists of socializing about the culture of homosexual exchange. Socialization uses videos and VCDs, group members, and

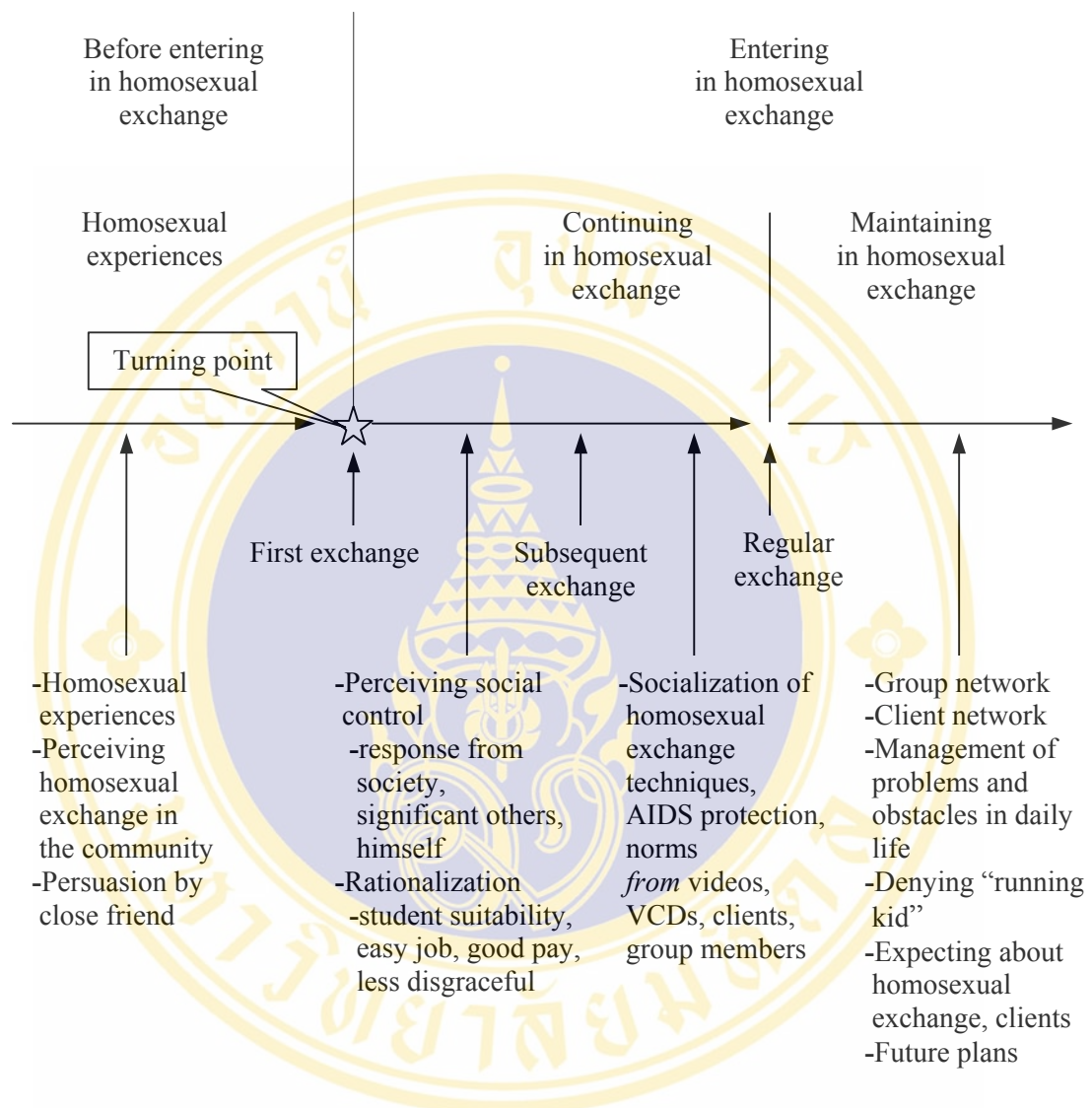
clients. The videos and VCDs were borrowed from group members, clients, and their general friends. The location for viewing these movies is mostly at friends' room in dorms. The content socialized includes techniques for various sexual acts between two men or many men. Socialization by group members includes learning how to make clients happy, such as talking politely and remembering the sexual acts that clients like. Socialization by clients includes using their imagination when entering in homosexual exchange and protection against AIDS by using condoms. The socialization is an important source to develop necessary skills.

Socialization lets the group learn about the rules in being group members, absorbing beliefs, attitudes, values, and learning the ideals and norms of homosexual exchange such as keeping the exchange a secret in order to continually have sexual pleasure. If no one knows then they can keep on finding pleasure more easily and do whatever they like. Another norm is not to use the method to find money all the time, which differentiates them from prostitutes. The acceptance of these two norms and norms enables the group to see homosexual exchange as normal or as something that is not embarrassing to the group. This gives them a new form of sexual pleasure, from females to males, and gives them a way to find money that is different from prostitution. It can be said that socialization is a process of molding each person into a group member with the same qualities as others, in techniques and knowledge. A kind of "group" is created, enabling feelings of security and warmth that there are people who understand and that they can talk to when they have problems, which increases the group's cohesiveness. All of the above are important supporting conditions for the sample group to enter in homosexual exchange regularly.

1.2 Homosexual exchange is a sequential process.

Homosexual exchange was found to be a sequential model, with 3 stages, as follow:

Sequential model of homosexual exchange of male youths



The homosexual exchange can be described in sequential process as follow:

- 1.2.1 Beginning stage of the homosexual exchange
- 1.2.2 Continuing stage of the homosexual exchange
- 1.2.3 Maintaining stage of the homosexual exchange

1.2.1 Beginning stage of the homosexual exchange:

In the beginning stage of homosexual exchange, the sample group had their homosexual experiences with individuals close to them, such as teachers, friends, neighbors, and other individuals. All these individuals are

transvestites, who were either teenaged or older. The homosexual experiences started with activities the sample group has done before and the transvestites developed all of the sample group into the “passive” of 2 things: masturbation and oral sex. Six people in the sample group were developed into the “active” – 1 for masturbation, 4 for anal sex, and 1 for oral sex and anal sex.

The sample group defined homosexual experiences positively because the group receives more pleasure when they are the “passive” in homosexual exchange than when they are the “active” in heterosexual sex. Another definition is that the exchange gives them an income, enabling them to buy a lot of their entertainment.

The sample group differentiated themselves from transvestites, gays, and homosexuals by defining themselves as separate, as they feel they are not similar to the definitions. They are not girly, never dressed as a girl, never wanted a man as a boyfriend, and although they receive sexual pleasure from the homosexual exchange it is more from stimulation than any real desire to have sex with a man. In addition, they have girlfriends. They also see themselves differently from male and child prostitutes as they are not transvestites, don't need a lot of money, don't sell their bodies, haven't been tricked, are not naughty, and haven't run away from home.

The sample group has developed their sexual techniques, enabling them to be both the “passive” and the “active”. They then perceived that the community where they lived had an atmosphere ready for homosexual exchange, and perceived that their close friend had homosexuality for exchange. The contexts above became conditions supporting the group's turning point into the first homosexual exchange.

The sample group defined homosexuality as a way that gives them more sexual pleasure than other forms of sex and even earns them an income. The sample group wants pleasure and therefore chooses homosexuality as a way of receiving satisfactory pleasure, along with receiving some money. This give-and-take with reciprocal satisfaction of both parties is the characteristic of “exchange”. There are no set rule that the sample group or the clients would be the “passive” or the “active”. Although the sample group receives much pleasure from being the

“passive”, which party having what role would depend on both parties and thus sexual pleasure cannot be measured. Whether there is money and the amount of money were also not set. The sample group receives money sometimes, getting 100-300 baht each time. Although no rules were laid down, the sample group entered in this behavior continuously and thus showed acceptance of the fairness in the exchange. This kind of exchange was social exchange then the homosexuality of male youths and transvestites called “homosexual exchange.”

1.2.2 Continuing stage of the homosexual exchange:

When the sample group began entering in homosexual exchange, it was found that they used techniques of neutralization to explain the rationale behind their behavior, such as homosexual exchange are appropriate for students and people with their body types to earn money without losing sleep or using a lot of strength. When compared with prostitutes, the group felt they were less repellent as the exchange are only temporary. Rationalizing is a way of protecting themselves from self-criticisms, lessening the feelings of guilt, and lowering social control or their own reaction. They still feel proud. The sample group gave great importance to explaining their homosexual exchange, giving importance to internal control, creating a supporting condition for continuing homosexual exchange.

Another important contexts in this stage is socialization. Socialization lets the group learn about the rules in being group members, absorbing beliefs, attitudes, values, and the norms of homosexual exchange such as keeping the exchange a secret in order to continually have sexual pleasure. If no one knows then they can keep on finding pleasure more easily and do whatever they like. Another norm is not to use the method to find money all the time, which differentiates them from prostitutes. The acceptance of these two norms enables the group to see homosexual exchange as normal or as something that is not embarrassing to the group. This gives them a new form of sexual pleasure, from females to males, and gives them a way to find money that is different from prostitution.

1.2.3 Maintaining stage of the homosexual exchange:

In this stage, the sample group's network and the clients' network support the maintenance of homosexual exchange because both networks help to expand customers by recommendations from clients, who also help take care of their health by ordering them not to use drugs, make their bodies strong, and enter in maintaining homosexual exchange.

The sample group managed daily problems and obstacles in order to keep their homosexual exchange secret by talking about transvestites normally with other people in their families, talking less with their friends at school, meeting their girlfriends consistently and talking normally, letting clients contact themselves directly through the phones or through friends, seeing clients in the evening, wearing normal clothes, wearing dark clothes so people can't see, avoiding clients during the day, and using excuses when people see them with transvestites. By management of their daily problems and obstacles and keeping their homosexual exchange a secret, there is no reaction from society and the sample group can go on with their violation of social norms. It is a primary form of deviant behavior with secrecy.

Most people in the sample group don't want the nickname "running kid" because it makes them feel like they run after transvestites when the transvestites are the ones who run after them. They don't want a stigma because when they stop they don't want anything that would encourage social reactions. They are only doing the exchange temporarily, not fixedly, this becomes a supporting condition to maintain homosexual exchange.

The sample group expects homosexual exchange to be existent in the future, to have rich clients who are able to pay them more than in the present (as goods and services would be more expensive in the future and they would need more money for these), and to have young clients so that other people would see them as friends (whereas for older clients, the sample group would be looked at as a "boy toy"). In addition, the sample group expects clients who talk to them nicely even when during times that the clients don't desire the sample group, because both parties give and receive sexual pleasure. The sample group views the homosexual exchange as a suitable way of finding money to buy goods and services in the future, which they

plan for by expecting to get rich clients. They would like to prevent damaging criticisms from others by expecting that the clients would be the same age. They also expect to avoid yelling and insults from clients.

Most people in the sample group plan to study at most a bachelor's degree or at least a professional certificate, work, marry, and stop seeing transvestites because they need to earn money for their families. Some don't want to get married but would like to stop getting money from transvestites when they get a job. The sample group has future plans of stopping the deviant behavior, starting jobs after they finish school, and getting married. They would stop going to transvestites because to them that earns money to go out; they would have a real job and a certain income for raising their families. The deviant behavior at present is only temporary and would be stopped after a while. Therefore it partly motivates or supports the group's maintenance in homosexual exchange.

2. Recommendations

2.1 Recommendation regarding policies and operations:

2.1.1 It was found that the network of sample group members only had 2 – 3 members each, but they would be a very close-knit group that helps each other and supports on another. The relations among group members include helping to find and recommend clients for the others who lack money. Expanding the sample group network is difficult because they make their homosexual exchange secret. Expanding their sample group network sometimes is coincidental, as when one person goes to the home of a client and finds another person there. They get to know one another and become a group. There is a high chance of expanding the network this way. The bigger a network, the members can better help to find clients for each other. When the member network expands, more youth has entered into homosexual exchange. Both networks would support the maintenance of homosexual exchange. The relations among members in the network and the client network would be complicated. There would probably be a need for someone to organize a system, such as an older client with experiences in homosexual exchange and has the authority to control to keep the group away from official social control. Prevention at that point would be difficult. Therefore, prevention of entering into the homosexual exchange

when the networks are not as complicated should be done. One way is to decrease the entrances into the process, such as finding appropriate work for students to do during the evenings or on weekends, with a suitable income. The educational funds should lower their requirements, such as lowering the GPA requirement, as those who have a low GPA are usually the ones who need the funds more than those with high GPA.

2.1.2 From talking to one person, it was found that the reason he had homosexual exchange with transvestites started like the rest of the sample group, in that he had once masturbated with friends. When he had a transvestite do it for him, it was acceptable. It was regrettable that this boy came to talk to the researcher 2 times and never came back. The transvestite who had been his client said the boy dropped out of school and disappeared. It was understood he went to work in Bangkok. The researcher wanted to relay the information he gave even though he isn't in the sample group, because it is important. He said that he didn't know much about sex. When he matured he wanted to sleep with girls but didn't know where he would "enter" her correctly. He was afraid girls would laugh at him. He lived with his mother, as his parents were divorced and his father never came to the house. He did not dare ask his mother about sex, did not dare see a prostitute because he was afraid of being laughed at, did not understand the sex pictures, and was not taught any of this at school.

"I wanted to sleep with girls but I was afraid of being embarrassed because I didn't know where to 'enter' her correctly. I was afraid the girls would laugh. The pictures in sex books weren't very clear. I didn't want to ask my mom, I was afraid she'd yell at me. I didn't dare go to prostitutes because they're all older and they'd yell at me for not knowing what to do, which would be embarrassing. They don't teach this at school. We'd have to read about it on our own. I was confused."

He solved the problem by asking his friend, who suggested he get a transvestite to teach him.

"I asked my friend if he knew how to 'do' girls. My friend told me to go see a transvestite as they are better teachers. I knew of one, an older student. He let me watch him masturbate and give me oral sex and taught me to enter him from behind."

His relationship with the transvestite was an open one

because his mother didn't mind.

“I went places with the transvestite. My mom didn't mind; she told me having me be with a transvestite was better than being with drug addicts who would invite me to steal things. My mom only saw nice, hardworking transvestites; she never saw transvestites who were drug addicts.”

It can be seen that the age of youth is a time when people learn about sex, but because there is no one to give them correct knowledge; they have to find out on their own, which is a chance for transvestites to get to them. Also, because parents are more concerned with them becoming addicted to drugs, they do not consider that their sons would have sexual relations with transvestites, which makes it convenient for homosexual experiences that would lead to homosexual exchange. Therefore, organizing sex education for youth would be an important part of their curriculum. The teacher would need to consider the responsibility in teaching youth to know the correct methods and activities, not letting them learn by themselves. Parents should take care to watch their sons' relations with transvestites to prevent their sons from engaging in homosexual activities with them.

2.2 Recommendations in further research:

2.2.1 There should be a follow-up research on the sample group after they have graduated to see whether they still continue with this behavior because they might be unemployed and have to keep being a “running kid” or something else.

2.2.2 There should be researches on sexual exchange for males, females, groups of differing ages in the same area or different areas, in order to analyze whether the exchange plan works similarly or differently and what is beneficial or preventive.

2.2.3 There should be research on sexually deviant behavior in various areas in order to relate to problems of sexual deviance, which would change as people like changing to new things.

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