# 東南亞電影中的性別恐懼初探

## A Working Paper on Genderphobia in Southeast Asian Cinema

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**摘要**

本文將分析菲律賓、泰國及印尼以男同志為題材的電影中，在男性身上體現的酷兒特質。菲律賓、泰國及印尼這三個國家均有悠長的性別跨越傳統，而這些傳統亦隨著歷史演變，在現代社會以獨特的形態呈現：菲律賓的 bakla、泰國的 kathoey、及印尼的 waria 族群。透過三地例子的相互對照，本文嘗試探討不同的性別操演策略及性別體現，以及勾勒出性別恐懼及恐同意識如何透過電影影響該地區的主流性別論述。

**Abstract**

In this paper, I intend to look at the cinematic portrayals of male-bodied queerness in gay-themed films from the Philippines, Thailand, and Indonesia. All three contexts have a similar long history of gender-bending and gender-crossing traditions, which still exist in contemporary forms today: the *bakla* from the Philippines, the *kathoey* of Thailand, and the *waria* of Indonesia. The paper will attempt to inter-reference these gender performances with each other, as well as articulate how concepts of

genderphobia and homophobia operate within cinematic discourses from across this region.

# 東南亞電影中的性別恐懼初探 (大綱)

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本文試圖探究菲律賓、泰國、印度尼西亞電影中的酷兒形象與這三種脈絡下酷兒們所經歷的性別恐懼議題間的關係。這三種脈絡分享著相似的跨性別 (gender-crossing) 傳統，這種至今仍然存在的傳統具體表現為菲律賓的 bakla，泰國的 kathoey，印度尼西亞的 waria。這些傳統根植於古老的精神與宗教實踐中，並與今天的"現代"酷兒／怪異 (queerness) 實踐──男同性戀性行為和跨性別並存。

性與性別的全球論述試圖通過建構性傾向 (sexual orientation) 與性別身份 (gender identity) 的框架來區分這兩種概念，例如在《日惹原則》 (2007) 中，性傾向被定義為"每個人對異性、同性或多種性別的人發自內心的情感、愛情和性吸引，并與之發生親密關係和性關係的能力" (The Yogyakarta Principles, 2007, P. 6), 而將性別身份定義為"每個人對性別深切的內心感覺和個人體驗，可能與出生時被認定的性別一致或不一致，這包括對身體的個人感覺" ( P. 6 )。然而在東南亞地區，性別與性傾向則是同一個概念。

這種統一反應在這些語境下描述性別時所使用的語言中：菲律賓語 (Tagalog) 中的 kasarian 與英語中的 gender 一詞大意相同。kasarian 字面上是

指"類型" (type) (Garcia, 2000)，其最終的意思卻不拘泥于此，它與性別 (gender) 和性 (sex) 的意思相同。同樣的，泰語中的性別一詞 phet（發音為'pairt')也同時表示性 (sex)、性別 (gender) 和性傾向 (sexuality) （Jackson, 2011)。phet 是一個運行於男性、女性二元連續體之上的性別與性傾向的三性模型 (three-sexed model)。"它將性差異 (sexual difference)（男性 vs. 女性），性別差異 (gender difference)（男性氣質 vs. 女性氣質）和性 (sexuality)（異性戀 vs. 同性戀）吸收進同一個層次模糊的體制中" (Jackson and Sullivan, 1999, P. 5)。phu-chai（是 chai 的人）表示男性、男性氣質，男子氣概，同時 phu-ying 表示女性、女性氣質、女性特點( Jackson, 2004; Jackson and Sullivan, 1999)。在這兩個詞語之間的類型被稱作 kathoey，表示那些顯露出來的性別與其生理性別不符的人們（男人或女人）。(Jackson and Sullivan, 1999)。在印度尼西亞群島中，不同的島嶼文化有著不同的對於性別和性的概念 (Boelstorff, 2005)。印尼語中用 pria 一詞表示男人，wantia 一詞表示女人 (Boelstorff, 2004)。waria 一詞通過截取和合并 wantia 與 pria，表示男變女的跨性別或變裝者 (Boelstorff, 2004)。

流行於英語中的表示性別與性的詞語開始同樣在東南亞的酷兒文化中蔓延開來。在馬尼拉，中上層階級的男同志開始將他們自己與 bakla 一詞區分開來，因為該詞聯繫著低下層階級與柔弱特性。(Benedicto, 2008)。在整個菲律賓的跨

性別團體中，人們開始棄用當地詞語而選擇採用新詞，transpinay 和 transpinoy 來分別表示跨性別的女人和跨性別的男人。Pinoy 是一個口語詞彙，表示菲律賓人。印度尼西亞通過使用 gay 和 lesbi 來區分沒有變裝的酷兒和變了裝的 warias，男同志對男同志的一種根深蒂固的實踐也許同樣存在於男同志性慾中，而不像 waria 通過對變裝的操練來反應她所聲稱的女性靈魂。在泰國，對於 HIV、艾滋和男同性戀，尤其是那些與男人發生性關係的男人 (MSM) 的大量論述，讓 gay 這個被當做階級標籤、標準男性氣質的性別和同性性行為的詞語走紅了(Murray, 1999)。

最初，這三種語境中對性與性別身份的全球能指的適應，似乎與當地的表意系統有所衝撞。例如，SOGIE 的架構似乎與當地對於性的身體、性別操演和表現，以及性實踐和性行為合并的觀點完全不相容。這種不相容表現在描述這些當地實踐的語言上面：在菲律賓語中， bakla 一詞同時表示男子氣的女同志和女子氣的男同志，以及跨性別的女人。Kathoey 的功能大致相同。我認為，首先由於地方性的的性／別種類限制較少且更加流動，使得當地論述與社會實踐中有足夠的空間同時容納全球與當地的對於性與性別身份的標籤。

這項研究專注聚焦於電影語境中對於性別恐懼(genderphobia)和恐同(homophobia)的論述，討論這兩個概念的變化與不同樣貌，同時我將嘗試考察在不同的語境中，這些術語意義的改變。達里爾•希爾 (Daryl Hill)提出了一套針對對於跨性別個體的暴力事件的架構，該架構通過描繪三種概念構成：性別主義

(genderism)、跨性別恐懼 (transphobia) 和性別攻擊 (gender-bashing) (Hill and Willoughby, 2005)。在這裏，性別主義被定義為"對於性與性別上的不一致或不協調的負面評價" (Hill and Willoughby, 2005) 性別主義存在於意識形態層面和固有的人必須遵照其出生時被賦予的性別的信念，而那些體驗到自身性別掉落於男女二元模型之間或超越其之上的，則被視為病態(Hill and Willoughby, 2005)。跨性別恐懼被定義為"對男性氣質的女人、女性氣質的男人、變裝者、跨性別者和／或變性者的厭惡感覺。" (Hill and Willoughby, 2005, P. 533)。性別攻擊屬於對不符合性別刻板印象個體的身體或言語上直接的攻擊或騷擾 (Hill and Willoughby, 2005)。這套有關跨性別恐懼架構的最後構成部分是使得跨性別恐懼得以具體化的意識形態語境和個人對跨性別個體內心的厭惡感覺的外在顯現。

該項研究最後的一個考量是恐同（homophobia）。就像性別恐懼一樣，恐同并不意味。著會被歸於一種病態來對待。 為了從新聚焦恐同，格雷高里•希瑞克 (Gregory Herek) (2004)提出了三項聚焦研究的新術語：性污名 (sexual stigma)（基於他人的非異性戀行為、認同、人際關係或社群來對其進行社會污名），異性戀主義 (heterosexism)（相信異性戀模式應該覆蓋任何身份 ）和反同性戀行為(antigay behavior)( 由於他人感知或實際上的性傾向，通過言語或身體上的暴力對其進行侮辱）。希瑞克同樣簡潔地處理了內在化的恐同：將自己歸

於或沒有歸於 LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender) 社群的人們對於非

異性戀人群內在化了的負面想法。

我在該項研究中的目標是讓性別恐懼和恐同的概念發生碰撞，通過將跨性別

恐懼與希瑞克的恐同的三種模式並列起來。在意識形態層面，斯卡爾性別恐懼

( Transphobia Scale)概念與希瑞克的異性戀主義是平行的。在個體層面，跨性

別恐懼可以與希瑞克的性污名放在一起。最後，暴力可以在斯卡爾的性別攻擊

(gender-bashing)概念和希瑞克的反同性戀行為中連貫起來。

這項研究將會考察幾部菲律賓、泰國、印度尼西亞電影中對酷兒形態的描繪。

我通過將電影文本分割為三種模型，對其進行分析和批判：視覺模型（考察場面

調度、取景、燈光、道具和服裝），語言和聲音模型（考察電影使用的語言和聲

音）以及表演模型（考察演員的表演和類型）。我試圖在電影所創造的獨特的文

化與政治語境之下去分析它們。

然而，這僅僅只是我採用的研究方法中的一種。在接下來的分析方法中,我

還會通過對導演、編劇和製作人的深度訪談去探尋他們創作文本時，在藝術上和

政治上的考量。方法論的最後一個面向會對跨性別和具有同志身份認同的人們進

行聚焦訪談和小組討論，去探尋他們在其特殊的文化脈絡中，有關性別恐懼和恐

同的經歷。接著我的任務就是去解讀每部電影以及將現實生活中的性別恐懼和恐

同經歷与電影所描繪相同點與不同點串聯起來。我會同時參考 bakla, kathoey 和

waria 三種性別類型，讓它們的相同點鮮活起來，並且將它們在現實生活中的經

驗與電影論述中可能斷裂的點連接起來。

# A Working Paper on Genderphobia in Southeast Asian Cinema

Mikee INTON

This paper intends to explore the relationship between the portrayals of queers in movies from the Philippines, Thailand, and Indonesia, and issues of genderphobia as experienced by queer people from across the three contexts. All three contexts share similar histories of gender-crossing traditions that still exist today embodied by the *bakla* of the Philippines, the *kathoey* of Thailand, and the *waria* of Indonesia. These traditions are rooted in ancient spiritual and religious practices, and exist today alongside 'modern' practices of queerness – gay male sexuality and transgenderism.

Gender is primarily a social construction that is shaped by constant shifts in social, cultural, and economic forces (Jackson, 2011). Therefore, Western conceptions of gender may not quite fit into the cultural spheres and endemic discourses of genders in the Southeast Asian region. For one thing, Western discourse separates the ideas of gender identity and sexual orientation, as evidenced by global Human Rights discourses. The United Nations' Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity and Expression (SOGIE) framework, based on the Yogyakarta Principles (2007), clearly fleshes out the difference: gender identity is "each person's deeply felt internal and individual experience of gender, which may or may not correspond with the sex assigned at birth, including the personal sense of the body (which may involve, if freely chosen, modification of bodily appearance or function by medical, surgical or other means) and other expressions of gender, including dress, speech and mannerisms" (p. 6), while sexual orientation is defined as, "each person's capacity for profound emotional, affectional, and sexual attraction to, and intimate and sexual relations with, individuals of a different gender or the same gender or more than one gender" (*The Yogyakarta Principles*, 2007, p.6). In

the Southeast Asian region, however, both gender and sexual orientation are conflated into a single concept.

This is reflected in the language used to describe gender in these specific contexts: in Filipino (Tagalog), *kasarian* functions as a rough translation of the English word, *gender. Kasarian* literally means 'type' (Garcia, 2000), signifying how ultimately less restrictive it is compared to words like gender or sex. Similarly, the Thai word for gender, *phet* (pronounced 'pairt'), also conflates ideas of sex, gender, and sexuality (Jackson, 2011). *Phet* is a three-sexed model of gender and sexuality that works on the binary continuum of male and female. It "incorporates sexual difference (male vs. female), gender difference (masculine vs. feminine), and sexual (heterosexual vs. homosexual) into a single discursive regime" (Jackson and Sullivan, 1999, p. 5). The *phu-chai* (person who is *chai*) denotes maleness, masculinity, and manhood while word *phu-ying* denotes femaleness, femininity, and womanhood (Jackson, 2004; Jackson and Sullivan, 1999). The intermediary category between these above terms is called *kathoey*, a label that denotes people (male or female) whose gender expressions were misaligned to their sex (Jackson and Sullivan, 1999). Thus *phet* acts as a three-sex model of gender/sexuality: man – *kathoey* – woman (Jackson and Sullivan, 1999). Also, the different island cultures in the archipelago of Indonesia have different conceptions of gender and sexuality (Boelstorff, 2005). In most cultures throughout the archipelago, gender and sexuality are not seen as mutually exclusive domains of meaning (Boelstorff, 2005). The Bahasa word for man is *pria*, while *wantia* refers to women (Boelstorff, 2004). The word *waria*, clipped by combining *wantia* and *pria*, refers to male-to-female transgenders or transvestites (Boelstorff, 2004).

The words *bakla, kathoey,* and *waria* have taken on a form of national prominence in each of the three countries, but are by no means the only words used to describe gender-nonconforming males. In the Philippines, Tagalog

words like *binabae* (literally, "to be made a woman") and the Cebuano *bayot* (similar in meaning to *bakla*) also exist to describe males who dress and act in feminine ways. The term *silahis*, which comes from Filipino gay lingo (called *swardspeak*), is used to signify a certain kind of effeminate man – the *silahis* would look like a traditional masculine man, but would act in an exaggeratedly feminine manner (Garcia, 2009). In Indonesia, the word *waria* is seen as more politically correct and empowering compared to words like *banci* and *bencong*, which mean roughly the same thing but are used as derogatory slurs (Boellstorff, 2005).

The popularity of English-language terms for gender and sexuality has also become rampant in queer cultures throughout Southeast Asia. In the Manila, middle- and upper-class gay men have begun to distance themselves from the label *bakla* because of its ties with lower-class status and effeminacy (Benedicto, 2008). Transgender groups all over the Philippines have begun to abandon local terms and have opted to adopt the coined words, *transpinay* and *transpinoy,* to refer trans women and trans men, respectively; *Pinoy* is a colloquial term to refer to Filipinos. Indonesians have adopted the terms *gay* and *lesbi* to distinguish non-cross-dressing queers from those *warias* who do cross-dress, a practice that is perhaps rooted as well in *gay* sexual desire being directed toward the sameness of other *gays* unlike the *waria* whose exercise of cross-dressing is a reflection of her purportedly feminine soul (Boellstroff, 2005). In Thailand, the influx of discourses on HIV and AIDS and male homosexuality, in particular, the label men who have sex with men (MSM), has brought about the popularity of the term gay, which is used as a marker of class, normative masculine gender, and same-sex sexuality (Murray, 1999).

The adoption of global signifiers for sexual and gender identity in these three contexts, at first, seems to clash with endemic systems of signification. The SOGIE framework, for example, seems to be completely incompatible

with local practices that conflate ideas of the sexed body, gender performance and expression, and sexual practices and behaviors. This incompatibility is reflected in the language used to describe these endemic practices: in Tagalog, the word *bakla* refers to both gay men, whether masculine or effeminate, and transgender women. *Kathoey* functions in much the same way. I argue, however, that since the endemic categories of gender/sexuality are less restrictive and more fluid in the first place, there is plenty of space in local discourse and social practice to accommodate both global and endemic labels for sexual and gender identity.

This research specifically focuses on discourses of genderphobia and homophobia in the context of cinema. Debates about these two concepts are varied and diverse and I will attempt to examine how different contexts change the definitions of these terms. I begin by surveying how the terms are used in advocacy discourse and how medical and legal contexts have institutionalized practices that can be read as genderphobic/homophobic. I then flesh out issues of transphobia and effeminophobia and how these are used in various academic and non-academic circles. I will also present the Genderism and Transphobia Scale, which should clearly operationalize the concepts I examine. I will then look at a short history of the term homophobia and subsequently contrast the homophobia scale that with that of genderphobia/transphobia.

Genderphobia is a relatively new term used by academics and social activists to pertain to the policing of behaviors that transgress the binary of masculine or feminine. It is a term which, at face value, implies a multitude of negative feelings and actions premised on the clear separation of the binary of masculine and feminine. It may also imply negative sentiments directed by one gender over the other(s), like misogyny and misandry. For this study, I deploy the term genderphobia to refer to two specific forms of gender-based policing: transphobia and effeminophobia.

The term genderphobia is most commonly used interchangeably with the term transphobia, which is defined as "the irrational fear of those who are perceived to break or blur stereotypical gender roles… [expressed] as negative feelings, attitudes, actions, and institutional discrimination" (Hans, 2003). The activist group Transgender Europe (2014), which is currently conducting a world-wide mapping project on the instances of transgender-related violence, defines transphobia as "a matrix of cultural and personal beliefs, opinions, attitudes and aggressive behaviors based on prejudice, disgust, fear and/or hatred directed against individuals or groups who do not conform to or who transgress societal gender expectations and norms." As the term suggests, transphobia is usually directed at transgender people (Browne, Lim, and Brown, 2009). The term transphobia has also been adopted by several transgender activist groups around the world to shed light on instances of violence and abuse directed at transgender people. The term's acceptance into global advocacy and human rights discourse is best reflected in its recent inclusion into the International Day Against Homophobia (IDAHO), celebrated yearly on May 17 and first organized by the International Lesbian and Gay Association (ILGA) (2013). In 2009, IDAHO was renamed IDAHOT, the International Day Against Homophobia and Transphobia.

One of the many things that makes transphobia pervasive is that it has, to some extent, become institutionalized into medical and legal-governmental discourse. John Nguyet Erni (2012) writes about the significance of having transgenders become un-imaginable in legal contexts. This erasure of their existence, the denial of their gendered experience in favor of their legally assigned sex, is a form of transphobic institutionalization that legitimizes transphobia by making transgenders conform to the binary of male-female (Erni, 2013). Section 8 of the Prisons Ordinance in Hong Kong states that men and women are to be put into separate detention facilities, so that they could not see or communicate with each other (Erni, 2013). It does not, however,

make any mention of provisions for trangender inmate. As a result, trans women are often put into male population prisons and may become the target of sexual and physical assault (Erni, 2013). They are also usually denied their hormone treatments, which can cause tremendous physical and emotional trauma.

In 2013 in Hong Kong, the W case remains a prime example of institutional transphobia. W is a 37 year old trans woman who sued the courts for rights to marry her boyfriend (Lau and Lai, 2013). She argued that after she had gone through sexual reassignment surgery, the law should not prevent her from marrying her boyfriend despite her birth sex being male (Lau and Lai, 2013). She eventually won her case, setting precedent for new legislation challenging 'traditional' notions of marriage as being between a man and a woman and in the process, redefining the role of biology in constituting a man or a woman (Lau and Lai, 2013). Critics, however, argue that new legislations put in place, if improperly worded, would force transgender people to undergo sexual reassignment surgery in order for their gender to be legally recognized. This invasive surgery is not one that all transgenders could afford to go through or are even willing to undertake, and the law would undermine their bodily autonomy by pushing them to go through it (Collett, 2014).

Transgender individuals face a myriad other forms of institutionalized discrimination – as their birth assigned sex and gender experience do not match, issues of legal documentation become transgender issues. Transgenders in many countries are not allowed to change the sex on their identity cards, which leads them to be discriminated against in many instances such as employment, marriage, travel documents, etc. (Winter, 2011). Across the Southeast Asian Region, no legislation has been passed to allow for individuals to change the sex on their legal documents. In the Philippines, Republic Act 10172 was passed in 2012. The law makes it easier for people to correct any information on their birth certificates, and states that "nor shall any

entry involving change of gender corrected except if the petition is accompanied by a certification issued by an accredited government physician attesting to the fact that the petitioner has not undergone sex change or sex transplant." In other words, the law bars any post-operative transgender from changing their legal sex. It must also be noted that the law is phrased using medical terms for procedures that do not actually exist: there is no such procedure as a sex transplant; the more medically (and politically) correct term for this procedure is sexual reassignment surgery (also sometimes called gender reassignment surgery).

Several studies have tried to further flesh out the issue of transphobia, and while there is significant anecdotal evidence to back the perception of pervasive transphobic feelings and actions in western cultures (as evidenced by movies like *Boys Don't Cry* and *The Gwen Araujo Story*), only recently has a scale for quantitatively measuring this been developed (Hill and Willoughby, 2005). Daryl Hill (2002) proposes a framework for approaching the issue of violence directed at transgender individuals by delineating between three concepts: genderism, transphobia, and gender-bashing (Hill and Willoughby, 2005). Here, genderism is defined as the "negative evaluation of gender non-conformity or an incongruence between sex and gender" (Hill and Willoughby, 2005). This is very similar to heterosexism, which is a belief that all sexual relations that fall outside normative male-female sexual bonding are unnatural or immoral. Genderism works on the ideological level and perpetuates the belief that people must conform to their respective assigned sex at birth, and that those people whose experience of gender fall in between or go beyond the binary model are pathological (Hill and Willoughby, 2005).

This framework also defines transphobia as "the feeling of revulsion to masculine women, feminine men, cross-dressers, transgenderists, and/or transsexuals" (Hill and Willoughby, 2005, p. 533). Unlike the above-mentioned definitions of transphobia, this framework limits the term's use to internal

prejudices a person might have against transgender people. These feelings can be manifested in a person as anxiety that an acquaintance may be trans, or actual disgust at encountering a transgender individual (Hill and Willoughby, 2005). It is important, however, to note that unlike other psychological – phobias, transphobic persons do not suffer from an actual psychological disorder, rather it is the irrational fear of transgender individuals, which may, in part, be "perpetuated by cultural ideologies" (Hill and Willoughby, 2005, p. 534).

Finally, gender-bashing pertains to physical or verbal assault or harassment directed at people who do not conform to gender stereotypes (Hill and Willoughby, 2005). This last component of the transphobia framework is the outward manifestation of both the ideological context which enables transphobia to materialize and a person's internal feelings of disgust at transgender individuals. Hill and Willoughby (2005) summarize: "genderism is the broad negative cultural ideology, transphobia is the emotional disgust and fear, and gender-bashing is the fear manifest in acts of violence (Hill, 2002)" (p. 534).

Another concept to be looked at in this study is effeminophobia. Niall Richardson problematizes this concept in his 2009 paper, which centered on a British reality television show called *Playing it Straight*, where men would attempt to win the heart of a female contestant. The catch is that not all men in the show are heterosexually-identified. At end of the series, the female contestant must pick a man to be her partner. If she is able to pick a heterosexual man, they get to split the prize money, but if she picks a gay man, he keeps all the money to himself. Richardson (2009) argues that the show does not reinforce homophobic discourses, but is rather effeminophobic. Effeminophobia is the fear of effeminacy in men, regardless of sexual orientation or gender identity. In the show, the male contestants constantly seek to hide their performances of effeminacy for fear of being identified as

gay (which would cause them to lose their chances at winning £100,000). The show reinforces discourses which link effeminacy to gayness, which leads the gay-identified contestants to constantly police their behaviors and purge themselves of all traces of effeminacy.

Effeminophobia, also often called sissyphobia, stems from the patriarchal belief that masculinity should be kept free from any traces of femininity. In the documentary *The Celluloid Closet* (1995, dirs. Rob Epstein and Jeffrey Friedman), based on the book by Vito Russo, which examines the representation of homosexuals and homosexuality in American cinema, author Quentin Crisp (in *The Celluloid Closet, 1995*) says that "sissy characters are always a joke. There's no sin like being a woman. When a man dresses as a woman, the audience laughs. When a woman dresses as a man, nobody laughs." It can be argued that effeminophobia is rooted in masculine misogyny.

A final conceptual concern of this study is that of homophobia. Unlike genderphobia, which polices the supposed lines between masculine and feminine, homophobia is all about policing sexuality. The term was invented in the late 1960s by George Weinberg, who used it to pertain to feelings of unease when in close quarters with those who are perceived to be homosexuals and is used to reinforce heteronormative sexual orientation models (Herek, 2004). Weinberg was a psychologist trained in Freudian thought and accustomed to thinking of homosexuality as a pathological disorder – reasons he felt were fundamentally inadequate in explaining the difficulties faced by his homosexual clients and friends (Herek, 2004). Weinberg created the term homophobia to "mean it was a phobia about homosexuals… It was a fear of homosexuals which seemed to be associated with a fear of contagion, a fear of reducing the things one fought for—home and family. It was a religious fear and it had led to great brutality as fear always does" (in Herek, 2004, p. 7). In July, 1971, Weinberg published an article detailing "Words for the New Culture" in which homophobia was defined as

"the dread of being in close quarters with homosexuals — and in the case of homosexuals themselves, selfloathing" (Herek, 2004, p. 8); the latter part of the definition is a prelude to what would become a concept called internalized homophobia. Weinberg also considered homophobia a form prejudice one group directs at another group (Herek, 2004). In the advent of the gay rights movement, the term was adopted to throw accusations of prejudice at anti-gay legislators and right-wing philosophies (Herek, 2004).

Like genderphobia, homophobia is not meant to be treated as a pathologized phobia, Gregory Herek (2004) refocuses homophobia by proposing three new terms of focus for research: sexual stigma (social stigma against people based on their non-heterosexual behaviors, identities, relationships, or community), heterosexism (the belief that heteronormative models should govern all identities), and antigay behavior (stigma against others because of their perceived or actual sexual orientations manifested in verbal or physical violence). Herek also briefly tackles internalized homophobia: negative beliefs about non-heteronormative people held by people who may or may not identify as part of the LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender) community that have been turned inward on themselves.

My goal in this study is to collide the concepts of genderphobia and homophobia by juxtaposing the Transphobia Scale with Herek's 3-fold model of homophobia. On the ideological level, the Scale's concept of genderism is parallel with what Herek calls heterosexism. On an individual level, transphobia can be put together with Herek's sexual stigma. Finally, violence can be articulated through the Scale's concept of gender-bashing and Herek's antigay behavior.

A final component of this research is cinema. Much has been written about cinema's portrayal of non-heteronormative gendered identities. Perhaps

foremost of these is Vito Russo's *The Celluloid Closet*, first published in 1981. Russo's book traces depictions of homosexual men and women in American cinema from its beginnings with the Edison Experimental Film in 1895 up until the early 1980s. He argues that there has been a relatively linear progression of the depiction of homosexuals: from comic relief to villain to more 'real' (sympathetic) characters (Russo, 1981; *The Celluloid Closet*, 1996; Smelik, 1998). Russo comments that these rather one-dimensional portraits of the homosexual are quite discriminatory in that they didn't honestly represent non-heteronormative individuals.

Several books have also been published on the representation of homosexuals and homosexuality in Asian cinema. Song Hwe Lim's (2006) *Celluloid Comrades* looks at contemporary Chinese cinema's depictions of homosexuality. He looks at films like Ang Lee's *The Wedding Banquet,* Wong Kar-wai's *Happy Together*, and the oeuvres of Tsai Ming-liang and Stanley Kwan. Andrew Grossman's (2000) *Queer Asian Cinema* looks at the queer aspects of Asian Cinema. The book is a collection of essays on various Asian cinemas and their portrayal of non-heteronormative identities, but goes beyond simply applying Western queer concepts into Eastern cultural practices by acknowledging these local practices as rooted in their own socio-historical contexts.

This research takes its cue from the above-mentioned works and looks at how queerness is portrayed in several films from the Philippines, Thailand, and Indonesia. I employ a critical textual analysis of the films by segmenting them into three component modes: the visual mode (which looks at aspects of *mise-en-scene*, framing, lighting, props and costumes), the linguistic-sonic mode (the film's use of language and sound), and the performative mode (which looks at aspects of acting and actor typology). I intend to analyze the films based on the unique cultural and political contexts in which they were created.

This, however, is only one part of my method. A subsequent method of analysis involves in-depth interviews with directors, writers, and producers to explore their artistic and political considerations in creating such texts. A final aspect of methodology involves focus interviews and group discussions with transgender- and gay-identified people to explore their experiences of genderphobia and homophobia in their specific cultural contexts. My task then becomes to read each of the films and articulate how similar or different real-life experiences of genderphobia and homophobia are from cinematic portrayals of such. I will inter-reference the three gender categories of *bakla*, *kathoey*, and *waria*, in order to flesh out their similarities and articulate possible points of disjuncture in both real-world experiences and cinematic discourse.

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