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GLOBALISATION, LOVE, INTIMACY AND SILENCE IN A WORKING CLASS BUTCH/FEM COMMUNITY IN JAKARTA

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ABSTRACT:

This paper explores the dynamics of a butch-femme community in Jakarta, Indonesia, focussing on the ways in which they are linked to the emerging global discourses on gay/lesbian and queer politics. It argues that the locality in which this community moves, with its historical and culturally specific codes of silences and speaking determines the ways in which they relate to the emerging global discourses of love and same sex desires. Class and age are other important mediating factors.

*With a firm wish to find this treasure of love,
I tied up (my boat) at the landing-place of the heavenly Ganges.
A cross-current from the river of desire tore lose (my boat) from its moorings.*

*What shall I say about love?
Desire is a branch, a creeper of love;
Without desire there is no awakening of love*

(Songs of Lalou, translations by Brother James, 1987; 22)

1. INTRODUCTION ¹

Globalisation is variously seen to lead to greater gay and lesbian visibility worldwide (Adam et al. 1999, Altman 2001, Featherstone 1999, Giddens 1992, Patton and Sanchez-Eppler, 2000, Weeks, 1999). This process is accompanied, according to these authors, by phenomena such as the spread of a Western code of romantic love and the greater democratization of relationships. In the following paper I will provide a thick ethnographic account of a butch-femme community in Jakarta. I will trace their indebtedness to indigenous patterns of romantic love and a binary gender regime. I will thus demonstrate that the interaction between the global and the local is more complicated than this above anglocentric and teleological discourse suggests.

Adam et al. (1999a) discuss the factors that lead to the emergence of gay/lesbian visibility worldwide. They link this development to the growth of a modern capitalist world system, in which greater personal autonomy in the choice of one's partner, the ascendance of Western romantic love ideologies, (supposedly dating from the 12th century courtly love poetry, see also Featherstone 1999) and of subjective feelings as a 'ground for bonding', with urbanisation and the growth of a public space outside of the control of the traditional community. If these conditions are taking place, they suggest, a modern rights-based gay/lesbian movement can develop (Adams et al.1999b). This movement then will develop a double strategy, that of fighting discrimination, and of establishing a public space of its own.

¹ Thanks to all the members of sector 15 of KPI who helped me with this research and who shared their experiences with me. They not only enriched the ethnographic context of this research but also my life.

Altman, speaking particularly about Southeast Asia, suggests that ‘the gay world - less obviously the lesbian, largely due to marked differences in women’s social and economic status - is a key example of emerging global subcultures, where members of particular groups have more in common across national or continental boundaries than they do with others in their own geographically defined societies’ (2001: 86/7) Adam et al. note the significant national differences in the communities described in their anthology; yet they maintain that although one may not very well speak of a blanket global gay movement, ‘national imprints of a global movement’ are clearly discernible (1999b: 368). In how far can we discern this determining influence ‘from above’ on the existence of indigenous same-sex communities such as the b/f community in Jakarta? Can they be described as a ‘national imprint’, or as a ‘global subculture’? Or should we rather see them as an autonomous national community which is firmly rooted both in Indonesia’s various traditions of transgender cultures and in Indonesia’s gender regimes, such as that related to a gendered kodrat (nature)? In this discussion I will lean more towards those who point out that there is no ‘universally legible grammar’ to understand lesbian and gay communities worldwide (Cruz-Malavé and Manalansan 2002:4, see also Plummer 1992 and Jolly and Manderson 1997). In this discussion I will focus on love and eroticism, rather than on sexual practices, which are commonly seen to be markers of same sex relations.

2. THE GLOBAL CITYSCAPE OF JAKARTA

Jakarta is a fast-growing metropolis of over 12 million people from all over Indonesia. The business centre of the city boasts impressive glass towers of the hotels and banks from which the national and international corporate elite steers the economy of this vast archipelago of some 220 million inhabitants into the vortex of the global financial markets. The wealth, procured out of unbridled profits and unchecked graft and corruption, of the fast growing middle class areas of Southern Jakarta is demonstrated by the Mercedes and BMW cars that cause interminable traffic jams, and consumed in the myriad shopping malls that dot the sprawling suburbs. The majority of the population however live in simple, crowded one or two storey houses. The business high-rises and

multi-storeyed luxury apartment blocks rise like towering coconut trees up out of a sea of red-tiled roofs. In spite of the close proximity of capitalist opulence there is a deep economic and cultural gap with the inhabitants of the sprawling deprived urban poor neighbourhoods. The modern world comes to the inhabitants of these 'kampung' (neighbourhoods) via the detours of national television and the windows of the shopping malls that they are not allowed to enter. Yet though the poor are socially and economically marginal, they are engaged with various competing global discourses.

This paper discusses the dynamics of a group of lower and lower middle class female-bodied persons engaged in same sex relations. Most of them live in the outskirts of Jakarta; socially and economically they live marginal lives as well. Socially, emotionally and erotically they ascribe to a butch-femme pattern² modelled on the traditional Indonesian heterosexual gender regime. Yet globalisation does not pass them by completely. Urbanisation, democratisation with its discourse of human and women's rights, the competing discourses of growing fundamentalism on the one hand and economic liberalism on the other hand are variously impacting on them. The focus of this discussion will be on the dilemma between the relative safety that the culture of silence surrounding their identities and sexual preferences affords them and the dangers and attractions of the new rights discourse. The discourse of silence allows them a social space, provided they fulfil the expectations of their neighbours and family members in respect to established gender norms and accept the discrimination and marginalisation that this position entails.

The democratic opening of Indonesia after 1998, in the wake of the economic crisis that started in 1997, which was spurred on by groups advocating human and women's rights, has led to a discourse of equality and individual rights and a delegitimisation of various forms of discrimination (see Budiman et al. 1999, O'Rourke

² The words 'butch' and 'femme' were not used by most of the respondents in this research, though they were aware of them. Younger butch women would sometimes use the term 'butchie' for themselves and their male-identified friends. The male-identified participants in this research would usually refer to themselves as 'laki laki', men, while their feminine partners all said they were just 'women' and 'wives' of their partners. I discuss this terminology elsewhere in greater detail. For the sake of convenience I refer to this group as a 'butch-femme' community although it has to be understood that the way they perform their butchness and femmeness is specifically Indonesian. When I refer to the butches I use s/he and hir to denote their subjectivity as possessing a male soul in a female body.

2002 and Priyono et al., 2003)³. In relation to same-sex relations this discourse presupposes a self-ascribed gay or lesbian identity which means a visibility of the sexual aspects of the relationships of these f/b partners, the recognition of which they so far have tried to prevent. This ‘coming out’ may have severe social and economic repercussions for the individuals who are brave enough to risk this. At the national political level the growing uneasiness with individual sexual rights that do not conform to conservative patterns of heteronormativity is felt in the drafting of laws that circumscribe same sex relations (and penalise other forms of non-monogamous heterosexual sex) by the self-proclaimed custodians of an invented ‘traditional’ morality, in this case fundamentalist Muslims (see Wieringa 2005).

These are not the only discourses the members of the Jakarta b/f community are confronted with. The breakdown of the strong centralist ‘New Order’ state of President Suharto, has led to a wave of decentralisation and new forms of disciplining and identity formation, in many cases based on religious affiliation. Global discourses on gay and lesbian rights are gaining some currency among middle class persons with same sex preferences. Groups of younger, better educated middle class lesbians are emerging who are making wide use of internet and other forms of information technology. They have more international contacts and are aware of lesbian communities in other parts of the world. Also, they espouse a feminist ideology of androgyny and sexual equality which is alien to the b/f community discussed here (though in practice b/f patterns are rather common in this group of middle class women as well).

I will thus discuss the both fast-changing practical, daily and the ‘imagined world’ of this b/f community as they negotiate their lives between the stringent political-economic constraints and the multiple and contradictory discourses that confront them, caught as they are between traditional⁴ notions of gender and the modern

³ President Suharto reigned from 1966, when he usurped the power from President Sukarno, till 1998. His reign, called the ‘new order’, started after a campaign of mass murder and terror, based on false accusations of sexual perversions against young Communist women (Wieringa 2002). President Suharto was known as a ruthless ruler, surrounded by a deeply corrupt clique of family and friends.

⁴ The notion of ‘traditional’ is problematic in this regard. It refers to what is seen by the present-day society as ‘traditional’. This is of course a re-invented ‘tradition’, by colonial, post-colonial and conservative religious forces, in which earlier notions of gender transgression and female prowess were ignored. See Kumar (2000) and Stoler (1995) for accounts of how colonialism introduced certain sexist notions, and

human/women's/lesbian rights discourses. In this process the partners of the b/f couples I met negotiated the ethics, aesthetics and sexual practices of their desire and love.

In how far do processes of globalisation play a role here? If we conceptualise globalisation as a process that always brings partial transformations, which though rooted in earlier local, regional and transnational structures in which discourses and aesthetics of love and romanticism were promulgated, differ in scale and intensity from these earlier trends, we can study here the ways in which a highly localised socio-erotic culture engages with global trends.⁵ I will focus then on the effects current national and global developments have on the identities, subjectivities, intimacies and socio-erotic practices of the f/b partners with whom I worked. A major emphasis will be on the persistence of the legacy of Indonesian traditions of romantic love and the post-colonial gender construct, the so-called 'kodrat' (nature) of both men and women, but which is most commonly associated with women (as if men have no nature). I will thus explore how 'older' forms of erotic imagination and gender practices interact with the new rights discourses, spurred on by the use of such technologies as internet and the spread of democratic organisations. Both in their adherence to traditional forms of gender constructs and erotic practices and in their moments of change the b/f group I worked with demonstrate the texture of the imbricating layers of culture and nature, though they themselves employ a naturalised discourse.

Boelstorff (2000), Blackwood (forthcoming) and Graham (2004) for several accounts of indigenous practices of gender transgression. See also Wieringa (2005) for a discussion of this 'post-colonial amnesia'.
⁵ My discussion of globalization is informed by Povinelli and Chauncey (1999) and Franklin, Lury and Stacey (2000).

3. THE SCENE: A LOWER CLASS BUTCH/FEMME COMMUNITY⁶

Just as I am about to relax, as the discussion we have had so far seems to repeat itself, Diny, who is sitting on a wooden stool beside me, whispers into my ear: “But when there is no feeling...” she shakes her head, her voice trails away. I look at her questioningly, and she repeats softly what she has just said, putting her hand on my wrist to emphasise her point. “When there is no feeling...”. I smile encouragingly at her and urge her to finish her sentence. She looks at me apologetically, am I really so dumb that I don’t understand her? Why do westerners always have to hear the specific words, when the implication of what she is conveying to me is so obvious? Diny looks at the group, consisting of her own partner, two more butches and the femme partner of one of them, as well as two members of the lesbian group with who I am doing this research. Then she makes a vague movement of her head pointing to the other room, which has just been vacated by a distant relative of hers. This relative does not know or prefers not to know she is in a same sex relation and we have had to talk in a very low voice the whole evening, so our conversation would not be overheard. Her two children have been popping in and out of the room. They are sympathetic to the relationship their mother has with her butch partner, but have faced embarrassing confrontations with their schoolmates.

“All this”, she finally says, “is it worth all of it when there is no love?”

She gets up to pour me another glass of tea. The other guests and our host/ess have not interrupted their conversation. We had just come to the conclusion that one of the major attractions that butches hold for femmes is the sexual competence of the butches. They contrasted this to heterosexual men, who just fall asleep after their own orgasm, as the femmes who had had relations with men testified. All femmes present, including Diny,

⁶ I am using pseudonyms and also in other ways hide the identities of the participants in the research. Although the members of this ‘community’ may live far apart, I still use that concept, as they identify themselves as belonging to a community, ascribing to its norms. A marker of this is the use of the word ‘teman’ (lit friend) even if they don’t know each other. Sometimes this is extended to ‘teman senasib’ (friends with a common fate), or more narrowly ‘teman teman KPI’ for those who belong to the KPI group. ‘Teman’ here is a term for somebody you share certain views, or a certain lifestyle with.

agreed that butches really know how to sexually please their women. The butches beamed proudly.

Diny's remark obviously put this butch bragging into context. For all their erotic skills, an enduring relationship with a femme depends on the love between the partners. The conversation had started with a discussion on the obstacles to a b/f relationship, the constant fears of social ostracism, the need to be always vigilant so that people such as Diny's distant relative wouldn't (have to, see below) find out, the economic difficulties the butches faced and the internal tensions caused by the constant social pressure under which they lived. Though the 'irrational fire of desire' obviously awakened their love - in this case a desire initiated by Diny who was enthralled by the shy masculinity of her younger partner - the 'treasure of love', as the Bangladeshi poet Lalou writes in the above poem, maintained their relationship. Below I will explore some indigenous notions of love and attraction but first I will sketch the social context in which this b/f couple lives.

Jakarta's lower class butch/femme community is comprised of several hundred women, as far as I am aware, living all over the city. There may be many others outside of this group, but this network I was able to trace. I had first come into contact with a core group of them when I did fieldwork on the history of the Indonesian women's movement in the early 1980s. Soon after that period of fieldwork I was blacklisted, and I could only return to Indonesia after the fall of dictator Suharto, in 1998. During my first return visit I couldn't find them any more. They had moved out of the city centre where I had first met them and had gone even more underground than in 1983, when a few of them had made a valiant but short lived attempt to set up the first lesbian organisation in Indonesia, called Perlesin (Persatuan Lesbian Indonesia, Indonesian Lesbian Association, Wieringa 1987, 1999).

The women's movement was one of the motors behind the democratisation movement which brought Suharto down, and in Yogyakarta, in December 1998 the Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia (Indonesian Women's Coalition, KPI) was set up. This was the first women's mass movement, after the Suharto regime had banned the Communist-oriented mass women's organisation Gerwani (Gerakan Wanita Indonesia, Indonesian Women's Movement) in the wake of the mass murders which followed an army putsch in

1965 (Wieringa 2002). At this first congress, the work plan of the KPI was drawn up. Fifteen sectors were established; sexual minorities was sector 15. Two years later sector 15 had come into operation, and some members of the b/f community had joined. When I returned to Indonesia in 2001 I was invited to a party they organised for me. There they asked me formally to write down their history, as they wanted to take part in the new democracy that Indonesia was struggling to establish. “We have also suffered under the military dictatorship”, they told me, “and this must be known. How else can we become full citizens? You have written down the history of Gerwani, so they are rehabilitated now, we also want to regain our pride. We have known you for almost 20 years now, we trust you, so we ask you to write down the truth about our lives”.

I accepted their request (though with post-modern hesitations about the ‘truth’ I would be able to dig up). It came at a sensitive moment for them. Although their lives were no longer under direct attack from the military, new challenges had presented themselves, not only due to a rising fundamentalist tide but also from within the feminist movement to which they had hesitantly but courageously allied themselves. Some members of the KPI leadership felt that b/f behaviour was old-fashioned, patriarchal and oppressive, particularly to the femmes. They let it be known that if members of this community wanted to join the women’s movement they had to conform to the new feminist ideology of gender equality. I had already confronted this attitude of those members of the feminist leadership of the KPI, arguing that a b/f lifestyle is one of the manifestations of women’s same-sex life and that it is not up to other lesbians or feminists to simply denounce it (see also Wieringa 1999). If there is violence between the partners this should be addressed, but, I argued, b/f erotics is a powerful sexual style and perfectly legitimate when this is what both partners want. The coordinator of sector 15, herself a self-identified lesbian woman, agreed with this view. We organised a seminar at the office of the KPI with the members of the b/f community to discuss b/f dynamics and the research objectives. The participants agreed to share their life stories with me in the interest of a collective process of consciousness raising and coming out. It took two more years before I could start the research.

With the help of the dynamic coordinator of sector 15 a total of 20 female-bodied persons were asked to participate in the research, 10 femmes, and 10 butches, all between

40 – 60 years old, all of them lower or lower middle class. I selected this age range, as I wanted to trace their histories through the New Order period, from the first lesbian organisation ever set up, Perlesin. Most of them were couples, as one of the goals of the research was to investigate the dynamics between the partners. The methodology consisted of oral history interviews, which were all transcribed, focus group discussions on specific themes which emerged out of the interviews, participant observation of various events in their lives, such as parties, dinners and informal meetings as well as seminars on specific topics, with outside participation. I also interviewed some middle class key informants who had been active in setting up lesbian organisations in the 1990s.

Most interviews were conducted in the homes of the participants; some of the interviews with particularly the butches were conducted on the veranda of the KPI office. The femmes would not come there easily on their own, as it was a ‘public’ space. One or two members of the KPI always accompanied me. This was particularly useful when the femmes were interviewed, as the butches tended to be suspicious. I was classified by them as a butch and therefore as a possible predator of their wives. This perception was magnified as I insisted on a private interview with each of my narrators. The members of the KPI who accompanied me would chat with the butch partner so the interview could be conducted without disturbance.

Several participants were members of the KPI, particularly the butches. Their femme partners would join if there were particular activities. But not all butches were comfortable with the fact that the KPI is a feminist, and a woman’s organisation. Diny’s partner for instance, considers herself to be a man or at least someone whose female body is less important than hir male soul, and therefore feels that it is not proper for hir to join a women’s organisation. All butches said they had male souls, but Diny’s partner is the only one who decided that as a man in a female body s/he could not join a women’s organisation.

4. DEMOCRATISATION OF SEX?

As one of the characteristics of the modern western world the democratisation of relationships in which the partners share sexual and emotional equality is often mentioned (Featherstone 1999). Giddens (1992) speaks of 'plastic sexuality', a sexuality freed from the needs of reproduction, which has become possible since the wide availability of contraceptives. Indonesia under Suharto had one of the most 'efficient' population control movements. However the drive to curb population growth never reduced patriarchal control over women, as contraceptives were only available to married women with the consent of their husbands (Katjasungkana 1998). So in Indonesia it is not the availability of contraceptives as such that leads to an incipient movement towards greater equality between heterosexual partners. It is rather the human and women's rights movement and the processes of democratisation through which ideas of gender equality are spread. As many feminists hesitantly explore the potentialities of what Giddens calls the 'pure relationship', a sexuality freed from the dominant role of the phallus, the b/f community in Jakarta is watching this development warily. For their first experiences with these feminists was that their lifestyles were denounced. For the moment my f/b respondents prefer to conform to the dominant gender regime in society, with its ethos of romantic love, in which possessiveness and jealousy are valued elements but which also entails women's oppression and male superiority. An example of such romantic, sexual possessiveness is a popular song, sung by a female singer, with the following refrain:

'When I will have become your wife don't ever give up wanting to possess me.'

The Jakarta b/f women I worked with claim a sexual citizenship, in which there is space for the gender transgression of the butches, while their partners claim 'sexual normalcy' as 'wives' of their butch husbands. The detraditionalisation and egalitarianism that dominate the discourses within a western gay/lesbian movement (see also Weeks 1999) seem to hold little attraction for the b/f community in Jakarta. Rather they opt for extending the boundaries of the niche they occupy. They are proud and out, though not as lesbians. The couples I interviewed live together, and their neighbours and families accept, sometimes after a lot of resistance, the particular arrangement they have forged.

The butches are proud to be called 'Om' (uncle) by their neighbours, while their femme partners take care to share all the normal activities expected of married women, such as participating in the women's neighbourhood associations (arisan). In one case a couple even adopted a child so they could be a 'normal' family. Several of the couples I interviewed looked after children, usually from earlier marriages of the femme partners.

In this liminal way, they have more space for manoeuvring than most self-identified lesbians of the more educated middle classes. These women, who engage in a much more direct way with the global gay/lesbian discourse, set up internet websites and chatrooms. But most of them are not publicly out and it is hard for them to live together. Paradoxically, therefore, it seems that the secrecy and silence surrounding their sexual practices in which the b/f couples live, and which I will discuss in more detail below, affords them a more public life as a couple than 'out' lesbians are able to carve out for themselves.

The happiest couples I interviewed were all in long relationships. Although they all cited the erotic same sex impulse as the motivating factor determining their choice of partner they sought the more enduring bonding of souls and bodies that a love relationship entails. Although the butches are the most obvious gender transgressors, with their masculine haircuts, clothing and body language, the same sex erotic energy and impulse of the femmes, the ostensibly more 'normal', supposedly 'passive' partners was often the motor that fuelled the relationship, as I will illustrate below in the interview with Mira.

Urbanisation effected them in different ways. Most of them had travelled great distances, as first generation immigrants from other islands. From the isolation and loneliness of their youth, particularly in the case of the butches, the metropolis offered them a sense of community. A community without roots, however. For although Indonesia has a history of gender transgression, particularly but not exclusively of male-bodied persons, this history was unknown to them⁷.

⁷ See note 3. I took pictures of a scene in the Balinese version of the wayang story of Bhima Swarga, in which the hero sets out to the underworld to rescue his parents, as portrayed on the roof of one of the buildings in the former royal palace of Klungkung. He comes upon two crossdressing *banci*, a female-bodied and a male-bodied person, and asks the guardian of the underworld what their sins are that they

Members of the Jakarta b/f community then are negotiating their identities and subjectivities within a tight web of multiple and contradictory discourses, respecting some boundaries, rupturing others. They bargain for acceptance in their communities by adhering to established patterns of heteronormativity. But in doing so they subvert these norms at the same time (see also Butler 1993). Socially they are subversive because they are always two women and not a heterosexual couple. They also disrupt the sex-gender order as the butch partners destabilize the established boundaries between bodies and gender behaviour while their femme partners publicly uphold them. Sexually they are subversive because femme pleasure is the motor of the relationship rather than the satisfaction of the male partner. This rupture of the established order however is not always recognised by their major political allies, the feminist lesbians. They point to the ways the b/f partners perform particular established patterns of hetero normative behaviour and point to instances of violence and excessive jealousy on the part of the butches.

5. PASSIONATE AESTHETICS AND B/F DYNAMICS

Indigenous ideas of romantic passion were fiercely embraced by the b/f couples who narrated me their life stories. Their passion followed the ‘ethic, aesthetic and etiquette’ (Paz 1996) of heteronormative romance, though with their own adaptations of this model. This culture of love is very much inspired by the Javanese Hinduized court culture. The most popular masculine models are the virile, ascetic Arjuna, his robust warrior-brother Bhima and the romantic, invincible Raden Pandji. The first two are characters of the immensely popular Mahabharata, the exploits of Prince Pandji are a genre in itself.

The Panji stories probably originated from the 12th century. As they belong to an oral tradition, there are many versions. As they are rather unknown in the West, in

have to remain here. The answer is “it is all right, they will soon go to heaven. Their situation is just something out of the ordinary” (Pucci 1992). I enlarged one and hang it up in the KPI office to stimulate discussion. Members of sector 15 soon after started referring to their cultural roots.

contrast to the stories contained in the Mahabharata, I here summarise the plot of one of the more well-known adaptations in East Java, after Meyboom-Italiaander (1924).

Prince Pandji, was betrothed to his niece, Dewi Sekar Tadjji whom he had never met. However, on a hunting trip, he fell in love with Dewi Angreni, whom he married. Fearing war with the father of Pandji's official betrothed, Pandji's father ordered to have Dewi Anggreni murdered. Pandji became mad with grief and left the court. He changed his name and soon gained the reputation of being an invincible warrior. Once he was asked to fight on behalf of the father of his betrothed. Sekar Tadjji, also called 'the fearless princess' because of her prowess in spear fighting, joined in the struggle on her invincible white elephant. Pandji won and was delighted when he found that Dewi Sekar Tadjji resembled Dewi Angreni so he married her and reassumed his old name. On the fortieth day of the celebrations the happy couple went to an island where they met a girl who so strongly resembled Dewi Angreni that the prince was shattered. At that moment a messenger from the Gods descended from heaven and informed him that the Upper God, Batara Goeroe, had decided that no two human beings should be the same. And as Dewi Angreni resembled so strongly Dewi Sekar Tadjji, as twin stars in the sky, the Gods had turned Dewi Angreni into a ray of the moon. 'To demonstrate you the resemblance of these two women who you love so much', the messenger told him, 'Dewi Angreni returned momentarily to earth. From now on they will be one person, called Tjandra Kirana, Ray of the Moon, and her beauty will be as radiant as her name'.⁸

⁸ A later version (Rosjidi 1983) has it that Dewi Angraini was not killed but instead fell ill while Prince Pandji and she were on their way to meet Dewi Sekar Tadjji. When everybody was finally together, Dewi Angraini died. Dewi Sekar Tadjji and Prince Pandji then saw a light flying from the body of Dewi Angraini to the moon. As Dewi Sekar Tadjji's faces shone like the full moon Prince Pandji loved both women as one. Dewi Sekar Tadjji from then on worshipped the full moon, called Tjandra Kirana.

This story illustrates several elements which are echoed in the many popular present day dangdut songs.⁹ The irrational attraction of the two lovers, mysterious yet involuntary, the bonding of souls which cannot be broken, even in death, the prowess, loyalty and steadfastness of the lover who must win many battles to find his beloved. Sexual attraction turned into love is a bond forged by the Gods (the popular Islamised expression is ‘anugerah Allah’, a gift of Allah). It is this etiquette of love that still pervades society, such as in the popular dangdut song Renungkanlah (Just muse about it)

Rasa cinta pasti ada

Pada makhluk yang bernyawa

Takan hilang selamanya

Sampai datang akhir masa

Takkan hilang selamanya

Sampai datang akhirmasa

Renungkanlah

Perasaan cinta insan sama ingin cinta dan dicinta

Bukan ciptaan manusia tapi takdir yang kuasa

Janganlah engkau pungkiri segala yang Tuhan beri

Rasa cinta¹⁰

Two more themes can be discerned in the exploits of Pandji and his two wives. The first is the strong bond, fusion even, of the co-wives. Far from being rivals they support each

⁹ Dangdut is the onomatopoeic (dang-dut dang dang) name of a style of music that is particularly popular among lower and lower middle class youth. It is a blend of rock music, with Hindi, Malay, Arab and Western elements.

¹⁰ English Translation: The feeling of love surely will be/ for creatures with a soul/ it will not disappear/ until the end of the times/it will never disappear/ until the end of times, just muse on that. The feelings of human beings who want to love and be loved/ is not created by human beings but it is a strong [sign of] predestination. Don't you ever deny all that God gives/ this feeling of love. (thanks to Rini of KPI who loves singing dangdut songs and provided me with the texts of some of the most popular ones).

other and either become one in the moon, or the one worships the other. This bonding of the two women is presented as something beautiful, ‘shining’, and as an unfolding upon which Pandji himself, though the husband of both of them, has little influence. This theme is paralleled in another couple of co-wives, Srikandhi and Sumbadra. Srikandhi is the warrior-wife of Prince Arjuna, who often rescues her meek co-wife Sumbadra¹¹. Srikandhi also teaches her friend the art of archery, in which Srikandhi excels. As in the case of Prince Pandji, Prince Arjuna is a valiant, virile and attractive husband, but the strong bond between his two consorts exceeds the conjugal bond.

The second theme, remarkable from a postcolonial perspective when the recorded histories of warrior women have been driven out of social consciousness, is the prowess of the two valiant princesses, Srikandhi and Dewi Sekar Tadji¹². Although the 1924 version on which I drew does not contain an account of her actually fighting, Dewi Sekar Tadji must have excelled in that, considering her nickname ‘the fearless princess’.

Contemporary middle class lesbian women have been quick to grasp the potential of this strong female bonding and the association with bravery that two of the princesses have. In the early 1990s a group called ‘Chandra Kirana’ existed, a few years later another group of young lesbian women was established, ‘Swara Srikandhi’ (the Voice of Srikandhi).

So two of the most popular mythical stories provide both the background on which a heteronormative pattern of love etiquette is built but also the possibility of lesbian transgression of that model. The bonding of body and souls of two female protagonists, with one of the partners excelling in the masculine ways of fighting and chivalry. Many butch women told me proudly they were called ‘little Srikandhi’ in their youth.

¹¹ Although the marking of Sumbadra as ‘meek’ is also a colonial and later postcolonial construct. In older versions Sumbadra’s great spiritual strength was stressed and admired (see Carey and Houben 1987)

¹² See Kumar (2000) for an account of how colonial administrators downplayed the women’s armies at the courts of Java, and Wieringa (2002) for the way the women guerilla fighters who joined the national liberation war against the Dutch were ignored in present day historiography. Gerwani, the Communist – oriented women’s organization consciously drew upon the model of valiant womanhood and frequently invoked Srikandhi’s name.

Another interesting theme is the gendered division of 'akal', sense, rational intelligence, and 'nafsu', passion, associated with both irrationality and passivity. Men are supposed to possess more 'akal' (and pride themselves on that), while women are seen to be prone to 'nafsu'; they have to be controlled in order for men not to be led astray by them. Yet on closer scrutiny there is much overlap between the genders and those who possess most 'akal' among the five Pandawa brothers (central characters in the Mahabharata) can also behave in the most foolish ways. The elder Pandawa brother, Yudistira, is presented as an eminently ascetic and wise king. Yet he is so consumed by his passion for gambling that he destroys his wife's honour, loses his kingdom and sends the whole family into exile. The great spiritual warrior Arjuna is at the same time an incorrigible womaniser. Draupadi on the other hand, the wife of the five Pandawa brothers, manages to get the brothers their freedom, after Yudistira's disastrous bout of gambling, and proves to be a much better negotiator than any of them. Likewise in the Panji epos, it is the hermit sister of the rulers of Djengallah and Kediri who scolds her hot-headed brothers when they want to wage war and resorts to diplomacy instead. Panji himself is seen to be so consumed by passion that he loses his mind when the object of his love dies.

In contrast to orientalist and postcolonial stereotypes of feminine passivity and meekness, modelled after Sumbadra, women's sexual agency and erotic passion are also recognised cultural patterns.¹³ Likewise the b/f couples I interviewed did not conform to the heteronormative pattern of masculine sexual aggression and feminine dependence, unless in an eroticised, consensual way. Often the femme's erotic energy was the motor of the relationship. This was recognised by the butches, who were quick to announce that they were the men in the relationship, but immediately agreed that usually they were seduced by their wives and that it was their honour to satisfy the desires of their partners. To give an impression of the b/f dynamic I encountered, I present some fragments of what Mira, one of the most erotically outspoken femmes in my research told me about her sexual history:

¹³ See for the way the New Order government of President Suharto imposed a model of feminine obedience and passivity on the nation Wieringa 2002 and 2003.

“I was the active partner, I was aggressive, I took the initiative in touching, kissing, licking, massaging, pressing her body, I started it. And I know she enjoyed very much what I did to her, she always reciprocated every movement of my body. She also touched mine and licked my whole body until we both got an orgasm... Since then I knew that I enjoy sex with women very much. But though we had sex very often we didn't have the kind of commitment to each other that we would say we have a relationship...”

“When I split with Rita I started seducing so many women that if I had been a man they would have called me a playboy... Finally in Jakarta I met a true butch and I seduced her. My mother became furious and forced me to marry a man. I stayed with him for two weeks and then ran away with my woman lover. Because I was pregnant I went back to my husband, though I never enjoyed having sex with him. After the birth of my second child I finally met and seduced the butch with whom I have stayed for 18 years since then. She already had a lover, but separated from her to live with me. S/he looked so masculine; my children at first didn't know she was a woman. I also called hir 'papa'. In this relationship with my butch lover I really played the housewife. I did the domestic work, for actually I like that very much. I always made up our bed in as romantic a fashion as possible, so my butch partner would be very much aroused. I always wore sexy underwear, combed my hair and applied perfume before we went to bed. In our love making I always took the initiative, I am very aggressive. I always tried to find a position that would make me satisfied. I was usually on top and wanted to get an orgasm by whatever means possible. I have always thoroughly enjoyed sex, I could make love from 8 o'clock at night till 5 in the morning, and get up to seven orgasms.”

Possessive romantic love and femme erotic energy are two themes that immediately emerge from the above interview. Butch gender transgression on the other hand is a common theme in the stories the butches told me. All butches cited having experienced gender nonconformity at a very young age. As they phrased it during the research, their subjectivity was built on the realisation that they had a masculine soul. Later they realised their sexual attraction to women. For most femmes on the other hand sexual attraction to a butch was their first experience of gender non conformity. As they felt that they were primarily attracted to the masculinity of their partners they continued

to identify themselves as 'women'. Sexual satisfaction was given as an important reason to stay with their partners. This made their butch partners both proud, as the fragment about Diny and her butch partner shows, but also insecure. For what else could they offer their wives? Most of them experienced great economic problems. They were rarely accepted in the kind of masculine jobs they wanted. Diny and her partner are exceptions, as they are moderately well off. This is largely due to the business acumen of Diny who initially employed and later spurred on her partner.

Both butches and femmes agreed that a 'good' butch husband must primarily demonstrate responsibility. Not only in the erotic, but also in the financial connotation of that concept. Husbands in general are supposed to give gifts to their wives. Wives don't have to reciprocate that financially, instead they prove their commitment by ensuring that the husband is provided with a constant supply of his favourite foods and snacks. At the moment the primary area in which husbands have to demonstrate their financial responsibility is in their contribution to the education of their children. It is a cause of great bitterness if the husband fails to live up to that expectation, even if the wife is much richer. Good husbands should also accompany their wives or at least pick them up from social events. Lastly, husbands should not gamble and go womanising, they should be loyal.

The above pattern largely conforms to the heteronormative gender ideology, *kodrat*, that the New Order regime advocated. Women are supposed to follow the Sumbadra model and should be meek, sexually shy, obedient to their husbands, self-sacrificing wives and devoted mothers. They are the ones responsible for the social harmony among neighbours and within the family. Women are also supposed to provide loving care (*momong*) to their husbands. Men on the other hand are supposed to be the economic providers. They control public space and are supposed to be the spiritual and political guides of 'their' women (Wieringa 2003).

This gender regime, as indicated above, is a one sided interpretation of the traditional behaviour of the Javanese nobility. As the Javanese have always been politically dominant in the Republic this model became the hegemonic model for other ethnic groups and social classes as well. It is this blueprint that the f/b community

attempts to emulate in their quest to be assimilated. As elsewhere this pattern is clothed in the trappings of heterosexual romance, in which women's passivity and obedience is eroticised. The Indonesian model of romantic love, as endlessly portrayed in novels, television soaps and in the popular dangdut songs emphasises the extent in which the two partners possess each other. A common saying is 'cemburu tanda cinta', jealousy is a sign of love. It is even written at the back of lorries. Possessive jealousy is not seen as pathological but explained away as the inevitable sign of a great love. This kodrat has a strong influence on the intimacy of the f/b couples I interviewed.

The butches display various forms of chivalrous behaviour, opening car doors, carrying parcels, making themselves useful to the household in the ways men would (which is rather limited, as cooking and cleaning are not considered to fall within their domain). So the butches try to live up to those ideals but as their gender transgressive ways are not always accepted by employers, they find it hard to acquire the financial means to do so. This is compounded by the fact that many butches have left school at an early age, refusing to wear any longer school uniforms with skirts. Many b/f couples therefore have money troubles which is likely to affect their relation deeply. During my research I witnessed the break up of the relationship of Yusup with her attractive younger lover Retno. When I first met them they were very much in love. Retno was sitting on Yusup's lap, spoonfeeding her lover hir favourite food. However, Yusup, who had been a minor trader, lost hir business in the wake of the 2002 Bali bombings. Since then their relationship deteriorated. Yusup became insecure, realised s/he no longer commanded the respect s/h earlier enjoyed and became intensely jealous of Retno, who worked as a singer in a karaoke bar. Although Yusup tried valiantly to become more of a houseman hir frustration took over and when s/he became violent, exploding in a jealous fit of rage, Retno ended the relationship.

When butches do have regular work though, as Ahmad has who is the trusted driver of a rich expat, both their wives and themselves feel that they are entitled to the complete loyalty of their partners. When I met hir, Ahmad was in a long-standing relationship with Indrawati. However, Indrawati preferred to keep their relationship secret, because she had children from her previous male partner and didn't want them to know about her love for a woman. She therefore hesitated to come and live with Ahmad

in the house s/he had acquired. Ahmad felt that as s/he was a good provider and worked hard, s/he was entitled to the perks of marriage his male colleagues enjoyed, a wife at home, cooking and washing his clothes for him. Frustrated by Indrawati's hesitations, s/he had taken a younger lover who was prepared to live up to Ahmad's expectations. Indrawati desperately tried to prove her loyalty to Ahmad. Once, when we were all watching television in the house of another b/f couple, Indrawati, who had just entered the house, gave him mobile phone to Ahmad. S/he went quickly through the messages, deleting them all before handing it back to Indrawati, explaining to me: "You know, she doesn't know how to do that herself." I raised my eyebrows because that seemed to me to be one of the easiest acts to perform on that machine.

"Yes", Indrawati joined in, "Ahmad gave me this phone, so s/he can always reach me. When I receive messages Ahmad must know who they are from, so I ask him to delete them."

Ahmad to me: "She doesn't want to learn."

Indrawati: "No, I don't need to know that, for now Ahmad can always see that I am loyal to him and that I don't have contact with anyone s/he wouldn't know about."

Ahmad to me: "I don't show her my messages!"

6. SEX IN A GLOBAL CITY

Jakarta's b/f couples live in one of the largest cities in the world. Apart from indigenous, local ethics of love and desire, the metropolitan character of the city impacts on their lives as well. Rising conspicuous consumerism and a decadent capitalist lifestyle occur side by side with the spread of Muslim fundamentalism and adherence to indigenous values of particular ethnic groups. The growth of religious fundamentalisms should not be seen as a purely inward-looking indigenous movement, but reflects global tendencies as well. Not only do the different fundamentalist groups relate to foreign religious organisations (though the 'foreignness' of Saudi Arabia is felt to be less alien than the foreignness of the US), but Muslim fundamentalism itself is partly fuelled by or at least

attributed to, the aggressive politics of the West, particularly the US invasion of Iraq. This picture is complicated by occasional eruptions of anti-western xenophobia, when political or military leaders want to emphasise their national credits by playing upon the simmering resentment which is the legacy of the atrocities and racism of Dutch colonialism.

Indonesian individuals, the media and all sorts of social organisations, have thus a whole range of global political and religious discourses to select from. In moral questions, such as those related to sexuality, these global influences are variously invoked or rejected. Just to give an example, to boost his image among Jakarta's Muslim pious groups, the governor allows local thugs free room to ransack bars and nightclubs during the Muslim fasting month of Ramadan and to utter death threats to gay/lesbian groups on television, following the first gay/lesbian film festival in 2003. On the other hand, discussion groups both on internet and in the print media debate various human rights issues, including gay/lesbian marriage.¹⁴

Jakarta is a melting pot in which the many ethnic groups of the Indonesian archipelago live side by side. For some, such as Diny, their old-Jakartan 'Betawi' (old name for Jakarta) identity is the only ethnic identity they have, but most inhabitants maintain their original ethnic identities as well, whether they are first generation immigrants or born in the city. In spite of this diversity there is a great emphasis on national unity, social harmony (rukun) and consensus. Rukun however is more apparent than real. What is important is that the surface is not disturbed by knowledge of facts that might rupture the tenuous and unstable religious or social consensus. This partly explains why the b/f couples I met are able to live in relative peace among their neighbours. My respondents often replied "nggak usah tahu", they don't need to know' when I asked whether their b/f relation was accepted by their neighbours. Roughly speaking three levels of 'knowing' can be distinguished in a Javanese setting. At the most open level people fully 'mengerti' (knowing in a rational way) or 'faham (with the heart) the issue at

¹⁴ See for instance the issue of Forum Keadilan, no. 45, 18 April 2004. The negative standpoint of the conservative Muslim Scholars' Council (MUI, Majelis Ulama Indonesia) is juxtaposed with opinions of gay leaders such as Dede Oetomo. The journalists extensively quote from the gay internet site gaul.com, mentioning that Indonesian lesbians and gays 'dream of being able one day to sit beside each other on the marriage bed. 'bersanding di pelaminan' p. 12).

stake. At an intermediate level there is a certain measure of 'tahu' (general word for knowing) in which people don't really discuss the issue but remain silent about it. As long as that silence isn't broken no reaction is expected. At the lowest, most secret, level, people 'nggak usah (or perlu) tahu' (don't have to know) for otherwise a problem might arise, a reaction would be expected, or people might feel 'sakit hati' (sick at heart).

This means that as long as the couple doesn't force the neighbours to openly acknowledge the relationship as a sexual union, and as long as the nature of their love is not brought to the public surface of 'tahu', let alone of 'mengerti' or 'faham', their relationship need not be condemned. For these ways of knowing might have to provoke a reaction, or at least they would close off the option that the situation might be different from what it looks like. Calling an issue by its name, 'speaking' it, determines it at the same time. Now either a lie has to be told, which is unpleasant, or a 'truth' has to be accepted, with all the consequences that might entail.

The western, protestant insistence on a rational 'truth' that speaks its name has little value.' The implicit knowing of 'tahu', that does not disrupt social harmony, is seen as much more valuable. It is at times considered rude to insist on rational 'truths', for it may force people to bring issues to the surface that one would rather not be confronted with (see also Berman 1998). Diny, in the conversation recorded above, was loath to speak about the tensions she faced. I was supposed to know all that without mentioning them explicitly. Speaking about them would only add to the pain that they had caused. And who would want to aggravate one's troubles?

While there are considerable ethnic variations in this pattern (Javanese for instance are considered to be more secretive, while Batak are more outspoken) it is widespread. This culture of silence both facilitates a range of socially accepted norms, as long as the divergence is not too great, but it also hides underlying power relations and masks violence and discrimination. Gay and lesbian activists (Oetomo 2001, Ratri M. 2000) and women's rights advocates (Komnas 2002, Katjasungkana 2002, Syahrir 2000) try to break that silence. The b/f couples I worked with on the other hand, negotiated their identities within the margins of 'rukun', outwardly accepting some established gender patterns (butches occupying the 'public' space, their 'wives' being responsible for the

household), internalising particular other characteristics (jealousy, possessiveness, romantic passion, butch economic responsibility) and again rupturing others (feminine sexual passivity, women's emotional dependence).

Yet this 'kampungan' (poor neighbourhood) lifestyle of public silence on sexual matters takes place in a city in which certain pockets are characterised by a diversity of sexual practices that can be found in any global metropolis. In the bestselling collection 'Jakarta Undercover, Sex'n the City', former Islamic scholar Emka documents a wide variety of sexual possibilities the metropolitan society can participate in, from the availability of "Sex Sandwich Sashimi Girls", to "Blue Nite Cowboy Strippers" and the "Sex Change Party of the Year" (Emka 2003). Jakarta also has a vibrant gay scene (Priaga 2003) and numerous venues for paid sex (see for instance Gunawan 1997 and 2002).

Whereas most of the above mentioned activities take place under the cover of silence, this public silence was violently ruptured in 2003 by the sensational appearance of the dangdut dancer and singer Inul on the national scene. The question whether her phenomenal 'drilling' dance should be considered pornography and banned, or should be merely enjoyed as an attractive dance style held the nation in its grip for months (Gunawan 2003), drowning the debates on such critical but depressing issues as the rampant and seemingly endless political and legal corruption, graft, and growing fundamentalism. Interestingly, defendants of her style of performing invoked such 'modern' issues as her right to work and earn a living (Inul is from a poor rural Eastern Java background) and freedom of expression. Her adversaries called upon 'traditional' moral values, invoking an invented past of Islamic sexual purity, quite at odds with established traditions of professional female entertainers such as the Western Javanese 'ronggeng' associated with sex work. The hype around Inul brought to the fore that just below this surface of public silence on sexuality, it is one of the most popular topics of discussion in private conversations. In offices, among friends, in all kinds of informal situations people constantly make sexual jokes or innuendo.

The controversy sparked by the perceived erotic dancing of Inul served another purpose as well. It played into the growing anxiety of what it means to be a Muslim. The

spate of Muslim terrorism and particularly the 2002 bombing of two nightclubs in Bali had shattered the complacent denial of the existence of an indigenous Islamic terrorist threat. Foreign intelligence services had long alerted Indonesia to the dangerous radicalism of such groups as the Jema'ah Islamiyah. However staunch Muslims, led by then vice-president Hamzah Haz, had put these warnings down to western hatred of Islam. The media hype around Inul brought the public debate on Muslim identity on safer ground, namely sexual morality. Apparently it was easier to build a Muslim identity on the control over women's sexuality than on the control over a radical terrorist group.

The present-day political situation is characterised by democratisation, decentralisation and the strengthening of certain fundamentalist religious tendencies, both Muslim and Christian.¹⁵ A new rightwing Islamic party, the PKS (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, Party for Justice and Prosperity) gained around 6 % of the votes nationwide in the 2004 elections. They are very conservative in issues of women's and gay/lesbian rights. So far there are few signs that the Enlightenment values of rationalism, liberalism, humanism and personal autonomy, in which the global gay/lesbian movement developed, are accepted beyond a small educated urban elite of society, particularly in the NGO sector.

7. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In how far does the b/f community in Jakarta that I researched relate to globalising tendencies? As stated in the introduction, authors such as Altman (2001), Weeks (1992) and Adam et al. (1999a) maintain that globally, modern, rights-based gay/lesbian movements are becoming more visible. They maintain that these movements will develop a double strategy, that of fighting discrimination and of establishing a public space of its own. As we have seen the picture in Indonesia is more complex than this teleological perspective suggests. The members of the Jakarta f/b community who shared their lives with me, have carved out a public space for themselves by assimilating themselves to their surrounding, while they are at the same time pursuing a politics of separatism, as

¹⁵ See for Indonesia's political changes for instance Aspinall and Fealy (2003), Forester and May (1998) and Nguyen and Richter (2003). For the role of Islam in Indonesia see Boland (1971, Van Dijk (1981, Muzadi (1998)

their most intimate relations are with the members of their own b/f community. They have been doing this all through the repression of Suharto's 'New Order' regime without much contact if any with an outside, global movement. They have always ascribed to an indigenous model of romantic love and a local gender ideology, both adapting themselves to and subverting them.

In my research I don't see the Jakartan-based b/f community as a 'national imprint', nor as a 'global subculture' but rather as an autonomous national community which is firmly rooted both in Indonesia's various traditions of transgender cultures and in Indonesia's gender regimes, such as that related to a gendered kodrat (nature). They do reach outside, hesitantly, but following their own pace. Recently ideas of androgyny and politically informed practices of gender bending have become more common, partly spurred on by the budding feminist movement. However (so far) these practices have gained little currency in the b/f culture in which I worked. Jakarta's younger, middle class lesbian groups have been more receptive of these ideas. The egalitarian ideology associated with these concepts is to a certain extent embraced by the members of sector 15 of the KPI. This has led to some confrontations with the b/f members of sector 15. The outcome at this moment seems a common understanding in which the androgynous self-identified lesbians accept the transgender identity of the butches in the f/b community, while the b/f group has become more accepting of the idea of a more equal division of labour (but not of erotic roles) between the partners.

For Bauman, post-modern sex is about orgasm, rather than health or procreation (1999). In that case the Jakarta b/f community is as post-modern a sexual community as you might find, for femme orgasmic pleasure is the motor of the relationship with her butch partner. However a post-modern lifestyle is far from the poverty and marginalisation in which the couples I worked with live. In spite of the ethnocentrism of his analysis, Bauman does point to an important element that most queer writers who confidently discuss the proliferation of a global queer movement seem to ignore: the importance of desire and love. Those who focus on the constructed identities of gays and lesbians across the world downplay the power of the sexual agency of most people. If the self can be seen as a reflexive project, as Giddens maintains, identity formation is not a

one-way lane, motored only by the discursive power of the knowledges inherent in the social formation in which one lives.

These findings are more in line with the caution Plummer (1992) advocated in studying local gay and lesbian communities. They also suggest that the ‘grammar’ in which their discourse has to be understood should be based on an in-depth understanding of Indonesian culture (Cruz-Malavé and Manalansan 2002, see also Jolly and Manderson 1996).

Globalisation then, as a partial, halting process, does impact the women of Jakarta’s b/f community, but in more complex and contradictory ways than the global queer theorists mentioned above describe. Also, democratisation of relations and the spread of romantic love, seen to be characteristics of the emerging gay or queer global culture, seem to happen in diverse ways. Romantic love is not something imported or new in Indonesia. One can say at the most that there is a proliferation of romantic models, side by side with the older romantic traditions. The hesitant democratisation of relations that is taking place in women’s same sex relations seems to be inspired to a large extent by the budding rights discourses, after the fall of Suharto, not so much by the global queer discourse. Anyhow, the stratification that existed never was age- or status related, as is the case with many traditional men’s same sex relations, but only gendered. And, as I outlined above, the real-life obstacles the butches faced in many ways already eroded the ‘superiority’ they might have claimed by virtue of their masculinity

Without desire, there is no awakening as love, as Lalou sings. Paz maintains that ‘amatory feelings’ are the basis of the aesthetics of love. The b/f desire as experienced by the participants in the above described research process led them to a search for love within the confines of the complex Indonesian gender regime. While outwardly assimilating to their social surrounding they at the same time disrupt the kodrat that circumscribes masculinity and femininity in the Indonesian context. Rather than being the offspring of a global queer culture, they reach out to modern, global discourses of human, women’s and gay/lesbian rights carefully picking what suits them in their quest for sexual citizenship. Firmly rooted in an indigenous ideology of romantic love, a traditional culture of public silence about sexuality, besieged by new discourses of sexual oppression by the rising fundamentalist movement in Indonesia (itself a global

phenomenon) they weigh the risks and opportunities that a political process of coming out means. I maintain that this culture has to be analysed within these localised elements, rather than in a teleological universalising queer global discourse.

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