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THE PERFECT PATH

Gay Men, Marriage, Indonesia

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$\mathcal{I}$n a 1997 ad for Ciputra Hotels that appeared in the Indonesian national airline's in-flight magazine, a smiling Balinese dancer in bejeweled "traditional" garb stands juxtaposed to glittering hotel facades. The ad proclaims that "Indonesia is *also* home to Asia's newest hotel concept. . . . While tradition thrives in Indonesia, the world's most modern concepts are equally at home" (fig. 1). Presumably, one of these "modern concepts" is the "Western" male business traveler, who will feel "at home" under the domestic attentions of the female staff.[1]

It hardly takes a subversive reading to see that the ad constructs Indonesia as a hybrid of tradition, gendered female, and modernity, gendered male. This binarism has a long history, extending from colonialism to modernization theory. Many non-"Western" intellectuals have addressed its symbolic violence, including the man many consider Indonesia's greatest living author, Pramoedya Ananta Toer. His novel *Footsteps*, which opens in 1901, is set in the late colonial period but speaks by analogy to the Indonesia of the 1970s and 1980s, when it was written. The protagonist, Minke, has just come from Surabaya to the capital, known informally as Betawi. Alone and poor but on his way to medical school and a "modern" career, Minke frames his arrival as a change of time as well as place:

> Into the universe of Betawi I go—into the universe of the twentieth century. And, yes, to you too, nineteenth century—farewell! . . . People say only the modern man gets ahead in these times. In his hands lies the fate of humankind. You reject modernity? You will be the plaything of all those forces of the world operating outside and around you. I am a modern person. . . . And modernity brings the loneliness of orphaned humanity, cursed to free itself from unnecessary ties of custom, blood—even from the land, and if need be, from others of its kind.[2]

Through Minke's voice, Toer questions the perfect path of modernist teleology, with its assumption that "footsteps" to the future necessarily lead to a homogenized subjectivity that denies the local, the "others of its kind." One can well imagine Minke as the modern business traveler, building his career, reading an in-flight magazine, experiencing the "loneliness of orphaned humanity," and hoping to find a home. But where would Minke's footsteps have taken him if he had flown into Jakarta International Airport in 1999, rather than disembarked on its shores in 1901? How would he think of the relationship between past and future, tradition and modernity, self and other? There is no doubt that the forces of globalization have grown and shifted tremendously in recent decades. But many scholars of transnationalism question whether this growth implies homogenization or instead may result in new forms of difference. As Arjun Appadurai notes, the contemporary moment is marked by disjunctions in the global movement of images, commodities, and persons and by "a new role for the imagination in social life."[3]

On the most fundamental symbolic level, for instance, the Ciputra Hotels ad requires that the woman staring out at the prospective customer not be lesbian. Her heterosexuality structures the very opposition between tradition and modernity on which the ad's semiotic logic rests. This logic is part and parcel of a system of governmentality in which the Indonesian state strives to efface the distinction between itself and society through metaphors of the heterosexual, middle-class family. Such heteronormativity raises the question of why there are *lesbi* and *gay* subjectivities in Indonesia, the fourth most populous nation, at all. By exploring the "homoscapes" in which some non-"Western" subjects identify as lesbian or gay — in particular, by exploring the "mystery" of gay-identified men's marriages to women in Indonesia — I hope to clarify the processes of "reterritorialization" and "localization" identified by scholars of globalization.[4] What is the history and social context of these subjectivities? These are the kinds of questions that came to my mind when I first saw this ad on my way to Indonesia to begin fieldwork.

My consideration of these questions took place in a postcolonial frame. By *postcolonial*, whose scope and validity remain ambiguous, I refer to a theoretical stance according to which the emergence of nations in the formerly colonized world poses a new set of questions about belonging, citizenship, and the self. I turn to creative uses of this framework by such scholars as Homi K. Bhabha, Partha Chatterjee, Stuart Hall, Akhil Gupta, and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak rather than to analyses that reject "postcoloniality" by claiming that it implies that colonialism is "past," that economic forces are irrelevant, or that all nations

Figure 1

follow the same path.[5] One theme of this essay is that in LGQ studies a more serious engagement with postcoloniality as a category of analysis might improve our understanding of sexualities outside the "West."[6]

In this essay I focus on people outside the "West" who use the terms *gay*, *lesbian*, and *bisexual*, or close variants of them, rather than on the "indigenous" homosexualities and transgenderisms that have hitherto been the almost exclusive concern of the "ethnocartography" of homosexuality.[7] (In the case of Indonesia, the subjectivities I refer to are *gay* and *lesbi*.) While attention to lesbian, gay, and bisexual subjectivities outside the "West" is certainly increasing, Kath Weston's 1993 observation that "in the international arena, the 'salvage anthropology' of indigenous homosexualities remains largely insulated from important new theoretical work on postcolonial relations" continues to be distressingly valid in 1999.[8] This provincialism originates in the perceived incompatibility between postcoloniality, on the one hand, and persistent narratives of a "global movement" within LGQ studies, on the other. While such narratives are politically salutary — indeed, a strategic essentialism may be warranted in some contexts, given the dominance of "development" as a rubric for conceptualizing global change[9]— they have limited LGQ studies' awareness of the ethnocentrism of many of its assumptions about what constitutes activism, visibility, politics, social movements, and even identity. In response, I view this essay as representing a category of scholarship that might be termed "postcolonial LGQ studies."

I am struck by the predictable manner in which interpretations of non-"Western" gay and lesbian subjectivities fall into two reductionisms in LGQ studies. In the first, these subjectivities are said to be "just like" lesbian and gay subjectivities in a homogenized "West." They represent the transcendental gay or lesbian subject, characterized by a supposed essential *sameness* that has been there all along, hidden under a veneer of exotic cultural difference. (Such an understanding recalls Bhabha's analysis of colonial mimicry, "the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, *as a subject of difference that is almost the same, but not quite*," and is represented in texts like *The Global Emergence of Gay and Lesbian Politics: National Imprints of a Worldwide Movement*.)[10] I want to point out how teleologies like this converge with Minke's "footsteps" to modernity, critiqued in Toer's novel.

The second reductionism, the opposite of the first, assumes that these gay men and lesbians suffer from false consciousness and are traitors to their "traditional" subjectivities, victims of (and, ultimately, collaborators with) a global gay imperialism. They represent the McDonalds-ized, inauthentic gay or lesbian subject, alienated from its indigenous *Geist*. From this perspective, these

subjectivities have an essential *difference*, hidden under the veneer of the terms *lesbian* and *gay*. So the "footsteps" of traveling LGQ theorists go in circles around the "sameness" or "difference" of non-"Western" gay and lesbian people with respect to gay and lesbian people elsewhere. The issue of sameness and difference extends to concerns about postcolonial subjectivity beyond LGQ studies; it is in fact one of the animating concerns of anthropology in the twentieth century. My work has been motivated in part by a search for a way of talking about sameness and difference that avoids these reductionisms. Such a way might point toward less teleological paths of theory and identity in LGQ studies.

Considering the importance of postcoloniality in this way has led me to recall that in the last twenty years there has appeared, outside LGQ studies, a sophisticated body of literature exploring Indonesia from a postcolonial perspective.[11] Yet the scholars who have contributed to it have paid scant attention to *lesbi* and *gay* subjectivities, even though most U.S.-based Indonesianists of the past fifteen years were taught Indonesian by Dédé Oetomo, a Cornell-trained anthropologist who has written on *gay* identities in Indonesia.[12] In this essay I use ethnographic material from Indonesia to interrogate the complementary lacunae in Indonesian studies and LGQ studies in search of a third framing of *gay* and *lesbi* subjectivities. Historical context plays a role as well. Both *Footsteps* and *Imprints* employ a path metaphor either to critique or to celebrate globalization as developmental and homogenizing. In 1990, however, an Indonesian sociologist discovered in a Jakarta archive a remarkable manuscript written by a man named Sucipto, who had had sex only with men and had participated in a community of like-minded men in 1920s colonial Java. Sucipto titled his writings *The Perfect Path*. The relationship between his "perfect path" and contemporary *lesbi* and *gay* subjectivities cannot be reduced to a Procrustean modernist path. The contingent appropriation of concepts of homosexuality makes for subjectivities that are irreducible to those in the "West," even if the terms are similar. *Gay* and *lesbi* are not just "gay" and "lesbian" with a foreign accent.

An important caveat is that in this essay I focus on *gay* men.[13] In some sense "gay" and "lesbian" moved to Indonesia as one concept, "gayandlesbian"; thus homosexuality has implied heterosociality in some circumstances.[14] But despite an impressive record of cogendered community, the "*gay* archipelago" I describe is decidedly gendered male.[15] The case study I employ is the "mystery" of *gay* men's marriages to women. In the larger project from which this essay is derived I explore the specificities of *lesbi* subjectivity in Indonesia from historical and contemporary perspectives, building on existing analyses of Indonesian women's same-sex and transgendered subjectivities.[16]

Sameness versus Difference, Local versus Global: Reconceiving Two Binarisms

I develop my argument for a postcolonial perspective via two binarisms that permeate most discussions of LGQ identities outside the "West": sameness versus difference and local versus global. In regard to the vexed binarism of sameness and difference, the issue is not the world's becoming more the same *or* more different under globalization (neither homogenization nor heterogenization per se) but the transformation of the very yardsticks by which one decides whether something is the same or different in the first place, that is, the reconfiguration of the grid of similitude and difference. In *The Order of Things* Michel Foucault characterizes shifts in Western European thought in terms of conceptualizations of sameness and difference.[17] What analytic purchase might be gained by positing, under some circumstances at least, a postcolonial "order of things" in which relationships between same and other were characterized not as boundaries transgressed but as boundaries blurred, not as borders crossed but as borderlands inhabited, not as spheres adjoined but as archipelagoes intertwined?[18] This approach might help theorize the inequalities of globalization (oppression does not require distinct boundaries), and the fact that globalization is not rendering the state irrelevant, in a way that still accounts for the fact that *gay* and *lesbi* Indonesians find their subjectivities authentic.

The second issue is the revamping of the local-global binarism. Building from emic cultural logics of a *gay* archipelago, I argue that *gay* and *lesbi* are translocal subjectivities for which the local-global binarism is conceptually and methodologically insufficient. The isomorphism between difference and distance is broken; sameness is measured not in terms of concentric spheres of decreasing familiarity but archipelagically, so that someone thousands of miles away might be "closer" than someone next door. This phenomenon is not a cosmopolitanism by which national subjects (usually urban elites) imagine themselves as part of a community that transcends the nation, sharing structures of feeling and patterns of migration above local (usually poorer) communities.[19] Nor is it a diaspora in which gay or lesbian selves disperse from an originary homeland, or a hybridity in which two prior unities turn difference into sameness via an "implicit politics of heterosexuality."[20] *Gay* and *lesbi* Indonesians construct themselves as part of a community that, while it includes non-Indonesians in complex ways, transforms rhetorics of nationalism and locality as well. The dialectic between immanence and transcendence sets these subjectivities apart from cosmopolitan, diasporic, or hybrid ones.

The production of translocality in *gay* and *lesbi* subjectivities presents a problem for some theories of globalization, for it is not predicated on the movement of people; most *lesbi* and *gay* Indonesians are working-class, do not speak English, have never traveled abroad, and have no contact with non-Indonesian lesbians and gay men.[21] A majority live in the towns and even the households where they grew up. Nevertheless, most see not only their selves but their social places as figurations of a simultaneously national and global community. To explore how translocal subjectivities could arise without the movement of people, my research needed to be translocal as well. I conduct ethnography in three primary urban sites—Surabaya (East Java), Denpasar/Kuta (Bali), and Ujung Pandang (South Sulawesi)—but in a profound sense I do not regard my work as comparative. I am certainly interested in differences and similarities between my sites, but I also view my work as taking place in one site, Indonesia.[22] While extralocal affiliations are common throughout Indonesia, impacted not only by nationalism and capitalism but by world religions like Islam and Christianity, *gay* and *lesbi* subjectivities exhibit translocality to a heightened degree. Significantly, there are local places and organizations for *lesbi* women and *gay* men and a national network but no intermediate Java-wide or Bali-wide organizations. Throughout the remainder of this essay I show why, while *gay* and *lesbi* Indonesians are aware of their ethnicities, the idea of a specifically Javanese or Balinese *gay* or *lesbi* self is currently unthinkable: there is a meaningful incompatibility between ethnicity and *gay* or *lesbi* subjectivity. Anthropologists looking in Surabaya for gay Javanese people, *orang gay Jawa*, would fail. Instead, they would find people who, in the context of their sexual subjectivities, thought of themselves as *orang gay Indonesia*.

Gay Worlds and Archipelagoes

In the early 1980s some Indonesians began to take the "Western" terms *lesbian* and *gay* and transform them until they saw them as authentically Indonesian. Through everyday practices of spatial formation, pleasure, romance, bodily comportment, social imagination, and language (including the use of a slang involving not only lexical substitutions but unique inflections), they have articulated a community that they call the *dunia gay*, or "gay world."[23] For men, this world encompasses a range of places and activities, from strolling in air-conditioned shopping malls to hanging out in parks or by the side of a road at night, forging quasi-private sites in public space called *tempat ngeber*, or "flaunting places." That the *gay* (and occasionally *lesbi*) Indonesians who frequent such sites see

them as transformed is illustrated by a contrast drawn by an informant in Bali. We were talking about the importance of friendship when he said, "[*Gay* men] might become friends in places like the *tempat ngeber* in the town square, but if we meet in a *tempat umum* [public place] like a movie theater or supermarket, we pretend we don't know each other." In terms of semiotics, bodily comportment, and community, he no longer experiences the town square as a public place.[24]

This man's emphasis on *tempat ngeber* as a place to make friends is significant. Under general conditions, when one is rarely far from the watchful eye of family, workplace, or school, *tempat ngeber* are sites where subjectivities are forged. The people who hang out there are only secondarily looking for sex; indeed, many come night after night with long-term lovers or a group of friends. Groups of two or three quietly conversing alternate with crowds of five to thirty engaged in "campy" [*ngondhek*] joking, gossip, and rapid-fire retorts, using slang extensively. *Gay* men and *lesbi* women define themselves in terms of "desiring the same," unlike transgenders, who see themselves as having the soul of one gender in the body of another. *Tempat ngeber*, then, are literal subject positions, forming both local communities and the persons who inhabit them. Some *tempat ngeber* comprise areas where "open" *gay* men are known to congregate (often under a streetlight), other areas where those who are more "closed" gather, and still others where sexual partners may be found regardless of self-identification. People's movements between these areas—on a given night but also in a general pattern over a period of weeks or months—not only reflect their subjectivities but reconstitute the relationships that form these subjectivities. Since *tempat ngeber* usually exist in public spaces and at night, access to them is limited for women, including *lesbi* women. But they and *gay* men also form subject positions in homes, salons, food stalls, and church groups; on volleyball teams; and in shopping malls or discos. Some *gay* men and *lesbi* women form organizations with varying degrees of formality and even publish magazines.[25]

It is widely felt that these groups, as well as the less formal subject positions of parks and homes, are linked in a national network. *Gay* men and *lesbi* women assume that *gay* and *lesbi* communities elsewhere in Indonesia share their subjectivities, differing only in the degree to which their members can be "open" and can interact with transgenders. Some *lesbi* and *gay* Indonesians experience communities outside their own directly through migration as they search for work (or attempt to escape from prying family members). In addition, many cities (particularly Solo, Yogyakarta, Denpasar, Malang, and Surabaya) put on performance events that attract *gay* men and *lesbi* from distant cities for two or three nights of

revelry. Rural *gay* men say that these events give them a rare chance to move outside the limited world of pen pals and build a friendship network.

While many rural and some urban *gay* men and *lesbi* women are isolated from other *gay* men and *lesbi* women (due to the fear of discovery or to their not knowing where others can be found), most have a network of five to twenty friends who play a constant role in their lives. An all-*gay* volleyball team practices every afternoon on a crowded athletics field; a line of men waits to play, but many sit on the sidelines and exchange news. Agung, a *gay* man, lives with his parents in their boardinghouse. It has twelve rooms on the upper floor; over a period of two years five are rented to *gay* men, two to *gay* couples, and one to a *lesbi* woman. In the hallway between the rooms, conversations on long hot nights give way to meetings and the idea of an organization, until one day the mother decides that she dislikes Agung's crowd, and one by one they move elsewhere. A *lesbi* woman whose parents own a small restaurant finds temporary work for another *lesbi* woman in a nearby shop and advises her on a recent breakup. While the quotidian details of life come and go, *lesbi* or *gay* Indonesians who move from one city to another expect to find people who share their subjectivities and suspect where they may be found. For the larger number who do not move from one city to another, there remains a sense that these everyday experiences are part of an imagined community of *gay* and *lesbi* subjectivity extending across Indonesia.

Moreover, *gay* and *lesbi* Indonesians think that non-Indonesian lesbians and gay men share a set of beliefs, desires, and practices (even though only a few have known such people personally). At the end of interviews I always asked my informants if they had any questions. Some wanted to know if gay bars really existed or if I had met Leonardo DiCaprio, but just as often they responded politely that "I feel I already know everything about your life."[26] *Gay* men and *lesbi* women usually assume that these familiar others are "the same" in terms of same-sex desire and "different" in terms of social acceptance and political rights. (But the meanings of "desire" and "acceptance" may themselves be conflicted, as *gay* men's marriages to women indicate.) Here the role of social imagination, already important in the nation, takes on new significance. For example, in Surabaya most *tempat ngeber* are named after locations outside Indonesia: *Texas*, *Kalifor*, *Pattaya* (a tourist beach in Thailand), *Paris*, *Brasil*. Such names, by permitting embodied visits to locales simultaneously outside and inside Indonesia, sidestep the binarisms of same-different and local-global. Such *lesbi* and *gay* imaginings are not unique to *tempat ngeber*, but they provide a particularly clear example of them.

The *gay* world is a domain of everyday subjectivity and practice that parallels the regular world, but when the places of the *gay* world are linked in an imagined national or transnational community, distant but present, the metaphor shifts from world to archipelago. One group in Surabaya names itself (and its magazine, usually recognized as the national magazine) GAYa Nusantara, an intentional polysemy in which each term has a dual valence. *Gaya* is the Indonesian for "style," but the unusual capitalization highlights the term's similarity to *gay*. *Nusantara* means "archipelago" and is also a nationalist term for "Indonesia." Because adjectives follow the nouns they modify in Indonesian, while they usually precede them in English, the term *GAYa Nusantara* parses in a fourfold manner as "archipelago style," "Indonesia style," "gay Indonesia," and "gay archipelago." While this term is by no means used by or even known to all Indonesians who identify as *lesbi* or *gay*, it manifests a common way of trans-localizing these subjectivities "archipelago-style," at the intersection of local, national, and transnational rhetorics of selfhood, sexuality, and community. In other words, the local does not form the ontological ground for these subjectivities, and *lesbi* and *gay* Indonesians do not see themselves in a position of simple exteriority or interiority vis-à-vis non-Indonesian gay and lesbian communities. State ideology frames Indonesia as an archipelago of ethnicities; *lesbi* and *gay* Indonesians co-opt this image by conceptualizing the sites of *lesbi* and *gay* identities as "islands," which at a higher resolution are reframed as a single island in a transnational archipelago of gay and lesbian community. While the Javacentric Indonesian state provides a familiar example of archipelagic inequality, archipelagoes are nevertheless composed of discontinuous sites, none of them subsumed by the others: they are not bounded domains with a necessary center and periphery. How are we to understand subjectivities that connect and confound traditional levels of analysis — and, arguably, lived experience in the "West" — namely, the local, regional, national, and international?

Figure 2 is the symbol for GAYa Dewata, a group in Bali that is housed in an AIDS organization. *GAYa* comes from *GAYa Nusantara*; *dewata* is the Indonesian for "gods": the Balinese refer to their island as *pulau dewata*, or "island of the gods." The symbol for this group is an AIDS ribbon inverted and turned around so that it looks like a ceremonial Balinese male headdress, as illustrated by the painting in figure 3. In this image we see discourses of local, national, and international provenance intertwined with AIDS development discourse and with the state ideology that requires every province to have a distinct character.[27] This translocal subjectivity cannot be explained solely in terms of local versus global;

(original in red)

Figure 2

the parallels reveal not a common path but a logic of reconfiguration—on local and translocal levels—that does not originate in the "West."

This reconfiguration is best understood as archipelagic in form. Indonesian transgenders frequently ask me, "Are there people like me in America?" *Lesbi* women and *gay* men never ask this question, because their subjectivities already assume the copresence of analogues beyond the local. What we see in Indonesia is not movement toward a uniform global sexual culture; the "foreign" elements are not only localized but translocalized, and this process is far too

Figure 3. *Portrait of a Young Man* (1931), by R. Bonnet. Pastel.

determined to be reduced to an aggregate aftereffect of localization. Indonesians do not identify as *gay*, then imagine themselves as part of a national community, then construct it as part of a transnational community. The process proceeds on all levels at once, in a historically specific manner, sometimes through the explicit metaphor of a *gay* archipelago. Postcolonial lesbians and gay men are not "the same" as "Western" lesbians and gay men, and they do not live across a chasm of absolute difference.

Dubbing Culture: State Hegemony, Mass Media, and the Good Family

The archipelago concept, in the "unity in diversity" form in which it is articulated through the practices and statements of *lesbi* and *gay* Indonesians, is not a timeless cultural archetype but is quintessentially modern, a key structuring principle of the nation-building project. Its reformulation has been a crucial means by which the state has struggled to reinterpret the denizens of Alfred Russel Wallace's colonial-era "Malay Archipelago" as citizens of a postcolonial archipelago.[28] The *wawasan nusantara* or "archipelago concept" dates from the early period of nationalism, at the beginning of the twentieth century, but it gained new force in 1957 in the context of an international dispute over maritime boundaries.[29] In 1973 the Indonesian government decreed that the archipelago concept "gives life to national development in all its aspects—political, social, and cultural."[30] Public culture in Indonesia is replete with the image and ethos of the archipelago. Diversity subsumed in unity is a hallmark of the state's rhetoric of cultural citizenship; it is predicated on a distinction between "culture" and "politics" that frames ethnicity [*suku*] as a matter of religion and the arts, while the people [*bangsa*] are linked to politics, commerce, and, above all, modernity.[31]

Fifty-four years after national independence, this Indonesian subjectivity is as fully imagined as any ethnicity, with its own language, ritual practices, ideologies, and symbolic sites. That it is complexly imbricated with the state does not invalidate its everyday authenticity for many Indonesians. It has not supplanted ethnicity but interacts with it in an additive manner, since the valorization of pluralism is central to the state's self-presentation as an archipelagic container of diversity. *Gay* or *lesbi* Indonesians are not necessarily more nationalist than other citizens. At the same time, state rhetorics of the archipelago are not deployed in a utilitarian manner by presocial *gay* and *lesbi* subjects; a man hanging out in *Texas* does not deploy the archipelago concept instrumentally, although it does facilitate his imagining that place and his self as linked to an imagined gay Texas elsewhere. The state stands as an inadvertent idiom for *gay* subjectivity, influencing the daily practices by which the *gay* archipelago is enacted, constituted, and maintained in all its marginality.

The state itself, however, pays little attention to these subjectivities. There is no political persecution of *gay* men and *lesbi* women or banning of their magazines; indeed, government officials have labeled homosexuality incompatible with Indonesian society only once, at the United Nations International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo in 1994.[32] But the state has played an accidental role in fostering these subjectivities, by encouraging the mass media

as a means to build nationalism.[33] One afternoon, for example, Darta, an informant, told me this story:

> When I first heard the word *gay*, it was in the fifth or sixth grade [c. 1985], on the island of Ambon, where I grew up, near New Guinea. It was there that I first heard about *lesbi*. Earlier, you know—*gay* wasn't around yet. But *lesbi* was already in women's magazines. I read lots of those magazines, because Mom was a regular subscriber. Mom and I loved reading the articles on sexual deviants. I was always effeminate, and one day she said *I* was *lesbi*, because she didn't know *gay*; the term wasn't public back then.[34] But eventually I learned the term *gay* as well. That was also from a magazine. There was some story about historic English royalty . . . Richard someone. When I saw that, I thought, "There are others like me."[35]

While Darta's prior identification as *lesbi* raises interesting questions about the disjunctural character of postcolonial sexualities, the element of his story that I want to highlight is the role played by mass media. Most Indonesians do not learn of the terms *lesbi* and *gay* through non-Indonesian lesbians and gay men or through *lesbi* and *gay* magazines, which they usually access only after identifying as *lesbi* or *gay*. Most learn of these terms through imported programs—movies like *Cruising*, *The Wedding Banquet*, and *My Best Friend's Wedding*; television shows like *Melrose Place*—as well as through pop psychology advice columns and gossip columns on the sexual lives of celebrities.[36] Many informants recall a moment of recognition when "I knew that was me" or "I knew I was not the only one." Some "Western" lesbians and gay men may find such a moment of recognition familiar. However, the subjectivities that these Indonesians recognize (or misrecognize)[37] in mass media cannot be reduced to dominant "Western" models of sexual identity. Nor does a preexisting internal state of desire find its social label at this moment. Instead, the subject and the archipelagic frame encompassing its desires are mutually constructed.

To situate the moment of recognition or construction, it is once again necessary to bring in the postcolonial nation-state. The Indonesian state has become aware that its mass media policies have crossed a threshold beyond which they encourage not only nationalism but translocal subjectivities that threaten to spin beyond state control. Television stations in Indonesia, for example, rely heavily on imported programming (each imports about seven thousand shows a year), and they frequently dub these shows into Indonesian. In 1996, sensing an

opportunity to further its language policy, the parliament, with Suharto's tacit approval, passed a draft law requiring that *all* foreign shows be dubbed.[38] An unusual debate between Suharto, the parliament, the army, and other pressure groups ensued, and in July 1997, after months of controversy, Suharto refused to sign the law—the first time in Indonesian history that such a constitutionally questionable act had taken place.[39] When the dust cleared in December 1997, the law had been changed to its exact opposite: all dubbing of foreign television shows was forbidden; only subtitles were permitted.[40]

The government has justified this about-face in terms of cultural contamination and the family. As one apologist explained: "Dubbing can . . . ruin the self-image of family members as a result of adopting foreign values that are 'Indonesianized.' . . . whenever Indonesians view television, films, or other broadcasts where the original language has been changed into our national language, those Indonesians will think that the performances in those media constitute a part of themselves. As if the culture behind those performances were also the culture of our people."[41] At the intersection of postcoloniality and globalization, the ability of Sharon Stone or Jim Carrey to speak Indonesian is no longer a welcome opportunity to build language skills and foster the prestige of Indonesian but instead threatens Indonesians' ability to differentiate themselves from the outside.[42] The fear is that the citizen will be alienated, as in Toer's novel, from "others of its kind." How might the emergence of *lesbi* and *gay* subjectivities, on ostensibly personal and social levels, parallel this controversy? How might we think of them in terms of "dubbing culture," an embodiment of subjectivities that, from a modernist perspective, appear disjunctural and inauthentic? How might dubbing culture be less like a path and more like an archipelago?

The Mystery of *Gay* Marriage

Despite the power of mass media, their influence is neither direct nor determining. Their transformative effects, and those of the archipelago concept, are nowhere more apparent than in the "mystery" of *gay* men's marriages to women. Walking along the dark riverbank in *Texas* one night toward a group of shadows leaning against a railing, I met Andy and four of his friends. Andy identified as *gay*, explaining that his boyfriend of ten years was married with two children. When I asked if the boyfriend should get divorced, he stared in shock: "Of course not. He needs descendants and a wife. I want to get married in five years —I already have a girlfriend. You mean you won't marry as long as you live?" When I nodded, the other men confronted me in astonishment: "How could you

not want to get married? You'll be lonely when you get old! Everyone must have descendants."

In this story, *gay* men not only implicate me in their *gay* archipelago but also discuss a central concern of their lives, marriage. Most *gay* Indonesians marry and have children and see these actions as consistent with their subjectivities. Most also assume that gay men in the "West" marry women.[43] While in Indonesia, I always placed on my desk a picture of my partner that shows him standing with a female colleague. Most *gay*-identified men would point out this picture and say, "His wife is taller than he is!" My explanation that she was a friend and that neither my partner nor I wanted to marry a woman would be met with disbelief and pity. Many "Westerners" have reciprocated with their own misrecognition when assuming, as I once did, that *gay* identities are incompatible with marriage. They have failed to understand that not only the *gay* world but the *gay* self is archipelagic. What is distinctive about these identities vis-à-vis "normal" Indonesian sexuality is not same-sex sex (it is usually taken for granted that both men and women will engage in it, given the chance) but love, abiding romantic interest in the same gender.

The *gay* self is not internally homogeneous and integrated; instead, it is composed of multiple subjectivities constituted in, rather than ontologically anterior to, social relations. It is an additive and "dividual" self, consistent with selves identified by many scholars of Southeast Asia and Melanesia but, just as important, embodying state rhetorics of ethnonational identity.[44] *Gay* and *lesbi* Indonesians construct and are constructed by an overdetermined archipelagic idiom. Thus dominant "Western" notions of egosyntonic, unitary identity have been reconfigured in the Indonesian context: this homosexual self desires to marry. *Gay* persons are self-reflexive but not self-congruent. Could they become poster children for the ultimate postmodern subject? The mystery is more complex.

Ikbal was a friend of Andy; Ikbal's wife of five years lived in a nearby village with their child, while he cohabited in Surabaya with a male lover, Dodi. Hand in hand with Dodi at *Texas* almost every night, Ikbal frequently lectured other *gay* men on the obligation to marry and the joys it brought. It was a point of pride to him that his wife and parents "knew about him" and that he and Dodi had married cousins so they would never be separated. One day Ikbal insisted that I come to the village to meet his wife. Once there, however, we would stay in a nearby town with his parents until Sunday; he would end up spending only two hours with his wife before we had to return to Surabaya. En route to the meeting Ikbal told me about the months of sexual frustration he and his wife had exper-

ienced: they had been able to consummate their marriage only by admitting Dodi to their bed, where he lay alongside Ikbal and, as Ikbal's wife sobbed, stimulated him so that penetration could take place. On this Sunday, when he could delay his visit with his wife no longer, Ikbal warned me to be extra macho: "Now is the time to begin playacting." Apparently his family's knowledge of him was more fractured than I had suspected. As our little minibus, adrift in a green flowing sea of rice paddies, approached the village and a tense afternoon of silent squabbles and awkward smiles, Ikbal looked out the dusty window and almost whispered: "These parts of my life cannot be unified."[45]

Theoretical physicists may believe in God's creation; social constructionists may believe that they were born gay or lesbian. The mystery of *gay* men's marriages to women is that most *gay* men evince—simultaneously, within a single subjectivity—an archipelagic self to which marriage is not only compatible but pleasurable and a self for which it stymies a desire to integrate one's spheres of life into a single narrative trajectory.[46] Most *gay* men want to marry, but they also scheme how to delay or avoid it and how to maintain *gay* friendships and sex partners once married. This is a mystery not only to the "external," non-Indonesian observer but also to the men themselves; many of them, like Ikbal, experience it as a contradiction. One clue to it lies in the origins of the imperative to marry itself. While marriage is a powerful norm throughout Indonesia, the particular form of this imperative that *gay* men experience certainly does not stem from a primordial localism: I have found strikingly little regional, religious, or ethnic variation concerning *gay* men's ideologies of marriage. In some regions, like Java and South Sulawesi, it is not historically expected that all persons will wed and procreate.[47] Additionally, what limited sources we have suggest that from the 1920s to the 1960s Indonesian men with same-sex subjectivities assumed that their subjectivities, like those of gay men and lesbians in the contemporary "West," precluded marriage to an opposite-sex spouse. What, then, is the origin of the imperative to marry?

A key element of Indonesian state ideology, apart from the archipelago concept, is the *azas kekeluargaan*, or "family principle," which holds that the family is the fundamental unit of the nation.[48] Crucially, this is not the extended family but the nuclear family, whose ubiquitous smiles illuminate television ads and government posters: husband, wife, and two children, with a car, a home with smooth white tile floors, a television set, and other paraphernalia of the new middle class. It is this "public domesticity" that the state equates with citizen subjectivity and summons into being through a range of development practices.[49]

Children are necessary for continuing the nation and for supporting their elders in their old age. The state's ideal family converges with the rhetoric of globalization.

While a considerable body of work has pointed out the gender inequalities of the new international division of labor, less attention has been paid to its foundation in the naturalization of the heterosexual couple as the basic unit of the postcolonial nation. More effectively than Henry Ford's fabled management of his workers' lives ever could, the heterosexualization of the labor force constitutes the domains of public and private, locates the family as the unit of consumption, and naturalizes gender inequalities. Thus heterosexuality provides a critical suture between capitalist ideologies of production and nationalist ideologies of the nuclear, middle-class family as metonym for the nation. It is a moral economy linking economic production and citizenship. As constituted by these discourses, the unmarried self is an incomplete economic and national subject.[50]

Albeit rarely, *gay* men sometimes directly critique the conjunction of class, nation, and the imperative to marry, as the following examples from a manifesto published in Jakarta in 1997 show. In figure 4 we see "a poor hetero family that does not follow Family Planning." Utensils and toys are strewn about a dirt floor; a mother, weighed down by an infant, screams over a gas stove, while the father is incapacitated in bed by the fighting of the other four children. One child is urinating on the floor; curtains hang precariously from unhinged shutters. The parents have "create[d] not heaven but a 'hell' on earth. How far can this husband and wife guarantee that their children will become successful people later on?" By contrast, figures 5 and 6 show "a *lesbi* couple who are professionals" and "can live together comfortably" and "a young *gay* couple who, besides being happy, also can enjoy life optimally." The author notes that the *lesbi* couple can live "with . . . fewer problems on average than *hetero* families" and asks, if the *gay* couple "were each married in the *hetero* manner, could it be guaranteed that they would live as comfortably as shown above? Only if they were descended from wealth." What is shown in figures 5 and 6 are beautifully coiffed hair, upholstered furniture, clean clothes, smooth white tile floors, television sets (with images of women performing traditional dances that might have been taken from the Ciputra Hotels ad in figure 1), automobiles, two servants (men for the gay couple, women for the lesbians), gardens being watered, and the calm aura of leisure. The message in the Indonesian context is clear: *lesbi* and *gay* couples can "outfamily" the family. But what constitutes the family is not challenged: it remains the modern middle-class, professional household. The hegemony is resisted, but only in its own language and in terms of its own consumerist logic.

Figure 4. "A poor *hetero* family that does not follow Family Planning. In the end they create not heaven but a 'hell' on earth. How far can this husband and wife guarantee that their children will become successful people later on?"

This notion of the family is strongly influenced by shifting economic rationalities. In 1982, following the oil boom, Suharto's technocratic ministers gained ground and enacted economic and fiscal reforms that resulted in massive inflows of capital, which accelerated a shift away from agriculture and toward the service and industrial sectors.[51] This shift led to the rise of a substantial middle class for the first time in Indonesian history; Daniel S. Lev dates its consumerist and self-reflexive consciousness to a special edition of the magazine *Prisma* on the "new middle class" in 1984, during the same period in which *lesbi* and *gay* subjectivities appeared in the form of a national network for the first time.[52] These economic changes did not affect *gay* and *lesbi* subjectivities in a deter- minist manner, nor were Indonesians suddenly able to travel to or to obtain lesbian and gay publications from the "West." Most *lesbi* and *gay* Indonesians make less than fifty dollars a month—working-class wages even by Indonesian standards. But many observers identify the Indonesian middle class in terms of aspiration and "mode of consumption." In Howard Dick's words: "Among the *rakyat* [lower classes], consumer durables are shared: it is anti-social to restrict
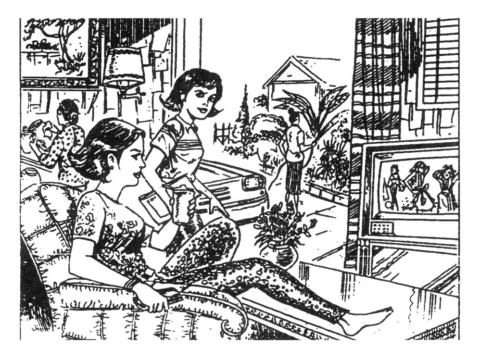
Figure 5. "A *lesbi* couple who are professionals. They can live together
comfortably, with greater plenty, greater prosperity, and . . . fewer problems
on average than *hetero* families."

the access of one's neighbors. Middle class households, by contrast, confine the
enjoyment of such goods to members of the household. . . . In other words, there
is 'privatization of the means of consumption.'"[53]

With this consumerist ethic comes a modernist, narrative self, defined in
terms of autobiography. While far from universal, the notion of the self as some-
thing constructed is hardly new.[54] What is at issue in the Indonesian context is
the conjunction of a fashioned self with a specific middle-class consumerism. It is
not a fantasy of the sultan or the super-rich cosmopolitan who selects at will from
the world's bounty. It is a circumscribed personhood-as-career in which, given
limited resources, one negotiates and budgets one's life trajectory within a
marketplace logic that guides the crafting of choices. The self becomes the self's
profession: this middle-class subjectivity is a story that the self tells to itself
about itself, rather than a story passed down primarily through kinship, ethnic, or
religious background, as the stories of the lower and upper Indonesian classes
historically were.[55] Like middle-class subjectivities, *gay* and *lesbi* subjectivities
are not passed down through tradition; they become their own stories, and the
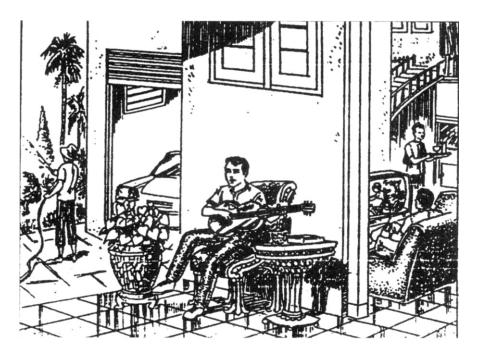telling of those stories becomes a problem. A palette of possible lives spreads out

Figure 6. "A young *gay* couple who, besides being happy, also can enjoy life optimally. If they were each married in the *hetero* manner, could it be guaranteed that they would live as comfortably as shown above? Only if they were descended from wealth."

before the subject, whose only prohibition is not to choose. One self-consumes, struggling to forge one's self-story. Like M. C. Escher's image of two disembodied hands gripping pens, conjuring each other into existence on a drawing pad, the self and the self's story form a loop of personhood in which social others are secondary. As Escher's loop breaks down without the pens with which to draw, so the commodity forms the conduit by which the middle-class self writes its story. In this sense, the *gay* person is self-congruent. Is this the same old liberal, bourgeois subject that has received such scholarly attention?[56] The mystery is more complex.

My goal is not to adjudicate between apparently contradictory notions of *gay* personhood, the archipelagic and multiple (where marriage to women is not a problem) or the consumerist and congruent (where marriage to women is a problem).[57] Noting that both the archipelago concept and the family principle emerge in the shadow of the state, I wish to hold them in tension, as a mystery, because it is precisely in such a multiply mediated contact zone that *gay* subjectivities exist.[58] Neither concept of personhood is exclusive to Indonesia; at issue

are the circumstances of their imbrication. In the context of a narrativized self that is also multiple, a *gay* self can be a married, procreating self. When a *gay* man turns to his lover in bed and tells him to marry, he is not confused about who he "really" is, nor is he internalizing homophobia or denying reality. He is expressing and perpetuating an identity best thought of as archipelagic (rather than cosmopolitan, diasporic, or hybrid). While I find the gender politics of this scenario disturbing, particularly for women like Ikbal's wife who have little power in their marriages, it is important to recognize the situated rationality at play in the production of these new inequalities.

The crucial point is that homosexuality (and sexuality more generally) is globalized not as a monolithic domain but as a multiplicity of beliefs and practices, elements of which can move independently of each other or not move at all.[59] In the case of *gay* and *lesbi*, the notion of homosexual identity has moved, but other aspects of the dominant "Western" discourse of homosexuality have not. Foucault's genealogy of homosexuality in the "West" locates the intersection of power and knowledge at the confession.[60] Identity reveals and renders intelligible an interior, private self but is not authentic until exteriorized to an interlocutor who interprets and acknowledges this confession. Only then is the person "out of the closet," even in the remarkable case of the "intralocutor" operative in "coming out to yourself." Many theorists have shown how this model construes homosexual identity as a constant, iterative process of articulation and reception, an incitement to discourse that contributed to the "reverse discourse" of the lesbian and gay rights movement.[61]

But when the terms *lesbian* and *gay* moved to Indonesia, the conjunction of sexuality and confession neither preceded nor followed it. As a result, the ontological status of *lesbi* and *gay* subjectivities does not hinge on disclosure to spheres of home, workplace, or God. *Gay* men and *lesbi* do not "come out of the closet" but speak of being "opened" [*terbuka*] or "shut" [*tertutup*]. Construed not in terms of moving from one place to another but in terms of opening oneself, these subjectivities are additive rather than substitutive; opening them does not necessarily imply closing others. In addition, *lesbi* and *gay* Indonesians open not to the whole universe but to the *gay* world; confessing to other worlds in society is irrelevant. We find not an epistemology of the closet but an epistemology of life worlds, where healthy subjectivity depends not on integrating diverse domains of life and having a unified, unchanging identity in all situations but on separating domains of life and maintaining their borders against the threat of gossip and discovery.

This may call to mind the work of George Chauncey and other scholars on

the history of homosexual identities in the "West."[62] In early-twentieth-century New York, for instance, the term *coming out*, derived from the notion of a debutante ball, implied coming out to a select community, not to all spheres of life. Furthermore, many homosexually identified people married and did not see their doing so as incongruous. Nonetheless, I would caution against a teleological reading of Indonesians as followers in these footsteps and against a structuralist reading of contemporary Indonesia and historical New York as presenting a mutual set of necessary and sufficient conditions. Such interpretations beg the question of how sameness and difference are measured in the first place. Contemporary *lesbi* and *gay* subjectivities diverge in important respects from earlier homosexual identities in the "West," not least because they imagine themselves situated in an actual transnational archipelago of established lesbian and gay movements. As Ikbal's story reveals, moreover, the epistemology of the gay world coexists mysteriously with a narrative self exhibiting a tropism toward unity.

The fallacy of seeing contemporary *gay* and *lesbi* subjectivities as living fossils is highlighted by what we know about homosexual identities in Indonesia before national independence in 1945. It may seem that people started hanging out in *tempat ngeber* like *Texas* only after the emergence of *gay* and *lesbi* subjectivities. But the following episode from Sucipto's text *The Perfect Path*, mentioned at the beginning of this essay, suggests otherwise. The year is 1926, and Sucipto, young and homeless in Surabaya, has been walking along the river at night. He pauses to rest on a bridge near the Gubeng train station, near present-day *Texas*. While he is lost in thought, a voice calls out to him. It is a Dutchman, who invites Sucipto to his house and pays Sucipto to have sex with him. After leaving the house, Sucipto returns to the bridge, "thinking about what had just happened. . . . it was completely impossible that a Dutch person could desire things like that. . . . he was of a different race than myself. Apparently my assumptions had been turned upside down. . . . How did he know that I like this kind of thing? This was what astonished me."[63]

The "Westerner" of Sucipto's imagination did not have same-sex desires prior to this encounter. Even after learning that a colonial "Westerner" can have these desires, Sucipto does not identify with him; he sees him as interested only in commodified sex, incapable of the love that distinguishes the desire Sucipto has shared with other Javanese men. Sucipto sees his homosexuality in the 1920s as a local, Javanese phenomenon; he also sees it as incompatible with marriage and has discouraged his Javanese friends from marrying. Living at the high point of Dutch colonialism, he does not imagine himself as part of a national or transnational community, but in some ways his subjectivity is closer to "West-

ern" gay or lesbian subjectivity than to contemporary Indonesian *gay* sub-
jectivity, since normative *gay* Indonesians marry and normative gay "Western-
ers" do not. It is not coincidental that the sociologist who discovered Sucipto's
text published it as *Path of My Life*, which seemed "more fitting with its char-
acter as an autobiography," rather than as *The Perfect Path*. From his perspec-
tive, Sucipto's story could represent not a perfect path but only the path of his
life. From this standpoint, self-identity is personal and Sucipto's text an auto-
biography — particular, not universal.[64] Clearly, a theory of globalization that
holds that things become more similar as time marches on is insufficient.
Contemporary *lesbi* and *gay* subjectivities are not just the evolutionary end points
of Sucipto's subjectivity. They represent a dubbing culture, the production of
translocality, the reterritorialization of "Western" discourses of homosexuality
in the context of already existing notions of same-sex desire.[65]

Conclusion

The term "post-colonial" is not merely descriptive of "this" society rather
than "that," or of "then" and "now." It re-reads "colonization" as part of an
essentially transnational and transcultural "global" process — and it produces
a decentered, diasporic or "global" rewriting of earlier, nation-centered imperial
grand narratives. Its theoretical value therefore lies precisely in its refusal of this
"here" and "there," "then" and "now," "home" and "abroad" perspective.
— Stuart Hall, "The Question of Cultural Identity," 247

In this essay I have taken in earnest Hall's interpretation of postcoloniality as a
flexible, provocative problematic. In doing so, I have produced the beginnings of
a decentered, archipelagic rewriting of what might otherwise be interpreted as
imprints on a perfect path: the emergence of *lesbi* and *gay* subjectivities in
Indonesia. Refusing the perspectives of sameness-difference and local-global, I
hope that my analysis opens avenues of inquiry beyond the Indonesian case.

     In reference to nationalism, Chatterjee asks: "If nationalisms in the rest of
the world have to choose their imagined community from certain 'modular' forms
already made available to them by Europe and the Americas, what do they have
left to imagine? History, it would seem, has decreed that we in the postcolonial
world shall only be perpetual consumers of modernity. . . . Even our imaginations
must remain forever colonized."[66] For Chatterjee, postcoloniality provides a rough
starting point from which to deconstruct this dilemma. Such a framework, I argue,
proves worthwhile in the context of *gay* and *lesbi* subjectivities as well.

Transposing Chatterjee's question to sexuality, I would answer that there is a vast, archipelagic space in which *gay* and *lesbi* Indonesians might imagine new subjectivities and communities, despite conditions of inequality, oppression, and contradiction. When some Indonesians began to identify as *lesbi* and *gay*, they articulated subjectivities that apparently rejected local traditions and lay outside Indonesian history. But in fact these Indonesians have reconfigured local, national, and transnational discourses in a way that challenges the modernist single trajectory for lesbian and gay identity. Were Sucipto and Minke to meet a contemporary *lesbi* or *gay* Indonesian, they would have difficulty understanding a postcolonial subjectivity that has transformed the boundaries by which one decides who is "the same." The specter of LGQ identities as either homogenized or fractured beyond recuperation by the forces of globalization must give way to a more nuanced postcolonial and translocal perspective, informed by a rubric of postcolonial LGQ studies. There is no perfect path.

Notes

1.   Throughout this essay the terms "West" and "Western" are quoted to indicate that they are hegemonic norms. Like Akhil Gupta, "in speaking of 'the West,' I refer to the effects of hegemonic representations of the Western self rather than its subjugated traditions. Therefore I do not use the term to refer simply to a geographic space but to a particular historical conjugation of place, power, and knowledge" (*Postcolonial Developments: Agriculture in the Making of Modern India* [Durham: Duke University Press, 1998], 36). It is precisely this homogeneous image of the "West" that *gay* and

lesbi Indonesians experience as *the* West. Throughout the essay the terms *gay* and *lesbi* are italicized to distinguish them from "gay" and "lesbian" as analytic concepts.

2. Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *Footsteps*, ed. and trans. Max Lane (New York: Penguin, 1990), 15.

3. Arjun Appadurai, "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy," in *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 31. In contradistinction to what he terms a priori difference, Daniel Miller describes the "new forms of difference" as a posteriori differences: "This is the sense of quite unprecedented diversity created by the differential consumption of what had once been thought to be global and homogenizing institutions. . . . The idea of *a posteriori* diversity . . . seeks out new forms of difference, some regional, but increasingly based on social distinctions which may not be easily identified with space" ("Introduction: Anthropology, Modernity, and Consumption," in *Worlds Apart: Modernity through the Prism of the Local*, ed. Daniel Miller [London: Routledge, 1995], 2–3). Excellent examples of the burgeoning literature on globalization and difference include Arjun Appadurai, "The Production of Locality," in *Modernity at Large*, 178–200; Mike Featherstone, "Global and Local Cultures," in *Mapping the Futures: Local Cultures, Global Change*, ed. Jon Bird et al. (London: Routledge, 1993); Featherstone, "Localism, Globalism, and Cultural Identity," in *Global/Local: Cultural Production and the Transnational Imaginary*, ed. Rob Wilson and Wimal Dissanayake (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), 46–77; J. K. Gibson-Graham, *The End of Capitalism (as We Knew It): A Feminist Critique of Political Economy* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1996); Paul Gilroy, "Route Work: The Black Atlantic and the Politics of Exile," in *The Post-Colonial Question: Common Skies, Divided Horizons*, ed. Iain Chambers and Lidia Curti (London: Routledge, 1996), 17–29; Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, "Beyond 'Culture': Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference," *Cultural Anthropology* 7 (1992): 6–23; Stuart Hall, "The Local and the Global: Globalization and Ethnicity" and "Old and New Identities, Old and New Ethnicities," in *Culture, Globalization, and the World-System: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity*, ed. Anthony D. King (London: Macmillan, 1991); Hall, "When Was 'the Post-Colonial'? Thinking at the Limit," in Chambers and Curti, *Post-Colonial Question*, 242–60; Hall, "The Question of Cultural Identity," in *Understanding Modern Societies: An Introduction*, ed. Stuart Hall et al. (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1995), 596–633; Ulf Hannerz, "Scenarios for Peripheral Cultures," in King, *Culture, Globalization, and the World-System*; Hannerz, *Transnational Connections: Culture, People, Places* (London: Routledge, 1996); Fredric Jameson, "Notes on Globalization as a Philosophical Issue," in *The Cultures of Globalization*, ed. Fredric Jameson and Masao Miyoshi (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 54–77; Philip McMichael, "Globalization: Myths and Realities," *Rural Sociology* 61 (1996): 25–55; and Malcolm Waters, *Globalization* (London: Routledge, 1995).

4. See Richard Parker, *Beneath the Equator: Cultures of Desire, Male Homosexuality, and Emerging Gay Communities in Brazil* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 218–21; Appadurai, "Production of Locality"; Jonathan Friedman, "Being in the World: Globalization and Localization," *Theory, Culture, and Society* 7 (1990): 311–28; and Gupta, *Postcolonial Developments*.

5. E.g., Aijaz Ahmad, *In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures* (London: Verso, 1992); Arif Dirlik, "The Postcolonial Aura: Third World Criticism in the Age of Global Capitalism," *Critical Inquiry* 20 (1992): 328–56; Ella Shohat, "Notes on the 'Post-Colonial,'" *Social Text*, nos. 31–32 (1992): 99–113. For useful discussions of post-coloniality debates see Bart Moore-Gilbert, *Postcolonial Theory: Contexts, Practices, Politics* (London: Verso, 1997); and Hall, "When Was 'the Post-Colonial'?" In response to fears about the term's potential to efface cultural specificity, Hall notes that "Australia and Canada, on the one hand, Nigeria, India, and Jamaica on the other, are certainly not 'post-colonial' *in the same way*. But this does not mean that they are not 'post-colonial' *in any way*" (246).

6. I use the term *LGQ studies* to refer to gay, lesbian, bisexual, queer, transgender, and intersex studies.

7. For an excellent critique of the concept of the "indigenous" see Gupta, *Postcolonial Developments*, chaps. 3–4.

8. Kath Weston, "Lesbian/Gay Studies in the House of Anthropology," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 22 (1993): 344. Examples of the growing literature of lesbian, gay, and bisexual identities outside the "West" include Dennis Altman, "Global Gaze/Global Gays," *GLQ* 3 (1997): 417–36; Evelyn Blackwood, "Tombois in West Sumatra: Constructing Masculinity and Erotic Desire," in *Female Desires: Same-Sex Relations and Transgender Practices across Cultures*, ed. Evelyn Blackwood and Saskia E. Wieringa (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 181–205; Donald L. Donham, "Freeing South Africa: The 'Modernization' of Male-Male Sexuality in Soweto," *Cultural Anthropology* 13 (1998): 3–21; Peter Drucker, "'In the Tropics There Is No Sin': Sexuality and Gay-Lesbian Movements in the Third World," *New Left Review*, no. 218 (1996): 75–101; Peter A. Jackson, "*Kathoey* <> Gay <> Man: The Historical Emergence of Gay Male Identity in Thailand," in *Sites of Desire, Economies of Pleasure: Sexualities in Asia and the Pacific*, ed. Lenore Manderson and Margaret Jolly (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 166–90; Mark Johnson, *Beauty and Power: Transgendering and Cultural Transformation in the Southern Philippines* (Oxford: Berg, 1997); Martin F. Manalansan IV, "In the Shadows of Stonewall: Examining Gay Transnational Politics and the Diasporic Dilemma," in *The Politics of Culture in the Shadow of Capital*, ed. Lisa Lowe and David Lloyd (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 485–505; Parker, *Beneath the Equator*; and Saskia E. Wieringa, "Desiring Bodies or Defiant Cultures: Butch-Femme Lesbians in Jakarta and Lima," in Blackwood and Wieringa, *Female Desires*, 206–29.

9. See Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics* (New York: Methuen, 1987), 202; Arturo Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995); and James Ferguson, *The Anti-Politics Machine: "Development," Depoliticization, and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994).

10. Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 86. For one example of this first type of reductionism see Barry D. Adam, Jan Willem Duyvendak, and André Krouwel, eds., *The Global Emergence of Gay and Lesbian Politics: National Imprints of a Worldwide Movement* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999): "There are impressive parallels in the names of organizations: many countries have known 'gay liberation fronts,' 'revolutionary leagues,' and so on, indicating that movements follow more or less comparable paths, pass through the same phases, and draw names from other social and political movements with which there is some resemblance in terms of ideology, goals, or methods of resistance" (369–70; see also 352, 357). Cf. my discussion of GAYa Nusantara and GAYa Dewata, below.

11. Important examples of this literature include Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983); Anderson, *Language and Power: Exploring Political Cultures in Indonesia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990); John R. Bowen, *Muslims through Discourse: Religion and Ritual in Gayo Society* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); Suzanne Brenner, "Reconstructing Self and Society: Javanese Muslim Women and 'the Veil,'" *American Ethnologist* 23 (1996): 673–97; Brenner, *The Domestication of Desire: Women, Wealth, and Modernity in Java* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998); Amen Budiman, ed., *Jalan Hidupku: Autobiografi Seorang Gay Priyayi Jawa Awal Abad XX* (1927; rpt. Jakarta: Apresiasi Gay Jakarta, 1992); Robert W. Hefner, "Islam, State, and Civil Society: ICMI and the Struggle for the Indonesian Middle Class," *Indonesia* 56 (1993): 2–35; Robert W. Hefner and Patricia Horvatich, eds., *Islam in an Era of Nation-States: Politics and Religious Renewal in Muslim Southeast Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997); John Pemberton, *On the Subject of "Java"* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994); Michel Picard, *Bali: Cultural Tourism and Touristic Culture* (Singapore: Archipelago, 1996); Geoffrey Robinson, *The Dark Side of Paradise: Political Violence in Bali* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); Danilyn Rutherford, "Of Birds and Gifts: Reviving Tradition on an Indonesian Frontier," *Cultural Anthropology* 11 (1996): 577–616; Laurie J. Sears, *Shadows of Empire: Colonial Discourse and Javanese Tales* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996); James T. Siegel, *Solo in the New Order: Language and Hierarchy in an Indonesian City* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986); Siegel, *Fetish, Recognition, Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997); Mary Margaret Steedly, *Hanging without a Rope: Narrative Experience in Colonial and Postcolonial Karoland* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing, *In the Realm of the Diamond Queen: Marginality in an Out-of-the-Way Place* (Princeton: Princeton

University Press, 1993); and Adrian Vickers, *Bali: A Paradise Created* (Hong Kong: Periplus, 1989).

12. See Dédé Oetomo, "Patterns of Bisexuality in Indonesia," in *Bisexuality and HIV/AIDS: A Global Perspective*, ed. Rob Tielman, Manuel Carballo, and Aart Hendriks (Buffalo: Prometheus, 1991); and Oetomo, "Gender and Sexual Orientation in Indonesia," in *Fantasizing the Feminine in Indonesia*, ed. Laurie J. Sears (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), 259–69.

13. That is, men who self-identify as *gay* in some contexts at least.

14. My thanks to Lisa Rofel for helping me develop this point. I explore the implications of cogendered friendships and activities in Tom Boellstorff, "The Gay Archipelago: Translocal Identity in Indonesia," manuscript, 1999.

15. Globalization generally is highly gendered. See Gibson-Graham, *End of Capitalism*; and Maila Stivens, "Theorizing Gender, Power, and Modernity in Affluent Asia," in *Gender and Power in Affluent Asia*, ed. Krishna Sen and Maila Stivens (London: Routledge, 1998), 1–34.

16. See Evelyn Blackwood, "Falling in Love with An-Other Lesbian: Reflections on Identity in Fieldwork," in *Taboo: Sex, Identity, and Erotic Subjectivity in Anthropological Fieldwork*, ed. Don Kulick and Margaret Willson (London: Routledge, 1995); Blackwood, "Tombois in West Sumatra"; B. J. D. Gayatri, "Coming Out but Remaining Hidden: A Portrait of Lesbians in Java" (paper presented at the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Mexico City, July 1993); Gayatri, "Indonesian Lesbians Writing Their Own Script: Issues of Feminism and Sexuality," in *Amazon to Zami: Towards a Global Lesbian Feminism*, ed. Monika Reinfelder (London: Cassell, 1996), 86–97; Alison Murray, "Femme on the Streets, Butch in the Sheets (a Play on Whores)," in *Mapping Desire: Geographies of Sexualities*, ed. David Bell and Gill Valentine (London: Routledge, 1995), 66–74; Murray, "Let Them Take Ecstasy: Class and Jakarta Lesbians," in Blackwood and Wieringa, *Female Desires*, 139–56; and Wieringa, "Desiring Bodies or Defiant Cultures." In my larger project I also examine the male-to-female transgendered identity known as *waria* (Boellstorff, "Gay Archipelago," chap. 2).

17. Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, trans. (New York: Pantheon, 1970). For a discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of Foucault's archaeological method see Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).

18. Here I reference a discussion of sameness, difference, and postcoloniality whose detailed enumeration is beyond the scope of this essay. For examples see Akhil Gupta, "Blurred Boundaries: The Discourse of Corruption, the Culture of Politics, and the Imagined State," *American Ethnologist* 22 (1995): 375–402; Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera* (San Francisco: Spinsters/Aunt Lute, 1987); Renato Rosaldo,

Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis (Boston: Beacon, 1989); and Craig Calhoun, ed., *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992).

19. See Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins, eds., *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling beyond the Nation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998).

20. Robert J. C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995), 25.

21. This is true not only in Indonesia. See, e.g., Donham, "Freeing South Africa"; Johnson, *Beauty and Power*; Parker, *Beneath the Equator*; and Took Took Thongthiraj, "Toward a Struggle against Invisibility: Love between Women in Thailand," in *Asian American Sexualities: Dimensions of the Gay and Lesbian Experience*, ed. Russell Leong (New York: Routledge, 1996), 163–74.

22. I have also come to realize that the neglect of *gay* and *lesbi* subjectivities in Indonesian studies stems less from a putative homophobia than from the equivalencies drawn in the "Western" academy between disciplines, methodologies, and discursive constitutions of the "field" as a unit of analysis. Historically, anthropologists in these islands have tended to study "ethnicities," the Javanese or Balinese or Minangkabau, rather than "Indonesians."

23. Given the limitations of space, I do not discuss conflicts in these communities in terms of gender, class, region, and so on (see, e.g., Murray, "Let Them Take Ecstasy"; Blackwood, "Tombois in West Sumatra"; Boellstorff, "Gay Archipelago"; and Oetomo, "Gender and Sexual Orientation in Indonesia"). Instead, I focus on processual formations of imagined *lesbi* and *gay* communities (i.e., the conditions of possibility for imagining intercommunity conflict in the first place).

24. For a broader discussion of the "privatization" of public spaces by lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgendered communities see Gordon Brent Ingram, Anne-Marie Bouthillette, and Yolanda Retter, eds., *Queers in Space: Communities, Public Places, Sites of Resistance* (Seattle: Bay, 1997); and Bell and Valentine, *Mapping Desire*.

25. The distinction between "organizations" and other spaces is less clear than it might seem. Organizations tend to be small (three to ten members), and many cease to exist after three or four years. Those that survive for longer periods have usually obtained international funding, but since the primary impetus of such funding is HIV/AIDS prevention, and since international HIV/AIDS prevention discourse commonly ignores lesbians, *lesbi* groups are rarely able to access such funding, so they find it particularly difficult to sustain themselves. Only a few specifically *lesbi* magazines have ever existed: one, *GAYa LEStari*, was published four times between February and August 1994 as a supplement to the magazine *GAYa Nusantara*. A specifically *lesbi* magazine, *MitraS*, published three issues beginning in December 1997, but it is currently on hiatus.

26. During colonial times it was hardly unusual for Indies "natives" to have greater knowledge of the "West" than "Westerners" had of them. This imbalance persists today and represents a strong thread of continuity in the postcolonial context. At issue is the relationship that this knowledge bears to the *gay* or *lesbi* self.

27. For discussions of this ideology see Pemberton, *On the Subject of "Java"*; Picard, *Bali*; and Rutherford, "Of Birds and Gifts."

28. Alfred Russel Wallace, *The Malay Archipelago, the Land of the Orang-utan and the Bird of Paradise: A Narrative of Travel, with Studies of Man and Nature* (1869; rpt. New York: Dover, 1962). The centrality of nationalism to postcoloniality has been explored thoroughly in Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993); and Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

29. At the First International Conference of the Law of the Sea in Geneva in 1958, Indonesia argued that its borders did not lie only a certain distance from the coast of each island, as was the norm, but included all of the waters "within" the archipelago. The Second International Conference in 1960 recognized the notion of an "archipelagic state" and with it the archipelago concept. See Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, "The Concept of the Indonesian Archipelago," *Indonesian Quarterly* 10, no. 4 (1982): 19.

30. Ibid., 25.

31. The framing of diversity in unity is common in postcolonial nationalisms (including the United States's own motto, E Pluribus Unum). See, e.g., Akhil Gupta, "The Song of the Nonaligned World: Transnational Identities, Late Capitalism, and the Reinscription of Space," *Cultural Anthropology* 7 (1992): 63–79.

32. Gayatri, "Indonesian Lesbians Writing Their Own Script," 94; Murray, "Let Them Take Ecstasy," 142. I explore the significance of the fact that this labeling was linked specifically to femininity in Boellstorff, "Gay Archipelago" (see also Tan beng hui, "Women's Sexuality and the Discourse on Asian Values: Cross-Dressing in Malaysia," in Blackwood and Wieringa, *Female Desires*, 289–97). But there is no a priori reason that greater oppression will not appear in Indonesia in the future. A disturbing precedent has been set by the antihomosexual group Pasrah, to my knowledge the first of its kind in Southeast Asia, which was formed in Malaysia in 1998 following the arrest of former deputy prime minister Anwar Ibrahim on sodomy and corruption charges. At present Pasrah appears to be a front organization with a manifesto but no record of activity.

33. The link between mass media and postcolonial states has been commented on in many contexts. For the case of television in India, for example, see Purnima Mankekar, *Screening Culture, Viewing Politics: An Ethnography of Television, Womanhood, and Nation in Postcolonial India* (Durham: Duke University Press, in press).

34. For "public" Darta used the term *umum*, the same term used by my Balinese informant to distinguish *tempat umum* [public places] from *tempat ngeber*.

35. That Darta and Darta's mother knew of *lesbi* first was probably due to the wide publicity given the marriage of two women in Jakarta in 1981. See Boellstorff, "Gay Archipelago."

36. About two-thirds of my informants learned of these terms through mass media. Almost all the rest learned of them from friends or by wandering into a *tempat ngeber*. Of course, there is a high probability (which I have documented in some instances) that the people who provided them with the information had themselves learned of the terms through mass media.

37. See Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

38. *Republika* (Jakarta), 2 May 1996.

39. *Kompas* (Jakarta), 25 July 1997.

40. But the law is regularly flouted. See *Republika*, 7 March 1998.

41. Novel Ali, "Sulih suara dorong keretakan komunikasi keluarga," in *Bercinta Dengan Televisi: Ilusi, Impresi, dan Imaji Sebuah Kotak Ajaib*, ed. Deddy Mulyana and Idi Subandy Ibrahim (Bandung: PT Remaja Rosdakarya, 1997), 341–42. My translation.

42. See Dédé Oetomo, "Ketika Sharon Stone Berbahasa Indonesia," in Mulyana and Ibrahim, *Bercinta Dengan Televisi*, 333–37.

43. Even if they learn (from a non-Indonesian like me, from a mass-media source, etc.) that gay men in the "West" usually do not marry women, most Indonesian *gay* men continue to assume that they themselves will. In other words, the "Western" norm is not framed as a necessary component of *gay* subjectivity in Indonesia.

44. See Shelly Errington, *Meaning and Power in a Southeast Asian Realm* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989); Clifford Geertz, "From the Native's Point of View: On the Nature of Anthropological Understanding," in *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (New York: Basic, 1983), 55–72; Marilyn Strathern, *The Gender of the Gift: Problems with Women and Problems with Society in Melanesia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988); and Strathern, *Reproducing the Future: Essays on Anthropology, Kinship, and the New Reproductive Technologies* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

45. The term Ikbal used for "unified," *nyatu*, is derived from "one," *satu*.

46. Sexual dysfunction like Ikbal's is far from universal. Some married *gay* men claim that their sexual experiences with their wives are mutually satisfying.

47. For example, high-status women who are unable to find suitable partners may remain single and childless for life without compromising their femininity. See Nancy K. Florida, "Sex Wars: Writing Gender Relations in Nineteenth-Century Java," in Sears, *Fantasizing the Feminine in Indonesia*, 207–24; and Errington, *Meaning and Power*.

48. There is an extensive literature on the relationship between the postcolonial state and marriage in Indonesia. See, e.g., Sylvia Tiwon, "Models and Maniacs: Articulating the Female in Indonesia," Julia I. Suryakusuma, "The State and Sexuality in New Order Indonesia," Daniel S. Lev, "On the Other Hand?" and Benedict Anderson, "'Bullshit!' S/he Said: The Happy, Modern, Sexy Indonesian Married Woman as Transsexual," in Sears, *Fantasizing the Feminine in Indonesia*, 47–70, 92–119,

191–202, 270–94; Evelyn Blackwood, "Senior Women, Model Mothers, and Dutiful Wives: Managing Gender Contradictions in a Minangkabau Village," in *Bewitching Women, Pious Men: Gender and Body Politics in Southeast Asia*, ed. Aihwa Ong and Michael G. Peletz (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 124–58; Brenner, *Domestication of Desire*; and Barbara Hatley, "Nation, 'Tradition,' and Constructions of the Feminine in Modern Indonesian Literature," in *Imagining Indonesia: Cultural Politics and Political Culture*, ed. Jim Schiller and Barbara Martin-Schiller (Athens: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1997), 90–120.

49. Rosalind C. Morris uses this term to refer to a similar configuration of state and marriage in Thailand ("Educating Desire: Thailand, Transnationalism, and Transgression," *Social Text*, nos. 52–53 [1997]: 53–79).

50. Here I draw on a long tradition that explores the relationship between the state, capitalism, and the family. See Dennis Altman, *Homosexual: Oppression and Liberation* (New York: Outerbridge and Dienstfrey, 1971); Michael Bronski, *Culture Clash: The Making of Gay Sensibility* (Boston: South End, 1984); Bronski, *The Pleasure Principle: Sex, Backlash, and the Struggle for Gay Freedom* (New York: St. Martin's, 1998); Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World*; Chatterjee, *Nation and Its Fragments*; John D'Emilio, "Capitalism and Gay Identity," in *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality*, ed. Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell, and Sharon Thompson (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983), 100–113; Frederick Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State, in the Light of the Researches of Lewis H. Morgan*, ed. Eleanor Burke Leacock, trans. Alec West (1884; rpt. New York: International, 1942); Richard K. Herrell, "Sin, Sickness, Crime: Queer Desire and the American State," in *The Nation/State and Its Sexual Dissidents*, ed. David Murray and Richard Handler (Newark, N.J.: Gordon and Breach, 1996), 273–300; Guy Hocquenghem, *Homosexual Desire*, trans. Daniella Dangoor (London: Allison and Busby, 1978); Andrew Parker et al., eds., *Nationalisms and Sexualities* (New York: Routledge, 1992); Linda Singer, "Sex and the Logic of Late Capitalism," in *Erotic Welfare: Sexual Theory and Politics in the Age of Epidemic*, by Linda Singer, ed. Judith Butler and Maureen MacGrogan (New York: Routledge, 1993), 34–61; and Eli Zaretsky, *Capitalism, the Family, and Personal Life* (New York: Harper and Row, 1976).

51. See Hal Hill, *The Indonesian Economy since 1966: Southeast Asia's Emerging Giant* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); and Jeffrey A. Winters, *Power in Motion: Capital Mobility and the Indonesian State* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996).

52. Quoted in Richard Tanter and Kenneth Young, eds., *The Politics of Middle Class Indonesia* (Clayton, Australia: Monash University Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, 1990), 26. There is a burgeoning literature on the new middle class and consumerism in Southeast Asia, including, besides Tanter and Young's work, Michael Pinches, ed., *Culture and Privilege in Capitalist Asia* (London: Routledge, 1999);

Richard Robison and David S. G. Goodman, eds., *The New Rich in Asia: Mobile Phones, McDonalds, and Middle-Class Revolution* (London: Routledge, 1996); and Krishna Sen and Maila Stivens, eds., *Gender and Power in Affluent Asia* (London: Routledge, 1998).

53. Quoted in Tanter and Young, *Politics of Middle Class Indonesia*, 64. Pinches emphasizes the importance of understanding middle classes in Asia in terms of "the processes of status formation through the shared symbols of lifestyle and consumption" rather than solely in terms of raw income (*Culture and Privilege in Capitalist Asia*, 8). See also Gibson-Graham's processual theory of class (*End of Capitalism*, 46–71).

54. See, e.g., Marcel Mauss, "A Category of the Human Mind: The Notion of the Person; the Notion of Self" (1938), in *Sociology and Psychology: Essays*, trans. Ben Brewster (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979), 57–94; and Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, trans. Robert Hurley, 3 vols. (New York: Pantheon, 1978–86).

55. More generally, Arjun Appadurai notes that "until recently . . . a case could be made that social life was largely inertial, that traditions provided a relatively finite set of possible lives" ("Global Ethnoscapes: Notes and Queries for a Transnational Anthropology," in *Modernity at Large*, 53).

56. See Jane F. Collier, Bill Maurer, and Lilana Suárez-Navaz, "Sanctioned Identities: Legal Constructions of Modern Personhood," *Identities* 2 (1995): 1–27; John L. Comaroff, "Images of Empire, Contests of Conscience: Models of Colonial Domination in South Africa," in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 163–97; and C. B. Macpherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962).

57. Nor are apparent contradictions inevitably a site of resistance. Stuart Hall notes: "In our intellectual way, we think that the world will collapse as the result of a logical contradiction: this is the illusion of the intellectual—that ideology must be coherent, every bit of it fitting together, like a philosophical investigation. When, in fact, the whole purpose of what Gramsci called an organic (i.e., historically effective) ideology is that it articulates into a configuration different subjects, different identities, different projects, different aspirations. It does not reflect, it constructs a 'unity' out of difference" ("Gramsci and Us," in *The Hard Road to Renewal: Thatcherism and the Crisis of the Left* [London: Verso, 1988], 166). David M. Halperin makes precisely this point with respect to "Western" homophobia: "Homophobic discourses are incoherent, then, but their incoherence, far from incapacitating them, turns out to empower them. In fact, homophobic discourses operate strategically by means of logical contradictions" (*Saint Foucault: Towards a Gay Hagiography* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1995], 34).

58. It is in this context that the existence of the term *biseks* in Indonesia is so interesting. While its range is much smaller than that of *lesbi* or *gay*, *biseks* is known to a sub-

stantial number of men and women. Men and women who identify as *biseks* almost always identify as *lesbi* or *gay* as well; it is a dual subjectivity lexicalizing simultaneous same-sex and opposite-sex interests (i.e., a *gay* man who is married to a woman will sometimes say that he is "*gay* and *biseks*," but not *biseks* alone). While there are *biseks* subjectivities, there is no "*biseks* world," no *dunia biseks*; these men and women see themselves as part of the *gay* world. In the Indonesian context, what is significant is not that this subjectivity calls into being a different community but that it implies, contrary to the dominant view, that *gay* and *lesbi* subjectivities exclude marriage.

59. "A productive question is to ask how culturally-specific domains have been dialectically formed and transformed in relation with other cultural domains, how meanings migrate across domain boundaries, and how specific actions are multiply constituted. In other words, we need to historicize our domains and trace their effects" (Sylvia Yanagisako and Carol Delaney, introduction to *Naturalizing Power: Essays in Feminist Cultural Analysis*, ed. Sylvia Yanagisako and Carol Delaney [New York: Routledge, 1995], 11).

60. Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, vol. 1.

61. E.g., Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"* (New York: Routledge, 1993); Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, vol. 1; Halperin, *Saint Foucault*; Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991).

62. See George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890–1940* (New York: Basic, 1994).

63. Budiman, *Jalan Hidupku*, 111–14. My translation.

64. Sucipto himself never terms his writings "autobiography" or "memoir."

65. Generalizing from a single historical source is precarious but necessitated by the fact that Sucipto's is the only known text of its type from the colonial era. Interviews with informants in their fifties and sixties, although they do not extend quite so far into the past, corroborate important aspects of Sucipto's narrative.

66. Chatterjee, *Nation and Its Fragments*, 5.