

POSTCOLONIAL
AMNESIA
IN INDONESIA AND
SOUTHERN AFRICA
AND THE
WOMEN'S/SEXUAL
RIGHTS
DISCOURSE

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Discourse¹

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INTRODUCTION

Sexual moral panics were an important motor for the establishment of imperial power in the late eighteenth, the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. Likewise such panics have been used to establish or uphold dictatorial postcolonial regimes, such as New Order Indonesia or present-day Zimbabwe. Postcolonial states have drawn upon the memories of these colonial and postcolonial panics, as they have been etched into the collective unconsciousness of their subjects. In the process the memories of certain sexual practices, cultures or norms, specifically related to women's sexual agency and same sex practices got lost, leading to a postcolonial amnesia on these topics. This amnesia in its turn could fuel present day moral panics that are built upon the manipulation of the fear of women's agency and same sex practices. The relationship then between postcolonial amnesia and moral sexual panics is complex.

This chapter explores how present day postcolonial amnesia around issues of sexuality can be traced back to certain colonial and postcolonial sexual moral panics. In some cases the erasure of the memory of women's sexual agency and same sex practices also went more gradually. Both sexuality, moral panics and amnesia alike will be explored as deeply political constructions.

The imagination of the postcolonial states discussed here is partly drawn upon their sexualized histories. Imagination being based on selectively memorizing, amnesia of certain sexual practices or customs plays an important role. The continuation of certain tropes in the examples of sexual panics and amnesia from mainly Indonesia and Southern Africa upon which I base this discussion demonstrates their political motivations, though the core of that impulse has shifted. The focus of this chapter is on women's sexual autonomy and same sex practices, which, I argue, are intimately linked. I will discuss how the motivation of such panics shifted from imposing a racialized and class-based colonial hegemony, to the establishment

of a nationalist and, again, class-based rule. The continuing process of women's subordination, through the 'othering' of non-patriarchal sexual practices is a constant factor in this process.

I suggest that the form some of the contemporary panics takes is fomented by two imbricating, seemingly paradoxical processes. On the one hand this concerns a postcolonial amnesia of particular sexual practices, politics and relations, specifically those related to women's sexual autonomy and same- sex practices in general. This amnesia has severe consequences, not only in relation to the hate crimes committed on individuals who live lives that challenge or destabilize the unstable borders of the heteronormative gender regimes that various postcolonial leaders engineer and cling to, but also on women and men that live such normalized lives (their 'normality' being dictated by the supposed abjection of the 'others'). On the other hand we witness striking continuities in the sexual politics of postcolonial rules compared to their colonial predecessors. So far research has mainly focussed on the racialization of society that sexualized colonial practices produced (Stoler 1995, Sinha 1995). In postcolonial societies these moral sexual strategies are no longer used to mark racial boundaries, but to demarcate the powers of the ruling national elites. Thus class stratification, though no longer based on race, women's subordination and heteronormativity are the lines of convergence. The differences between colonial and postcolonial regimes in the area of sexual politics are more of degree than of substance: the tropes are similar. If 'tradition' was seen (and constructed as) the site of 'moral decay' in colonial days, nowadays 'tradition' is reconfigured as a site of heteronormative 'normalcy', and the West is seen as the site of perverse desires. Paradoxically that same West, such as my country, The Netherlands, prides itself on its adherence to freedom, human rights and tolerance, and its own misogynous, homophobic and racist past is conveniently ignored in the interest of defending 'Fortress Europe'.

In the process of inventing itself as a viable nation-state patriarchal, heterosexual reproductive relations are (re-)inscribed as normative, while women's autonomous sexual practices (whether heterosexual or same-sex) and same-sex practices in general are (re)constructed as marginal. Political and religious leaders join in mobilizing emotions to naturalize this fiction of the 'always-already' patriarchal, heterosexual nation. I will discuss here some of these

persuasive fictions, such as the demonization of same-sex practices in Southern Africa. Another example is Indonesian women's kodrat (moral code of conduct) which invokes women to be sexually passive and heterosexual, following a long process of the denial of women's sexual agency, which culminated in the campaign of sexual slander on 1965/6. I will also point out how the sensual depiction of sexuality as in for instance the temples complexes of Khajuraho has been ignored in the process of constructing a always-already patriarchal, heterosexist morality in India. In the process I will underline how the sexual is manipulated to underlie the (ever shifting) social contracts post colonial leaders impose on their subjects. In doing so I will stress that the past should not be essentialized or romanticised. Here I am only interested in demonstrating that the sexual is not only a moral but also a political battlefield in which colonial and postcolonial policies are played out along remarkably similar lines and that the postcolonial amnesia on earlier forms of women's sexual agency, including women's same sex relations is a major strategy to subjugate women..

I will not be able to discuss all waves of sexual hysteria that swept over Indonesia and Southern Africa, but I will highlight some particularly striking examples with which I have become familiar through my research and discuss some underlying mechanisms. In the last part of this chapter I will describe some efforts that I have witnessed to overcome this amnesia. Both in Indonesia and in Southern Africa I have been involved in projects to dig up historical evidence of women's autonomous sexual practices. Women's groups are using this material to strengthen their own self-esteem and to remind their governments and the wider societies of practices and relations they so far conveniently ignored or demonized. Hopefully this subversive reading of history can serve as ways of opening debates to counter the process of naturalizing a heteronormativity that is so oppressive to those who are 'othered', that is don't conform to this model, and who thus fall outside the narrowly defined boundaries of a hegemonic femininity and masculinity. In the last part of this chapter I will also discuss some of the problems encountered in the current discourse on human, women's and sexual rights. However critically important this discourse is, it also has some underpinnings which in the end may hamper its usefulness to those whose hopes for creating a society in which diversity and gender

multiplicity is recognised are based on it. The focus of discussion throughout this chapter is on the effects the processes described have on female-bodied persons. In many ways the effects on men are different; they have been the subject of several other studies, such as those by Hyam (1992) and Sinha (1994).

AMNESIA AND MORAL OR SEXUAL PANICS

A central concept in this discussion is amnesia. I use it here not just in its dictionary meaning as 'loss of memory'.² I extend its use to incorporate connotations of political convenience. The amnesia I am discussing here refers to a process of selectively memorizing certain aspects of a past, while ignoring such aspects as are politically inconvenient to those who control the mechanisms to create a hegemonic vision of society. In this chapter the focus of discussion is on the construction of patriarchal heteronormativity, based on women's (sexual) subservience and ignoring aspects of women's autonomy and gender diversity. Amnesia and the construction of moral, sexual panics are major means to establish hegemonic thinking in any society.

Not every moral panic is also a sexual panic, that is a moral panic around issues of sexuality. In a moral panic emotions are mobilised in order to stigmatize certain behaviours, either of individuals or of groups and frame them as posing a threat to social stability. The mass hysteria created by General Suharto in 1965/6 is a major example of a sexual panic (Wieringa 2002a and 2003). The media, whether the print media, radio, tv, or internet usually play an important role in mobilizing mass sentiments. In 1965/6 in Indonesia the murder squads were trained and armed by the military, but the army press and the radio provided the fuel to unleash one of the largest genocides in modern history. The monument which was constructed on the site vividly continues this campaign of mystification and slander and invokes women to be meek and sexually passive. The media however don't act on their own, there are usually other powers behind them. Such moral panics are usually not spontaneous, though they may be triggered by a particular incident (in Indonesia the abduction and murder of the country's top brass by rebellious army units, see for more details below). Generally they are built up gradually, as fear is being

mobilized. The creation of the myth of the 'black peril' in British colonial Africa, discussed below, is one such example.

The usual pattern is that a threat is constructed, feelings of fear are generated, and a particular group is demonized (communist women, black men). The exorcism of the scapegoats that are thus constructed is then felt as a process of ritual cleansing after which it is expected stability, harmony, or just simply the hegemony of a particular group will be established. Sexuality is one of the most potent elements to whip up social hysteria, when mixed with religion and/or race a particularly potent explosive mix is created. In Indonesia a myth of the castration of the abducted generals was created, reinforced with stories of sexual orgies communists were said to be engaged in, and a tinge of lesbianism (Wieringa 2000). So the means used in this process include distortion, lies, or various forms of exaggeration.³ When a sexual moral panic is in full force, rational explanations are no longer heard as the flood gates are opened for ostracism, hate crimes, stigmatization and violence.

After such a violent episode, when a new hegemony is established, either that of an imperial order, or that of a postcolonial dictatorial regime a political amnesia may set in, in which certain elements of the past may be conveniently ignored. I will discuss some examples of this process and focus on the continuity of the tropes used in the interest of normalizing heterosexuality as a basis of political power. Postcolonial amnesia on issues of sexuality may also come about more gradually, and not spurred on by the shockwaves of an acute sexual moral panic, for instance via the imposition of bourgeois morality. Though pointing out cultural and historical differences where they are relevant I will not dwell on them here. My interest in this chapter is more on continuity, discussing the ways in which a colonial and postcolonial amnesia of aspects of women's sexual autonomy and particularly same sex relations is deployed as a major means of establishing racial, class-based heteronormative boundaries. This deployment may involve sexual moral panics.

COLONIAL AND POSTCOLONIAL OTHERING AS AN EMBODIED PROCESS

Before I embark on a discussion of sexual panics in relation to establishing postcolonial patriarchal heteronormativity I want to give some examples that demonstrate the sexualized and embodied nature of the process of establishing colonial control. Ever since Weeks (1981) and Foucault (1978) wrote their landmark studies on the historicity of Western sexuality a wealth of scholarly publications appeared on the relation between imperialism and sexual domination (Hyam 1992, Sinha 1995, Burton 1994, Stoler 1995). Most of these scholars note the marking of racial boundaries as a deeply sexual process through which both misogyny and homophobia were strengthened and imperial social and political control established.

Whipping up some form of sexual hysteria has been one of the most potent ways that colonial administrators and in their wake some postcolonial leaders have found to maintain a bloody, militarized form of domination. Two examples immediately spring to mind in Africa. In the British colonies the myth of the 'black peril' was constructed; an aggressive, potent African male sexuality was seen to create grave dangers for white women (Cornwell 1996; Jeater 1993, Pape 1990). This paved the way for the British domination of areas like (former) Rhodesia. In German South West Africa (nowadays Namibia) sexual hysteria took a slightly different form. Black housemaids were portrayed as possessing particular poisonous powers by which white male settlers might be sexually seduced and whole white settler families might be poisoned (O'Donnell 1999). These myths came to inform the genocide of the Herero and Nama populations in the Namibian wars of 1904-1907. They justified the atrocities committed by German troops at the home front. A version of the 'black peril' myth was created when wild stories began to appear in the German media about white women who were allegedly raped when taken

prisoner by the Hereros (De Vries 1978). Yet in reality the Hereros treated their prisoners much better than the Germans did.

Of a slightly different nature, but similarly directed to institutionalize colonial control, was the treatment of same sex relations in Africa. On the one hand there were those writers who invented a 'pure' innocent continent in which those 'vices' were absent. This was perceived as investing the whites with the moral duty to rule these 'childlike natives'. On the other hand there were those who pointed out the depravity of the black population by dwelling on the same sex practices they documented. This again was seen as 'proof' of the way blacks were close to nature and needed the culturalizing strong hand of their colonial masters (Karsch-Haack 1911, Bleys 1995). The latter discussions were mostly held in circles of missionaries and colonial administrators. In the process the meanings and forms of the various ways same-sex relations were lived got lost. In the case of women for instance women's same sex relations could take the form of institutionalized bond friendships which might include erotic or sexual aspects and which existed beside heterosexual marriages. Or mighty and rich women could formally engage in marriages with other women, by paying the customary bride price and performing the usual rites. In some cases these marriages were 'dependent' on heterosexual relations, for instance the ghost marriages widows might contract to ensure male heirs for their dead husbands. In other cases this involved autonomous women marriages, where women married other women for motivations of their own (offspring, establishment of an independent compound) These women marriages have been recorded for over 40 societies of the over 200 that have been described in Africa. In some cases traditional healers, who were possessed by male ancestor spirits took ancestral wives. African women marriages thus can be seen to be fully culturally institutionalized and in many cases religiously sanctioned (See Tietmeyer 1985 and Wieringa 2005).

Colonial rule meant the denigration of these practices, as well as the denial of the sexual components of their relationship (Wieringa 2005). New marriage and inheritance regulations replaced customary rules, denying the women partners and their children the rights they used to enjoy. In many countries women marriages and bond

friendships have almost disappeared or they have become invisible. To such an extent that present-day postcolonial leaders such as President Mugabe of Zimbabwe, former President Nujoma of Namibia and former President Moi of Kenya claim that 'homosexuality is un-African' and an import from the west (Aarmo 1999, Dunton and Palmberg 1996).⁴ The anti-gay and lesbian campaigns of these presidents can be seen as present day moral sexual panics.

Otherisation via the imposition of racial/sexual boundaries took different forms in Indonesia, though it had some similar effects. Before the Java war (1825-1830) that marked the imposition of colonial rule over the whole Indonesian archipelago, women were important mediators between the races; Asian or Eurasian women who were married to Dutch merchants and soldiers provided their husbands with useful political and material connections. Asian or Eurasian widows, who inherited all of their husbands' wealth, were sought after marriage partners (Taylor 1992). After 1830 however the relative autonomy and importance of 'indigenous' partners of European men changed.⁵ Dutch women were imported in large numbers and interracial sexual contacts were limited. Dutch men might take 'indigenous' housekeepers, *nyai*, with whom they might father children, before they officially married a European wife. The status of these *nyai* was much lower than that of their earlier officially married counterparts. Fear of embittered *nyai*, they and their children deserted by their Dutch partners, permeated Dutch colonial society and is powerfully expressed in many novels of the period.⁶

In this process the domestic realm became separated from the public realm of trade, politics and the military, much as in bourgeois Dutch society of the time. Dutch women were considered responsible for preserving the unpolluted whiteness of the European community (Stoler 1995, Gouda 1995, see also Burton 1994 for India). This is in stark contrast to the power and visibility of not only Eurasian women in early colonial society. But also of the women in the Javanese courts who, as Carey and Houben (1987) documented, held important commercial, military and political positions. The concomitant subordination of women's sexual autonomy is also played out in the arena of the Javanese courts themselves. Florida (1996) researched into the 'sex wars' in the nineteenth century Javanese courts, through the repeated invocation of Javanese wives

to be meek and obedient sexual partners to their Javanese husbands. She suggests that this is related to the failed quest of the Javanese ruler Pakubuwana IX. His beloved, Princess Sekar Kedhaton refused to surrender to him and instead rose to great spiritual and intellectual heights.

Particularly during the so-called Ethical period, around the turn of the nineteenth into the twentieth century, education into wifedom became a central concern (Locher-Scholten 2000, Gouda 1995, Tiwon 1996). The Ethical Policy was introduced to mitigate the detrimental effects of Dutch colonial greed on the Indonesian population but strengthened Dutch bourgeois values on gender and racial superiority. The creation of subordinate, Dutch-styled housewives did much to wipe out or deflect the memories of powerful Indonesian women. For instance the transformation of the brilliant, rebellious regent's daughter Kartini, one of the most important precursors of the Indonesian women's movement, into the New Order version of her as a model housewife stems from this period (Tiwon 1996, Wieringa 2002).⁷ Many more examples can be cited.⁸

This brief exposition of the different ways sexual colonial politics worked in these two continents demonstrates that though the actual historical processes are complex and differ considerably, their effects show some marked similarities. In both cases we see a creation and/or strengthening of sexual/racial boundaries in order to support the fiction of the white heterosexual male as the legitimate hero of imperial rule. Misogyny and the breakdown of women's sexual autonomy were both the means by which these campaigns were accompanied and its results. In Africa one of the central topics was the denigration and invisibilisation of women's same sex relations and gender transgression in general. Although this also played a role in Indonesia (see for instance Blackwood 2005) the weakening of women's heterosexual power seems to be more visible. In Indonesia male transgender and same sex behaviour has always been more visible than that of female-bodied persons. The sexual panic and resulting wave of arrests of homosexual men in 1938 (possibly triggered by growing political anxiety in the lead up to the Second World War) mainly targeted Western men. Homosexuality was seen as common for Indonesian men (Gouda 1995, Boelstorff 2004). Women's same sex relations were only targeted around 1965

(Wieringa 2000). As in Southern African countries, outside South Africa itself, present day gay and lesbian groups have a hard time in Indonesia to convince law makers, politicians and the general public that same sex relations are not a novelty imported from the west, despite the visibility of particularly transgendered men.

CONTEMPORARY PANICS

On October 29 2005 three schoolgirls were beheaded by masked men with machetes in the religiously-divided town of Poso, Central Sulawesi, Indonesia. Their heads were later delivered to a local church, with a letter indicating that the heads of 100 more girls were needed to avenge the misdeeds of the "Christian homo's".⁹ This incident followed in the wake of religious clashes which some years earlier has cost thousands of lives in this area alone (there were at the time other clashes in for instance the Maluku's). This example indicates the faultlines in Indonesian society along which deeper laying power struggles are fought out: religion, gender and homosexuality.¹⁰ In this section I will discuss some contemporary sexual panics, namely on homosexuality, women's dress codes, the debates on polygyny and pornography in Indonesia and the fear of sexually depraved women underlying the mass murders in 1965/6 in Indonesia. My focus here is on demonstrating the linkages between postcolonial power struggles and these panics, and the convenient clouds of amnesia related to (per) colonial forms of women's sexual agency and same sex practices.

The association of Christianity with homosexuality in the Poso murders, is not only an indication of perverse and murderous fantasies but also ahistorical. As is the case in Africa, colonial administrators and missionaries are rather the ones who introduced homophobia into these countries. I have discussed that elsewhere for Africa (Wieringa 2002b, Morgan and Wieringa 2005; see also Epprecht 2004). Similar examples can be cited for Asia as well (Blackwood 2005, Boelstorff 2004, Wieringa 2006). The confrontations between West and East didn't have to be in the form of colonial impositions. Countries that didn't fall under direct colonial rule also adopted elements of the sexual ideologies that they noted underlay the perceived superiority of the 'modern' Western powers (see Wieringa 2006 and forthcoming 2007). Screech provides an interesting example for Japan, which had a tradition of 'nanshoku',

male same sex relations, that were often depicted in the popular 'shunga', pornographic woodblock printings. There were also some, much more rare, shunga which showed female same sex relations (Wieringa forthcoming 2007). In the course of the nineteenth century nanshoku is declining and is gradually being replaced by the heteronormative model along which present day Japanese society is structured. The ways of the West were diligently studied, and as one observer noted:

In their countries nanshoku is ferociously prohibited. They say it is counter to human ethics. There was someone found guilty of it then who was burned at the stake, and the youth was drowned in the sea. Apparently this is still done. My source is this year's scribe, Rikarudo' (Screech, 1999: 287/8)

This observation, as Screech noted, related to the encounter of the author with a Mr Ricard, who visited Japan in the late eighteenth century. The same source, according to Screech, later wrote that 'nanshoku prohibitions extended to the Western colonies too (Screech 1999: 288).

If it was clear to an astute eighteenth century Japanese observer that the West was curtailing expressions of same sex relations where they found them, what kind of relations did they actually encounter? Here I will just present some illustrations of the forms same-sex practices and relations have taken, from both Africa and Indonesia. In spite of President Mugabe's protestations that homosexuality is un-African, one of the oldest pictures of male same sex behaviour is found close to his capital city of Harare. It concerns a Stone Age homo-erotic cave painting, dating from at least two thousand years ago (Epprecht 2004: 26, the picture is on page XV).¹¹ Other sources, such as Falk (1998, orig 1925/6) indicate that same sex practices were not uncommon. An example that I think is particularly interesting is the description of the use of a secret musical instrument among the Ovambo of Northern Namibia, provided by Kirby (1941). He discovered that this instrument, the ekola, was used by the shamans of certain villages, to call the 'sodomites' of the village together (out of which practice he got a fee) and that it was played by the sodomites themselves. If the medicine doctors were known to use it, the existence of 'sodomites' must have been a not uncommon phenomenon in the area (Wieringa 2002b). The ekola only became a secret instrument in relation to the colonial authorities.¹²

Murray and Roscoe (1998) brought together a collection of articles on many more aspects of same sex relations in Africa, including woman marriages (see also Karsch-Haack 1911, Tietmeyer 1985 and Wieringa 2005). In spite of colonial obstacles the custom of female traditional healers taking 'ancestral wives' is still very much alive in South Africa, as we discovered when we were doing fieldwork on contemporary women's same sex practices in Southern Africa (Morgan and Wieringa, 2005). In most other African countries the custom is on the decline, and present-day women engaged in relations with other women are denounced; in Tanzania for instance they are described as 'satanic'.

In present-day Indonesia the picture is more complex, as the acceptance of male-bodied 'banci' (crossdressing men who engaged in sex with other men) has persisted over time (Oetomo 1996, Boelstorff 2004). This in spite of occasional outbursts such as the one in 1938, described above. The history of women's same-sex relations however has mostly been lost, and middle class self-identified lesbian women as well as lower class women who are engaged in femme/butch relations live either in fear or in secrecy (Wieringa 2005).¹³ Yet Indonesia does have a tradition of same sex relations and gender inversion, also of female-bodied persons, as has been amply documented by for instance Blackwood 2005 and Graham 2004.

An interesting example of how in earlier times male-bodied and female-bodied crossdressing and transgender practices were more common, and called by the same name, *banci*, (which is mostly reserved for males now), is found in a painting on the roof of the Kertha Gosa (the palace court building, of the Balinese kingdom of Klungkung). This contains the Balinese version of Dante's Hell. The Mahabharata warrior-hero Bhima is sent by his siblings on a quest to rescue their parents from Hell, into which they have been thrown after violating a curse.¹⁴ While there he encounters numerous sinners who are severely punished for their misdeeds, such as violating the laws of the village, committing adultery or abortion, stealing rice or remaining childless. He also comes across a pair of *banci*. On his request for an explanation as to who these 'enigmatic-looking' people were and what crime they had committed, he received the answer that they had committed "a sin. It's a kind of imperfection. And that's why a *banci*, however good his (or her SW) life has been still

has to spend some time in Hell before he can be admitted to the highest spheres." (Pucci 1992: 59). It is telling that the guides in the Kertha Gosa hall do not admit to knowing this story, while the book that contains it is sold on the premises.

The association of same sex practices and gender reversal with Christianity or the West in general, as is common parlance now among conservative and jihadist Islamic circles, is clearly a gross distortion of history. Political motivations, particularly centering around the recent move towards more regional autonomy, as I will discuss below, add to a climate of growing homophobia. A homophobia that was introduced by colonial leaders.

Dress codes, particularly those of Muslim women, are the subject of a contemporary panic in the West. Paradoxically if Muslim women are seen nowadays to cover too much of their bodies, colonialists were concerned with women who covered themselves with too little cloth. Colonial literature is rife with references to the amorality or childlike purity of the so-called primitive, 'nude' peoples. In Indonesia for instance the patriarchal colonial hand was extended to clothe the bare buttocks and/or breasts of these pagans. The outrage at the depravity of particularly native women did not prevent the colonial voyeuristic gaze to dwell with satisfaction on the breasts of young women of various Indonesian groups and to photograph young women with attractive breasts. These pictures are interesting as early 2005 the present Indonesian president, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, or SBY as he is commonly called, hit the press with alarmed remarks about the dangers to Indonesian morality of copying the 'western' custom of showing bare navels on TV. Many Indonesians reacted with ridicule. Some remembered that in Madura for instance women's traditional dress was similar to the Indian saree so a large part of the belly was exposed. This type of dress is hardly used nowadays any more.¹⁵

In India similar processes can be noted. The hugely successful film industry finds it hard to portray a loving kiss.¹⁶ How different from the sensuous sexuality as shown in the temple complex of Khajuraho of middle India, built from the 11th to the 14th centuries. All manner of sexual postures are portrayed, in which it is striking that women are portrayed as either autonomously sexual, or as desiring heterosexual subjects or even, in one frieze, engaged in a complicated same-sex posture (called by Giti Thadani a form of yogic

lesbian fusion (Thadani 1996). The origin of the sculptures is not clear. Some suggest they were built as an illustration of the Kamasutra, the ancient text on the art of love-making or that they were associated with an esoteric Tantric sect. Punja suggests they depict the marriage of Parvati and Shiva. Shiva initially refuse to marry, being an ascetic, but the sensuous, gorgeous Parvati prevailed (Punja 1994). Nowadays the temples are associated with pornography and perverse desires. The contrast between the horror with which open portrayals of women as desiring sexual subjects are presently regarded and the open expression of these desires in the monumental temples of Khajuraho cannot be greater. Not much has come down to us related to the actual relations between the sexes in the realm of the Chandella's who had those temples built so there is no knowing in how far the representation of sexuality, sensuality and autonomous women's sexual desires bore any relation with the actual situation of women in that period and place.

In Indonesia the debate on women's belly buttons may have been subdued, but a new controversy has arisen which will have a longer standing impact. In 2004 a draft law on pornography and porno-action was prepared. In it 'porno acts' defined for instance as masturbation, are penalized and women's clothing must be regulated, in a trade off between local politicians and the dress making industry. The introduction of this law is related to the controversy around the spectacular success of Inul Daratista, an East Javanese singer and dancer, who designed the so-called 'drilling dance' considered shockingly erotic to her more conservative audience. The controversy was fuelled by her much older musical rival, the male dangdut singer Rhoma Irama.¹⁷ In the ensuing sexual moral panic it was ignored that Indonesia has a tradition of female singers who perform in erotic ways.

This outburst of postcolonial decency, as encoded in this new draft law, is linked to the growth of a conservative Muslim movement, spearheaded by the influential Ulama Council. In the process not only particular sexual regimes are naturalized and others denaturalized (such as same sex relations) but also the present ways of decency, sexual relations and even dress codes are retroactively fossilized. In Indonesia for instance the Muslim head cover (jilbab) for women is presented by various Muslim groups as having always belonged to an (invented) pure Muslim past that is now suddenly being

threatened by loose decadent western styles of dressing. However, studying pre-colonial pictures of women in the Minangkabau, one of the most staunchly Islamic regions in Indonesia, one is struck by the fact that women generally wore loose scarves draped around their heads, exposing large parts of their hair. Until recently this was also the case in many other parts of Indonesia, such as East Java. In Bali and some other islands dress codes and sexual morality have always been different from that of Islamized Java.

Nowadays Indonesian Muslim women are wearing the jilbab in large numbers. When I did my first fieldwork in Java, at the end of the 1970s, I hardly saw women wearing the full headscarf; now the streets are full of them and in Aceh for instance they are obligatory. This movement set in during the reign of President Suharto. Islamization occurred during this New Order period both as an expression of resistance to his dictatorial, secular, regime and, to counter this movement, stimulated by Muslim intellectuals around the President himself.

The anti-pornography bill has been the center of a major controversy. Artists, such as painters, and performers of traditional forms of puppet theatre and dance, as well as feminist lawyers and women and human rights activists have fiercely protested the attack on freedom of expression and the curtailing of women's autonomy that they fear will be the result of this law. At the moment of writing this chapter (end 2006) the debates are still raging on.

The contemporary political debate in Indonesia in which the anti-pornography and porno-action laws must be seen is that of a movement towards greater regional autonomy. President Habibbi, who in 1998 succeeded President Suharto, paved the way for this shift in policy. Several regions, eager to free themselves from the military, political and economic yoke of Jakarta, declared themselves autonomous in the following years. Noerdin and others (2005) who studied the gender effects of this process for ten different regions, note that the major consequences are an increased emphasis on women wearing a jilbab and the public separation of women and men. In some regions women are not allowed to go out at night without a male relative accompanying them. If they do they are classified as prostitutes and are liable to being arrested. In general women's morality is coming under attack, as is common in other projects of nationalist identity formation. Another serious concern in Indonesia

is that women's traditional rights are eroded, for instance their access to forest products, so their economic dependency on men is strengthened.

Paradoxically thus women are both seen to be the keepers of religion and tradition, but at the same time their traditional rights in both these systems are eroded. This is a similar move as happened under colonial rule, when the growing political colonial control was accompanied by increasing separation of the sexes as part of a racist policy of separating the colonial powers from the subjugated populations. In the present case a regional identity must be rediscovered. It is found to lie in women's behaviour, particularly their sexual conduct and dress. This revivalism of traditional customs vis à vis the unitary national state is built on misogyny, increasing heteronormativity and an amnesia regarding the power women used to have as guardians of adat, traditional custom (see for instance Carey and Houben 1987 and Tiwon 1996).

A concomitant effect is the increasingly patriarchal interpretation of Islam. Feminist readings, such as those by Fatima Mernissi (1975), Leila Ahmed (1992) and Riffat Hassan, are known in Indonesia but they are ignored by the male leaders of the major Islamic parties and of the Ulama Council. In general conservative Islam is growing more confident. Munti (2005) gives a striking example of this increasing influence, the case of the 'polygamy (read polygyny) award' by businessman Puspowardoyo. This was a direct slap in the face of the women's movement, a major part of which has been fighting against polygyny since the days of Kartini. Though they protested, the event took place and generated enormous publicity as well as wide support among conservative circles. The award cannot be disconnected to the growing controversy between Muslims and Christians in the country and the rising tide of resistance against what is seen as the West's attempt to humiliate Islam, both in Palestine and Iraq.

However, the women's movement had already been dealt a devastating blow a few decades earlier, in the 'creeping coup' of General Suharto, in late 1965 till mid 1966 (Wieringa 2002 and 2003). The campaign of sexual slander that brought him to power is one of the most wide ranging moral panics and waves of sexual hysteria in history. After a putsch of leftist colonels in which the six senior generals of the country were murdered at a nationalist training

site for socialist girls, in the night of 30 September and 1 October 1965, General Suharto was the only surviving general of his generation. Yet he was not promoted to chief of staff by President Sukarno. Enraged General Suharto oversaw the creation of a mass media campaign in which the girls were said to have seduced (with the help of the erotic 'Flower Dance'), castrated and murdered the generals. 'Proof' of these allegations appeared in the army press, as indicated above, based on 'testimonies' elicited after heavy torture, and a film shot in prison.¹⁸ Following this campaign the army trained and armed youth groups, mainly of the youth wing of the Muslim mass organization NU (Nahdlatul Ulama), Ansor, and of the Hindu nationalist right in Bali. The gangs murdered between 1 million (Amnesty) and 3 million (colonel Sarwo Edhie, the organizer of the campaign) socialist people (Wieringa 2002). Nobody was ever brought to trial for this genocide, the mass graves remain unopened.¹⁹

This campaign not only terrorized the Indonesian population into obedience, it also discredited the women's mass organization Gerwani (Gerakan Wanita Indonesia, Indonesian women's organization) and in general associated women's political agency with sexual depravity, including lesbianism. Indonesian women still have to fight that image. Since then the only 'good' woman is someone who obeys her husband, attends to his sexual needs, looks after his children and cooks his food.

Gone are the days when women were honoured for helping build the nation and shape its future. Now, in the Reformation era (after 1998, the fall of Suharto), women's organizations are still fighting that ideology, and one of the most difficult topics for them to address is sexual empowerment.

FABRICATING IDENTITIES

Above I sketched two imbricating processes that work towards fabricating gendered ethnic and national identities. In the first place the convenient amnesia of identities and sexual practices by postcolonial leaders in an effort to construct the nation as an 'always-already' patriarchal and heterosexual entity. And secondly the continuity of certain colonial policies and practices that denied women's power, and gender and sexual diversity. In this process critical modifications appeared. First of all the composition of the ruling elite changed. It were no longer white colonial men who dominated the scene, so that made race as a vehicle of differentiation less useful. Ethnicity might remain though. Both in Africa and in Indonesia certain ethnicities managed to get the upper hand. Instead wealth and power became the critical axes around which gender and sexual politics were played out. The fictional heroes in the political theatre changed colour but not tactics. During the protracted and bloody shift of power they might even use the same discourse and metaphors – usually that of a patriarchal, omnipotent father, who knows best for his subalterns (see also Clancy-Smith and Gouda 1998). These parental metaphors are used to this day. In Indonesia for instance, President Suharto used to call himself the 'Father of Development'. His communist adversaries had deployed the same terminology before him. The Party saw itself as the masculine head of the socialist family, while the women's organization was shoved into the role of the 'mother', albeit a 'militant motherhood' (Wieringa 2002 and 2003).²⁰ The Dutch had introduced education into wifehood as part of their 'Ethical Policy'; the New Order Indonesian elite only slightly modified the model and propagated it through the women's organizations they set up and/or controlled (Wieringa 2002; Suryakusuma 1996). The only disruptions in this transition were the war of independence (1945-9), in which many women joined the guerrilla, and the militant mothers of Gerwani. The potential power of the women liberation fighters was quickly

deflected into a reference to their motherly capacities as giving birth to the nation. It took a campaign of sexual slander and a genocide to wipe out the memory of Gerwani's subversive women.

If race and with it Christianity has lost some of its defining power in this discourse, Islam has gained importance. It is one of the major mechanisms of identity formation in the process of regional autonomy in Indonesia, as discussed above. In Southern Africa, with its large Christian populations Christianity remains playing a political role. In India communalism, the strife between the Hindu majority and the Muslim minority, has led to many bloody clashes.

Beside sexuality, for many people religion is one of the defining aspects of one's identity, the privileged, 'central' part of one's being. Religions have increasingly become major political factors, and in the misogynous and homophobic interpretation favoured by most religious and political leaders lead to widespread suffering. Both in my research in Jakarta and in the oral history project in Southern Africa the same-sex identified women interviewed often told about their pain that their lives were not accepted by the religions they adhered to. To them their spiritual and sexual inspirations were similarly located in their souls. It hurt them deeply to find that influential clerics and in their wake the population at large declared these two crucial aspects of their being as incompatible. In the Southern Africa oral history project only a few women managed to reconcile these aspects of themselves (Morgan and Wieringa 2005).

What other mechanisms fuel the production of these national/regional fictions or interact with them? As in any production of fantasy the choice of protagonist is vital. For instance, out of the possible female role models in Indonesia, which present day heroines are selected and how are they presented? As discussed above, Kartini's rebelliousness was tamed during the New Order and that hasn't changed much since then, although the women's movement has gotten stronger. Other possible heroines are either ignored, such as Sekar Kedhaton, sidelined or, as in Kartini's case, presented in their simpering, dependent forms. The warrior wife of Mahabharata hero prince Arjuna, princess Srikandhi for instance, a role model for Gerwani, is at present seldom portrayed in her autonomous form, but usually in association with her consort. In a move to reserve spiritual, ascetic power to men, the spiritual sides of another popular heroine of the Mahabharata cycle, princess Sumbadra, Srikandhi's

co-wife, are downplayed (see also Carey and Houben 1987 and Tiwon 1996). She has become increasingly popular, particular during the Suharto ear, portrayed as the ideal wife/mother figure, devout and meek (see also Wieringa 2002).

HUMAN, WOMEN'S AND SEXUAL RIGHTS

The major international and national political tools that are available to restore or enhance women's autonomy and sexual agency, is the human, women's and sexual rights discourse. Women's groups and GLBT organizations all over the world are learning to deploy this tool in ever more sophisticated ways. Most governments have happily ratified the major conventions, such as CEDAW (the 1976 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women) or signed the many other international consensus documents in which those rights are spelt out. However, They have been slower in turning these instruments into domestic laws and enforcing them.

In view of the widespread use that is made of them it is legitimate to ask how effective can they be and what are their limitations? Are they geared towards empowering all human beings, particularly those in disadvantaged situations, as its adherents claim? Upon closer scrutiny, the right discourse is characterized by several inherent ambiguities which complicate its usability for marginalized groups. In the first place it is mainly middle class women and men who have access to this discourse and who possess the technological (internet) and organizational skills to fight for their rights (see also Binnie 2004). Class bias not only operates at the material level but also at the very core or ontology of its propositions. Its protagonist is liberal, rational (wo)man, able to identify and fight for his/her rights and conforming to a particular identity based on the rights formulated within that discourse.

Paradoxically then, the very people whom the lesbian/gay human rights discourse aims to liberate may not always welcome that kind of intervention at all. And for good reasons. When I did my fieldwork in Jakarta among a working class community of b/f lesbians I realised that though they didn't speak of coming out they were in fact much more 'out' than many of the middle class activists. They were able to live, albeit marginal, lives with their partners, as a family and by conforming to a b/f model did not advertise the fact that it were two women who were partners (Wieringa 1999 and 2005). Many of the

middle class activists with whom I worked found it much harder to live openly with their partners. And, as Butler (1991) queried, didn't their 'coming out' actually mean a return to the closet? A self-imposed closet this time of political correctness? For initially they denounced the 'life style' of the working class lesbians as 'copying patriarchal patterns'. Apparently they had a hegemonic model in their heads to which all lesbians should conform (Wieringa 1999). However, copying outward signs of imitation may not pre-empt other forms of subversion. If it is true that oppression works at its deepest level via the invisibilisation of that which Butler called the 'abject', the b/f lesbians had defied that process, even without recourse to a rights discourse. They did exist, they did form households, a community even and it was clear first of all to themselves but also to their surroundings that they did so as two women. A similar process operates with Indonesia's male-bodied crossdressing waria or banci.²² In Southern Africa our research also uncovered comparable mechanisms, such as the mummy-baby relationships, or indeed the woman marriages mentioned above.

I suggest human and gay/lesbian right activists should be more tolerant of the diversity of the identities and practices of the people on behalf of whom they set up their campaigns and they should be more conscious of the regulatory imperative their work might entail. Fighting for rights within the narrow legal parameters of the rights discourse is not the same as imposing a hegemonic political identity on people with diverse desires, sexual practices, and cultural and religious backgrounds. Everybody needs the same rights, but not everybody shares the same desires and passions. At present rights discourse is in danger of operating too much as a hegemonizing force with strong teleological characteristics. As such it loses some of the effectiveness it potentially has. Some people may not want to conform to home-hetero dichotomies; others may like to adopt (and immediately subvert) various aspects of dominant femininities or masculinities. Providing a cultural and historical context to people living marginal lives seems to be one way of strengthening their self-esteem and of opening up the rights discourse.

POLICIES AND PRACTICES TO ADDRESS POSTCOLONIAL AMNESIA

How to make a dent into the continuing invisibilisation of non-hegemonic sexualities, which is enacted through both ignoring their historical presence and emphasizing repressive policies and practices started by the colonial regime? I will give two examples from my own research and policy oriented work that are intended to do that. They are both oral history projects, one in Jakarta and the other one in Southern Africa. The first project was carried out with the help of staff from the KPI (Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia, Indonesian Women's Coalition); the second one was initiated and implemented together with Ruth Morgan from the Johannesburg-based Gay and Lesbian Archives (GALA). In the first project I held the interviews myself, in the second project Ruth and I trained nine researchers who all held interviews in their own countries and communities.

Both projects were designed to get to know the daily lives of female-bodied persons in same sex relations, to establish their presence politically ("we also want to share in the building of a new democratic Indonesia, as one of my Jakartan interviewees said) and to give their lives a historical, cultural and religious context. The background of both projects was that the women live lives of secrecy, which, though it may afford some of them (particularly in Indonesia and South Africa) some freedoms, ultimately also circumscribes those freedoms.

I maintain that historical research is relevant; the memories of past non-heteronormative practices and relations can remind ourselves that the present is just the most recent form of history, and that its particular way of regulating sexuality and in general surveying social and political norms serves the interests of particular groups. It definitely demonstrates that same sex practices and relations are not a recent or un-African or un-Asian phenomenon and may thus help to prevent the panics described here. Historical research should not

serve to construct a romanticised past that should be emulated. But finding traces of women's same sex relations, however differently lived than at present, can also be stimulating to the participants in such a research project themselves; it can give them the kind of affirmation they are looking for in vain in their present context. In Jakarta for instance I went with a group of butch-femme lesbians to the National Museum, to show them statues of proud Durga's, of sexually assertive goddesses such as Parvati, and of the Ardhanary figure, half male half female, which connotes a superior spiritual consciousness and (for instance in the figure of Ken Dhedhes) an awe-inspiring sexuality.²³ They all liked the Durga's, the femmes were happy with Parvati, as they felt that the free way in which the extremely feminine goddess expressed her sexual desire vindicated their own sexual initiatives (frowned upon in a society which imposes modesty on women) and the butches were delighted with Ardhanary ("that's me!" one exclaimed). In October 2005 this group formed a new lesbian organization, called Ardhanary, which will cooperate with the KPI to fight for lesbian rights. Similarly the researchers in the GALA project were delighted to learn of the various historical forms women's same sex relations were lived in some African countries. They related to these 'foremothers' and were stimulated to find out more. After this research project they have set up the Coalition of African Lesbians (CAL). One of the planned activities of CAL is another research project, incorporating more countries than the first project did.

CONCLUSION

Postcolonial leaders suffer from an amnesia on the existence of particular forms of non-heteronormative practices and relations. This amnesia is partly based on moral panics created by the earlier colonial regimes. To a certain extent these moral panics are also created and maintained by these leaders themselves. Glaring examples are General Suharto and president Mugabe. Researchers, activists and policymakers should collaborate to expose these moral panics for what they are, instruments in the service of particular power constellations and to fight for gender, racial, and sexual justice and equality. However, the human/women/s gay/lesbian rights discourse in its present form has certain limitations which may hamper its effectiveness.

Historical research into various forms of non-hegemonic sexualities can widen up the rights discourse. It may incorporate people with a broad range of identities, and with different desires and practices. It should also dispel the myth that homosexuality is 'un-African' or 'un-Asian'. It might even disrupt western arrogance as the keepers of a tradition of rights. My country for instance, The Netherlands, prides itself on its adherence to human right and paints Islam as a barbaric force incapable of such tolerance. Its leaders suffer from acute amnesia as well, in this case on the country's colonial past with its racial arrogance, its intolerance and oppression. If Holland is tolerant now, it once stifled traditional women's rights in its own colony and exported its virulent homophobia to other continents.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ This chapter was originally presented as the opening address of the IASSCS Vth International Conference 'Sexual Rights and Moral Panics' San Francisco State University June 21-24 2005.
- ² See for instance the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary.
- ³ In the case of Indonesia a film was shot of naked girls huddled together in prison. This was then portrayed as 'proof' the girls had raped and castrated generals approximately one month earlier.
- ⁴ 'We haven't fought for an independent Namibia that gives criminals, gays and lesbians the right to do bad things,' Nujoma fulminated in 2004 (NRC04/04). Earlier President Mugabe had famously said that gays and lesbians were 'worse than dogs and pigs', see Aarmo 1999). It comes as no surprise that the IGLHRC (International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission) 2003 report "More than a Name: State-sponsored Homophobia and its Consequences in Southern Africa" lists many incidences of police harassment and community violence against gays and lesbians.
- ⁵ Though England and Holland share a similar history of colonization, and 'apartheid' is a Dutch term, the pre-1825 and even post-1830 Dutch East Indies society was much more tolerant of hybridization than the British colonial empire. Eurasian women and their offspring could rise to important positions in Batavia (Taylor 1992 Gouda 1995). In British India Eurasians were practically barred from all social spaces (see Sinha and Burton. William Dalrymple in his novel the White Mughals (2002) brilliantly evokes the effects of this sudden shift in British policy from a trade-based relation, in which Indian traditions were respected, to imperial control, in which British arrogance insisted on racial purity. The early British so-called 'White Mughals', administrators who to such an extent adopted Indian ways, whether Hindu or Muslim, that they spoke the various languages fluently, were able to exchange views and ideas with the local rulers on a more or less equal footing and honoured their own Indian wives, were deliberately undermined by the beginning of the 18th century. They were replaced by arrogant English colonial servants, who maintained a great distance from the Indian people, didn't speak any other language than English (or French) and married English or other European wives. In this way colonial rule became racialized and multicultural relations were frowned upon (Dalrymple 2002). The book is based on the life of a high class Indian lady, and very well researched. In fact Penguin lists it under its 'history' series.
- ⁶ See for instance "Adinda, Vrouwen Lief en Leed onder de Tropen" by Therese Hoven (1892). See also Pattynama 1998 and Gouda 1998. The famous Indonesian writer Pramoedya Ananta Toer created the formidable Nyai

- Ontosoroh, who lost the fight for the rights of her daughter, to the son of her partner's white wife. She is the female protagonist in his novel 'This Earth of Mankind' (Penguin 1982).
- 7 Raden Adjeng Kartini, who died in childbirth in 1904, wrote a series of brilliant letters to Dutch feminist friends, in which she critiqued colonial policy as well as Javanese court culture, polygyny and patriarchal religion. The New Order is the period in which President Suharto ruled (1966 – 1998). Her letters were published posthumously and received wide international attention. A selection was translated into English in 1920 (as Letters of a Javanese Princess). See Coté 1995 and Wieringa 2002 for a discussion of the reception of her letters.
 - 8 For instance painting Sumbadra, one of Arjuna's wives, as a whimpering coward, ignoring her ascetic and spiritual powers, or the neglect of powerful mythical goddesses such as Durga and the warrior wife of Arjuna, Srikandhi (see for instance Carey and Houben 1987, Tiwon 1996). Arjuna is one the Korawa, from the Hindu epic of the Mahabharata. It would also be interesting to trace the various versions of the awesome mythical figure of Ken Dhedes, with her fire-spewing vagina, but there is hardly any literature available on her in a western language. With her husband Ken Arok she is the founder of the East Javanese Hindu realm of Singosari.
 - 9 Jakarta Post 2 November 2005.
 - 10 The perpetrators of these and similar crimes in Indonesia, such as those in Ambon, are hardly ever captured. It is whispered that powerful factions in the armed forces are involved, along side with Jihadist Muslim groups, such as the Jema'ah Islamiyah. Only after the bombings in Bali, 2002, when it could be denied no longer that hardline Muslim groups were also active in Indonesia, have some perpetrators be brought to trial.
 - 11 Epprecht (2004) imputes the decline of such homo-erotic practices initially to the migration of Bantu-speaking groups into the region, who, though their sedentary economy, were more concerned with fertility and heterosexuality than the San who preceded them, who were a society of gatherers and hunters.
 - 12 Kirby describes the ekola as a 'ritual musical instrument of considerable antiquity', the 'use of which has, in spite of the march of civilization lingered on to the present time' (1941:350).
 - 13 After an appearance on television in 2004 of the coordinator of 'the sexual minorities group of the Indonesian KPI (Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia, Coalition of Indonesian Women) which deals with sexual minorities, the organization received hate mail, stating that it was 'allowed according to Islam to drink their blood'.
 - 14 The Mahabharata is one of the great Hindu epics, the other being the Ramayana, which are very popular in Indonesia. The Mahabharata tells the story of the struggle between the five Pandawa brothers and their numerous Kurawa cousins. Bhima is the strongest Pandava, renowned for his courage. Arjuna is the most ascetic and revered Pandava brother. He is known for his inner strength and sexual prowess.

- ¹⁵ See the Jakarta Post March 29 2005. The information on Madura was communicated to me personally by Nursyahbani Katjasungkana. Around the same time however a similar panic in Delhi arose around a series of violent rapes. Female students were advised 'to replace skimpy dresses with the more modest folds of a salwar-kameez trouser suit'. The motto was clear: 'no thigh flesh, no cleavage and certainly no belly buttons' (The International Herald Tribune June 16 2005). Men's violent behaviour was thus reduced to concern over women's clothes, ignoring the fact that traditionally worn sarrees expose much more bare flesh than modern western clothing.
- ¹⁶ See Gabriel for a study of sexuality, violence and nationalism in mainstream Bombay cinema
- ¹⁷ Dangdut is an extremely popular mix of traditional Indonesian music, with elements of pop and Hindu music.
- ¹⁸ The girls were arrested and released again several times, until they were definitely detained by the end of October 1965. Around that time they were forced to undress in prison. These shots were later used to 'prove' that naked girls had seduced the generals a month earlier. Watching this propaganda film was obligatory for school children.
- ¹⁹ A few years ago a few graves in East Java were opened by relatives of the victims. However the state has never made any attempt to locate and open the mass graves systematically. As many bodies were thrown in the rivers the exact number of those slaughtered will probably never be known.
- ²⁰ After the putsch Suharto branded them as 'whores', the other model available for women in the binary framework Indonesia inherited from colonial days. He portrayed himself as the defender of 'good Indonesian mothers' and thus capable of restoring social stability – as that rests upon domesticating women. (see Gouda (1998 for an analysis of this model before the Japanese occupation). In both cases, as wife/mother or as whore, women are portrayed in relation to a dominant male sexuality. Kathrak (1992) demonstrated that even Gandhi, for all his emphasis on passive ways of resistance, also located 'female sexuality as legitimately embodies only in marriage, wifehood, motherhood and domesticity...' (Kathrak 1992:396).
- ²¹ Many refused the use of the word 'life style'. They said it was no matter of choice, of a style one might give up for something else on the spur of the moment.
- ²² Waria comes from the words wanita (woman) and pria (man). Their identities have been recognized to such an extent that in Surabaya they are even issued identity cards using that term.
- ²³ Durga is the Hindu goddess who combines female and male powers to slay a demon that the male gods on their own could not defeat. Parvati is the consort of Shiva who initially the sexually most active partner of the two. Ken Dhedhes is the legendary East Javanese queen of the Singosari realm. She is said to be extraordinarily attractive and sexually potent. The Jakarta Museum has a statue of hers which is labeled the Indonesian Mona Lisa.

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