

**SEXUAL SUBJECTIVITIES OF YOUNG EXECUTIVE GAY MEN
IN JAKARTA, INDONESIA**

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Thesis
Entitled

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IN JAKARTA, INDONESIA**

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**SEXUAL SUBJECTIVITIES OF YOUNG EXECUTIVE GAY MEN IN
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THESIS ADVISORS: PIMPAWUN BOONMONGKON, Ph. D,
SUCHEELA TANCHAINAN, M.A., SAWACON PERAPUN, M.S. (Honours)**ABSTRACT**

This research was intended to describe the fluidity of sexual subjectivities of young executive gay men in Jakarta, Indonesia, in the context of their everyday lives; to explain sexual practices of young executive gay men; to explain the sexual health needs and problems that they encounter in their everyday lives; and to explain the contextual factors which influence sexual fluidity, their sexual health needs and problems.

This qualitative research design uses a narrative approach, postmodern feminist standpoint's, and discourse analysis to explore the experiences of Indonesian gay men and how their perception of their homosexuality influence their sexual subjectivities and sexual health. Five single young executive gay men representing top, middle and lower executives, who had worked at least one year in the private sectors, took part in this study. The purposive selection of research partners was done using the snowball technique, and interviews were conducted many times with each participant (3-4 times / 1 participant). Secondary data was used to expand the data to get literature and information about institutionalized socialization on gender / sexuality and family and marital law.

The findings of this research are divided to five major themes: sexual subjectivity, fluidity of sexuality, time and space, sexual health needs, and contextual factors. For each theme, the researcher found various and unrepeated experiences among the participants. The way in which they perceived and accepted their sexual orientation in the society, which still thinks of homosexuality as a social evil, lead them to behave in an office environment, being professional with no love involvement. Being gay was a part of their pride which lead to how they do "body project" to fulfill their sexual subjectivity in the era of metrosexual phenomenon. Sexual meanings and desire are not for sex per se, but there are feelings involved that encourage them to distinguish between sex and love. This situation in which leads the decision about practicing safe sex with their partners. The concept of time and space that we can see from the way they present sexual acts in which very fluid among them, such as from heterosexual to homosexual or from private place to public space, or even the fulfill of desire in *rumah kucing* (gay brothels). The contextual factors were sharpened as highlighted in this research about the new regulations in Palembang, South Sumatera, and Indonesia, which regards homosexuality as a part of prostitution activities and has criminalized it.

Finally, recommendations have been made on sexual rights, sexual health education and further research on sexuality in Indonesia.

**KEY WORDS: DISCOURSES ANALYSIS/ SEXUAL SUBJECTIVITIES/
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85 pp.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background Information and Justification

According to Country Progress Report 2006 Indonesia on the follow up to the Declaration of Commitment on HIV/AIDS, Indonesia was in early epidemic of HIV/AIDS, which is concentrated within high-risk population particularly IDUs and sex-workers. Meanwhile it highlights that forty three percent (43%) homosexual men with the low status of knowledge about prevent the spread of disease and put this group in vulnerable group. In this report, it showed the estimate size of gay/MSM population is 1.9% from whole Indonesian population (UNAIDS, 2006). It means that from 200 million of population, there are 3.8 million people who are gay/MSM.

Dédé Oetomo, an activist and leader of the modern gay community in Java, who works much on gay rights, mentions in his article “Claiming gays’ persons sexual rights in Indonesia” that published in Sexual Health Exchange in 2001, homosexual acts are common throughout Indonesian history and have a place in modern Indonesian society as well. Homosexuality is not illegal matter since there is no law that mention of it. However, homosexual identity particularly gay is not much accepted as much as *waria* (man-woman) or transgender since the medical discourse of high-risk group of HIV/AIDS let the paranoia syndrome of homosexual acts as the predisposition cause of spreading the disease. This discourse leads the open form of social repression against this group. *Waria* is more accepted because our society always considers them as weaker group and it has been rooted for many years in Indonesian culture. In this case, society never considers their behavior as threatened to the community because of their wishy-washy attitude.

Another expression that we can find from gays life and problem that they have to encounter is homophobia in Indonesia. Tom Boellstorff, who concerns with gay rights in Indonesia and held on many research about it, explains in his article “The Emergence of Political Homophobia in Indonesia: masculinity and national belonging” in 2004, about the series of violent acts against Indonesian gays. He brings the fact that heterosexism as predominance over homophobia and the belief of other country that Indonesia accepts homosexual life is false. The Kaliurang tragedy on November 11, 2000, is the example case of violence against what Islamic Youth Group mentions of gays as non-normative men. However, this action is not representing Islam as specific religious action but represent the shame ness of the nation on the existence of homosexual population with the dominant ideology of the heterosexual choice. Homophobia was considered as a link with the Western ideology which are threatening and embarrassing the whole society. This is another ideology that has been rooted many years in society mind-set.

Nevertheless, social repression that gay men suffer actually not only from society, but the most social pressures is from their own family. There is a big pressure to get married as the symbol of happy family that includes father, mother, and children. In this case, a heterosexual marriage leads many gay men and their spouses suffer in the rest of their life. It leads many gay men to live in two different worlds, as both heterosexual and homosexual.

Since the homosexuality in most societies is concerned as a social illness, morally evil (Boellstorff, 2005a), deviants, people who should “get pure”, “find a shrink”, and “pray more” (Oetomo, 2001), so more insulting pronouncements that gay men should suffer from the media that threat them as an object to increase their numbers of circulation (magazines and newspapers). Thus, the silence of incommensurability becomes discrimination for them.

As a result of these repressions, the first gay organization was set up in 1982 named *Lamda Indonesia* (and it is the first in Asia as well), in response particularly the increasing of gay men discourse in the press. But the movement is

more wider since *Gaya Nusantara* established in 1987, as an organization that provides services to gay men such as sexual health education, counseling (hotline services), a monthly magazine named G (represent initial letter of gay), and correspondence by e-mail and letters. It leads a lot of similar organizations established through the year and represents each province. In Jakarta, the place that I will do my research, we have *Gaya Betawi* and *Yayasan Pelangi Kasih Nusantara*, two of NGO that works a lot for gay people.

Even though many organizations already established, the Indonesian state and religious institutions pretend that they do not exist (Oetomo, 1999b). The fact that gay men are still hidden within society leads many difficulties to express their sexual subjectivity. Many of them have to hide their real sexual orientation and live like heterosexual men but find their own space and opportunity if available to them to express and fulfill their sexuality, by living in 2 worlds, heterosexual men and homosexual ones. As a result of keep hiding, it leads them get difficulties to get partners and unable to express their own sexuality or just to live among the society, which is basic human right. Moreover, they are lack of access to health care and health education which put them at risk and poor health and live in fear of condemn.

Since I have experience to face and interact with gay men in Jakarta, it encourages me to study about their life particularly executive gay. I really sympathy with how they try to exist within society with suffering many suppression and I want to bring their voice and empower them.

Referring to my aims to doing this study, I want to emphasize particularly their sexual subjectivities and what the influences to their sexual health problems. The reasons why so important to study about their sexual subjectivities are because I want to show to the reader how gay men express their gender and sexual identity but should keep hidden, even though they have rights to achieve well being health status as men, still they have to face double discrimination and their life becomes miserable. For me that is unfair because they like us, human beings.

1.2 Objectives

This research intends to describe fluidity of sexual subjectivities of young executive gay men under the context of their everyday lives, to explain sexual practices of young executive gay men, to explain sexual health needs and problems that they encounter in their everyday lives, to describe strategies they use to solve their sexual health problems, and to explain contextual factors which influence sexual fluidity, their sexual health needs and problems as well as their strategies to solve their sexual health problems

1.3 Research Questions

- What does it mean for being a gay in terms of sexual subjectivity, gender and sexual identity?
- How do the sexual subjectivity, gender and sexual identity change along with space-time specific encounters?
- How does the fluidity of sexual subjectivity influence type and form of sexual practices and partners within the context of different places and time?
- What are sexual health needs & problems that they encounter in their everyday lives?
- What are contextual factors which influence sexual fluidity, their sexual health needs and problems?

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Sexual Subjectivities

Foucault (Danaher, 2000, glossary) defines subjectivity is “The term derived from psychoanalytic theory to describe and explain identity, or the self. It replaces the commonsense notion that our identity is the product of our conscious, self-governing self and, instead, presents individual identity as the product of discourses, ideologies and institutional practices”. According to this definition, subjectivity is a part of a person’s identity. It is a result from recognizing what ever inside of a person which have been influenced by environment where this people growth up or living.

On the other hand, Weedon (Weedon, 1997, p.32, cited in Thaweedit, 2005) has different explanation about it, which is “Subjectivity is precarious, contradictory and in process, constantly being reconstituted in discourse in everyday life”. It is conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions of the individual, her sense of herself and her ways of understanding her relation to the world”. Thus, subjectivity is a part of the way a person thinks about himself/herself which include the process to bring his/her existence within society.

From those definitions, we can describe that subjectivity is actually the way someone or a person thinks, expresses, and views about something which brings his/her internalization and not relies on others.

Ussher (2000, p183) describes the sexual subjectivities with “Desire and sexuality are central to women’s subjectivity”. Meanwhile, according to Queer theory, sexual subjectivity refers to “Constructed and contained by multiple practices

of categorization and regulation, and all categories of sexuality, including heterosexuality, contained within them varying degrees and multiple sites of power” (Cohen 1997, p.439, cited in Gamson, 2004, p.52).

Different with Foucault, he defines sexual subjectivity is “based on the body”, in which he says that “The discourses and technologies on sex produce categories of sexual practices and sexual identity by which we are marked as particular kinds of subjects. They shape the type of life we can expect to live, and the various relationships in which we will engage” (Danaher, 2000, p134).

Based on my understanding from those definitions, I try to make a clear line for myself about sexual subjectivity. Sexual subjectivity refers to the way we put ourselves within society based on our understanding and perceive the sexuality matters and influence to how we make people know us as a person with certain gender and sexual identity and performance.

2.2 Sexual Meanings, Sexual Drives and Enjoyment, and Sexual Identity as Elements of Sexual Subjectivities

2.2.1 Sexual meanings

Sexual meanings for Dixon-Mueller refer to “The nature of the body, considered erotic or offensive, and what and with whom it is appropriate or inappropriate for men & women to do or to talk about sexually” (Mueller, 1993, p144). It means that sexuality is like a topic that everybody actually can discuss openly but because of certain culture not allow us to do that.

Meanwhile Nagel (2003) demonstrates the core of Queer theory, “intersectionality”, to define sexual meanings with “how definitions of ethnicity, race, and nation are constructed in part through processes of sexualization and sexual definition—‘ethnoseexualization” (Nagel 2003, pp 91-139, cited in Gamson, 2004,

p54). Thus, the various forms within one community shape public interpretation and built an ideology with the different language for each society about sexuality.

2.2.2 Sexual drives and enjoyment

According to Dixon-Mueller, sexual drives and enjoyment are “Women’s and men’s knowledge of the body’s sexual and reproductive capacities and the ability to obtain physical and emotional pleasure from fantasy, sexual encounters, or self-stimulation” (Dixon-Mueller, 1993, p145). In my understanding, they reflects to persons experiences about sexuality particularly how to act and perform in the purpose to get satisfaction, as individual or with partner. She divided sexual drives and enjoyment into three parts which are formation of sexual identities, socially conditioned sex drives, and perception of pleasure.

2.2.3 Sexual Identity

Herd and Boxer emphasized sexual identity as “including modes of sexual being, which encompass such matters as erotic desire, sexual orientation, sexual object choice, and sexual drive; and sexual acts, which includes such phenomena as erotic practices and tastes, sexual sequences of behavior, and sexual lifestyles” (Herd, 1995, p72). In this case, how person prefer to be who he/she is in the context of sexuality. It leads the existing need of sex depends on person’s objectives.

Shively and DeCecco explained that sexual identity is shaped by four components: “biological sex, gender identity, social sex-role, and sexual orientation” (Shively and DeCecco, 1993, cited in Santos and Munez, 2002, p293). Thus, it is holistic include the physical and psychological that work together to perform a person different with others.

We can find another definition about it as “the identification of how a person thinks of oneself in terms of attraction to the same sex or members of the other sex based on one’s own experiences, thoughts, & reactions, rather than on the

gender or sex of the sexual partner (s)” (A glossary of terms in Gender & Sexuality, p29).

Referring to those definitions, in my opinion, sexual identity is who we are in the terms of sexuality that leads us to choose and prefer what type of sexual acts and partners that suitable with our need.

2.3 Sexual Health

“Sexual health is women’s and men’s ability to enjoy and express their sexuality, and to do so free from risk of sexually transmitted diseases, unwanted pregnancy, coercion, violence and discrimination. Sexual health also means being able to have an informed enjoyable and safe sex life, based on self-esteem, a positive approach to human sexuality, and mutual respect in sexual relations. Sexual health enhances life, personal relations and the expression of one’s sexual identity. It is positively enriching, includes pleasure, and enhances self-determination, communication and relationships” (HERA Statement cited on Tarshi, 2001). According to this statement, in my understanding, we have equal rights to get well being in sexual health, no matter who we are, heterosexual or homosexual. Even though this statement still using binary of gender, women and men, and not emphasize about other gender such as transgender, but in my opinion it already represents what people needs as human beings in the sense of fulfill their sexual needs.

2.4 Sexual Act or Sexual Practices

It refers to activities related to sexual expression that are performed habitually or repeatedly (A glossary of terms in Gender & Sexuality, 2005, p30). In here we can find “different styles of intercourse” (Dixon-Mueller, 1993, p142), not only vaginal-penile, but includes oral or anal intercourse, penetrator or being

penetrated, nonpenetrative forms such as masturbation, sex with animals, sex with children, coercive sex such as rape, sex with using sex toys, safe or unsafe sex, and others form of sex.

2.5 Sexual Partnership

According to Dixon-Mueller (1993, p140), sexual partnership is “partners are chosen and changed” in the way people do sexual relationship. It includes number (individual or group sex), current and past, timing and duration of sexual partnership (for example one night stand, a month, a year, etc), the identity of partners (background, casual or long-term relationship, permanent couple), the condition of choice (just knowing, know each other for long time), and the rate and conditions of change of partners (every night, every week, etc).

2.6 Sexual Orientation

“Sexual orientation refers to whom someone is sexually attracted to” (A glossary of terms in Gender & Sexuality, 2005, p29). In my understanding, sexual orientation is from which sex that we get attraction erotically, in this case heterosexual, homosexual, or bisexual. Queer theory has argued that sexual orientation is completely historical and social construction as well. Foucault explains example of sexual orientation with arguing that homosexuality as a concept did not exist as such in the 18th century; that people instead spoke of sodomy (which involved specific sexual act regardless of the sex of the actors) as a crime that was often ignored but sometimes punished severely (Danaher, 2000, p137). He further argued that it was in the 19th century that homosexuality came into existence as practitioners of emerging sciences and arts sought to classify and analyze different forms of sexuality. Finally, Foucault argues that it was this emerging discourse that allowed some to claim that homosexuality as a human identity.

2.7 Sexuality and Gender as Social Products

2.7.1 Sexuality from the Indonesian cultural

Foucault defines sexuality in the context of both agency and structure which “Sexuality is an ‘individual matter’—involving our personal desires, fantasies, pleasures—and also a matter of discourse and governmentality” (Danaher, 2000, p135). Although sexuality is social construct but the experience to perform depends on a person’s experience. Or in the other word, sexuality is many time your own business.

Meanwhile, Tarshi emphasized the meaning of sexuality wider with “Sexuality encompasses personal and social meanings as well as sexual behavior and biology. A comprehensive view of sexuality includes social roles, personality, gender and sexual identity, biology, sexual behavior, relationships, thoughts and feelings. The expressions of sexuality are influenced by various factors including social, ethical, economic, spiritual, cultural, and moral concerns” (Tarshi, 2001). Thus, she point of views that sexuality is not only talk within agency but also institutions that influence much in our lives. Sexuality is a matter of comprehensive point of views and guided by both people’s own agency as well as the social structure in which their live in.

Castoriades makes his point clear that the meaning of sexuality is fluid and dynamic with “Sexuality varies not merely as culturally inscribed meanings change, but also when change occurs in what might be termed the psychological architecture of the individual” (Castoriades 1987; Elias 1978; cited on Simon 1996, p71).

Sexuality or *seksualitas* in local terms is still taboo topic and still looked as set for reproduction. In this case sex for procreation, not for pleasure. It is the dominant discourse that prohibits people to know about sex as “abnormal, unhealthy, illegal or criminal” with followed by the wrong idea of “the dangers of sex” (Holzner, 2004, p41).

According to Bouhdiba in his book “Sexuality in Islam”, he emphasizes that “Anything that violates the order of the world is a grave “disorder”, a source of evil and anarchy. That is why zina (adultery) arouses such strong, unanimous condemnation...It recognizes the harmonious complementarity of the sexes and its error lies in wishing to realize it outside the limits laid down by GOD” (Bouhdiba 1998, p30-31, cited in Boellstorff, 2005a, p576). For him and most Indonesians, talk about sex means only form of heterosexuality is accepted.

2.7.2 Contextual factors of Indonesian homosexuality

2.7.2.1 Institutionalized socialization on gender / sexuality: family, school, media, workplace, religion, and state

I will explain this part with using the map of reproductive health by Cottingham and Myntti (2002, p90), particularly in level two. In this level, both of them emphasize the fourth elements that influence sexual and reproductive health which are norms and taboos around sexuality, expectations surrounding personal relationship, values, and information: ideas and facts. I will elaborate more with the example from my country, Indonesia.

Indonesia, have five official religions which are Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Buddhism, and Hinduism. However, since nearly ninety percent of Indonesians are Muslim, thus Islamic doctrine shapes national popular culture, “social relations, law, and governance” (Boellstorff, 2005a, p577). From this religion, homosexuality is rejected since the public Islamic discourse point out the homosexuality as “Clearly a social illness, amorally evil trend that must be eliminated, not a human right to be protected as (Western) gays now claim” (Boellstorff, 2005a, p576). Thus, Indonesian men only identified by this discourse that only heterosexually accepted.

Because of this religion discourse, the most problem that gay men face is rejected by family. Since “heterosexism” becomes an ideal figure, the suppression to be married and have a family puts gay men in the dilemma (Oetomo,

1999a). Thus, they will try to avoid with going out from family and live alone, or finally live within heterosexual marriages although these against they will.

It is influence also in school life because of the curriculum puts religion course as a major course. Since people in elementary school, they only know that sex is only two, male and female, and when in senior high school, this course more expand with explaining of sexual education that use heterosexual as normative and acceptable.

Actually there is no discrimination in job, so gay men still can get jobs. "Most of Indonesians gay are working class" (Boellstorff, 2005a, p577), that they work in office (as employee) or work in personal sectors such as artist, hair stylist, entertainment sectors, etc. This was his limitation in research because he took the research participants only from working class in two big cities, and not expanded with gay from executive community. Even though there is no discrimination in job, but they get suppression from society since they get known as gay men. They become a center of issue and gossip among other employees or they more famous with gay men identity rather than their result of work.

For explaining about state, I will explain more and put in specific part as follow as bellows.

2.7.2.2 Family and marital law

According to Oetomo, "The Indonesian state has become obsessed with the happy family: mummy, daddy and two kids - *ya, dua saja!* ('just two!')" (Oetomo, 1999b). Thus, once again there is no place for homosexual or even homosexual married. This statement was strongly proved by the research of Indonesian family planning by Leslie Dwyer. In her study, she emphasize "Although family planning discourse focuses on women's sexuality, it shapes notions of "proper masculinity" as well, so that 'to make sense as a man in Indonesia' one must get married and function effectively as a dutiful husband and provider" (Dwyer, 2000, p27, cited in Boellstorff, 2005a, p577). Thus, like Boellstorff said "Religion, nation,

and gender–sexuality, thus, represent three points in a triangle that posits the heteronormative nuclear family household as the foundational unit of nation, piety, and proper citizen selfhood” (Boellstorff, 2005a, p577) , we can make underline that to be a good Indonesian citizen should be heterosexual.

An example of good citizen is having Identity Card (*Kartu Tanda Penduduk*) which approved religion and marries within their faith. Thus “the state links publicly recognized religion to national belonging (Bowen 2003:178–185, 246–252, cited in Boellstorff, 2005a, p577).

2.7.2.3 Gay sex subculture as life style

Since homosexual life is not accepted by Indonesian culture, so difficult for gay men to show their real identity. They should keep hiding their sexual identity, and it influences to the way they live everyday, particularly to have friends. It shape a new form such group for hanging around that we can find in malls, cafés, bars, massage parlor for men, gymnastic rooms and sport clubs. Certain places become the place for meeting and sharing among them. Adopt from Danny Yatim article “A small gay scene exists in the country with bars and clubs in Jakarta, Surabaya, Jogjakarta and other larger cities as well as on the tourist island of Bali. You will also find that some gays congregate in the juice bars in the fancier malls of the larger cities” (Yatim, 1993). Nowadays, gay men particularly in Jakarta, really impressed to have good shape, thus, healthy and fitness become symbols of them. That is why we can find them most in gymnastic rooms.

2.7.2.4 Gay movement

Gay movement has done their work as an answer to the suppression by media that really use them as an object to make an interesting story, that mislead public opinion about the existence of gay.

It was begin with the formed of first gay organization in Solo, Central Java, in 1982, named *Lambda Indonesia*, which has been known as the first gay organization in Asia (Yatim, 1993).

In the early 1990's LGBT organizations spread throughout Indonesia and the first Indonesian Lesbian and Gay Congress was held in Yogyakarta in 1993. After that, have two big events about Indonesian gay, which are the first Gay Pride celebration was held in Surabaya, West Java, in June 1999, and Gay Independence Day in the same place in 2004. For the last event, Boellstorff describes as “*gay* men try to bring together what they call “the *gay* world” and “the *normal* world.” And in this intersection, this failed intersection; they articulate the idea that their lives are “double” (Boellstorff, 2005b, p13).

Nowadays, the gay movement in Indonesia focuses more on counseling, empowerment, and developing a positive gay identity within the Indonesian social environment. Since male sexual health programmes did not have priority, it leads NGOs which work for gay to build alliances with pro-democracy, human rights and feminist organizations because of government programmes marginalized them due to strong heterosexism and homophobia in government circles. For example *Gaya Nusantara*, worked as a partner within the Aksi Stop AIDS (AIDS stop actions), sponsored by Family Health International and the Indonesian Department of Health and Social Welfare. This organization made a contribution with starting sexual health clinic which also provide psychosocial counseling and human rights and legal education as well. Since June 1999 (Oetomo, 1999a), activities in national politic agenda started which Indonesian gay and lesbian voted Democratic People’s Party as a media for bringing their voice and put delegates in National Assembly, which focuses on issues of legal reform and work within trade unions, and also fight for gay human and sexual rights.

2.7.3 Gender and Gender Relations

Gender is a social construct that refers to a concept of men and women not from the anatomical appearances but from the social and cultural meanings, being a man with man’s role and responsibilities, and being a woman vice versa. It is a matter of understanding the meaning of “male” and “female” as social practices.

Jane Flax in Nicholson (1990) explained a new term of “gender relations” which is “a category meant to capture a complex set of social processes. Gender relations are complex and unstable processes constituted by and through interrelated parts” (Nicholson, 1990, p45). Terms of dichotomy being a man and a woman are created as type of persons within gender relations.

Dunne (2003, p59), emphasized the connection between sexuality and gender which sometimes overlapping but have power to influence each other. Thus, we cannot talk about sexuality without bringing the meanings of gender. Even though feminist theory try to separate it, in practice of denaturalization of the sex which create the categories of the sexual is based on “object choice”—refers to and without exception to gender (Simon, 1996, p34).

Since my research topic is related to sexual subjectivity, so I would like to explain more focus in gender identity and gender role as followed as below.

Gender identity refers to “an individual’s self awareness or fundamental sense of themselves as being masculine or feminine, and male or female” (A glossary of terms in Gender & Sexuality, p7). Gender identity is “the sameness, the unity, and persistence of one’s individuality as a male, female, or ambivalent, in great or lesser degree, especially as it is experienced in self-awareness and behavior” (Money, 1985, cited in Simon, 1996, p32). Thus, gender identity is like your identity as a person generally but it brings the social meaning about which you are related to which category you belong to.

Gender role is “everything that a person says and does to indicate to others or to the self the degree that one is either male or female, or ambivalent” (Money, 1985, cited in Simon, 1996, p32). Gender roles are “the socially determined behaviors, tasks and responsibilities for men and women based on socially perceived differences that defines how they should think, act, and feel based on their respective sex” (A glossary of terms in Gender & Sexuality, p8). Different with gender identity, gender role is how person live in the society with using standards that construct

within society to be appropriate with your category, for example men should be masculine and female should be feminine with followed by certain attitudes that fit with.

Simon makes a clear connection between them that “gender identity is the private experience of gender role, and gender role is public manifestation of gender identity” (Simon, 1996, p32). Thus, only you a person can internalize and externalize those genders.

Since I choose my research partners from gay men community, so we cannot forget the concepts of masculinity and femininity while we talk about gay because we know there are gay king and gay queen, and also masculine gay and feminine gay.

Masculinity refers to “the set of expectations about how men should behave, think and appear in a given culture” (A glossary of terms in Gender & Sexuality, p10). Gilmore (1990) introduced this concept with “A culturally imposed ideal to which men must conform (often at great cost to themselves and to others) whether or not they find it psychologically congenial” (Gilmore 1990, 1 and Hearn and Morgan 1990, cited in Dixon-Mueller, 1993, p144). Thus, masculinity refers to the consciousness of men about their image that control the way they act, perceive, view as a result of practiced in everyday life with the certain norms and values.

On the other hand, “Femininity refers to the set of expectations about how women should behave, think and appear in a given culture” (A glossary of terms in Gender & Sexuality, 2005, p4). Actually in the real world, not only women are feminine, but we can find there are men who really feminine more than women. In local terms, we use to call “*banci / bencong*” which refers to men who behave and imitated women’s attitude.

2.8 Postmodern Perspective on Bisexuality

Postmodernism brings the paradigm shift of human sexuality from biological matters to social and personal meaning; from procreation matter to pleasure matter; from naturalization to denaturalization of sex. We can mention it as “sexual revolution” (Simon, 1996).

Although it clearly mentions about the existence of homosexuals’ identities but it did not explain and dig more the existence within the context of homosexual itself in which bisexuality. In fact, this term seems have a blur understanding and easily to forget since this term never put as a serious topic within postmodernist.

Since gay men in Indonesia have to hide their own sexual identity and lead them to live in two worlds as heterosexual and homosexual, it is crucial for me to choose the theoretical concept that will help me to do my research study. That is why I choose postmodern bisexuality as theoretical background.

Postmodern bisexuality appears as the answer to get more understanding of human sexual behavior and identity (Herdt, 1995). It brings bisexuality as a paradigm of person’s culture and sense of consciousness of bisexual as an identity not only behavior because “bisexuality is postmodern” (Storr, 2003, p159).

Gilbert Herdt and Andrew Boxer categorized bisexuality in different understandings, named four notions of bisexuality as levels of analysis, which are:

- Biological bisexuality refers to sexual attraction to both sexes as innate drives
- Psychological bisexuality refers to relations with both sexes as self-function
- Behavioral bisexuality refers to relations with both sexes as interpersonal behavior

- Cultural bisexuality refers to relations with both sexes as cultural idea

In the first level, the meaning of bisexuality is strongly refers to the medical perspective of sexology, as similar as the theory which led by Lamarkian and Darwinian.

The different idea brings out the other meaning of bisexuality from the psychoanalytic and psychological perspective on sexuality which performs in the second level. The expert like Freud who described the need of separation the self esteem from sexual and intimates relations as a result of the idea of pathologic phenomena of sexual drives.

In the third level, the idea of bisexuality as fluid and situational already appears. The explanation of changing sexual partner from homosexual to heterosexual and vice versa concerns as a phase of the development in human life-course. It really brings the evidence of sexual fluidity not depends on history of a person, but depends on the time and places.

Finally, in the fourth level, it brings the culture meaning inside to view the bisexuality concept. So, sex not only viewed as social construct but also influenced by cultural contexts and historical settings of a person. Hence, bisexuality is not only a matter of individual as an agency but wider within society contexts.

2.8.1 Discourse

Discourse refers “a type of language associated with an institution, and includes the ideas and statements which express an institution’s values. According to Foucault, it is used to describe individual acts of language, or ‘language in action’—the ideas and statements that allow us to make sense of and ‘see’ things” (Danaher, 2000, Glossary). Another definition is “Discourse refers to speech and writings that expressed ideas, values, or opinion” (A glossary of terms in Gender & Sexuality, 2005, p61).

In my understanding this is the way people perceive and make conclusion about the phenomenas or facts based on their experience in their life and influenced by the culture that shapes their environment.

Foucault describe more why the discourse happen in society with “through claims to knowledge as well as the institutional practices that derive from these claims, power is exercised in a way that dictates what is true, moral, good, pathological and even what is ‘human’” (Estrada-Caludio, 2005, p324). Hence, it leads society interpret phenomena based on their own understanding and sometimes because the control of dominant power, it leads to judgmental interpretation such as homosexuality in Indonesia as social illness, sinful, and etc. Society creates labeling because of this “major institution of power” that looks the homosexual life as “deviant or normal” (Lupton, 1994, p23).

2.8.2 Sexual fluidity

This term was bringing up by the postmodern sexuality perspective that examines the denaturalization of sex. According to Simon (1996, p30), understanding fluidity of sex refers to “it does require the effort of going beyond that examining what can only be understood in terms of individuals situated in specific points of time and social space: individuals with and within history”. Since sexuality is socially constructed, it reflects to the way people get desire to do sex which is very specific through their life time and influenced by their experience.

Gamson and Moon emphasize sexual fluidity with using Queer theory which mentions that “sexual identities, desires, and categories are fluid and dynamic, and that sexuality is inevitably intertwined with, even sometimes constitutive of power relations” (Gamson and Moon, 2004, p49). It brings me to understand why gay men in Indonesia can live in two worlds as heterosexual and homosexual (even though it is very miserable for them). In my understanding, our sexuality can change and unstable through our live experience depends on when and where we live. Now we are heterosexual and in the future, perhaps, we change to be a homosexual person.

2.8.3 Gay

The definition of gay is “a term currently used to describe a man who is sexually and romantically attracted to other men” (A glossary of terms in Gender & Sexuality, 2005, p21). It is different with a term homosexual that refers to all forms of sexual orientation, but in local terms sometimes there is a mismatch between gay and homosexual. We use a term “*hombreng*” that actually refers to homosexual to describe gay as well. Meanwhile, we do not have local term of gay, since *bahasa Indonesia* adopted this term from western culture and not make a different term to represent it.

2.9 Health Seeking Behavior

The needs of changing individual behavior towards health seeking behavior arose since the health promotion programmes worldwide face the facts that providing knowledge about causes of ill health and choices available is the key to achieve the successful programmes.

This concept is strongly influenced by Kleinman’s concept of ‘explanatory models’ (EMs) which encompass “EMs contain explanations of any or all of five issues: aetiology, onset of symptoms, pathophysiology, course of sickness (severity and type of sick role) and treatment. EMs are tied to specific systems of knowledge and values centred in the different social sectors and sub-sectors of the health care system” (Kleinman, 1986: 36, cited in (MacKian, 2002, p3). Based on this, health promotion providers try to promote a change in behavior with understanding the five key elements above. Health seeking behavior has two approach, that I will explain bellows.

2.9.1 Health care seeking behaviours: utilisation of the system

Adopt from Ahmed explanations that “There is often a tendency for studies to focus specifically on the act of seeking ‘health care’ as defined officially in a particular context. Although data are also gathered on self care, visits to more

traditional healers and unofficial medical channels, these are often seen largely as something which should be prevented, with the emphasis on encouraging people to opt first for the official channels” (Ahmed, et al, 2001, cited in MacKian, 2002, p4). Visiting more traditional healers rather than health care institutions or health care providers sometimes because of inaccessibility to reach that service, for examples, long distance, lack of facilities, the health providers’ attitude particularly to face the minority groups (poor, disable, or marginal people).

In the case of gay men as my group research, actually they can afford to get the best services, but because of shame and get different threat by the health care provider (for example in the case of anal wounds after anal intercourse), leads them to keep it and doing nothing or self-medication as treatments.

2.9.2 Health seeking behaviours: the process of illness response

The second approach emphasize “It rooted especially in psychology, looks at health seeking behaviours more generally; drawing out the factors which enable or prevent people from making ‘healthy choices’, in either their lifestyle behaviours or their use of medical care and treatment (MacKian, 2002, p7). In my understanding, people education background and knowledge about health play important role to solve their health problems. It leads the way they decide to seek the health care services, where and what kind of treatments that they needs. The problem is how they can make it if they do not know the right place for them that not give them more suffer rather than illness such as discrimination and insults.

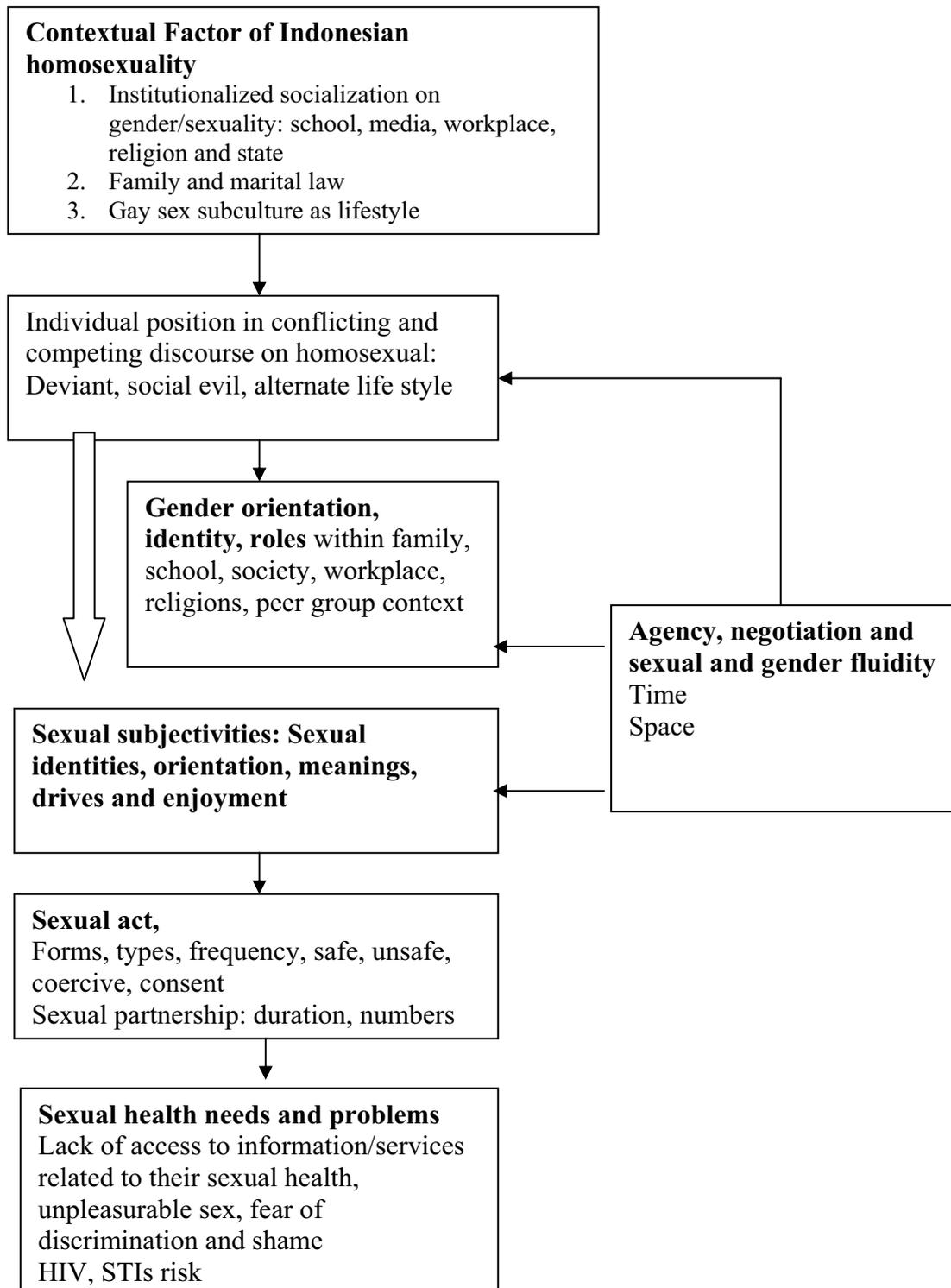
2.10 Self-medication

It has several definitions that try to explaining what the self medication is. According to Wikipedia, 2006, it refers to “the use of drugs, sometimes illicit, to treat a perceived or real malady, often of a psychological nature. Another definition is “meaning that the person is using the drug as a means of coping with the symptoms of their illness (Schimelpfening, 2006). Hence, people do not seek the

professional care provider to give prescription of the appropriate drugs. They buy the drugs based on other people experience or from media such advertisements about how to use the drugs and the advantages. So, this kind of activity is common in minorities' people such as poor, disable people or in this case gay men. Since they cannot seek the adequate services, they try to solve their health problem with doing treatment by them. Hence, they will go to the health care institutions when the disease already severe.

Nowadays, religion or religious activities become more common within people particularly who get HIV positive or AIDS. According to Woods et al (1999, p166), "Religion may contribute to the preservation of physical health by enhancing the ability of individuals to maintain overall wellness. Religion has also been shown to be associated with emotional well-being, particularly with fewer depressive symptoms and better functional ability, such as greater ease in social functioning and more effective coping with stress" (Woods et al, 1999, p166). In their studies, they found that particularly from HIV-infected gay men, the practicing of prayer have a connection to achieve the strong physical conditions and spiritual health since these gay men belief that they still have hopes for survival and there are miracles.

2.11 Conceptual Framework



Definitions

- Gay refers to homosexual men who get attraction erotically with men.

- Executive refers to a person that have responsible for the administration or managerial authority, in this case he is an officer who works for government company or privates.

- Agency: gay men's ability to rationalize, concerning issues of sexuality, then act upon his own choice as the active agent

- Individual position in competing discourses: men's decision to privilege certain kinds of discourses [by mass media and peers] on sexuality of gay men, notions of femininity and masculinity in sexuality, and sexual subjectivities, in specific circumstances.

- Negotiation refers to how gay men negotiate to live as heterosexual and homosexual because social suppressions that lead them to live within these two worlds.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

Work professionalism

Jakarta is the capital city of Indonesia. Nowadays we call this city cosmopolitan—representing globalization and the glamour of modern city life. Many people come to Jakarta for many reasons. Some peoples come to continue their education, but mostly they come to seek jobs. In other words, they want to get a better life.

This situation means Jakarta has various cultures and ethnic groups, and people with various characters as well. Gay men also have a part here.

Jakarta has two main roads on which all the big companies are located particularly private companies whether multinational or national. These roads are Thamrin and Sudirman Road. In these areas, we can find many high buildings, including the officially highest building in Jakarta.

Executive gay men work in these places, from the highest levels of executives until the lowest level. Some of them have their own private room with many staff and some of them share the room with other employees. They interact and meet each others in the lunch time or dinner time.

Vada, 32 years old, a project manager of an American company, explained to me his feeling about his office environment when I asked him that whether he is happy or not in his office.

Iya, karena di tempat ini, gue bisa jadi diri gue sendiri, gak perlu pura-pura. Staf-staf yang lain fine-fine aja, termasuk bawahan gue, mereka tetep hormat gue. Gue pengen di hired karena professional kerja bukan karena siapa gue. (Yes, it because in this place, I can be myself, no needs to pretend. My associates are fine to me including my staff, they pay respect to me. I want to be hired because of my work professionalism, not because of who I am in the term of sexual orientation).

Donny, 29 years old, a marketing executive for an off-shore oil platform division in an American company, has his own feeling about his office.

Di kantor pun gue membawa diri gue seperti ini. Manly. Secara gak langsung gue memfaktor diri gue seperti ini. Sampai sejauh ini, orang-orang kantor sama boss gue juga masih comfort aja dan tetep melihat pekerjaan gue dari profesional kerja gue. Gue kerja udah 6 tahun disitu, betah banget khan...(In my office, I behave like this Manly. Indirectly I shape myself like this. Until now, my associate and my boss are still comfortable in working with me and still look at my work professionalism. 6 years I work there, I really felt at ease there).

Working with the western community brings another feeling for Mudi, 35 years old, a secretary of a European ambassador. He emphasized that the way western peoples think are more open-minded than Indonesians. Thus, he is never insecure with his position as long as he works well.

Gue pikir karena gue behave di kantor. Yah, profesional, gak ngondek. (I think because I know how to behave in office. Yeah, professional, not too much feminine).

He used a local term *ngondek* which represents the behavior of a sissy—too much feminine, talks like a woman, walks in certain ways, and acts with funny attitude.

The boss—someone who decides your capability

I really interested to know the opinions of my informants' bosses. Are they homophobic or not? Since our biggest newspaper, *Kompas*, released an article by Samuel Mulia with the title "*Memoir of Gaysha*", this has become the hottest issue among gay executive men. This article is about a young executive gay man who was fired by his homophobic boss without concern for the results of his work or his capability. Why did it happen? Because there is rarely news about homosexual life, particularly gay men, the story became a headline. In a society in which the gay community is unacceptable, of course this will lead to discussion or different opinions that sometimes push gay people into a corner.

In this article, Samuel Mulia described the situation of one executive gay man who got fired from his job because of his sexual orientation. This leads me to explore what my informants consider about their bosses. Are they threatening?

We start from Budi, 35 years old, a CEO of a multinational company. He emphasized what his position is in his office and how he created a situation so that even his senior bosses really lean on him to make important decisions.

Aku sekarang key person. Aku punya boss dua. Aku kerja sendirian. Kalo dihitung sejak aku pegang divisi ini sampe jadi CEO berarti sudah 4,5 tahun di posisi yang sama, membuat mereka tergantung padaku. Kondisi seperti itu yang mau aku buat. Butuh waktu banget untuk orang di posisi aku. Mereka sudah bisa menebak, cuma mereka gak berani bertanya. Aku juga udah pernah karena situasi aku gini jadi bahan celaan, tapi aku fight back. "Jadi gue gini, elu mau apa?" Trus mereka calm down sendiri. (Now, I'm a key person. I have two bosses. I work alone. If we counted since I handle my division until became a CEO, so it means four and a half years in the same position leads them to lean on me much. I created this condition. Need times to be a man like me. They already can guess who I am, but they never dare to ask. I ever put in the situation that I became their denunciation, but I fight back. "So I'm like this, so what?" Then they themselves calm down).

Donny had a big surprise. It happened during a meeting with his boss, his boyfriend called him. As a result, he knows what his boss's standpoint about gay people is.

Elu tahu gak, beberapa minggu yang lalu deh, telpon gue khan volumenya kenceng. Tiba-tiba dari A. Gue pengen ngecilin volumenya, elo tahu yang gue pencet loud speaker. Elo tahu dia bilang apa? "Sayang,... halo sayang", langsung sontak gue matiin, dan disitu ada boss gue, ada mantu boss gue, dan ada temen kantor gue cewek dua. Gue langsung syok tahu gak. Terus boss gue bilang gini "Lho kok cowok bilang sayang?" Tapi abis itu sampe sekarang biasa aja. Karena ini privacy gue khan. Mungkin dia juga gak mau mempunish gue atau ya seperti itu. (You know, a few weeks ago, my mobile phone's volume is very loud, right? Suddenly from A. I want to decrease the volume, you know what I pushed, the loud speaker button. You know what did he said? "Honey,... hello Honey?" Directly I cut-off, and there are my boss, my boss' son in law, and two of my female associates. I became shocked. Then my boss said "What? Why does man said honey (to a man)?" Gosh, he's suspicious. He's guessing I think. But until now, he is not change at all. I think that this is my privacy, right? Maybe he doesn't want to punish me or something like that).

Although they can work very well but they still have to hide their sexual orientation and do not want to let anyone know (except in Vada's case). The reason is because they do not want their professionalism to be ruined and to have a bad image because their bosses know about their sexual orientation. Thus, in this case, none of their bosses knows exactly about my informant's sexual orientation.

Gay as alternative life style—being metrosexual man

I really want to know what my informants think about the above heading. I got it from asking my heterosexual research partners, thus I conclude this kind of social representation and the public opinion about gay in Jakarta nowadays.

First let me explain what metrosexual man in my understanding. A metrosexual man is a person who is always up to date with the fashion, and knows how to dress on any occasion. This includes still always chic in official dress but not like a woman. Like women they go to the salon for facial, body, manicure and pedicure. They maintain their body and always smell good because of the perfumes they use.

Budi admitted that gay men always trendsetters. He pointed out that “*Itu dunianya gay* (That’s gays’ world)”. So, he affirmed that metrosexual men are *muna* (hypocrite)—gay men but don’t want to admit it.

Different from Budi, Cahyo had another point of view phenomenon. He believed that not all metrosexual men are gay. It is because people have to adapt with the official environment or basically they are people who likes grooming. He refused to accept that being gay is a trend.

Gue bilang gak trend. Malah gue bilang jadi beban, jangan sampe ketahuan (I don’t think this is a trend. Even more, I thought that this is a burden; I have to keep it to not let other peoples know).

Tennis court—get muscle, get shaped

I knew for long time why my gay-best friend does sports. He chose tennis to build his body and maintain fitness. From him, I knew of one of tennis club that later I chose as one of my sites to do this research.

This club is called “Two faces”—later I knew it is called that way, because it has two places to play tennis, both of them are in South Jakarta. One is the Indonesian Legislative Assembly’s tennis court which is used every Saturday afternoon and the other is the Attorney General’s tennis court used every Thursday evening. The total membership is 25 persons but usually only 11 people’s play regularly.

I observed the way they were playing. They played seriously; I mean really hard and maintained power when they did forehand or backhand, or even more with smash hits. I wondered about their purposes, so I asked them. Two of my research partners are in the same group, two others in another group and one swims rather than play tennis. However, they really built their body shape to be muscular and fit by doing the sports they like most.

Donny stated his opinion about tennis—addicted. He chooses friends who particularly like tennis and of course for finding a partner couple as well. For him, tennis is not only for getting in shape and fitness but also about soul mates. He really enjoys playing in different places so he can flirt with other players. He said “*Itu bisa micu adrenalin gue* (It can trigger my adrenalin).”

Budi claimed that all gay men always want to look *indah* (good). He chose tennis because it is more fun and he can adjust the time since he is really busy and cannot follow the fixed schedules in gym clubs.

For Vada, it is very important to keep his good body shape. Good looking and curve is everything for him since he has to deal with many people in his office.

Gak usah muna lah. Fisik gue harus bisa diandalkan dan gak malu-maluin kalau harus berhadapan dengan orang. (No need to be hypocrite. I trade on my physical shape and I won't be embarrassed in front of others).

Thus, Vada pointed out that sport, particularly tennis, is not just a sport, but also part of his sexual subjectivity.

Gue olahraga sekalian penjajagan, selain jaga badan tapi juga gue bisa nyari pasangan. Kalo emang benar-benar suka, gue bisa ngeseks sama orang tanpa perlu tahu siapa dia. (I do sports as a flirting session also, both keep the physical fitness and find partners. If I really like, I can do sex with that person without knowing who he is first).

Cahyo has a different opinion about it. He admitted that actually at first, he just followed his friends to play tennis together, but later on he really enjoyed it. He explained that a good body shape is not too important for him since he is concerned with intellectual's capacity rather than only looking good. That is why he uses this place as to do brain-storming with his friends about work, how to deal with difficult situations, and learning others experience from each company since all of them are executive gay men. But he didn't deny that he plays tennis for keep physical fitness as well.

If four research partners like to do tennis, it was different for Mudi. He prefers to go swimming because he is really good at this sport. He said that sports are not only for getting in shape but to keep his body healthy. He goes swimming twice a week and goes directly from his office because the pool is quite near.

Flirting sessions in gay bars

There are popular clubs and discotheques in Jakarta which are the places to meet gay people. I went to three different places in two different parts of Jakarta.

First, H, formerly called La Dolce in Darmawangsa Square, South Jakarta. In this place, Friday and Saturday are exclusively gay nights. However, it is now known as an openly gay club. It has men striptease shows and a dancing floor.

Second, M, Hayam Wuruk, West Jakarta. It is a small club, has a fun disco, but is definitely not upscale. This is a popular dischoteque for *berondong* (young gays); it is a place to find sexual partners since we can find many MSM who go to in this place. At M, Wednesday, Friday and Saturday are gay nights. The last, S, is in Hayam Wuruk, West Jakarta as well. One of my research partners, Mudi, said that S is one of the craziest clubs in the world. The reason he said that is because this club is a huge club with four floors and opens 24 hours a day. Some people have stayed there since Saturday night and went out on Monday morning—imagine! But the gay men should be discrete as the management is not tolerant of open displays of affection.

I visited M and S clubs only once time. The reason is these places are not often visited by my informants and I have to make sure about my safety as well since these clubs are placed in Hayam Wuruk a dangerous area. I was more comfortable in H club, not only because of the location but also because of the club. I came to know why this club is more often chosen by gay people; it is because of the feeling of being secure.

The first time, I went with Donny and my lesbian friend. From the main gate, I could see the unique symbol. This symbol combines two circles which represent the symbol of male in biological terms. The color is black. I went inside and it was still not crowded, only two couples in the corner just next to the bar. I saw a rainbow flag on the bartender's table. All the menus use three colors: black, dark blue, and blue in rainbow shape. That was around 10 pm, but one by one couples or groups came later. I saw Donny still calm in his seat but his eyes were searching for something. Many times he said "*Ihhh lucu* (so cute)". I tried to see where his eyes were looking and I came to know what he meant. Opposite of our table, have one groups of executive, just sat together in circle. Five of the men had good body shape and muscles. Two of them looked like famous TV stars, but I couldn't remember the names.

Donny ordered whiskey and coke; meanwhile I ordered gin-tonic for myself. My lesbian friend just enjoyed the live music from VIP Band. I observed the activities of other couples. They still sat together only holding shoulders. But, I was curious why many people went to the toilet. So I decided to enter. Unbelievable, I think this is the first toilet in town for unisex. It is a big room with 2 chambers and a long wash-basin. The light is not too bright, and makes the surrounding romantic with the purple lights. I saw one man leave, just wash his hands, and there were no people in the chamber. According to Donny, this toilet is often used by the customers to do flirt with each others and to progress from flirting to actions such touching, kissing, hugging, or even having sex: both oral and penil-anal sex—as a part of fulfilling sexual fantasy or just to fulfill the high desire at that time. Well, at least I fulfilled my curiosity.

When I came back, I saw that Donny really intended to see one of the men in the group that I mentioned before. I wanted to know what his reaction would be. I can see that that man is also interested in Donny. The more late the night, the more people relaxed and showed the affection like kissing or hugging. Meanwhile the music changed to disco rhythm. People started to dance holding their partners. I saw Donny did not like to move, I asked why. He said that he was lazy, “*Gue udah punya A* (I already have A)”. I understand him. But he still flirted with that man and sent messages with his eyes, but didn’t move at all. I wonder that maybe it would be different if he was drunk. But unfortunately, he has really good control, so before he was really drunk, he asked me to go back home. Meanwhile the situation there had become hot and many couples enjoyed their own worlds—they showed open displays of affection with hugs and deep kissing in front of everybody.

Café—cozy place for romantic people

There are many cozy cafes or what in Jakarta, we usually call coffee shops. But the most popular café for gay people is O café in Sarinah, Center of Jakarta. O café is a fairly large coffee shop but it is very popular with girls, and young Indonesian men from around 11 pm onwards prior to going out somewhere else. It is not a gay place as such, but it is normally full of gay people particularly on Friday and Saturday night. It is also an internet hotspot and attracts posers with laptops—obviously those who are reasonably well off or have rich mates. This place is cozy with a nice and friendly atmosphere.

All of my research partners really like this place and put it as the most preferred café. The uses are different, such as relaxing after work, hanging out with some friends, a meeting point, eating good meals and drinks, but there is one idea: flirting. This is the most interesting place for observing the way gay people flirt each other.

Cahyo said that he often comes to O café to see his friends and to flirt, although not so much because he always comes with his boyfriend. Budi explained that he prefers to go to this café rather than gay bars because he didn’t like much

dugem (night life—disco). His purpose is usually to have a meeting here. Mudi visits this place for hanging out and to flirt as well. It is different with Vada, like others his purposes are relaxing, and meeting friends, but what makes him different from others is that he uses this place for finding sexual partners as well, especially for one night stands or even express-sex in the toilet! I asked him how he can do that and he answered me like this.

Gue udah bisa bedaiin seks ama perasaan. Pas gue horny atau butuh seks, gue bisa lakukan itu dengan orang tanpa perlu tahu siapa dia. (I can separate between sex and feelings. When I'm horny or need sex, I can do that (making love) without knowing the person first).

4.2 Social Background

I will explain one by one who my research partners are. I have 5 (five) research partners with different backgrounds.

Starting with Budi, 36 years old, Javanese. His hometown is in Lampung, Sumatera but he has been in Jakarta since 1989. He is the youngest and only son of six siblings. He got his master in economics from one of the famous or well-known government universities in Indonesia. He realized his sexual orientation from when he was in junior high school but started his sexual life as a gay since 1992. He claimed that his family still does not know about his sexual orientation but can only guess since he has a collection of gay movies in his rooms. He has worked as a CEO in a multinational company based in Thamrin Road for 2.5 years; before this he was the manager for 2 years in the same company. His professional background is export-import and overseas procurement. Currently he lives alone in his house in South of Jakarta which he bought with his own money.

Vada, is a 32 year old, mixed blood Javanese, Chinese, and Dutch. He is in the middle of his siblings, one older sister and one younger brother. He was born

and grew up in Jakarta. He got his bachelor of accounting from a private university in Jakarta. He realized his sexual orientation when he was in university where he met his first boyfriend in 1994. In 2003 he publicly declared himself as a gay man and his family supported his decision. He has worked as a project manager in a multinational company based in the US for 4 years. He rents a small condo in South of Jakarta and pay for it every month.

Mudi, is a 35 year old, mixed Javanese and Ambonese. He is the eldest son of a family with five siblings, 2 sisters and 2 brothers. He was born and grew up in Jakarta as well. He got his master degree for economics in one of the well-known universities in Malaysia. He realized his sexual orientation when he was in the sixth year of his bachelor degree in 1994 when he had the first experience of having sex with a gay man. He does not want to declare openly he is a gay because his religion; makes it impossible for him to do that. He has worked for 8 years as a personal assistant and executive secretary for the ambassador of one of European embassies in Jakarta. Currently he rents an apartment in Central Jakarta, just behind Thamrin Road.

Donny, is a 29 year old, Javanese. He was born and grew up in Purwokerto, Central Java until he was in junior high school. He is the younger of 2 siblings. His sister is older than him. He moved to Jakarta with his parents. He took a bachelor in finance from one of the private universities in Jakarta. Before that he took a diploma in tourism and he had to live in a dormitory 1.5 years in North Jakarta. This was the time that he had the first experience of sex with man but he had already realized his sexual orientation from when he was in junior high school from the relationship with his best friend. He never wants to declare his sexual orientation because he believes it will ruin his life but he thinks that his sisters already knows but does not say it openly to him because his sister is married with a Dutch man who has brother who is gay and married with his boyfriend. He has worked for 4 years as an assistant manager of marketing in an oil companies based in US. Currently he lives in a small condo, just 1 km from Vada (but they don't know each other) in South of Jakarta.

The last is Cahyo, a 28 year old, Javanese. He is the youngest and only son and has three older sisters. He was born in Surabaya, East Java, but moved to Jakarta when he was in elementary school with his parents. He took a degree in interior design as his major for his bachelor degree at a private university in Jakarta. He stated that all his family already know his sexual orientation and just let him do what he wants until he gets married with a girl from an arranged marriage. He said his mother thinks he is the victim of the bad environment of his peers. He found his sexual orientation when he was in senior high school but it became clearer when he was in the second year of university where he met his first boyfriend. He has worked for three years as an account manager in a multinational company based in Japan. Currently he lives with his parents in West Jakarta but he rents an apartment in Central Jakarta as a meeting place with his boyfriend.

Table 4-1: Summary of the research partners

Name	Age	Family	Education	Job/position	Residence	Personality	Sexual and gender identity and orientation in public
Budi	36	6th of 6; only son	Master	CEO	own house	smart, caring, gentle, introvert full of attention, attractive	man
Vada	32	2nd of 2; 1 older sister and 1 younger brother	Bachelor	Project manager	rents a condo	talkative, humorous, soft, active, fun, attractive	gay man

Table 4-1: Summary of the research partners (Continued)

Name	Age	Family	Education	Job/position	Residence	Personality	Sexual and gender identity and orientation in public
Mudi	35	1st of 5; 2 sisters, 2 brothers	Master	Executive secretary and personal assistant	rents an apartment	fun, attractive, humorous, easy going, attractive	man
Donny	29	2nd of 2; 1 older sister	Bachelor	Assistant manager	rents a condo	serious, not much talk, full of attention, gentle, attractive	man
Cahyo	28	4th of 4; only son	Bachelor	Account manager	with his parents but rents an apartment	shy, serious, gentle, soft, attractive, calm	man

4.3 Jakarta's Gay Men

4.3.1 What is it like to be a gay?

I used the concepts of sexual identity and sexual orientation to answer the question of the meaning of being a gay. Indonesian society does not have a local term which refers to gay but sometimes we use *hombreng* (but actually the real

meaning is homosexual people) to name it, or like Budi said “*Binan*”, another word which refers to gay.

“I am a sick person”

I have got different meanings from each of my five research partners. Each of them explains who they are with their own explanations. The first pattern I got from Mudi who explained it with “*Gue sakit* (I’m sick)”. Actually it really accords with the medical discourse about HIV/AIDS high-risk people. I had already heard this term from my gay friends who accept this term as a part of their sexual orientation and now I got again from Mudi. I asked him again for the reason so he called himself like that.

Kalo ditanya tentang seksual identitas gue, kadang bingung juga. Gue tetap menganggap diri gue laki-laki tapi beda preference. Gue lebih suka laki-laki. Jadi gue gay alias “sakit” (If someone asks me about my sexual identity sometimes I also confuse. I still consider me as a man but have different preference. I prefer men. So I’m a gay alias “sick”).

In this case, actually he views his meaning as a gay from a personal discourse as a mentally diseased person since most Indonesian people still consider homosexual people this way.

It is about being a man but being sexually attracted to man

“*Gue laki tapi suka laki-laki* (I’m a man but I prefer men)” is a pattern which I got from Cahyo. The meaning in this case is talking about preference not appearance. He identified his gender is a man but his sexual orientation is gay and he admitted it.

It is almost similar with Vada who explained with “*Secara fisik, gue laki, tapi secara emosional, gue gay* (Physically, I’m a man, but emotionally, I’m a gay)”.

From these two meanings, both of them can already differentiate between sexual identity, gender identity, and sexual orientation. Indirectly, particularly in the

case of Vada, they explained that the meaning of being a gay is a combination of these three parts. Vada identified his sexual identity as a man which is followed by his gender identity because of his appearance but he has the sexual orientation of a homosexual, in this case as a gay man.

Both meanings that I got from Cahyo and Vada match with the definition by Shively and DeCecco who explained that sexual identity is shaped by four components: "...biological sex, gender identity, social sex-role, and sexual orientation..." (Shively and DeCecco, 1993, cited in Santos and Munez, 2002, p293). Thus, it supports my understanding that sexual identity holistically includes the physical and psychological and that they work together to make a person different from others.

"I was born to be a gay"

I found an interesting meaning from Budi and Donny. They both explained being gay within the theory of naturalization of sex. They said "*Aku dilahirkan sebagai gay* (I was born to be a gay)". The meaning for them is that it is destiny and there is nothing you can do. Since we do not have a local term about gay, I asked both of them about the meaning of gay from their opinions.

Gue dengan style gue yang metro, pakai baju strait, dan lebih gairah ke laki-laki, udah pastilah gue gay (Me, with the metrosexual man's style, wear strait-clothes, and more have a passionate feeling with men, so must be I'm a gay—Donny)

Aku dalam kehidupanku sudah gay sekali karena aku pecinta laki-laki dan hampir 50 persen waktu hidupku habis untuk berkomunitas dengan kaum gay (In my life, I'm a pure gay because I'm a men's lover and almost 50 per cent (50%) of my whole life I spent for assembling with gay community—Budi).

The contradiction of gender identity, sexual identity and self

I also got other meanings from all of them which I will explain more fully below. The first refers to the role of sexual acts and the second refers to refusing to be a sissy.

We have local terms for the roles in sexual acts which are *Nempong* (on top), *ditempong* (bottom), and versatile (both). Vada and Cahyo claimed to be versatile. Meanwhile, Budi, Mudi and Donny admitted to being *nempong*. For these three informants, being the active person in sexual acts is very important. It seems that they want to keep their sense of manliness. For example, Donny explained to me “*Ego gue dominan, gue cuma nyari pasangan yang bottom* (My ego is dominant, I only find partners who are bottoms)”. In his bodily appearance, he is really manly and muscular, so he wants to remain someone who takes an active role in sex.

The second meaning, related to being a sissy, I got also from them. For instance, Cahyo said “*Gue berusaha kalo mungkin untuk gak jalan bareng sama teman-teman yang sissy pas jam kerja atau tempat terbuka* (I try, if possible, not to go along with sissy friends in office hours or public areas)”. Actually he is contradicting himself. First he admits that he is a gay but in this case he wants to keep the fact hidden as well. This situation I saw also for the other 4 informants. I think it because their status as executive makes them be like this. Showing activity with sissy friends will threaten their agency as a gay because people will think that they are part of this community, even if it is true. This is proved by Donny’s “*Gue gak akan pernah mau ber-statement “I’m a gay”* (I never want to make a clear statement that I’m a gay)”.

4.3.2 Contextual factors

4.3.2.1 Discourses on gay men

Religion teaching philosophy as religious discourse

Since all my informants have their own religions, some of them raised the religious discourse based on their understanding.

Vada emphasised that *tiang agama* (religion teaching philosophy) is his guidance to live in this world. Good or bad depends on how you follow the rules inside and if you fail to follow those means that you commit a sin.

Jujur gue ngerasa apa yang gue lakukan ini salah, karena background agama gue kuat. Ada tiang agama yang gue pegang. (Honestly, deep in my heart I know that what I am doing is wrong because I have strong believed in my religion. There is religion teaching philosophy that I strongly believe).

Cahyo brought a different meaning of religion. He used the metaphor of a road to explain how he feels about religion. Religion in his understanding is just like a straight road, which does not go to the left or go to the right side. It just goes straight not *belok-belok* (have curves).

Pasti kalo bicara soal agama, ya kita salah lah. Gak pengen lah. Tapi lihatlah, gak salah-salah amat, gak belok-belok amat. (Sure, if we talk about religion, yes we are wrong. I don't want it. But just take a look, this is not so wrong, not so *belok-belok*).

Belok-belok in this case represents the situation that is not really against the rules in the Bible or is not a very big mistake.

Meanwhile Budi has his own opinion about religious discourse with the heaven and hell consequences.

Sekarang kalau kita mau ngomong gay, kita bawa ke agama, agama apapun, semua menyatakan akan masuk neraka dan berakar di neraka untuk selamanya. (If we talk about a gay, we bring to our religion, every religion; all of them will say that gay will be put in hell and rooted in the hell forever).

Berakar di neraka (rooted in the hell) means this is a sin that will not get forgiven by God. Everybody who lives as a gay will get the consequences as a sinner so there is no place in heaven for gay people.

Donny explained *tiang agama* using his own word which is *koridor* (corridor). Koridor represents the frame of rules in the bible that makes people walk inside this frame, not outside it. In other words, it represents life following the Bible.

Dengan kondisi gue sendiri, kalo gue menjalani Kristen dengan benar, gue akan menilai diri gue salah. Apa yang tertulis di alkitab, mungkin disemua kitab suci agama-agama, mungkin kehidupan yang gue pilih itu salah. Cuma di hati gue berkata, kalo elo percaya Christ, elo akan diselamatkan. Dan gue sangat percaya itu. Gue mengambil keputusan jadi gay, DIA tahu. Elo pembunuh, pencuri, DIA juga tahu. Semua manusia berdosa. Kalo seandainya emang gue berjalan pada koridornya, gue yakin Tuhan gak akan memandang sehina yang mereka pikirkan. (With my condition, if I practice the right Christian's life, I will say that I am wrong. What has written in Bible, perhaps in all the holy text of religions, may I choose this wrong life. But deep inside my heart, if you believe in Christ, you will get the salvation. And I really believe in it. I decided to be a gay, He knows. You are a murderer, a thief, He also knows. All people are sinful. If I really walk inside the corridor, I'm sure that God will not humiliate me as same as what another people do).

“Black goat” as a metaphor of social evil discourse

Each person has their own explanation about the medical discourse that gay men are high-risk people. There is a metaphor in the Indonesian language that represents people who always get blamed and insulted for some condition which disadvantages other people or is considered as threatening other people lives. We call it *kambing hitam* (black goat or scapegoat). This metaphor is commonly used in all parts of Indonesia and of course brings a negative impact for the person who is being insulted and seen as a loser.

The question is why black goat? Actually Indonesian society often use the literally meanings of *kambing hitam*. Black color represents the darkness which is related to evil or its activity. Meanwhile, goat is an animal which has bad smell and is always kept far away from the house. For some religious beliefs or ancient

ceremonies, the black goat was used as a sacrificial offering and killed. Since homosexuality has been described as “Clearly a social illness, amorally evil trend that must be eliminated” (Boellstorff, 2005a, p576), as a result, this metaphor is very popular among our society and represents “need” among some people to eliminate homosexual peoples.

Donny described himself as a high-risk person will always be a *kambing hitam*. *Iya, gay selalu di kambing hitamkan*. (Yes, gay always get blamed)

He asked “How can people understand the gay community if they are not a part of it?” He explained more using another metaphor to represent the situation of Indonesian society right now—how they just see from outside, never try to get within something.

Elo mau tahu apa yang dibicarakan semut, elo harus jadi semut. (If you want to know what ants talk, you have to be an ant).

It means that people will always blame gay people if you do not know exactly what is happening in the gay community. You have to be a part of it or at least try to get to know this group of people in depth.

Medical discourse

Some of my informants believe that the environment really encourages them to exist as gay men. That is why in the case of Cahyo and Mudi, they really believe that they get the influence from their peers.

Tapi gue berpikir kalo gue gak kenal pacar yang pertama, mungkin gue gak akan seperti sekarang. Makanya nyokap gue bilang “elo salah gaul”. (Firstly, I think that if I never knew my first boyfriend, maybe I will never be like I am now. That is why my mother said that I was wrong to choose friends).

Meanwhile Mudi described his experience seeing a lot of groups of gay men at his campus which led him to explore his homosexual life.

Ya. Aku tahu dari temenku kalo di kampus gue banyak gay. Mereka selalu kumpul dalam group. Tapi saat itu, aku takut untuk gabung... bow... soalnya aku mikir agama, gimana kalau orang tahu tentang aku, kayak gitu deh. (Yes. I knew from my friends that a lot of gay in my campus. They always seat in groups. But at that time I was afraid to join with them because I think about religious matter, how if people know about me, something likes that).

Actually these beliefs represent the discourse within the family about Homosexual life. This discourse focuses on homosexuality being a mental disease. That is why two of my research partners, Budi and Cahyo, had to go to have a psychologic examination as a part of the family willingnes to “heal” them and bring them back to the world of normality in the society.

4.3.2.2 Homosexuality as a crime: legal discourse

Here I want to explain about what happened when I was in Jakarta for collecting data. The facts which I got from interviews with NGOs in Jakarta really surprised me and made me realize how the criminalization of homosexuality is becoming.

It is about a policy that was just released and widely published. It is Palembang Provincial Regulation No.2/ 2004 about eradicate prostitution. The sad thing inside is how the educated people in the local assembly of Palembang, South Sumatra, look at homosexuals as a part of prostitution. These convicted of being prostitutes or homosexuals are fined \$ 500 (US) and have to serve six (6) months in jail. In other words, homosexual people are criminals. The worse thing is it will be released in another 24 cities next year. Of course, Jakarta is still far from this situation but undoubtedly we have to be concerned about it.

As a result of this new regulation, Indonesian society will be misled about how to think about homosexual life particularly in the case of gay men. It proves that the social evil discourse is deeply embedded in the Indonesian mind-set, even today.

The question is what our NGO's can do? According to the result of my discussion with Ms. Ie Su Fang and Dr. Mamoto, they try to ban this regulation with bringing to our national assembly to get advocacy about homosexual rights in Indonesia. In fact, in my collecting data period, there was a politic manifesto from Indonesian Women Coalition's in national meeting on 28 – 30 August 2006 that put sexual fluidity and sexual orientation as one of the major issue that government should concern about.

4.3.2.3 Arranged marriage: one discursive practice of heterosexism

For Indonesian gay men, the most social pressure is from their own families. There is a big pressure to get married as the symbol of a happy family that includes father, mother, and children. It leads many gay men to live in two different worlds, as both heterosexual and homosexual. Thus, actually, I explained the family context under the discursive practice of heterosexism among Indonesian families.

Of all the five informants, I found most clearly about this situation from Cahyo. His mother has already chosen him a girl to be his wife and they will marry on next year. It is harder since he is the only son in his family who has to continue the family name as a part of Javanese culture. He stated "*Beban kali ya kalo gue gak merit* (It will make a burden for me if I'm not marry)". This situation is also faced by Budi, but the difference is that there is still no girl to be a partner. Cahyo and Budi just accept the condition of "no choice" to maintain their family's dignity by living "happily" in the married life. Cahyo said that it will make him become someone different—not the real of him, but he believes there is no other way out for him.

Mudi and Donny have different opinions about it but still we can highlight it is about family dignity. Donny stated “*Gue akan bahagiain nyokap kalo gue merit* (I’ll make my mother happy if I marry)”, and Mudi said “*Gue anak paling tua dan secara agama, gak mungkin gue merit dengan pasangan gay* (I’m in the oldest son in my family and from my religious background, it is impossible to marry with a gay man)”. They cannot think about their own future without carrying on their shoulders the responsibility to maintain the worth of their families.

In the second meeting with Budi, he asked me to introduce him to a lesbian (since I have a lot of lesbian friends as well).

Aku sekarang dalam posisi yang buat orangtuaku sedih. Aku bilang carikan perempuannya, lamar buat aku, nanti aku pulang ke Lampung untuk nikah. Terus mereka terdiam. Perkara malam pertama sambil setel film porno, itu urusan kedualah. Aku udah capek didesak-desak terus. Lebih baik aku nikah sama lines aja. Yang penting khan dilihat orangtua aku merit. (Right now, I’m in the position which makes my parents sad. I said to them to find the bride, propose marriage to her parents for me, and then I’ll go back to Lampung for marrying her. Then, they kept silent. In the case of “the golden night (first night)” which I will play porn movie, that’s the second problem. I’m tired to be pushed all the time. Better I decide to marry with a lesbian. The important thing is my parents know that I’m married).

He was introduced to a woman by my lesbian friend on November 2006. He kept sending me emails about his doubt and dilemma to do marry her. He struggled a lot trying to make a good decision for his future: follow his own will or make happy his big family. Finally, in the second week of January, I got the news. He will marry her on 25 March 2007.

This case indicates the family pressure to the executive gay man to change their sexual orientation from being homosexual to heterosexual man by proposing sexual partner. I would like to argue that sex not only viewed as social construct but also influenced by cultural contexts and social settings of a person. The

culture of heterosexism in which a man has to consider his family's dignity leads my research partners have to live in two worlds—homosexual and heterosexual. Learning from the cases of Mudi and Donny, bisexuality is not only a matter of solution for the executive gay men as a result of the family pressure but also an individual agency to resist the family pressure to preserve their homosexual preference within their societal contexts.

4.3.2.4 Family context

Actually I already explained about the family context under the discursive practice, but I want to add more particularly about the way my research partners families' think about homosexuality and the way they accept the condition within their sons who gay men are.

Starting with Vada and Cahyo who claimed that they already declare in their families about their sexual orientation, I got the unique answers from my question about their families' reaction when know about it.

Gue takut, malu, segala macam. Awalnya pasti gak nerima, prosesnya lama. Nyokap gue bilang mending gue hamilin 10 cewek daripada jadi gay. Gue bilang "sama aja dosanya Ma", nyokap gue bilang "enggak, beda!" Kalo dulu sih seringnya berontak. Tapi sekarang, gue ngeliat wajar, kalo gue punya anak seperti itu, pasti gue juga khawatir dong. (I was afraid, shame, whatever. Firstly they can't accept my sexual orientation, long time process. My mother said that better I make 10 girls pregnant rather than being a gay. I said "It is similar sinful, ma", but my mother said "No, it's different!" Long back I always against them. But now, I think, it's common, if I have a son, I might be act like that also, I will worry—Cahyo).

Pas bokap tahu, dua bulan gue gak diajak ngomong. Nyokap gue nerima kenyataan itu walaupun dengan nangis, tapi nyokap lebih terbuka, mungkin karena nyokap orang Belanda. Tapi akhirnya, bokap ngajak ngomong gue duluan dan saat itu gue tahu gue udah dimaafin. (When my father knew, two months he

didn't want to talk with me. My mother, she can accept my reality although she cried a lot but more open-minded, maybe because she's a Dutch. Finally, my father talked to me at first and at that time I knew that he already forgave me—Vada).

I was asking Vada about his opinion if his younger brother in the future realizes that he is a gay also, what Vada will think about it. It was surprising me when suddenly his voice become high intonancy and answer my question with quite upset.

Gue akan marah, gue akan kecewa. Kalau gue liat ade gue, gue akan terima, tapi berat. Misalnya aja anak elu jadi pelacur, gak mungkin dung elu terima. Karena gue tahu kehidupan gay itu seperti apa. Complicated banget, dimana gue harus berjuang dengan diri sendiri dan gue harus buktiin bhw gue survive. (I'll angry, I'll be disappointed. If I know my brother like that, I can accept but so hard. For instance, you have daughter and she becomes an entertainment girl, it will be impossible for you to accept. Because I know what gay life's is. Very complicated, in which I have to struggle with myself and have to prove that I can survive).

From these two persons, I got a red-line that although they want to be exist as gay men, but they do not want their other family members have to “suffer” as same as their lives. Suffering in the sense of have to struggle with the dominant power, which is heterosexism ideology that spread in every aspect of our lives.

4.3.2.5 Metrosexual life

I mentioned before about being a metrosexual man, here I would like to explicate more about it from the discourse angle. Actually, metrosexual life is becoming more widespread Indonesian society, particularly among executive men in Jakarta. Since some public figures “got caught” of their sexual orientation, it has led to a new discourse that all metrosexual men must be gay men as well. This is a global discourse from the media which exploited this myth until it spread among society.

All my informants said they are not in conflict with this discourse because it makes them more save to “hide”. Among metrosexual men, no one knows who really gay men are. As Budi said “*Seneng gue, makin banyak, makin aman* (I’m happy, the more they are, the more safe (I am))”.

On the other hand, this discourse makes them to more careful because society thinks that they are all the same. It brings another impact to their status as executive gay men who have staff under or colleagues. It seems that it makes them hide more than before. As a result of being metrosexual men, they move to their subjectivity and interpret this situation and give the meaning as individual who executive men that in Indonesian society put as high status and prominent. Just like Cahyo said “*Jadi beban, jangan sampe ketahuan* (It’s a burden, keep not to be found out)”. So, it counterback the acceptance above in which they have to more hide and lead them to move back and forward through time and place. It makes them suffer since it is more difficult for them to search for partners and influences their sexual health needs.

4.3.3 Sexual subjectivity

The way I define sexual subjectivity is something that is a part of a person’s sexual identity; the way someone or a person thinks, express, & views about themselves sexual which brings his/her internalization. Sexual subjectivity is composed of sexual identity, sexual orientation, sexual meanings, sexual drive and enjoyment of my research partners. I will describe each element of my research partners’sexual subjectivity.

Sexual identity and orientation

From five research partners, they give details about it with their own opinion and make it more interesting.

I am Gay: a man who love man

I found from Mudi. He is in the stage of awareness of being gay.

“Aku mau jujur pada diriku sendiri kalo aku gay, aku suka laki-laki (I want to be honest with myself that I’m a gay, I like men)”.

In this case, he admitted that he enjoys same sex and does not want to deny it. He knew that he likes men since he was in grade 8 but he was not brave enough to make approaches until he found himself when he was in university. Thus, time and place really play an important role for shaping his sexual subjectivities since he saw the reality of many gay groups in his university in Malaysia.

The second pattern is from Vada, the person that has already declared in public that he is a gay man.

“Gue gay, gak peduli orang mau ngomong apa kek (I’m gay, I don’t care what people say, so what?)”.

He accepts his sexual orientation and is supported by his own family. That is what makes him different from other research partners because he is the one who is already comfortable and does not have to struggle with himself in his existence as a gay man. He explained that he did not have any crucial problems in his office because all his staff still respect him and he believes as long as he works well no one will complaint and try to relate it with his sexual orientation.

Budi, the top executive among all research partners, has a different pattern. It may be because his position as CEO—someone who plays an important role and has to be a good role model, although he perceives his sexual subjectivity as gay but he must suppress his gay identity in the workplace.

“Gue gak perlu sih ngaku, aku key person jadi harus bisa mengontrol diri and deal with it (No need for me to declare, I’m a key person so I have to control myself and have to deal with it)”.

Even though his subordinates flirt with him but he does not think about it. He does not want to have any desire and pleasure in his working place so as to keep his status as the top executive. He claimed that he worked hard to achieve this position.

The fourth pattern comes from Donny. He has a different angle since he perceives his sexual subjectivity as gay since he was born. His subjectivity reflects naturalization process of his of sexual subjectivity.

“Gue dilahirkan gay dan gue percaya takdir gue, tapi gue gak akan pernah ngaku terang-terangan karena gue pikir bakal menghancurkan hidup gue (I was born to be a gay and I believe my destiny, but I never want to declare explicitly because I think that it will ruin my life)”.

In this case, he admitted that his sexual orientation is a part of God’s destiny or created by God. Thus, he perceives that his sexual subjectivity is already there as a part of the way he was created.

The last pattern is about sexual subjectivity which mixes social and sexual identity. I got this from Cahyo, the youngest research partner. Outside of workplace he internalize his gay identity at all the time, while at workplace, he views himself as ideal executive heterosexual man.

“Gue lebih suka kalo orang menilai gue dari “otak” gue daripada ngomongin seksual orientasi gue (I’ll happier if people see me for my “brain” rather than only talk about my sexual orientation)”.

In this case, he explained that since he belongs to the high class people and as such gets respected so he has to live like ideal people. Our society thinks that an executive must be smart, can deal with many situations, and live a normal life. The normal life means not doing something different from others; a man must be a gentleman with the appropriate sexual orientation, i.e. heterosexual. As a result, since

heterosexism is common in our mind-set and rooted in many sectors including executive's life, we can see the conflicting discourse here which is how to deal with the sexual orientation as a gay and being an ideal executive according to society.

4.3.3.1 Sexual meanings

For my research partners, there are various sexual meanings assigned to their sexual acts. Their sexual meanings are different at different times, places, and type of sexual partner or relationships. It really depends with whom they do sexual acts. Take a look the meanings which I got from them such as fulfill of sexual desire and needs (Budi and Vada), *penyaluran sayang* (sharing affection-Donny), caring (Mudi), and just like most of heterosexual peoples in Indonesian, duty (Cahyo).

Duty V.S. Fulfill sexual desire, needs, fantasy and drive

Sexual meanings are also influenced by types of sexual partners or relationship that they have. For Cahyo, sexual acts between him and his lover is duty because he doesn't want to make his boyfriend get disappointed. Meanwhile if he do sex with his *teman tapi mesra / TTM* (casual partner), he enjoys it as to fulfill his sexual desire and needs.

Budi has different sexual meanings. For him, sexual act is not always penetration but also different forms of sex, such as watching his partners masturbate, and rubbing. He's the one who fulfill sexual drive with buying sex to *rumah kucing* (gay brothels) but since he knew that most of the kucing (MSW) are straight men, he just enjoys making video of them and lodging these pictures into his ipod. For him, it's not a matter of take and give but also fulfill of his sexual fantasies.

Vada brings different meaning of sex. He does not care much about with whom he does sex. For him, if he really wants to have sex, he can do that without knowing the partners first and in front of my eyes, in the first day we met, he just left me alone and went to toilet to have sex with a stranger. He will not faithful with someone until he gets a commitment from his partners. Thus, sex for him is many times a matter of fulfill the sexual needs.

Love and Caring

Donny and Mudi are almost similar in this case. Feelings play an important role in their meanings. The difference is that Donny feels love bans him to do sex. For him, caring is more important rather than penetrating. He claimed that actually he has his own principles. He does not want to penetrate and does not want to be penetrated as well. It is different if he buys sex, it is only to fulfill his sexual needs. So, I found he contradicts himself and I think that is because he does not want to “hurt” his lover. This is in part because of his experience in the past when he got hurt while being penetrated—not because a lubricant was not used but because he has hemorrhoid. So, he perceives that it will hurt if he penetrates much his boyfriend. So, sexual meanings for him are caring and do no harm to his partner. Meanwhile Mudi, has deep feelings with one of his *TTM*, but he cannot have sex with him. He said it is because he likes him and he has a good heart. So, it is enough for him to just hug, kiss, and sleep together. Even though he knew that this man is unfaithful to him, he does not care as long as he feels comfortable while being together. For him, a sexual meaning is related to mutual understanding not only sex per se.

4.3.3.2 Sexual drive and enjoyment

As a part of sexual subjectivities, I have to explain what my research partners think about their sexual drives and enjoyment, which condition or situation that can lead them to get their pleasure when having sex.

Good body shape and size of penis: sexual arousal and enjoyment

For all of them, what brings them sexual arousal is similar. The first impression is appearance. It includes good body shape (muscles, being masculine, macho), handsome or good looking, and the last but not least, *ukuran kenti* (big penis size).

Vada mentioned “*Kalo cuma buat ngeseks, gue butuh yang gede* (If only just for sex, I need the big penis)”. He agreed that is the first impression and makes him more aroused when know that the partner has a big penis. Donny used the term of *perkasa* (strong and robust) to represent someone who has a big penis.

Gue ngeliat kenti gede, gue langsung “naik”, perkasa bow (If I see a big penis, spontaneously I will feel arousal, it means strong, right?).

Maturity makes him sexually stimulated

Cahyo prefers a man who is more matures and enjoys intellectual discussions, the more he likes that man and lead him to want to have sex.

Gue lebih memilih pacar yang dewasa karena gue butuh pasangan yang bisa diajak tukar pikiran. Ini membuat gue merasa nyaman karena puas secara emosional dan itu buat gue malah lebih ingin hubungan seks sama dia. (I prefer a boyfriend who is mature because I need a partner who I can share with. It makes me comfortable because I feel satisfy emotionally and it leads to have desire to do sex with him).

Masturbation: another form of sexual arousal and pleasure

Budi has a different way to raise his pleasure. He will be more aroused if he sees his partners doing masturbation in front of him. Making a video of masturbation and putting in his ipod is a different experience for him and leads him to get pleasure without penetrating.

For Mudi, sometimes kissing and hugging with his TTM is enough to enhance his desire. Undoubtedly he likes someone who is good looking as well, but penetration is not the main purpose to get the pleasure.

Gue tertarik sama TTM gue karena hatinya baik. Gue suka banget sama dia. Gak tahu ya, buat gue seks gak terlalu penting, yang penting kasih-sayang. Gue cukup puas dengan meluk dan ciumin dia. (I get attracted to my casual partner because he is so kind. I like him so much. I don't know, for me, sex is not so important, but caring is the most. I feel satisfied even I only kiss and hug him).

4.3.4 Sexual acts

All the common activities in sexual acts are done by all my research partners, such as oral, anal, masturbation, and *stimulasi* (rubbing). So, nothing is new in here. The only difference is with I got from Budi, Mudi, and Donny who do not much like to penetrate or be penetrated (of course) since they get enjoyment and pleasure from other forms of sexual acts. I found that porn movies play an important role as an accelerator for their sexual acts.

Of all the forms of sexual acts, the most common is penil-anal intercourse. Even though, as I mention above that Budi, Mudi and Donny do not encourage penetration, but still they admitted that they enjoy this act. All of them explained their preference about playing a passive or active role in sexual acts and whether *nempong* (penetrate/ on top) or *ditempong* (being penetrated / on bottom).

Kriteria aku milih pasangan pasti karena seks, sekalipun ewita bukan main course gue, tapi tetap, gue “top” (My criteria to choose partner must be because of sex, although sexual intercourse is not the main course, but still I’m on the top—Budi).

Gue versatile tapi lebih seneng ditempong, tapi gue gak pasif, kalau pasif gue gak ngapa-ngapain dong. Gue tetap aktif misalnya stimulasi kenti pasangan gue. (I’m versatile but I prefer being penetrated, but I’m not in a passive role, if I’m passive means I do not do anything. I still active for example with rubbing my partner’s penis—Vada).

Gue selalu nyari pasangan yang mau ditempong, bukan yang versatile, karena gue “top”. Mungkin karena gue merasa dominan, jadi sekalipun gue sayang sama tuh orang, gue gak akan milih dia kalau ternyata dia “top” juga. (I always try to find my sexual partner who is on bottom, not versatile, because I’m on the top. Maybe because I feel that I’m a dominant person, so even though I really in love with a man, I will not choose him if he prefers on the top as well—Donny).

Gue lebih suka nempong karena gue merasa nyaman dan bisa menikmati seks karena melihat reaksi pasangan gue saat gue penetrasi. (I prefer on the top because I feel more comfortable and get pleasure because I can see the reaction of my sexual partner while I do penetration—Mudi).

Gue milih “top”, tapi dua-duanya gue nikmatin. Sama pacar gue, gue “top” tapi sama TTM gue, gue “bottom”. Bosan aja selalu nempong. (I prefer on the top, but I enjoy both. I always on the top with my boyfriend, but with my casual partner, I’m on bottom. Just boring if always do penetration—Cahyo).

4.3.5 Sexual partners

There are various criterias to choose partners which are I found in my research with my research partners. It is related to their sexual subjectivities which lead them to be select in their choice of partners.

There are three major types of sexual partners. These are lover (permanent couples), *teman tapi mesra / TTM* (literally: intimate friend—casual partners), and *kucing* (literally means cat—MSW). They choose either Indonesian or foreigners as sexual partners.

Budi, at this time does not have permanent or *TTM*, but he fulfills his needs buying sex in a *rumah kucing* (cat house-literally meanings / gay brothel). He broke up with his boyfriend last year after a 2 months relationship since both of them prefer *nempong* (on top). This person was the third partner. The first relationship lasted for 2.5 years and ended when the partner died. The second was a 6 months relationship, with a person from the Two Faces club (tennis) and ended because his ex-boyfriend was too possessive. All happened in the last 3 years.

Mudi has never had a lover. He just likes to have *TTM*. He explained that it is because he does not like to bind to any commitment because he believes that it is not his *kodrat* (destiny) to marry with a man. Currently, he has two *TTM* who are

much younger than him. He does not close the chance to have casual sex but he refuses to buy sex.

Vada, currently just has 5 *TTM* (casual partners) but has refused to have any of them as permanent partner. He explained that he just like to have sex with them without any commitment. He has been involved as a permanent couple three times. The first was an Australian guy for 7 years and ended because that man had to married because of his family's pressure. The second was with Javanese man for 1.5 years, and the last with a Javanese man for 3 months. He said after getting a clear commitment he would be faithful to his partner. But now, he just likes *TTM* because that is not too demanding and he is busy with his career.

Donny has changed the way he chooses his partners. Last year he still liked to find someone more mature than him. But he has already changed. He said that now he prefers *berondong* (young gay) because they are *gampang dibentuk* (easier to control). He does not like *TTM*. He likes more the relationship with commitment to make him safe in the sense of knowing the background and daily live's of his partners. His present boyfriend is the third. The first was with someone who was 4 years older than him and ended after 2 years. The reason was because of Donny's selfishness and long distance relationship. Second, was with a man who was 2 years older than him and ended after a one year relationship. He said that he had to end the relationship because that guy was too possessive and demanding. He claimed that if he is in a commitment, he is faithful but if he is alone, he will buy sex to fulfill his sexual needs.

Cahyo is entering a second relationship with a new boyfriend. It has already lasted 1.5 years. The difference is that his boyfriend is a married guy so they meet each other in the apartment that they rent together. The first relationship was with a man who was more mature than him when he was in university; it lasted 3 years relationship and ended because it was a distance relationship. Currently, at the same time as his boyfriend, he has one *TTM* who is the same age as him. He admitted

that this is to fulfill his desire for sex only, since he has sex with his boyfriend as duty to please his partner.

The way they choose partners, it is not far from the way they perceive their own sexual subjectivities. They have to choose carefully since they still have to hide their sexual orientation and sexual identity and we can see that **time and space** really sharpens their criteria of partners. When they have to break up after many years of the relationship it is because of long distance relationship or having to find a place to meet each other. It is also makes them more fluid in having a permanent couple if it is only buying sex that fulfils their sexual needs.

4.3.6 Sexual fluidity

Some of the facts I already describe above altogether when I explain about sexual subjectivities of my research partners. However, I would like to explain more about the fluidity of their sexuality.

The way my research partners do sexual acts really related with the type of partners. They already separate between feeling and sex while they have sex with their *TTM* or *kucing* (MSW). They can do without any emotional attachment or in Vada's case even with a stranger.

Vada, in my observation, is the one who really fluid. He had sex while at the first meeting with me. He went to the toilet and had sex with a stranger. So he is very fluid in the term of sexual acts in public places.

Another sexual fluidity is the phenomenon of buying and not buying sex. In this case I talk about the use of *rumah kucing* (gay brothels). From the secret places like saunas or gyms to the wellknown places. In this case, Budi is very fluid in term of buying sex. The most preferred place is in Cempaka Mas, the big shopping area in North Jakarta. With the price of Rp. 60,000 (B 300) per hour and minimum tips the same amount, he can fulfill his desire. The media also plays an important role to sharpen my research partner's sexual fluidity. What were once yellow presses

have become a source of information about massages places, etc? In fact the massage parlors are gay brothels.

For other research partners, I can see the fluidity in how they have to present themselves as heterosexual men at their work place where they have to separate between professionalism and personal life—no sexuality involved in working relationship. They are all very manly and metrosexual men, but because they have to keep their sexual orientation secret so they have to repress their sexual subjectivities in the work place.

They also live in two worlds, being heterosexual men in the social space including family setting in which they remain taking husband's social and sexual roles, while in private sphere; they have their own same sex lovers.

Once again, time and space form the shape of my research partners' sexual subjectivities, influence to the way they choose partners and do sexual acts, and make them more fluid in the term of sexuality. So it is not only talking about their sexual self or their agency but also concerns the influence on their sexual orientation and identity as well as types of their partners within Indonesian society.

4.3.7 Sexual health needs

Sexual health needs, are related with my explanation above about contextual factors and the type of partners.

I try to make a link between contextual factors, sexual fluidity: time and space, and sexual health. The contextual factors, because of discourses among the society, leads them to keep hidden their sexual orientation and makes them live in two worlds—homosexual and heterosexual. It puts them to the situation of making it difficult to find partners. So, it really influences the type of relationships, meaning of sex, and the decision to buy or not buy sex. As a result, they put themselves in the status of being vulnerable to STIs/HIV and particularly about whether to use or not to use condoms, and whether or how to access to the health services.

Donny claimed since he does not like to have sex with *TTM* so he feels comfortable to have sex only with his boyfriend. This situation makes him decide to not use condoms as the part of trust with his partner and the beliefs of having less pleasure if they use them. This situation is also faced by other research partners. Since it is difficult to find a partner so they put themselves to really trust their partners. Once again, they try to fulfill their sexual health needs as a healthy man with high desire and so put themselves at risk of STIs and HIV. They separate whether to use or not to use condoms with the type of partners with whom they have sex. They will use them if they have sex with *TTM* or *kucing*, meanwhile with their lovers; it depends on how much they know their partners.

For sexual health needs private doctors and hospitals are most preferable since my research partners believe that these persons or places are more trustworthy to protect their confidentiality. They never go to other places and stick with one place to do medical check-ups particularly for the HIV test.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design

In this research, I focused on exploring the experience of the Indonesian gay men who consider with homosexual identity and how this thought influences their sexual subjectivities and sexual health. For these reasons, I adopted a qualitative research design with using narrative approach to answer my research questions. In my understanding, I cannot see my research partners as individuals who have different characters and unique personalities if I use a quantitative research because life stories and experiences cannot represented by numbers or a rigid schema that I should arrange in advance. Thus, undoubtedly, the postmodern feminist is chosen as my standpoint for this research because it clearly describes about how to be critical and writes the truth from voice to be heard to be a written language. Jakarta, the place where I live, is really influence a lot with Victorian discourse which consider about sexuality in dichotomy or binary of gender, only male or female. So, like women who get oppressed by men's domination, gay men never have opportunity to bring their gender within my society. Based on Nicholson (1990, p43) said the "central" of feminist theory is gender power relation issue, so I believe with using postmodern feminist, it can lead me to achieve my goals which are breaking silence and bringing gay men's voices.

Since I faced the different situation in my field work in which narrative approach was not enough to answer my questions and I cannot triangulate the data, so I chose ethnographic as my approach. I found that if I only did the narrative interview, I cannot get the rich data rather than I jumped to be like them, tried to live closed with them, and did what they usually do. That is why I have to do participant observations to get really near to my research partners' lives.

3.2 Entry to the Field Work and Reach to “Sensitive Issue”

I conducted my research in Jakarta. Jakarta is the capital and largest city of Indonesia which has area 661.52 km² and the numbers of population are 8,792,000 in 2004 (Wikipedia, 2006). As the place of rapid development of political-economy, Jakarta becomes an interesting place for migrants from other provinces in Indonesia and immigrants from other countries around the world. Thus, Jakarta has more fluid and diverse cultures and nowadays we always called it with “*Jakarta cosmopolitan*” as a representative of being modernize and got the greater impact of globalization from world wide. Since I was born until now, I live there, thus, my personality and my experience make me easy to understand my research partners.

At the first month, I did mapping to get information about who the gay men are, where they are and how I can meet them. I started observation in the Thamrin Road, Central Jakarta, which is one of the biggest business areas in Jakarta. I went to the café or restaurant that often visited by gay men and got the day of the meeting day, for example in O restaurant, in Thamrin Road, Wednesday and Friday nights are more chosen by gay men to hanging around there. They came alone or with friends, talked, chit-chat, flirting or even found the sex partners. I ate lunch in D restaurant in Sarinah Plaza, Central Jakarta in which I found many gay tried to look for *brondong* (younger gay men) for doing sex and did flirting. I went to gay bar as well in Darmawangsa Square, South Jakarta, named H. In here I found, Saturday night is more chosen as meeting time. I visited two different discothèques, first, named ML in West Jakarta, where I found that the lower executive layer tried to find *brondong* as well, and second, named S in West Jakarta, where I found many middle and top executive layer have fun and did flirting in here.

I did non-participants observation as well, in the places like sauna in M Hotel, Central Jakarta and *rumah kucing* (gay brothels) in Cempaka Mas, North Jakarta. I cannot do participant observation since I was not allowed to enter the places because forbidden for the people who are not gay men. So, I just can take the pictures or asked from my informants during interview about the situation inside.

I consulted with my local advisor, dr. Mamoto Gultom, MA, who works in UN but also head of Yayasan Pelangi Nusantara, one of Gay organization in Jakarta, about the new situation of gay men. Also, I talked to Ms. Ie Su Fang from Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia, who works for LGBT organizations “Ardhanary Institute” with whom I got the new regulations of criminalization of homosexuality in South Sumatera, Indonesia.

3.3 Trust Building

I developed rapport and trust with my research partners with trying to be blend with them. Starting from tennis club, every Thursday night and Saturday afternoon, I played together in tennis court. After playing tennis, I went out with them to café or restaurant or big shopping mall in Central Jakarta such Plaza Indonesia, Plaza Senayan or Sarinah Plaza. I did chit-chat, tried to know more about the issues that they often discussed each other. I spent time with them in gay bar as well.

3.4 Methods of Data Collection and Filing

3.4.1 Participants’ recruitment

3.4.1.1 Researcher’s positionality

I am “outsider” from this group. I am female and heterosexual. I am very confident to do this research because I can bring the facts from outsider point of view and it can bring different nuances about gay life in Jakarta. My research was a process of learning and sharing experiences and also empowering my research partners, rather than to bring my selfish and any kinds of exploitation in the purpose to get information to finish my thesis.

3.4.1.2 Characteristic my informants

The target groups of participants for my research were gay men, who live in Jakarta, origin Jakarta citizens or not. Total 5 singles young executive gay men which represent the three layer of executive: top, middle and lower executive (,1 CEO, 2 middle layer, 2 lower layer) who worked at least one year in the private companies particularly multinational company and European embassy, took part in this study. Their ages range from 29 years old to 38 years old. Their lowest educations were bachelor's degree.

3.4.1.3 Recruitment process

I have one gay best friend who is the member of the tennis club. I already knew other members but not so close like me and him. I knew him since year 2000. In the past, I often went to the gay party with him. So, I put him as my key person. From him, I knew one of my research partners and later on I got others from another club or gay network kin after introduced by him. First, they called their friends whether they agree or not to be my research partners. Second, they gave the phone numbers with the agreement from the owners. Finally, I called them by myself and made an appointment.

3.4.1.4 Issue of refusal or withdraw

At the first I already worked with seventh participants, but later on two of them withdraw. They were CEOs from American company. I couldn't get the reasons why they quit but they said they felt insecure with their positions as the top executive who responsible with others. They said that they cannot eat, sleep, or even work. I thought because the news of homophobic boss from the headline story titled "Memoir of *Gaysha*" in Kompas newspaper were spreading among the gay executive and maybe it made them so worry with their positions. I tried to convince them but since in the beginning I already said that if they feel uncomfortable, they can withdraw anytime.

3.4.2 Interviewing and flexibility for guidelines

In the beginning, I did informal interview, which was take a part in conversations, sometimes just “chit-chat”, light conversations about what was going on in their offices, their opinion about “Memoir of *Gaysha*” or other hot news, gay movies which was “Queer as folks” that very famous nowadays among them, a novel from a gay author, Andrei Aksana, “*Lelaki Terindah*” (the handsome man) and the famous gay bar in Jakarta, H.

After knowing well, in this case, after two or three meetings, I conducted unstructured, open-ended interviews which following guidelines that emphasized sexual subjectivities, sexual practice, and sexual health particularly how they solve this problems. However, I was flexible with the other topics which relevant and can lead my participants to narrate their life history especially the important issue on their sexualities. Since, my research partners were well educated, they talked much, even more than what I was asking. If it related with my questions, I kept it, but if not, I brought them back to my “tract”.

3.4.3 Observation

I observed the way my research partners interact with friends or other gay men and how they flirted to others. While I was activities such as doing tennis or hanging out in the bar or cafes, I observed as well all their activities. I put in my mind, noted and I raised the questions while I was interviewing them

3.4.4 Field notes and data filing

“Recording is therefore now generally thought to be good practice in all qualitative interviewing” (Hermanowicz, 2002, cited in Elliot, 2005). Hence, I used tape recorder to record data and store information that I got from interview sessions. Of course, I asked permission to do that. I wrote fieldnotes about my activities and then I type-up all after arriving at home. I wrote the fieldnotes right after interview as well, depends on the situation, in this case I was flexible to find the time, to keep my interviewee comfort and not feel insecure, and also to keep me on the tract. I used my digital camera also as a “photo elicitation” technique (Creswell, 1998, p121). It

helped me a lot to remember what was going on that day particularly the environments which gay people like to visit. For confidential reason, I asked their permission to take their pictures in advance.

3.4.5 Secondary data

As the way to expand my data, I used secondary data—the article in Kompas newspaper titled “Memoir of *Gaysha*” published on Sunday, 30 July 2006 and I read the novel of a gay author, Andrei Aksana, “*Lelaki Terindah*”. I interviewed my key person from NGO and from her I got one set pictures of *Peraturan Daerah Kota Palembang* (The Palembang city’s Codes) Number 2 in year 2004 about *Pemberantasan Pelacuran* (The Elimination of Prostitution) which is just released in 2006 as Codes in South Sumatera, Indonesia and criminalized homosexual peoples as parts of prostitution’s activities. These texts were used by me to do discourse analysis.

3.5 Doing Feminist Research

I believe that I was doing feminist research which leads me to understand more about gay men’s lives. I knew this from the way I looked at and accepted my informants not as samples as but more than that, as my research partners and my friends. I felt that the power relations between us is more to mutual understanding rather than I brought myself as a researcher that only want to complete my research questions. Thus, I did reciprocity relation—not only taking information related to sexuality from them but sharing my own sexuality with my sexual partner and experiences as health professional as well, in the sense to help them if they want to ask me about medical services as long as not far from my knowledge.

3.6 Self-reflexivity being Outsider: Identity That Used All The Time

3.6.1 An outsider

I entered my field work with bringing several identities of my own as a female, heterosexual, nurse, government officer, student and researcher. So, I am outsider from my research partners. The identities that I used most are female and heterosexual. I have to cross many borders in the sense to blend with them. Even though I tried to cross it, I cannot change myself from heterosexual to be homosexual female.

3.6.2 Shifting identities

Although I can get near and close with my research partners by spending time with them for establishing rapport and trust, but I found still there was a distance between us. They accepted and really like me. However, when I started to get the sensitive issue, there was a missing link between us. I felt that they have a burden to talk about sex with me. So, I have to change my presentation in front of them to make more understand about their life. I thought at that time, I need to change my approach with them, for example being a homosexual as well. That is why I brought my lesbian friends in the next meeting and observed how my research partners perceive about me. Wonderful, after getting along with my lesbian friends, I found that my research partner trusted me a lot and even talked much more than before. I thought that it must be because they can see who I am, the person who never discriminate, can go with anyone, or to be close with homosexual groups, gay or lesbian. Talking about sex is taboo in my country and talking about sex with the same sex is more taboo; that is why I understood why it happened to me before.

3.7 Data Processing and Data Analysis

3.7.1 Data processing

I wrote field notes transcription and tried to expand them. I read and reread them again until I can make sense of the data. I did data reduction and tried to

identify the themes and patterns. At that time, I was going back many times to my theoretical concepts and empirical data. I used that theoretical perspective of postmodern feminist to analyze about fluidity of sexuality and how it influences to sexual health particularly the decision to practice safe sex. The process of coding can be done manually by hand but I tried to use Envivo programs as well.

3.7.2 Discourse analysis in my research

Since I use postmodern feminist perspective in analyzing, look at the discourse on homosexuality, mainstream and conflicting discourse, agency to express their homosexuality in the mainstream heterosexual Indonesian culture, I looked at my participants as an individual. Thus, it was the reason for me to do discourse analysis. Doing discourse analysis helped me to interpret both text and context, so I can get more levels of meanings. I adopted Estrada-Claudio (2002, p325) guidelines to lead me understand the dominant discourse, which are: “the concepts and ideas the text wants to convey, the overt meanings, the hidden ones; the claims to expertise or knowledge that the text is making; discursive strategies that I can see in the text that reinforce its claims to knowledge/expertise; and form of consciousness or subjectivity that the text imposing”. It means that I did analysis case by case based on the context of each individual’s live experience.

3.8 Ethical Issues

3.8.1 Ethical Consideration

I did this research with always bring my ethical consideration. My main purpose why I do this research is pure to bring the voice of my participants and empowering them to come out of their own sexual orientation, to narrate or give their own voice on their own life histories, to get out from culture of silence about gay’s sexual lives. Thus, since the process of recruitment until I finished, there was no coercion or exploitation have done from my site as a researcher.

3.8.2 Confidentiality

The confidentiality of my research partners is very important for me as an ethical issue. So, I kept their names and all information about them confidentially. I did all the process of interviews' transcribing and translation by myself. The results of recording in tape and diary will be destroyed after finishing transcribing.

3.8.3 Informed Consent

I kept my research partners rights as an individual so they can refuse to answer my questions or to withdrawal from my research project any time. That is why, from beginning, I described about purpose of my research and what I want from my participants frankly. Even though two of my research partners withdraw in the middle of the process, I did not insist of forced them to stay. All the records and pictures that I took were based on the agreement and permission from my research partners.

3.8.4 Privacy

I kept my research partners' privacy with choosing the place that makes them comfortable while I was doing interview. I tried to find a private place that can speak comfort and not make them become the center of public interest. I did all my activities alone as a part of keeping their privacy in the sense of their identity. I never exposed all the material that related to my participants to others even with my own family members.

3.8.5 Benefits to the participants

Since I work as health professional for Ministry of Health in Indonesia, I used my networks particularly my colleagues in many hospitals in Jakarta to provide sexual counseling and sexual health information, also assist in health care referral for my research partner if needed. I gave them the name cards of my best friends doctors (under agreement between me and my friends) in the sense of making easier for them to find the appropriate doctors for their problems since all of my friends are specialist in certain diseases.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

My discussion of findings runs together with my interpretation of data. However, in this chapter I am going to highlight some interesting points that emerged from the findings.

Sexual identity of executive gay men: Masculine assertive role

I am interested to explore more about refusing being a sissy being really important for all my research partners. Hearing what they have said to me leads me to draw this conclusion. For instance Donny mentioned that “*Gue gak mau mengekspos atau membuat orang lain tahu tapi dengan jalan sama mereka (sissy) malah akan membuka identitas gue (I don’t want to expose it or let anyone knows about me, but with getting along with them, it will open my identity (sexual))*”. Meanwhile Cahyo explained that “*Gue gak comfort kalo jalan sama yang sissy banget, takut aja ada saudara yang liat (I’m uncomfortable to hang out with persons who are really sissy, just worry if my relatives see me with them)*”. In the meantime, Vada said “*Sissy selalu ngondek banget jadi menciptakan image yang membuat orang menilai semua gay seperti itu (Sissy gays are always too much feminine so it leads an image among peoples which leads them to think that all gay men are like that)*”. Finally, Mudi and Budi have similar opinions that “*Profesional lah, jangan ngondek dan harus bisa mengontrol diri (Be professional, don’t be too much feminine and control yourself)*”, this was particularly their opinions when I asked about what they consider about being a sissy in their executive environment.

From the explanations above, I can conclude that being an executive gay man means being manly and not being a sissy. Masculinity is preferable since they have to adjust their positions in society with their gender roles and identities. Since they are men and also executive, so they have to behave with masculine roles. This is

basically the social expectation from the Indonesian society, to be in high social and powerful position; you must be a man or a person taking and strong and manhood personality.

This conclusion is clearly related with the theory that I used when I was writing my proposal about masculinity in which I made my own conclusion that masculinity refers to the consciousness of men about their image and that controls the way they act, are perceived, viewed as a result of practices in written the norms and values of everyday life.

As a result, they really do not like to be sissy, even though they clearly mention that they do not hate this group. Thus, I proved my conclusion in my previous writing that gender role is how a person lives in society using standards that are constructed within society to be appropriate with a category, for example men should be masculine and female should be feminine and follow by certain attitudes that fit. Standards here are being executive men who have to keep their images as manly and strong, even if some of them have feminine sides since they are versatile gay men or gay queens. In conclusion, my research partners prefer their sexual identity as masculine and this influences their sexual practices and roles as assertive and penetrates but not vice versa.

Medical discourse of homosexuality as the mental disease as the dominant discourse

Actually for a long time the medical discourse on homosexuality as the mental disease ¹has been rooted in Indonesian society's mind-set. That is why we can find term such as *sakit* (ill) which was explained by Mudi. But the interesting part is that some of my informants believe that the environment really influenced them to be gay men. In this case were peers or friends in their social life. Once they are involved

¹ The "Heterosexual/ Homosexual Rating Scale," which rates a person's homosexuality or heterosexuality on a 7-point continuum: 0- Exclusively heterosexual; 1- Predominantly heterosexual, only incidentally homosexual; 2- Predominantly heterosexual, but more than incidentally homosexual; 3- Equally heterosexual and homosexual; 4- Predominantly homosexual, but more than incidentally heterosexual; 5- Predominantly homosexual, only incidentally heterosexual; 6- Exclusively homosexual (Johnson, 2007)

get along with gay men or this community, they will be like them. Hearing Cahyo and Mudi explain about their experiences shows that time and space played an important role in their lives.

Essentially, I want to discuss more about the misconceptions of family orientation about homosexual life, particularly gay men's lives. The opinion of mental disease initiated by the "wrong environment" brings the families to bring their sons to psychiatric consultants. Here I present what Budi and Cahyo have experienced in the past.

"Aku pernah ke psikiater, ada skala gay, aku di 4, yang masih memungkinkan untuk ditarik jadi biseksual (I have ever been gone to a psychiatrist, there was a gay scale, my result was 4 (fourth) which is still possible for me to be back to bisexual life) (Budi, 36 years).

"Tahun pertama gue kuliah, gue dibawa ke psikiater sama nyokap gue. Skala gue 6, perlu kemauan keras untuk balik lagi jadi normal (In the first year of my university, I was brought to psychiatrist by my mother. My scale was 6, which is needed a hard willing to be back to normal life again) (Cahyo, 28 years).

From these two cases, what Foucault described about why discourse, in this case is medical discourse happen in society, in Jakarta gay men's cases. The medical discourse leads their families to interpret phenomena based on their own understanding—wrong environment, bad influences from peers or friends and sometimes because of the control of a dominant power—religious powers. This leads to judgmental interpretations such as homosexuality is a mental disease and needs to be cured by psychiatric treatment. Furthermore, it divides people in society into two groups, as deviant or normal, just like Lupton said.

Homosexuality as a crime: emerging institutional discourse

Palembang Provincial Regulation have become the hottest issue among peoples who work for gay rights. I know that it is far from Jakarta and on a different

island, but still it will spread to other cities in Indonesia. First, our society puts homosexuality as a social evil and now there is an emerging institutional discourse on homosexuality as a crime from religious fundamentalist within Indonesian society.

The terms of “amorally evil trend that must be eliminated” (Boellstorff, 2005a, p576), or deviants, people who should “get pure”, “find a shrink”, and “pray more” (Oetomo, 2001), are now accepted by people who have responsibility as decision makers and pass acts. The act in this case is absolutely misleading and wrong headed. Once again, the dominant discourse plays a role to bring Indonesian society to the heterosexism ideology which is really different from reality. The reality is there is an increasing number of gay men, gays have many roles in society (in fact some of them are decision makers as well), and there are rights to exist equal with heterosexual peoples.

Sexual subjectivity: sexual body, body image and body project

For Indonesian society, being a man is never apart from the meaning to be a good and “normal” man. The criteria of a good and “normal” man except being clever are *gagah* (strong) and muscular as a result of sports. On the other hand, executives not only need the intelligence but must also have a good body appearance. That is why all my research partners are really concerned with their fitness. Sport is not just a sport but becomes a part of their sexual subjectivities.

Based on my understanding about sexual subjectivity which refers to the way we put ourselves within society based on our understanding and perceive the sexuality matters and influence to how we make people know us as a person with certain gender and sexual identity and performance, thus we can see that sport plays the important role as a media to keep their good body shape since being gay executive men, they should consider about their “standards”. These standards exist for both men and gay men. Both should be strong, manly, clever, handsome or good looking, have muscular bodies, and adorable for females (men) because of smart, good appearance, up to date styles: hair, clothes, bags, etc—represents of

metrosexual life (gay men). Although I clearly mention before that metrosexual men are not always gay men, but from my research partners, I got the conclusion that it is their world.

Looking at my explanations above, I decided to use Lupton, 1994, with her theory about body project. “In commodity culture, body maintenance in the interest of good health merges with the desire to appear sexually attractive, to be able successfully to market one’s body, ...” (Bordo, 1990, cited on Lupton, 1994:37). In my understanding, for my research partners, to have a good body shape and maintain their physical fitness is a must. It is not only for keeping their body healthy but we can say as an attempt to maintain attractive sexual body of the executive gay men as well.

APPENDIX

Appendix A

Interview guideline

1. Discourse

- Where to find out discourses?

Interview key-informants, school textbooks, newspapers and magazines, website that the gay executive expose to, workplace regulation, state regulation related to homosexual people and so on.

- What kinds of discourses?

Dominant discourses:

HIV/AIDS high-risk group

Homosexual as a social evil, mental disease, etc

Gay as alternative life style:

When people talk or refer to gay or homosexual people, transgender, transvestite, what do they talk about or refer to? What do they call them? And what do they mean?

2. Individual position in conflicting and competing discourse on homosexuality

- Are you sexually, emotionally and/or romantically attracted to people of the same sex?

- What do you think about as homosexual?

3. Gender orientation and identity

- Could you tell me about your life during childhood, your family, your education, your life experiences since from when you grow up until you are now?

- When did you start realize about your gender orientation? What is it male or female or other? Up until now, have you ever changed back and forth about your gender identity, when, where and with whom? At school, public or society, workplace, church, peer group, family, girlfriend or wife, boyfriend, etc. (2 level of gender role (behavior-level) and gender identity (inside or belief or idea, Self or subjectivity)).

- Since you are young up until now, do you follow mainstream masculinity and femininity dichotomy—as the expression of your maleness? When, where and with whom and how do you feel about it?

- Are you active or passive in sexual behavior? What gender and sexual role have you considered when you have sex relationship with your partner? Trace back from the first sexual experience, one by one sexual partner.

- What is the term that you use to call yourself when you are with your own group or friends?

4. Sexual meanings

- What does it mean to you when you have sex with different partners? Trace back from the first sex up until now? Why do you have sex?

- What does it mean to you when you have sex?

- What kinds of different feelings or experiences did you experience when you have sex with your partners (one by one, time and space in consideration)? (Pleasure, painful, intimacy, love, definition of self, self-esteem, procreation, domination, violence, practices power, etc).

5. Sexual partnership

- Tell me about your lovers one by one, since the first one until the last one, how many have you had sexual partner, how long for each relation? One at a time or more than one at a time, where did you meet each of them, how long have you dated or know each other until you have sex with him or her? Who are they, what is their gender or sexual orientation? Why?

- Among each sexual partner or relation, who initiate sex? Who determine to have sex or not to have sex, position or type, to use condom, lubricant or not? Do you think you have more power than your partner? Why?

6. Sexual drive, enjoyment, and act

- What does sexual enjoyment mean for you? Do you mean you can get orgasm, or a kind of feeling? What are the enjoyments? What and who (what type of person or sexual or gender orientation) make you get arouse?

- For each sexual partner, what types of sex act have you perform? What does it call? Why do you use this sexual act, do you choose yourself or your partner determines it?

- What kind of sexual behavior or sexual intercourse do you have? Which one does you like most? Why? What are the differences between different sexual acts: oral, anal, vaginal, and rubbing between thighs, masturbation with hands, which one makes you enjoy the most and get orgasm?

- Please imagine what kind of sex do you enjoy mostly? Please describe it.

- Do you like to use condom and lubricants in sexual intercourse? Why do you use condom? What are the different feelings between using condom and no condom, lubricant and non-lubricant? How do you look at it?

- Do your emotional feeling leads you accept unprotect sex?

7. Sexual fluidity: time and space

- Usually, where and when do you have sex'?

- Do you have experiences making love in different places and times?

What kind of feeling did you have? What were the differences?

- In lifelong, do you think in different period sex means differently? What are the differences?

- Why do you visit gay websites? What do you get from the gay websites?

Which place do you hang out to pick up sexual partner? Why? What kind of partners do you expect?

8. Sexual health needs and problems, health seeking practices

- Have you considered yourself a healthy person? Have you had any common health problems? What are they? In the past, have you been sick with sexual health problems? What did you do, where did you go for seeking treatment? Why you went there? What is your satisfaction with the service you receive (explain every stage of health seeking)? If you have been to any health services, have you satisfied? How people treated you? If you never go to the government health service, why? When was the last time that you were sick with sexual health problem? What did you do or where did you go? Why did you go to those places, how much did it cost you? How was the service you received, did you satisfy with it? Why? And why not? (Document every stage of health seeking practices until the symptom was cured).

- Have you ever had sex against your will? How many times? With whom? Where and in what context? What are the health consequences?

- Do you think you have enough information and knowledge toward sexual health? What are sources of information have you get this information? If you need more information, what are information do you need to know more and what are the sources means to deliver these information that can reach you well?

- As a gay man, are you happy with yourself? What is your fear? Is your sexual life and being gay bring you enjoyment, self worth, happiness, or other thing else? How do you cope or what are ways that you do to overcome with you unhappiness in life sometime?

- Are you afraid of contracting STIs / AIDS? How much do you think you are at risk for these diseases? How would you think you are at risk of STIs / AIDS? How will you prevent it? What are the good places to get treated with STIs? Why?

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