Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. The terms *wadam* and *waria* are similar inasmuch as they both draw on different words to index a combination of masculinity and femininity within a single body, and I located no significant difference in how the terms were used among those who identified as such. *Wadam*’s clever appropriation of the names of Adam and Eve gives that term a quirky religious emphasis compared to *waria*’s combination of the secular words for male and female. Indonesia’s minister of religion announced the replacement of *wadam* with the new term *waria* in 1978. The decision was made after reported protests by Islamic groups from East Java over the incorporation of the name Adam, a symbol of the unity of humanity in the Quran, to refer to forms of gender nonconformity and same-sex sexuality that had historically chafed with pious organizations and individuals. The combination of these specific words is interesting, given the origin myth of Eve’s creation from Adam’s own body being a prominent example of the one-sex model of sex and gender that prevailed until the late eighteenth century (Herdt 1996). Thomas Laqueur (1990) traced the movement from a one-sex model used in Greek antiquity—a masculine body and mind inscribed on an incomplete female body—to a two-sex model as part of a shift in understanding male and female as ontological rather than sociological categories.

2. In both its contemporary and historical use, *banci* indexes more wide-ranging forms of gender and sexual variance than *waria*, as reflected in the common meaning of the term as an expression of “ambiguity” (Oetomo 2000, 48). As I encountered the term during fieldwork in 2014–15, both gay men and warias commonly used *banci* to refer to one another and themselves in circumscribed social settings generally not oriented toward a public audience. When used by non-warias or at heated moments between warias, the term held a derogatory meaning, and public use of the term was generally avoided. Warias explained that the creation of *wadam* as a new, more presentable and respectable term in the late 1960s was driven by an understanding that *banci* was an offensive and even hurtful term of address.

3. Although the historical focus of this book means that it does not directly address the impact of the HIV epidemic or engage with the political claims of transgender rights, both are being drawn on by warias to lay claim to forms of recognition. A particularly powerful source of knowledge in the everyday lifeworlds of warias belonging to the urban poor since the mid-2000s has been their identification as “key populations” at risk of contracting HIV and AIDS. The HIV epidemic has shaped the ways in which warias narrate themselves as transgender under certain conditions (Hegarty 2017b) and led to new claims to political recognition (Mallay et al. 2021).

4. Anthropologists have demonstrated how it is not so much that Southeast Asian cultures are free from cosmologies grounded in dualism, but rather that explanatory assumptions based on the constitution and relations of dominant Euro-American dualisms of male/female and mind/body at the individual level can lead to significant misunderstandings (Helliwell 2000; Errington 1990). It is precisely the superficial similarities between dualisms in diverse cultures that have served as justification for many of the universal assumptions underpinning Euro-American theoretical accounts of sex and gender, including at the level of nature/culture (see Ortner 1972). This book is not concerned
with overcoming or resolving binary gender but rather follows the approach taken by Michael Lambek in his cross-cultural interpretation of the mind/body problem, to understand how such dualisms offer ways to explore how “different cultures do not map directly onto one another, but leave problems of translation . . . discrepancies [that] open up new avenues for investigation” (1998, 105).

5. The history of femininity in colonial and postcolonial Indonesia constitutes an entire field of discussion and debate, with significant attention paid to historicizing the gender ideology of the New Order. Fantasizing the Feminine in Indonesia, edited by Laurie Sears (1996), and Indonesian Women in Focus, edited by Elspeth Locher-Scholten and Anke Niehof (1992), are two influential examples of edited volumes that attend to gender as central to social transformation in Indonesia (see also Brenner 1998). This book contributes to this rich legacy of historical and ethnographic scholarship about Indonesian femininity by challenging the assumptions of Euro-American theoretical frameworks that interpret gender difference at the level of the individual as an essential and authentic part of the self.

6. An understanding of bodies along a cisgender/transgender binary has historical parallels with the reconsolidation of binary gender in conservative psychological and medical theories in the United States in the middle of the twentieth century. Jules Gill-Peterson (2018) has traced the historical emergence of this meaning of gender via experimentation and clinical practice on intersex children in the 1940s and 1950s at Johns Hopkins University, which revealed binary sex as far too simplistic an explanatory concept in endocrinology. A psychological and social concept of gender emerged at precisely the point that binary sex was in crisis in the United States, playing a part in undoing “the idea that humans were naturally bisexual or sexually indeterminate” and “though children were born exceptionally plastic, that plasticity needed to grow in a developmental direction, either male or female, to prevent social stigma” (Gill-Peterson 2018, 119, emphasis in original).

7. This account generally pertains to cities during the New Order, particularly the regulations governing the roles of Indonesian municipalities adopted in 1974, which effectively consolidated existing colonial-era laws that emphasized decentralization (Malo and Nas 1991). Another key aspect of municipal governance was the central role of the military, with mayors and governors sourced from military commands. Following the end of the New Order in 1998, Indonesian cities and their administration have shifted somewhat through a revitalized process of decentralization in which the central government has granted cities and regions greater autonomy over their own affairs (Butt 2010).

1. BANCI, BEFORE WARIA

1. The status conferred by belonging to one of these three legally defined categories was fundamental to social life in the Dutch East Indies, given that those belonging to them were placed within separate and unequal legislative and administrative systems (Fasseur 1994). I refer to these categories as racial because of the fact that they were rooted in an understanding of white superiority, in which European status was hierarchically superior, although this does not mean they were always defined in relation to race. Historians have pointed out that definitions of race in the Dutch East Indies were for the most part not premised on an essential biological and psychological origin, and in that sense are perhaps better understood as a form of racialized status organized under a notion of the superiority of Europeanness. European status was not necessarily limited to white people but could also be achieved by the ruling elite of indigenous populations and others, such as the Japanese, who were recognized as such in 1899 (Luttikhuis 2013, 545).

2. In Java, where modernist Islamic reformers have expressed staunch opposition to the common presence of gender nonconformity in ritual practices and myth since the
nineteenth century, trans performers nevertheless remained a popular expression of the possibility of holding together distinct elements in a single body or figure well into the twentieth century (Peacock 1978). In the popular lower-class theater genre known as *ludruk*, the combination of masculinity and femininity in a single body was celebrated as late as the 1960s as a symbol of the processes of modernization (Peacock 1968). Opposition to trans performers did not derive from the doctrinal condemnation of homosexuality and gender nonconformity alone, but rather from what James Peacock (1978, 129) described as the “outrageous creativity” of figures able to draw together two or more elements in a single figure as a demonstration of cosmic unity, including that of high (*halus*) and low (*kasar*) status. At stake was not only the public performance of practices that came to be interpreted as gender, into which other symbolic forms were incorporated, but the power to grant recognition to the effects of such combinations.

3. Tom Boellstorff (2007, 85–86) interpreted how banci and other terms took shape within a colonial cartographic approach to difference, in which indigenous people were imagined as relating to one another only at the scale of the local (see also Boellstorff 2002).

4. Dekker and van de Pol (1989, 50), in their account of what they called “female cross-dressers,” referred to *kwee* as derived from “an old Dutch word for a hermaphroditic cow that cannot have young . . . in fact, the only original Dutch word with the same meaning as hermaphrodite.” The inclusion of *kwee* as one translation for banci in Batavia suggests a parallel with popular Dutch definitions of male homosexuality at the time. From the eighteenth century onward, Dutch medical and legal accounts had begun to define “sodomites” more closely through recourse to physical evidence of feminine gender presentation (Boon 1989). The Dutch army in particular may have been one important site through which sexual knowledge and terms spread throughout the Dutch East Indies (Hekma 1991). The prevailing focus on historical forms of gender crossing as symptoms of same-sex sexuality in the historical record means that trans experience has largely been elided.

5. There is a historical overlap between a concerted interest in banci in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and developments in the broader field of sexology in Europe and the United States. Although their views varied, prominent sexologists drew on accounts of colonized people to define male homosexuality as evident in their physical gender expression (see Bauer 2006). Siobhan Somerville (1994, 249) illustrated how the development of scientific theories of homosexuality based on “somatic differences” by nineteenth-century sexologists, including those of British sexologist Havelock Ellis, were closely informed by scientific racism. Somerville outlined how the historical “invention” of the homosexual body and the reformulation of race as essentialized forms of difference in the United States relied on a shared concern that linked them to a no less essentialist definition but one that stressed inner state.

6. Although Hirschfeld interpreted same-sex behavior as implicitly related to gender expression (Valentine 2007), his definition of transvestite allowed for an account of gender crossing as a complex phenomenon unable to be reduced to homosexuality (Hirschfeld [1910] 2006).

7. I have not located a written version of the lecture or the press reports of it that Hirschfeld refers to. After arriving in the Dutch East Indies in 1927, van Wulfften Palthe was an eclectic figure who was active in the emerging field of psychoanalysis and a participant in lively debates at the end of the colonial period as to the “nature of the native mind” (Pols 2018, 190). In one essay, he interpreted Indonesian independence within a Freudian psychoanalytic framework, offering an exculpatory theory that ignored the brutal economic exploitation of colonialism and promoted a fantasy that Dutch and Indonesians had previously lived within a “harmonious colonial family” (Pols 2011, 161).

8. Frances Gouda (1997) interpreted the powerful use of gendered metaphors at the end of Dutch colonial rule, ascribing masculinity to the Dutch and femininity to Indonesians.
It would be interesting to investigate whether banci, a term referring to a more general state of gendered ambiguity, was a metaphor deployed by the Dutch or among Indonesians during the period of anticolonial struggle or in the newly independent nation.

9. This article, appearing in the Sino-Malay newspaper Soemanget, refers to widespread concern expressed about the public visibility of banci in Batavia in the late 1920s.

10. This article was part of a special issue published during the early New Order as part of a municipal-level response to a perceived crisis of gender nonconformity in public space in Jakarta. The magazine articles included firsthand reports that prioritized the voices of those the journalists identified as banci.

11. The journalist paid close attention to the race (bangsa) of each person, with the classification of homosexuality emerging through a racialized concept of public gender. Dutch men were described as “active homosexuals,” and banci were “passive homosexuals.” The journalist also distinguished the race of the man discovered in an embrace with the banci described in the article as not a “native” (pribumi), but as a “Chinese youth” (pemuda Tionghoa), noting just how easily the Chinese student had been deceived. The ambiguous position of Chinese Indonesians in the new nation, though distinct, echoed that of banci, providing a parallel set of legal and symbolic resources. In chapter 3, I describe how the possibilities for changing legal gender that accompanied the emergence of medical transsexuality in Indonesia in the mid-1970s drew on regulations that only applied to Chinese Indonesians. The shared histories of the fragility of Chinese Indonesians and warias' claims to citizenship in Indonesia make up a thread that demands further exploration.

12. The "dress circular" of March 1905, which abandoned attempts to regulate dress according to ethnicity, was issued in the context of the introduction of the Ethical Policy, a set of liberal reforms introduced in the Netherlands in response to popular outcry over the exploitative conditions of Dutch colonial rule in the Indies. Arnout van der Meer (2020, 119–20), however, described how the 1905 circular removing restrictions on dress came about largely due to efforts by Chinese residents to claim respect and equality in the colonial state following the decision to grant European status to the Japanese.

13. This manual, reproducing legal regulations in Dutch and Malay, was produced for native teachers in legal science training schools. The discussion of disguise—and reference to gender crossing on parallel lines to race—is roughly the same as that discussed in reference to the “law of disguise” reproduced in the periodical Soenda Berita in 1904 (cited in Siegel 1997, 86). This concern for fraud was in part provoked by a conservative turn in the colonial state's management of the indigenous population, which resulted in intensifying surveillance and modernization of the police in the colony in the early twentieth century (Shiraishi 2003; Bloembergen 2007).

14. Arnout van der Meer (2020, 143) described the fierce contestations over what was appropriate clothing for women among Indonesian nationalist groups during the 1920s and 1930s, with a gradual consensus on “traditional attire as Indonesian women’s national dress,” cementing women’s association with domesticity and motherhood (see also Suryakusuma 1996).

2. JAKARTA, 1968

1. Jakarta has the administrative status of a province (daerah tingkat I), the Special Capital Region of Jakarta, or Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta. Although this means that Jakarta is managed by a single governor and council (who are in some ways similar to a mayor and city council), the province is further divided into the municipalities of North, South, East, West, and Central Jakarta (Nas and Grijns 2000, 18). These cities have a mayor but no elected city council, a form of governance that favors business and elite interests
(Kusno 2014). Abidin Kusno described how Jakarta's role as the capital, and the correspondingly overt role played by the central government in governing the city, has made Jakarta a "city with restricted citizen participation" (2014, 20). Warias offer a perspective on the centrality of public gender in engaging with this restricted form of participation in the Indonesian city.

2. Following the 1965 coup, Suharto was sworn in as acting president in 1967 (for a detailed account see Anderson and McVey 1971). Suharto was elected president the following year. Saskia Wieringa (2002, 338) has deconstructed the centrality of a gendered moral panic to the founding myth of the New Order regime, in particular the establishment of patriarchal control over women through propaganda that circulated spurious accounts of women belonging to the Indonesian Communist Party having committed sexual violence against generals murdered in 1965.

3. Although the origins of this legal apparatus were in Dutch colonial law, a legal charge akin to public indecency was gradually incorporated into debates and the eventual criminalization of pornography in 2006, which stressed the effects of images on a seeing public rather than being limited to a concern for the pornographic image as material object (Lindsay 2010).

4. Like wadam, female sex workers were also addressed through a technocratic yet moralistic new term in Sadikin's Jakarta: “woman without morals” (wanita tuna susila, abbreviated to WTS) (Sedyaningsih-Mamahit 1999; Murray 1991). Unlike the case with warias, however, the bureaucratic abbreviation WTS seems to have created neither an opportunity to exert greater control over presentation nor the basis for asserting citizenship rights. The other group that was consistently framed as a risk to public order on parallel terms to warias, and was thus linked to ambiguous threats tied to the dangers of unrestricted public gender and sexuality, were homeless people (gelandangan) (see Suparlan 1974). Each of these populations was organized into an overarching framework of social deviance in relation to the governmental category “People with Social Welfare Problems” (Penyandang masalah kesejahteraan sosial), abbreviated to PMKS.

5. From 1983 to 1985, urban militias and uniformed police officers eliminated thousands of petty criminals and associated individuals from the urban underclasses in what were known as the “mysterious killings,” murdering them and leaving their bodies in public places for all to witness (Siegel 1998; van der Kroef 1985). Neither the perpetrators of the violence nor the government figures that orchestrated it have ever been brought to justice. Warias, perhaps through their ambiguous integration into the public visuality of the New Order owing to their relationship to the municipal government, appeared to escape this fate.

6. Warias’ use of the particular turn of phrase zaman emas brings to mind a powerful trope in both Indonesian political cultures and classical Javanese thought famously described by Benedict Anderson as a concentration of power, a period “of cosmic order and social well-being, in which each person plays out his appointed role, hierarchies are maintained, and harmony prevails” (1990, 242).

7. Born in 1908, Hamka (an acronym for Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrul) was an influential and conservative, if idiosyncratic, Indonesian Islamic scholar (Howell 2010; Aljunied 2018). Hamka mentioned firsthand accounts of bancis to illustrate the doctrinal condemnation of homosexuality in Islam. Describing bancis as “no different from homosexuals in Europe,” he interpreted the presence of gender nonconformity in Jakarta as a reflection of forms of immorality that had originated in the West (1981, 275). The version of the Tafsir I cite was published in 1981 by Yayasan Latmojong in Surabaya but appears to be a reprint of the original version, published in 1967.
8. This impact of racial status as European on the Indonesian municipality is reflected in the fact that areas initially classified as cities—and hence bestowed with political and economic clout—were areas with large European populations. European citizens were nevertheless required to recognize and adapt to the presence of the indigenous population.

9. Warias’ claims appeared to demand recognition of the fact that, although municipalities are able to enforce forms of public order, the authority to prosecute or punish individuals under the criminal code can only be made by the national police. Warias’ encounters with the state are usually through what I have called municipal or city police, known as the Satuan Polisi Pramong Praja (Satpol PP), who are responsible for enforcing separate regional regulations and who report to mayors or governors (on the colonial origins of the development of the format of municipal police forces see Lev 1985; Bloembergen 2007). Although such raids most definitely have taken a disciplinary format, and are described by warias in everyday life as “being arrested” (di tangkap), throughout the New Order they increasingly entailed a form of detention for purposes of rehabilitation within an emerging format of social welfare.

3. THE PERFECT WOMAN

1. My choice of the phrase “sex reassignment surgery” here is both a translation of the commonly used Indonesian phrase operasi penggantian kelamin and conveys a critical component of the translation and interpretation of transsexuality among Indonesian experts. I hope that preserving this use helps to sustain a trenchant historical critique of the state’s appropriation of transsexuality as a medical discourse embedded in legacies or racism and colonialism (see especially Stryker 2013). While the tendency of the Indonesian state was to silence the voices of warias and other trans people in the historical archive, I hope that the more ethnographic analytical stance toward warias’ lives in other chapters allows this book to both enable and to engage with “trans people as active participants in the construction and contestation of medical discourse . . . rather than as passive objects of knowledge” (Gill-Peterson 2018, 16; see also Latham 2019; Strahan 2020).

2. In 1966, Johns Hopkins University Hospital founded a Gender Identity Clinic to provide sex reassignment surgery, which was followed by other centers, including at Stanford University and the University of California, Los Angeles (Meyerowitz 2002). The rise of a medical and scientific establishment saw the establishment of patient groups who identified as transsexuals and who contested the grounds on which they were treated as patients (Stone 1992). These complex shifts can be understood, broadly, as reflecting a reorganization of concepts of the modern self in the United States across the same period that was tied to values of self-expression and self-transformation (Meyerowitz 2002).

3. Afsaneh Najmabadi (2014) described a similar process in the history of determining the differences between transsexuality and same-sex sexuality in Iran, reflecting how nations outside of the West engaged with medical and scientific technologies to establish distinctive modern paradigms for defining sex, gender, and sexuality.

4. During the New Order, a national identity card (known as the kartu tanda penduduk, abbreviated to KTP) possessed by individual citizens supplemented a document known as the “family card,” and the more relational form of gendered citizenship it implied (Strassler 2010, 135). Prior to the 1960s, bureaucratic documentation like the family card does not appear to have explicitly listed a person’s sex on individual terms. This is not to say that gender was not an important marker of personhood tied to citizenship, but rather that it rested on assumptions about appearances and social roles that were left relatively undefined.

5. A psychologist at the University of Surabaya trained in Germany, Tjiptono Darmadji referred to the presence of “tribal groups” who “still [had] specific rituals in which
wadam [had] roles that classified them as women” (1969, 3). Similarly, Karsono (1973, 89) framed banci in terms of existing practices related to individuals found throughout the archipelago.

6. The violence of this and other encounters with medicine, remembered bitterly by elderly waria to whom I spoke, reflects the normalizing and pathologizing logic of a medical discourse of transsexuality underpinned by a disavowal of trans people’s own self-knowledge. Poor Indonesian trans women experienced a parallel regime to that of the United States, where a model of medicine that “disavows its own racial knowledge and racial violence” rests on “the presumption of special access to black people’s bodies for experimental research that was frequently nontherapeutic, practiced without consent, painful, and destructive” (Gill-Peterson 2018, 27; see also Snorton 2017).

7. In addition to playing an important role in modernizing psychiatric training in Indonesia, Setyonegoro had traveled to the University of California, San Francisco, as part of an exchange program with the University of Indonesia (Pols 2006, 366). This training may have influenced his ongoing engagement with transsexuality; in addition to providing expert commentary, Setyonegoro played a prominent role in developing guidelines for the diagnosis of transsexuality that were adopted for use in 1978 (Indonesian Department of Health 1978).

8. The Christian concept of the soul, with its emphasis on a deep interiority, reflects a historically specific form of personhood and genealogy of the modern self (see Taylor 1989). It is but one instance of configurations of personhood premised on inner and outer parts (Lambek 1998). Clifford Geertz (1976, 232) clarified how the most usual dualism signifying this in Javanese personhood differs from the meanings associated with body and soul; batin “consists in the fuzzy, shifting flow of subjective feeling in all its phenomenological immediacy,” and lahir refers “to that part of human life which, in our culture, strict behaviorists limit themselves to studying—external actions, movements, postures, speech.” Rather than a “separate seat of encapsulated spirituality detachable from the body” (232) there is an integrated, interpenetrating relationship between the interior life of an individual and bodily cultivation (see also Errington 1989, 75).

9. Jules Gill-Peterson (2018) has traced the history of a concept of psychologized gender back to the experimentation and clinical practice on intersex children in the 1940s and 1950s at Johns Hopkins University, which revealed binary sex as far too simplistic an explanatory concept in endocrinology. A psychological and social concept of gender emerged at precisely the point that binary sex was in crisis in the United States, playing a part in undoing previous notions of sex as naturally bisexual yet nevertheless replacing it with a notion of developmental growth as either male or female.

10. Where they do attend to the topic, ethnographic accounts have found that those who identify as waria usually downplay or dismiss outright the need to transform their genital morphology to better align their appearances with their gender (Boellstorff 2007, 94–95; Davies 2010, 142). This is not to posit a sharp difference in forms of personhood between different times and places; for example, Eric Plemons’s (2017) account of facial feminization surgery among trans women suggests that transformations to outer appearances are more central to the recognition of gender on social terms than has sometimes been admitted.

11. Ratnam developed a significant regional reputation in Southeast Asia for sex reassignment surgeries for trans men and women, which he performed approximately four hundred times (S. S. Ratnam, interview by Soh Eng Khim, October 3, 1997, recording, Medical Services in Singapore Oral History, National Archives of Singapore).

12. I pieced together this history from dozens of articles reporting on Vivian’s case in the Kompas newspaper and the reputable national weekly magazine Tempo. I am grateful to Holy Rafika for his assistance in locating these articles.
13. The film appears to have served a didactic purpose, with time reserved for medical professionals to explain the latest scientific expertise to the film’s audience (Murtagh 2013). The film echoes popular accounts of transsexuality in the United States, in which medical authority was used to convey the legitimacy of transsexuality, as Joanne Meyerowitz (2002, 66) wrote, “cloaking it in the language of science and removing it from the realm of sex.” In one scene, a psychiatrist speaks directly to the camera to clarify that there are four types of wadam: “transsexuals,” “transvestites,” “wadam,” and “banci kalèng.” Although the doctor defines the last term as “men who wear women’s clothes for profit”—and as firmly set apart from the first three—during fieldwork I found that waria often used the expression banci kalèng in everyday narratives of the self to refer to the first stages at which waria start to make their “woman’s soul” visible through the application of makeup and wearing women’s clothing (Hegarty 2018, 359).

14. This ruling has served as a precedent for Indonesians wishing to change their gender and name as it is listed on their identity documents, although doing so involves a legal and bureaucratic process that is complicated and difficult to complete.

15. The Iranian and Indonesian contexts developed a divergent set of debates on the topic. Whereas in Iran transsexuality gradually came to be recognized as an acceptable procedure according to a combination of Islamic and scientific reasoning (Najmabadi 2014), in Indonesia the limited medical and legal guidelines governing the “operation to perfect the genitals” and “changing sex” appear to have been restricted to intersex people.

16. There was significant semantic slippage as Indonesian psychiatrists, doctors, and journalists communicated just how and in what ways gender would be transformed, moving between the terms for “changing” (penggantian), “transforming” (perubahan), “perfecting” (penyempurnaan), and “refining” (penghalusan) a person’s gender. With respect to the latter two, Indonesian doctors had likely incorporated John Money’s concept of “genital unfinishedness,” according to which, with help from surgery, intersex individuals (usually children) would be able to reach a “finished” or “completed” developmental status (Reis 2009, 145). Yet the introduction of the term “refinement” also brings to mind conceptions of personhood expressed in everyday life in Indonesia, including trans women’s description of the effects of the practice of dandan, highlighting how universal scientific and medical knowledge addresses its subjects within specific cultural and historical contexts.

17. How Netty Irawati came to the attention of medical staff as a candidate for Indonesia’s first state-sanctioned surgery and hormonal treatment for transsexuality is troubling, and her surgery appears to have been on some level coerced. Netty appears to have been recruited as an experimental patient following her detention for psychiatric treatment for “hanging around in public” (a euphemism for soliciting sex with men in public), where she encountered the surgeon who led the operation, Professor Hanifa Wiknyosastro (Tempo 1975b).

18. The use of khunsa here further highlights the integration of Islam into the technological emphasis of the New Order state. The newly established Indonesian Council of Ulema, of which Buya Hamka was chair, issued a fatwa related to “sex change operations” in 1980. Not legally binding but holding a degree of moral authority, the fatwa asserts that surgeries that would “change” the sex of transsexuals are not permitted, whereas surgeries for intersex people (explicitly clarified as khunsa) should be permitted (Indonesian Council of Ulema 1980).

19. The decree identified six hospitals where gender reassignment surgery would be undertaken and the medical specialists required to perform it (Kompas 1979d; Indonesian Department of Health 1979). Saskia Wieringa (2015) has written an illuminating ethnographic account of Indonesian medical approaches to intersex children after the New Order.
4. BEAUTY EXPERTS

1. I refer to national publics to highlight the way that the boundaries between private citizenship and collective experience are not stable but shaped by an array of affective intensities that thwart efforts to instate authority over cultural order, or what William Mazzarella called those “performative dispensations” where “the performative is not just a matter of adhering to social scripts or adequately playing roles . . . [but] involves a constant multisensory activation of gesture, bodily comportment, and aesthetic potentialities within and against such scripted expectations” (2013, 42). Following Lauren Berlant, I locate warias’ participation in citizenship not as individualized expressions of sex/gender/sexuality but within national publics that offer the possibility to “establish an archive for a different history, one that claimed the most intimate stories of subordinated people as information about everyone’s citizenship” (1997, 221).

2. The form that youth culture took was diverse and did not always take an explicitly political guise, although the 1970s saw the rise of student groups who organized mass protests to oppose the regime. This period was followed by a significant crackdown on the political organizing on campus that had marked the first significant challenge to the Suharto regime (Aspinall 2005, 118).

3. This description of personhood is commonly theorized in relation to malu, a key concept in studies of the emotions in Indonesia which has several analogues, such as isin in Java and lek in Bali. Although usually translated as either “shame” or “embarrassment,” these terms are imprecise, implying “a distance between actor and role, and so between self and social persona, which is misleading” (Keeler 1983, 161). Johan Lindquist described how, for migrant female sex workers, malu is a productive emotion when it enables them to engage in activities they otherwise see as immoral, and thus is an emotional state that “describes the failures to live up to the ideals of the nation” (2009, 14). This is the case for gay men and increasingly for warias, whose appearances and claims to recognition, made to a national public, have been met with affectively charged and even violent forms of rejection (Boellstorff 2004).

4. Nancy Florida, in her study of a text composed in the nineteenth century, described a similar understanding in semu, a classical Javanese concept that refers to a science of reading outer signs open to refined or skilled persons able to read glimpsed, perceptible signs of the inside, thus developing an understanding of a partly concealed truth. Florida noted that this epistemology shaped by a “science of semu” (276) was reflected in the term pasemon —also the word for face—was which was “a kind of epistemologically constructed ‘mask’ which reveals insofar as it appears to conceal” (276). In this respect, the relationship between concealment and revelation described here has greater parallels with projects related to the modern self than has otherwise been acknowledged. In the early twentieth-century United States, the increasing use of cosmetics among women was part of widening participation in consumer culture that gestured to a move away from a “physiognomic paradigm” (Peiss 1996, 320) that emphasized the face as a reflection of the inner self. The availability and popularity of makeup heralded a move toward selfhood conceived as a performance, one that had ambiguous consequences for women: on the one hand, women were expected to wear makeup in public, while women who wore cosmetics that were either excessive or undertaken in the wrong context were held under suspicion of insincerity, fraudulence, or sexual impropriety. Although dandan is shaped by regional histories of personhood, its invocation of a subtle interplay between concealment and revelation produced new possibilities when it encountered a concept of modern gender with a more recent and global history.

5. This included the presence of internationally recognized groups of trans women performers, including the famous French troupe Le Carrousel, which performed at venues in
Jakarta several times in 1973. The fragmentary relationship between the category *waria* and transnational forms of knowledge related to transgender femininity—established through knowledge about medical transsexuality that started to circulate in the decade prior—continued through the appearance of such groups in Jakarta. Waria and possibly other categories for gender nonconformity played an important yet underexamined role in the application and distribution of the gendered body as a regional form of development in Asia and a key node in the biopolitical distribution of citizenship in the second half of the twentieth century.

6. Given that there are few written accounts of the Fantastic Dolls and other performance groups based in Jakarta, the account in this section is based on oral history interviews and ethnographic research I conducted in 2015 with trans women who had a relationship to the Fantastic Dolls, particularly Chenny Han, Meifei, and Nancy Iskandar. Chenny Han is a well-known beautician who was formerly a member of the Fantastic Dolls during the 1970s. The Fantastic Dolls was an important staging for Indonesia's small number of trans women celebrities, most notably Dorce Gamalama, who was one of Indonesian television's best-known figures during the 1980s and 1990s (Murtagh 2017). I also draw on Kemala Atmojo's (1987) journalistic account of warias in Jakarta in the 1980s. Although membership changed frequently, the Fantastic Dolls continued to perform up until the mid-2000s, outlasting the New Order state.

7. The Bambang Brothers group, which appeared in the film made about Rubianti’s life (Murtagh 2013, 40), was founded in the late 1960s by Mami Myrna, who was later the head of Himpunan Wadam Jakarta, or “Hiwad,” a short-lived waria organization in Jakarta (Boellstorff 2007).

8. Meifei, whom I interviewed in Jakarta in May 2015, was one of several warias who reflected on warias’ emergence as beauty experts not only on national terms but in relation to a broader project of regional development that rested on comparisons with neighboring Southeast Asian nations. Meifei recalled that the inspiration for the name of their group came from a performance group called the Paper Dolls from the Philippines, which had visited Jakarta in the mid-1970s. “Paper Dolls” was a common expression used in the Philippines to refer to trans feminine performance, derived from one well-known performance group in Manila established in the 1980s (Garcia 2009, 204). Meifei, in addition to several other warias, spoke of frequently traveling from Indonesia to Singapore from the late 1960s onward, where they met other trans women from throughout the region.

9. Indonesian writers and warias themselves engaged in a process of sorting that reflected an alternative genealogy of the modern self. One account in the *Mingguan Djaja* special issue listed a taxonomic table that defined banci as either “permanent transvestites” who “[wore] women’s clothes at day and at night” and “partial transvestites” whose “glances, voice, gait and movement [were] different from those of regular men” (*Mingguan Djaja* 1968c, 4). This was in some respects a process of sorting out categories from “a tangled thicket of varied conditions of sex, gender, and sexuality” (Meyerowitz 2002, 7) similar to that which proceeded in the United States.

10. The consistency of this performance with those of previous decades is also suggested by other sources that use the same tagline for performances (Atmojo 1987; *Kompas* 1982).

11. In 2014–15, warias in Yogyakarta arrested in raids under suspicion of undertaking sex work were forcibly required to participate in gendered vocational training programs along with other marginalized groups whose presence was framed as a disruption of public order (see Hegarty 2016). These programs, which are described by the city as “rehabilitation,” have inherited many of the logics of New Order guidance programs—situated the self as both a locus of transformation and a potential barrier to smooth social interactions (for one ethnographic account of these forms of rehabilitation, and their impact on people with severe mental illnesses, see Nanwani 2018). Such programs, which rely on
a connection between economic progress and the cultivation of appearances, remain an important component of the Indonesian state’s efforts to address undesirable forms of difference in the body of the nation.

5. NATIONAL GLAMOUR

1. The public visibility of warias and practices of dandan in Indonesia appear to have reduced significantly from the 1990s onward. The reduction in warias’ visibility in cities throughout Indonesia since this time has been widely noted among warias as an effect of the privatization of and growing surveillance over public space in Indonesian cities. Most warias have attributed this to several factors, chief among them the increasing hostility they faced in public space, including from state security forces (see, e.g., Thajib 2018). The shrinking of spaces for warias to be present in in the city after the New Order has moved apace with the introduction of various new regional and municipal regulations and restrictions governing public morality and public order (Butt 2010).

2. Anthropologists of Indonesia writing about the 1980s observed the New Order state’s blend of cultural ritual and concern for security as part of an anxious effort to assert a monopoly on recognition of distinctions in the body of the nation (Keeler 1988; Pemberton 1994; Siegel 1998). Patterns of violence that underpinned the act of seeing—integrated into the texture of everyday meanings of the state in the life of its citizens—were the crucial means through which the state sought to maintain control, albeit via a visual format of power that generated a “haunting trace of difference” (Pemberton 1994, 318) that could never be entirely erased.

3. Tadi explained that she was arrested several times throughout the 1970s and 1980s during routine police raids. A number of times, her arrest resulted in her being driven to the outskirts of the city, still made up in dandan, and being forced to walk the several hours back to town.

4. Tadi’s use of the term banci to suggest her own temporal movement toward identification as waria—a change from a less permanent feminine appearance to a more permanent one enabled through technologies of feminization—indicates a significant overlap between understandings of personhood in relation to the self and the narrativization of broader forms of historical change.

CONCLUSION

1. The 2008 pornography law is a well-known example, but public morality is a widespread justification for limits placed on democratic expression in Indonesia, contained in many different regulations by different government bodies. For example, the national broadcasting commission has released regulations that ban television or internet images that include “male femininity” (kebancibancian) and the “promotion of LGBT” (mengampanyekean LGBT) as a way to protect public morality. In Indonesia, it seems as though almost all efforts to regulate gender and sexuality invoke the “public,” taken to refer to collectives made up of spectators who are simultaneously imagined at the scale of the village, the city, the nation, and the internet.

2. Although the considerations and impetus for the changes have shifted across time, the justification given for revising the Criminal Code has largely been framed as the need to bring it into line with the nation’s character. As one justice minister expressed in 2005, a revised code offered an opportunity to “bring [the law] more in line with Indonesian culture and religion” (Blackwood 2007, 300). In 2016, a constitutional court case brought by the Family Love Alliance to criminalize same-sex (and indeed, a vast range of non-heteronormative) sexual practices was defeated (Yulius 2019). Draft revisions to the penal
code debated since the late 2010s also included provisions for criminalizing a wide range of sexual behavior under the category “indecent acts” (cabul) (Butt 2019). Gender non-conformity has not been the subject of criminalization in these draft revisions, perhaps because matters pertaining to public decency (under which warias have long been subject to punitive regulations) were regulated at the district level (Pausacker 2020). As of mid-2022, the state of the draft bill of the Criminal Code and of the codes governing gender and sexuality within it remain unclear.

3. During fieldwork, I observed those who identified as warias draw on the category “transgender” in regard to local and national concerns to forge distinctive claims to recognition (Hegarty 2017b; 2017a). In particular, the forms of knowledge and articulation of rights to testing and treatment for HIV—and since 2020, the COVID-19 pandemic—have provided one context where warias have been shaped by a global framework of transgender rights (e.g., Mallay et al. 2021). This process has accelerated since the time that the research took place, yet it has also shown how trans has served as a useful vehicle for claiming national belonging through a language that brings together technological modernity and human rights in the same frame. Although I focus on warias and that term’s relationship to trans, a concurrent discourse of trans in relation to female-bodied and transgender masculine individuals is under way in Indonesia (Blackwood 2010, 179–201). The adoption and use of “trans man” appears to predate the development of the term transpuan, and the term priawan (combining male and female in a similar logic of combination to waria) was used during the New Order. Both the diminished visibility granted to transgender men and their engagement with the logic of combination that I describe make the forms of public and political participation shaped by trans masculinity an important focus for further research.