

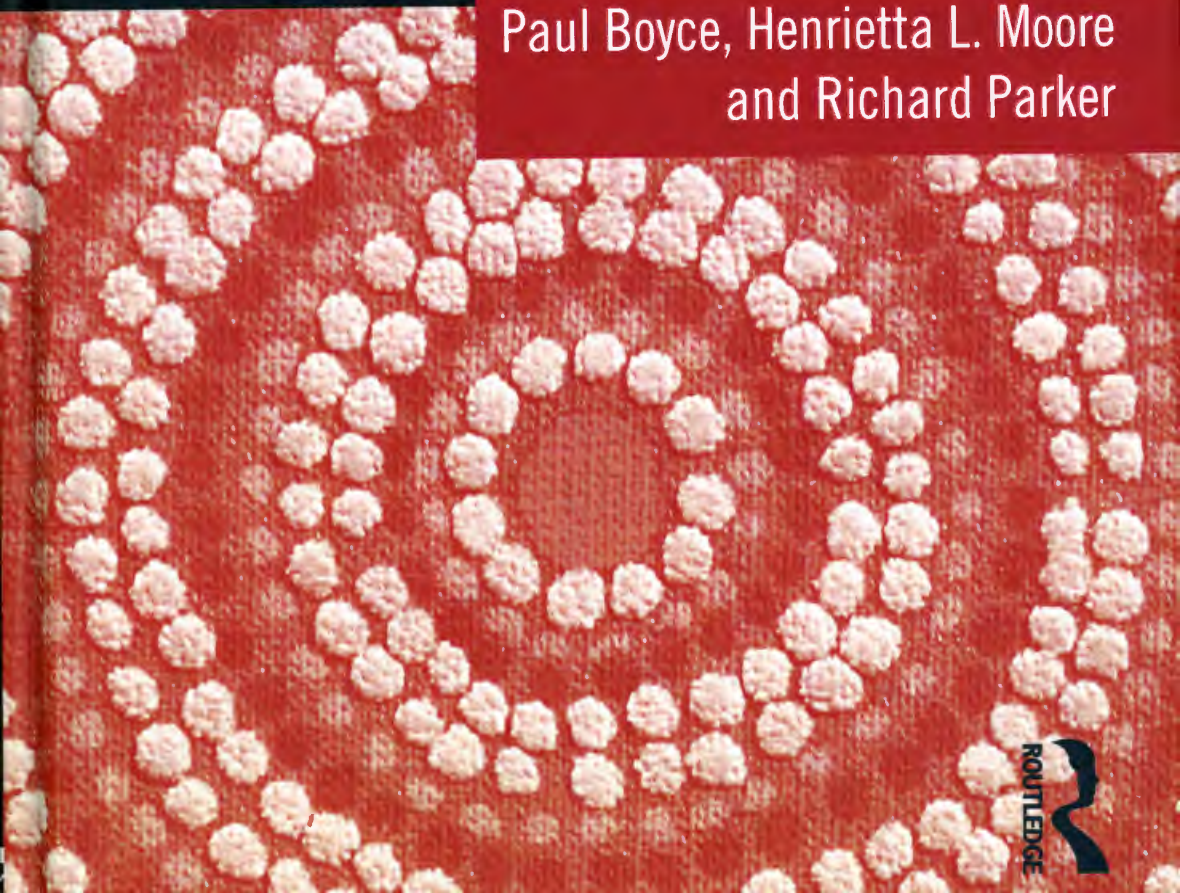
SEXUALITY, CULTURE AND HEALTH



UNDERSTANDING GLOBAL SEXUALITIES

NEW FRONTIERS

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ROUTLEDGE

Some notes on new frontiers of sexuality and globalisation

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Sexuality in the global ecumene

Coming into wide use in the latter half of the twentieth century, the term 'globalisation' might seem a rather shopworn buzzword by now. On one hand, the term can seem inadequate for engaging with the past, eliding colonial and other histories. On the other hand, it can seem inadequate for the future, rendered obsolete by internet-mediated connection, mass migration, environmental devastation, and political conflict. However, in this chapter I argue for the enduring relevance of 'globalisation' for understanding sexuality.

There is no a priori, culturally universal domain of 'sexuality', but most understandings of 'sexuality' link the concept to the body and to locality. These are not just scholarly conceits; a wide range of everyday understandings tie 'sexuality' to what are honestly the most intimate, personal, meaningful aspects of experience. Yet we have long known that such conflation of sexuality and locality mask powerful ways in which sexualities are the product of globalising forces. As a result, the analytical value of 'globalization' is far from exhausted; its meanings must change with the times, but language is never static and it is by tracing forms of continuity and change that we advance enquiry. This is particularly the case because 'sexuality,' the other pivotal term in this chapter, also continues to change. My goal here is to suggest some topics for ongoing research that emerge when we bring these two domains together.

It is important for the reader to understand how the 'short chapter' genre in which I write shapes my analysis. This form does not allow for detailed ethnographic exposition, close textual reading, or an exhaustive review of relevant literatures. These limitations of space are magnified by the vast and polysemous domains of 'globalisation' and 'sexuality' under discussion. As a result, of necessity this chapter takes the form of a programmatic overview. Yet these strictures are a blessing as well as a curse: the imperative of brevity frees me to work in broad brushstrokes.

This chapter, then, takes the form of provisional notes rather than definitive pronouncements. It is with this in mind that the title of this introduction

invokes Ulf Hannerz's classic 1989 article 'Notes on the Global Ecumene'. Writing nearly a quarter of a century later, I am struck by how many of the themes discussed by Hannerz remain relevant, underscoring how some things discussed under the rubric of 'globalisation' endure over time. Hannerz emphasised two issues with regard to globalisation and culture: 'the nature of center-periphery relationships' and countering the alarmist 'forecast that the center-periphery flow of culture will lead to the disappearance of cultural differences' (Hannerz 1989: 66, 70). Despite the social, economic, and political transformations since 1989, these issues of power and difference remain vital to our understandings of globalisation and sexuality, and run through the discussion that follows.

Because 'globalisation' and 'sexuality' are so self-evidently cultural constructions (albeit ones that like all cultural constructions, have material and conceptual consequences), in the next section I begin with three general conceptual issues that often impede understanding relationships between globalisation and sexuality. Following this, I turn to seven substantive issues for continuing investigation. Finally, I conclude by examining how these issues link up to the issues of power and difference identified by Hannerz, touching as well upon questions of method. Throughout, I often refer to anthropology and the nation-state of Indonesia, the discipline and field site with which I am most familiar, but strive to cast my analysis in interdisciplinary terms.

Three conceptual lenses: language, place, and time

Language and reality

A first conceptual lens that will help better frame questions of globalisation and sexuality involves language – not only because human sociality always has a linguistic component, but because language is central to globalisation. Indeed, notions of translation and even 'dubbing' (Boellstorff 2003), stimulated by the apparent international movement of terms like 'lesbian' and 'gay', have been a key symbol of the globalisation of sexuality. What does it mean, for instance, that there are people in China who call themselves 'gay'?

In any language, there exist words whose meanings overlap. Sometimes the words will be used interchangeably, as synonyms; this has been termed intralingual translation (Jakobson 1971: 261). In other cases, at least some subset of speakers will ascribe sufficient differences in meaning that the words cannot substitute for each other. However, it is of theoretical and political importance to remember that the mere existence of differing words does not necessarily indicate the existence of differing entities. Someone who planned to study the differences between 'men' and 'women' would receive a nod of recognition; someone planning to study the differences between 'females' and 'women' would receive a stare of bewilderment. Nor does using the

'same' word inevitably mean that the entities in question are identical or even similar. Two things can be termed 'homes' but be very different. These are not novel research findings: the early twentieth-century anthropologist Bronisław Malinowski emphasised that language is 'not a miraculous short-cut', noting with reference to his fieldwork in the Trobriand islands that 'there exist many salient and important features of Trobriand sociology and social psychology, which are not covered by any term, whereas their language distinguishes sub-divisions and subtleties which are quite irrelevant with regard to actual conditions' (Malinowski 1922: 176–77).

These points are important because great confusion has resulted from assuming a one-to-one correspondence between words and things, from misunderstanding how terms like 'global' and 'sexuality' are 'concept-metaphors' which 'continue to have a shifting and unspecified tie to physical objects or relationships in the world' (Moore 2004: 73). For example, I italicise the Indonesian term *gay* because so often non-Indonesians encounter this word and conclude that Indonesian *gay* men are 'the same' as Western gay men (as if 'gay' was a homogenous category in the 'West'). The similarity in terminology might mean similarity in identity, or it might not. It is an empirical question and thus depends on (1) careful listening that comes from actual research, and (2) how we determine what counts as 'similarity'.

The opposite danger also exists – differing terms can lead to incorrectly assuming different subjectivities. An example: the Indonesian term *waria* refers to men who typically feel they have female souls, who dress in female or feminised attire, and have sex with men (see Boellstorff 2007b, Chapter 2). Among the hundreds of 'local' languages in the archipelago, there exist other terms for sexuality and gender, some of which are synonyms for *waria*, like the Makassarese term *kawe-kawe*. The difference between *waria* and *kawe-kawe* is like the difference between American English 'pants' and British English 'trousers' or German *Hose*: while no two terms are ever identical (indeed, no two utterances of the same term are ever identical), most speakers would see these as 'the same' in terms of everyday practice. These issues apply to scholarly debates. There now exists a whole constellation of terms alongside 'globalization', including 'transnational', 'international' and 'translocal'. While it is completely legitimate to develop frameworks in which these terms vary in meaning, the mere existence of these different descriptors does not necessarily imply the corresponding existence of differing entities and processes.

Another issue with regard to language involves the distinction between emic (insider) and etic (outsider) terminologies. Researchers are not beholden to the taxonomies and conceptual vocabularies of those they study – their emic understandings. If someone says they are 'straight' but have sex with men and women, for some aspects of an analysis it may be useful to refer to that person as bisexual, employing an etic categorisation the person would not use themselves. For other aspects of an analysis it can be useful to refer to that person as straight, following the emic categorisation. Both are important

to effective theorising; the danger is when scholars get confused as to which they are using, ignore how some terms have diverging emic and etic uses, or fail to account for how, over time, some etic categorisations become emic (as in the case of 'homosexual' or 'men who have sex with men', medicalised terms that become subject positions (Boellstorff 2011; Foucault 1978)) or the other way around (as in the case of 'lesbian' or 'gay', that became used in scientific discourse).

Scale

A second useful conceptual lens involves scale. To talk about globalisation is to talk about the ostensible transcending of place: the idea that *who* you are is less determined by *where* you are. However, a robust body of research now demonstrates that what is really at issue are the cultural dynamics of scale-making and place-making through which spatial imaginaries take form. Forms of capitalist production are heavily involved in the forging of such scalar logics (Brenner 2001; Harvey 2000), but other, intertwined forces also play important roles, including mass media, religious movements, nongovernmental organisations (NGOs), and international human rights bodies. This challenges any naturalised notion of locality as self-evident point of origin or threatened target. It is not always true that 'local' comes first and 'global' comes later: locality is often the aftereffect of globalising forces. Place and scale are not pre-existing parameters of experience; they are cultural artefacts. For instance, how big is the 'local'? One kilometre; ten kilometres; as far as you can see; to the border of a neighbourhood or village? There is, of course, no clear answer: what counts as locality and what counts as globalisation are contested and perspectival. The McDonald's corporation originated in the city of San Bernardino in southern California. Was its expansion to Japan 'globalisation'? To France? To New York? To San Francisco in northern California?

Such questions reveal the dominance of global and local in discussions of globalisation, and the concomitant need to investigate forms of place-making and scale-making that lie between these apparent extremes. In particular, this means addressing the pivotal role of the nation-state. Worldwide, one common folk definition equates the global with that which crosses national borders (which is why terms like 'international' and 'transnational' often act as synonyms for 'global'). However, globalisation does not cause the nation-state to disappear; globalising dynamics reconfigure state power, even as nation-states shape globalisation. For example, state policies can facilitate the movement of manufactured goods across national borders, while simultaneously making it more difficult for persons to cross those same borders.

Further important areas of investigation between the extremes of 'global' and 'local' involve supranational and subnational spatial scales. Supranational spatial scales can involve continental imaginaries – Europe (including the European Union), Southeast Asia, Africa – but in other cases may not be contiguous.

This includes colonial legacies shaped by language (Latin America, Francophone Africa) and sometimes even a degree of formalisation (the British Commonwealth). It can also involve religion (Islam, Buddhism, Christianity), and forms of ethnic and cultural connection (the Arab World, not all of whose members are Muslim or speak Arabic; Pan-Mayan indigenous movements). Subnational spatial scales include provinces and states, which in some cases are comparatively politicised (Quebec in Canada, Aceh in Indonesia), but even in less politicised instances can be important scales of cultural identification (for example, any state in the United States). Subnational spatial scales can cross national borders; for instance, the Basque region in Spain and France, or the Kurdish region in Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria.

Time and teleology

A third conceptual lens involves the fact that globalisation is about time as much as place. One aspect of this involves the 'shrinking of the globe' effect: it takes less time for a message, person, or commodity to get from one part of the world to another. However, another temporal dimension of globalisation involves a more overarching, linear narrative that begins with the local and ends with a completely globalised world in which the local disappears. Feminist critics of globalisation have noted how this timeline often takes on a heteronormative form, one in which the global 'rapes' or otherwise subdues a feminised locality, and have emphasised the importance of challenging these gendered 'scripts' of globalisation's advance over time (Gibson-Graham 1996).

These teleological narratives of globalisation have remained surprisingly resilient. One reason for this is that they draw upon evolutionary paradigms of historical thinking that originate from sources as diverse as Hegel, Marx and Darwin. They are also influenced by the Christian tradition shaping those paradigms, a tradition predicated on a linear timeline beginning in creation and moving toward an 'End Times' of apocalypse. Unless we question these assumed timelines, our analyses of globalisation will have significantly limited accuracy and relevance. Of course, this does not mean that time is irrelevant – only that there are many different relationships between globalisation and time. It has become near-obligatory to emphasise that despite its new-sounding name, globalisation is far from novel. This is true: we do not want to treat globalisation as unprecedented and set it against some imagined past in which persons were stationary. We need to understand how past forms of translocal connection have shaped contemporary globalisation. However, we also do not want to kill the conversation by assuming there is nothing new under the sun; contemporary globalisation has novel features that cannot simply be extrapolated from its histories.

One of the most important reasons to keep questions of time and teleology at the forefront of discussions of globalisation and sexuality is that much

Western scholarship remains invested in the fantasy (even the desire) that there will come an 'end time' of sexuality without identity. This idea, predicated on a linear temporality and sometimes even expressed in apocalyptic language (like 'the end of "gay"'), is deeply shaped by a Christian metaphysics. It is also linked to conflating 'identity' with 'identity politics', and thus with the misunderstandings of language discussed earlier. For instance, not all identities have names in a culture at a particular point in time. However, the mere fact that an identity is unlexicalised does not mean it does not exist (the sexual partners of transgendered persons offer one example of such an identity in the contemporary West).

The key points are to avoid (1) a teleological narrative that globalisation will lead to the end of identity, (2) the assumption that the end of identity would be a good thing, and (3) the notion that identity is an artificial imposition in comparison to a more authentic, 'fluid' selfhood without identity. Persons can have multiple identities and identities can shift over time, but the idea that people can live without identities at all makes as little sense as the idea of speaking without speaking some language. To avoid the tendency to conflate identity with identity politics and account for multiplicity and change over time, some scholars (including myself) often use instead a language of subjectivities and subject positions to talk about extant social categories of selfhood that can be taken up in a range of ways (Boellstorff 2005).

Seven substantive issues

Histories of globalisation and sexuality

With these three conceptual lenses in mind, I now turn to seven substantive issues that more directly touch upon globalisation and sexuality. The first of these involves historicising the relationship between globalisation and sexuality. I count myself among those who would argue that colonialism is the most significant antecedent to contemporary globalisation. However, while legacies of colonialism persist (and some colonies still exist around the world), it is important not to deny the successful revolutionary movements that have led to independence for the vast majority of former colonies in Latin America, Africa and Asia. To term their continuing positions of inequality in the world order 'colonial' or even 'neocolonial' can make it harder to identify the distinctive forms of oppression they now face. Indonesia, for instance, is in many respects in a position of inequality in the global world order. Yet to term these relations of inequality 'neocolonial' could be taken to deny Indonesia's status as a nation-state, no longer the colony of Holland or Japan, as was the case before independence.

The history of colonialism is important for understanding sexuality because sexuality was often a central technique of colonial rule (Stoler 1995). It could help shape spatial scale, for instance in terms of a geography of perversion

that 'represented overseas same-sex practices as a signifier of lechery ... characteristic of the whole people's immorality' (Bleys 1995: 125). Additionally, differing colonial regimes varied in how their officers and subjects regulated sexuality, or even conceptualised a cultural domain we might now anachronistically term 'sexuality'. Heterosexuality was usually the focus, but in some cases homosexuality became central; women were usually the primary target of colonial intervention, but significant attention was sometimes paid to men.

Keeping these variations in mind, we can hazard a few broad generalisations that double as avenues for continuing historical research. First, while religious and other motivations did shape some colonial encounters, the overwhelming focus was on various forms of economic extraction. This linked sexuality to capitalist production in ways that shape contemporary globalisation – for instance, by drawing together notions of sexual fidelity with conceptions of the 'good worker'. Second, anti-colonial movements often redeployed colonial discourses of sexuality. In many cases, colonial narratives of the sexually precocious native in need of colonial salvation were simply inverted – so that, for instance, Victorian sexual norms of domestic heterosexuality became identified as the 'authentic' sexualities of the postcolonial state, set against a West assumed to be a source of promiscuity and degeneracy. This has sometimes led to treating homosexuality as by definition Western, or seeing pornography 'as imported, either directly, as in the case of foreign media coming in from elsewhere, or through appropriation of cultural practices associated with ethnic and racial others' (Bellows 2011: 219).

Globalisation and intersectionality

A range of scholars, particularly feminists of colour, have long been at the forefront of articulating theories of intersectionality that challenge monodiscursive explanations of 'race' in terms of 'racial discourse', 'gender' in terms of 'gender discourse', and so on (Crenshaw 1991; McCall 2005). Originating primarily in the humanities and responding to 'the embrace of identity politics' in women's studies, queer studies, ethnic studies, and other domains of inquiry (Crenshaw 1991: 1242), this body of work is invaluable to any discussion of globalisation and sexuality. Powerfully interdisciplinary, this scholarship on intersectionality links important work in the humanities to work in anthropology and other social sciences. For instance, the turn to intersectionality resonates with how feminist anthropologists have long emphasised that 'culture consists in the way analogies are drawn between things, in the way certain thoughts are used to think others' (Strathern 1992: 33). This feminist critique of monodiscursive analysis has emphasised that:

While institutions and cultural domains of meaning have a profound impact on shaping ideas and practices...people think and act at the *intersections* of discourses...Monodiscursive analysis is limited by a rather stodgy

notion of the relationship between discourse and social action, which is in turn rooted in a social cosmology that is a surprisingly conventional one. To assume that 'medical discourse' is what shapes 'medical practice' ... and 'family discourse' is what shapes 'family relations' is to accept these discursive domains as given, rather than analyze them as the products of historically specific social institutions – thus losing the key Foucauldian insight regarding the historicity of domains. This reinforces the boundaries between cultural domains, which is counter to our argument that it is productive to read across them.

(Yanagisako and Delaney 1995: 18–19, emphasis in original)

Many theorisations of globalisation and sexuality still work within a mono-discursive frame, assuming that there is a 'sexuality discourse' that 'globalises'. Work on intersectionality thus provides tools for investigating how the globalisation of sexuality is the product of multiple discourses – including race, gender, class, nation and religion. This even allows us to consider cases in which 'sexuality' as such is not a pre-existing social category of experience, but an emergent, intersectional aftereffect, albeit one with significant effects of its own.

Feminism and the gendering of globalisation

Linked to the work on intersectionality discussed above has been a growing literature on what will certainly be a key area for continuing research – the gendering of globalisation. On a discursive level, as noted earlier, globalising processes have often been metaphorically construed as masculine forces that impinge upon immobile localities framed as feminine. Critiques of this narrative have been important in challenging understandings of globalisation as a *fait accompli* that inexorably leads to homogenisation.

At another level, it is by now clear that globalisation often affects men, women and transgendered persons differently. For instance, the mass movements of persons around the world due to conflict and displacement, migration and economic aspiration, or other factors, is often highly gendered. In many cases it is women who are moving more than men, whether as domestic workers or refugees from war. A significant body of work in this regard has examined the globalisation of sex work, particularly but not exclusively with regard to women (Kempadoo 2004). More broadly, attention to the gendering of globalisation is part and parcel of a broader (and badly needed) conceptual move in which we investigate both differential modalities of globalisation and sexuality, and common patterns in globalising processes.

The globalisation of heterosexualities

Interest in the gendering of globalisation connects as well to a growing attention to the globalisation of heterosexualities. Because heterosexuality is

still taken as the only natural sexuality in so many parts of the world, its existence is treated as unproblematic and not in need of explanation, helping to 'create an understanding of "normal"' that elides the empirical reality of queer sexualities (Epprecht 2006: 187). In such understandings, the intersection of globalisation and sexuality calls forth in particular homosexuality – that it is a Western import, a capitalist import, or a Northern import, but in any case non-local and thus outside cultural and national belonging. It is partially in response to such portrayals of homosexuality that much excellent scholarship on globalisation and sexuality has focused on homosexuality.

However, it is important to emphasise that heterosexuality is no more 'natural' than any other sexuality: it is just as determined by the specificities of time, place and culture, and thus by globalising forces. Of particular interest is the fact that heterosexualities are usually shaped by globalising forces via strikingly different modalities than is the case with non-normative sexualities – often the discourses, in effect, speak past each other. For instance, the globalisation of heterosexualities is often shaped by state bureaucracies, in the context of explicit ideologies regarding what kind of family is to serve as the foundation for the nation (Bunzl 2004, Wekker 2006). These ideologies are promulgated through official mass media and educational institutions, and can be influenced as well by everything from family planning programmes to architecture (Dwyer 2000). In contrast, homosexualities and other non-normative sexualities are far more likely to 'globalise' via fractured and unintentional modalities of cultural interchange, particularly incidental mentionings in mass media.

HIV/AIDS

While disease has been part of human life from time immemorial, the growth of transportation networks has led to a globalisation of disease. The massive Western hemisphere epidemics of smallpox and other European diseases following the 'discovery' of the Americas in the late 1400s are well-known examples of this phenomenon. The rise of steam shipping accelerated these globalisations, as illustrated by the worldwide influenza pandemic of 1918 and the emergence of plague and cholera in the Indonesian archipelago in the 1910s and 1920s (Boellstorff 2009: 356).

In the contemporary period, the globalisation of disease and particularly the HIV epidemic has played an important role in the globalisation of sexuality. While the funding provided for HIV prevention and AIDS treatment is still shockingly inadequate and very unequally distributed, since the recognition of the epidemic in the late 1980s there has been a significant network of global channels of funding, advocacy and activism around HIV/AIDS. Since sexual transmission is one of the primary avenues for the spread of HIV, and sex between men has been particularly visible in this regard, the response to HIV/AIDS has represented a powerful modality by which notions of

homosexuality have been globalised and transformed (Patton 2002). The linkage of HIV/AIDS to the domain of public health has allowed for conversations about homosexuality to take place in contexts that would be extremely difficult otherwise. Many regional and international meetings on HIV/AIDS simultaneously act as de facto queer rights conferences, allowing persons with non-normative sexual and gender subjectivities to network across national and regional borders. Indeed, it has often been through the channels of HIV/AIDS discourse that the very idea there exists a discrete domain of human experience we could call 'sexuality' comes into being in the first place. In addition, responses to the HIV/AIDS epidemic have shaped a 'recognition of the more holistic contexts and processes which shape sexual experience', including questions of mobility (Thomas, Haour-Knipe and Aggleton 2010: 2)

This triple link between globalisation, sexuality and HIV/AIDS has multiple and often unexpected consequences. The globalisation of sexuality engendered by HIV/AIDS has been predominantly 'gendered' male, particularly in the earlier years of the epidemic. In more recent years there has been much greater attention to women's sexual risk for HIV infection, particularly as this links up to questions of domestic/intimate partner violence and inequality between men and women in sexual decision-making. Lesbian sexuality has been largely sidelined in this globalisation of sexual discourse with regard to HIV/AIDS, since lesbian women's risks for HIV infection are most strongly correlated with sex with men and injecting drug use. In some cases, HIV/AIDS workers have sought to find 'indigenous' non-normative sexualities or genders due to a sense that 'gay' is irredeemably Western; the irony is that in some cases these 'putatively indigenous' male-to-male sexualities advanced in HIV prevention are taken up popularly and fed back into HIV and AIDS research as seemingly culturally inherent forms of sexuality' (Boyce 2007: 176).

Sexuality online

Many of the key theories and case studies regarding globalisation were developed before the rise of the internet in the mid-1990s. Since that time, and particularly following the rise of cheaper computers and mobile devices in the 2000s, forms of online sociality have become a major new modality for globalising processes. Some aspects of online technologies follow the well-worn paths charted by earlier electronic media, particularly movies and television. However, online technologies differ in many respects from these earlier media. The distinction between user and producer is more contested – to make a television show or movie requires significant access to capital, but to make a blog or participate in a social networking site is far easier. In addition, while some nation-states have proven fairly adept at monitoring and limiting citizen access to the internet, in general online materials are far more difficult to censor and control than in the case of earlier mass media.

These new affordances of online technologies have significant consequences for globalisation and sexuality. First, these technologies have allowed for all kinds of 'minor globalizations' – for forms of translocal connection and interchange that would otherwise never receive more than passing attention from dominant mass media. They have, for instance, allowed persons identifying as male-to-female transgender to network globally in a manner that could not have taken place otherwise.

Second, these technologies have radically reshaped the relationship between language and globalisation. In his classic treatise on nationalism, *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson noted the centrality of 'print capitalism' based on a shared vernacular language for the rise of the modern nation-state (Anderson 1983). With the rise of internet technologies, we are seeing global networks of persons sharing a language – English, French, Chinese, Portuguese, and so on. In some cases language almost stands in for ethnic or national identification. It will be interesting to see how this relationship between language and globalisation shifts into the future as translation software continues to advance in complexity and effectiveness, and what the consequences of this will be for sexualities.

Third, there is still a dangerously limited understanding of the fact that not all online technologies are 'mass media' at all. In an increasing number of cases, they do not 'mediate' between two places: they are places themselves, in their own right. These include social networking sites like Facebook, online games like World of Warcraft, and virtual worlds like Second Life (Boellstorff 2008; Miller 2011; Nardi 2010). The implications of this shift are profound and still poorly understood. With the emergence of these online places, there is the possibility for friendship, intimacy, romance, and sexuality that take place in the online places themselves and cannot be reduced to any physical-world culture or cultures. For instance, if a person in Japan and a person in Germany have sex in a virtual world using avatars, the meaning and consequences of that sexual act cannot be discovered by looking in Germany or Japan. This is different to the sexuality between a German and Japanese person in the physical world, where even under conditions of globalisation, they would have no choice but to have sex in Germany, Japan, or some other physical-world location. Critically, with the rise of online technologies, for the first time there is more than one 'world' in which globalisation can take place. What this means for both globalisation and sexuality will be an important topic of continuing research.

Globalisation, sexual rights, and sexual citizenship

Throughout the history of globalisation and particularly in the wake of the two World Wars of the twentieth century and subsequent regional conflicts, there have been growing attempts to articulate forms of human-rights discourse that map onto the world as a whole a corresponding notion of the

'human' with rights that transcend locality. This discourse of global human rights has not, however, challenged the supremacy of the nation-state as the most powerful spatial scale of modernity; if anything, it has retrenched its importance, as entities like the League of Nations and United Nations indicate.

Historically, discourses of human rights paid little attention to the question of sexual rights (even gender was a latecomer to the discussion), and paid little attention as well to questions of sexual citizenship – the equality of sexual and gender minorities within the boundaries of nation-states. However, dating back to homophile movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and, particularly since the 1980s, a transnational network of activists has worked to make sexual rights an accepted aspect of the human-rights agenda. This illustrates how sexuality is shaped by the globalisation of forms of heterosexism and homophobia, but also by the globalisation of forms of sexual affirmation and tolerance, and in some cases a 'sense of common being ... encouraged by the growing awareness of various forms of discrimination against same-sex and transgendered activities' (Weeks 2007: 219).

In regard to sexuality, movements for sexual rights address three key forms that sexual oppression can take. The first of these (and the easiest to identify from a legal standpoint) are laws that criminalise or otherwise disfavour and discriminate against non-normative sexualities (Engelke 1999; Miller and Vance 2004; Teunis, Herdt, and Parker 2006). The best-known example of these are anti-sodomy laws; in many parts of the world these are relics from earlier phases of colonial globalisation (as in many former British colonies); in other cases they are affected by the globalisation of religious-inflected heterosexism. Laws forbidding same-sex marriage and the teaching of sexual tolerance in schools are other cases of such legal oppression in regard to sexuality, as are legal regimes that fail to forbid or prosecute violence based on sexuality.

A second set of sexual rights shaped by contemporary globalisation involve non-normative gender. Worldwide, what is categorised as 'homophobia' or hate crimes based on sexuality are actually often based on gender non-normativity: men dressing or acting like women, or women dressing or acting like men. This conflation of sexuality and gender is itself a consequence of globalising processes, reflecting 'an ongoing and widespread linkage between sexuality and gender and, at the same time, the simultaneous presence of a distinctiveness that keeps them from fusing' (Boellstorff 2007a: 27). While there do exist in some jurisdictions sumptuary laws that forbid persons from wearing certain items of clothing, often sanctions against gender nonconformity take the form of social norms – particularly in regard to things like how one walks or speaks. In such cases the lack of an explicit law can make responding to the oppression difficult from a sexual-rights perspective.

A third set of sexual rights shaped by contemporary globalisation involves pressures to marry heterosexually. This is a particularly difficult issue to address from a legal perspective, because while marrying someone of the

same gender is illegal in many nation-states, there is rarely an explicit legal requirement that citizens marry someone of another gender. The pressure to marry heterosexually emerges more often through a combination of religious and family pressure, making legal redress by sexual-rights advocates difficult indeed. Yet even in such cases this marriage imperative is not independent of national discourse: it is usually powerfully shaped by a notion that national belonging hinges on participation in a normatively heterosexual family. In some parts of the world, this issue exists in a kind of counterpoint to the issues of gender normativity discussed earlier. For instance, in Indonesia a *gay* man who is seen as normatively male by those around him faces less discrimination because of gender presentation than a *waria*, but typically faces more pressure to marry heterosexually.

Power, difference and method

In setting out these notes on new frontiers of sexuality and globalisation, I have purposely avoided any pretence of comprehensiveness or closure. My goal instead has been to set out possible lines of inquiry, issues for further research and debate. The overall point, however, should be clear and can be stated emphatically: there is simply no way to understand sexuality that does not take globalisation foundationally into account. While the various forms of identity, practice and community that in various times and places get termed 'sexuality' often seem quintessentially local – the stuff of intimate encounters and domestic havens – sexuality has never been limited by place. In the contemporary era, it is not possible to sustain any claim that sexuality begins with the local and is secondarily shaped by the global. Sexuality is as foundationally global as it is local; indeed, it is implicated in the cultural processes by which spatial scales like local and global become seen as real aspects of human experience.

Despite the difficulties in even properly naming the topic under discussion, sexuality is a crucial aspect of globalisation and culture that deserves continuing attention. I have returned on multiple occasions to questions of power and difference. Sexuality is not innocent of power and can play a role in forms of oppression and social justice. With regard to globalisation, however, it is vital to not assume that the relationship between sexuality and globalisation is inevitably negative. As Hannerz noted some time ago in the discussion with which I opened this chapter, 'Why, then, are we so quick to assume that ... the relationship between local and imported culture can only be one of competition' (Hannerz 1989: 71)? Indeed, what counts as 'imported' often turns out to be more contested than it may appear at first glance – there is no reason why a Japanese lesbian identity is any more or less imported than a Japanese heterosexual female identity, or an American heterosexual female identity for that matter.

In closing, I want to emphasise that to answer these kinds of questions in regard to sexuality, globalisation, authenticity, power and difference we need

empirical work that investigates the real social relations and selfhoods in question. As an anthropologist I find ethnographic work based on participant observation particularly valuable in this regard. The contribution of such work – rather than research based on elicitation methods in isolation, like interviews – is that it allows us to investigate the relationships between what people say they do and what they actually do in their everyday lives. But these methods are not unique to anthropology. Both the study of globalisation and the study of sexuality have a long and rich history of scholarship and activism across a range of disciplinary locations. Interdisciplinarity can be a productive response to intersectionality. Collaboration across disciplines and methods can provide new insights into the mutual constitution of globalisation and sexuality, and the varied forms both phenomena take in differing spatial and historical locations.

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