Gay themes have been treated in fiction, journalism, and films. The AIDS epidemic has also spurred organizations advocating civil rights and social services for gays and hijras, although "sodomy" remains illegal under the Indian penal code inherited from the British, and gay men, lesbians, and hijras are often harassed by the police. However, India has never had the kind of organized persecution of homosexual or transgendered people found in the Judaeo-Christian West.

Bibliography

See also Buddhism; Effeminacy; Gender; Hijras of India; Hinduism; Islam; Kama Sutra; Third Sex

Indonesia
The history of same-sex sexuality among the more than 3,700 inhabited islands of Indonesia, the world’s fourth most populous nation, is immense. Many islands boast traditions of male-to-female transgenderism (e.g., the Bissu of south Sulawesi, men who dress as women for certain ritual functions) or socially recognized male same-sex sexual behavior. For instance, in east Java there is a longstanding tradition of the warok-gemblak relationship in traditional Javanese drama, where adult male actors (the Worok), usually married, nevertheless take a younger man (the gemblak) as an understudy and sexual partner for a period of several years. But the current status of same-sex practices and identities in Indonesia is defined primarily by its gay and lesbian movement. Under conditions ranging from grudging tolerance to open bigotry, a growing movement of Indonesian men and women reaches halfway across the world to appropriate the concepts “gay” and “lesbian,” transforming them through magazines, weekly meetings, and the practices of daily life to interpret their experiences. This movement, the oldest and largest gay and lesbian movement in Southeast Asia, is remarkable for the ways in which its members reject “traditional” sexualities in favor of the ostensibly Western terms lesbian and gay. But these concepts are not thrust on the movement; instead, Indonesians adapt notions of gay and lesbian sexuality so that they become seen as authentically Indonesian. This process of active transformation cannot be understood independently of the worldwide changes in mass media, technology, and capitalism at the end of the twentieth century; but it must also be emphasized that Indonesians have a long history of appropriating ideas from elsewhere, as the examples of Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, capitalism, and nationalism make clear.

Prior to the beginnings of the organized movement in 1982, men with same-sex interests who did not participate in “traditional” same-sex sexualities met primarily in public spaces, particularly parks or waterfront areas. These remain the primary locus of same-sex social activity for men in Indonesia whether or not they identify as “gay,” since few gay or lesbian organizations have the resources to rent office or community space. The importance of public spaces also reflects that few men live in homes or apartments large enough to provide any degree of privacy; even when such conditions exist, the anonymity of a park or beach is usually preferred when seeking the company of other men with same-
sex interests. Women, whose ability to travel alone in public spaces is highly restricted—particularly at night—tended to meet each other through friendship networks, particularly in the context of parties and get-togethers at home. Secrecy continues to be a constant concern for women, since the home environment is filled with household members from whom same-sex interests must be hidden. Open discrimination in the form of arrests, police beatings, and the like is rare in Indonesia, but the government’s rhetoric of “the Indonesian family” has no place for gay or lesbian Indonesians. Most gay and lesbian Indonesians list their greatest concerns as bringing shame to their family or being expelled from it, feeling that they are sinning or are rejected by Allah (89 percent of Indonesians are Muslim); the pressure to marry; and feeling that they are rejected by society. It is primarily toward these concerns that the gay and lesbian movement directs its energies.

In March 1982, the first Indonesian lesbian and gay organization, Lambda Indonesia (LI), was formed by three Indonesian gay men as a forum for gay men and lesbians to communicate with one another, especially those living in small towns. LI was also the first gay and lesbian movement organization established in Asia. (From the beginnings of the movement until the present, gay men have dominated its membership and leadership.) LI aimed to develop gay pride and provide guidance and support for fellow gays and lesbians. In mid-1987, activists in Surabaya founded the Kelompok Kerja Lesbian dan Gay Nusantara (KKLGN, Nusantara Lesbian and Gay Working Group), which became the umbrella organization for gays and lesbians throughout the archipelago. In its initial manifesto, KKLGN listed its two primary purposes as follows:

- Providing a means for Indonesian lesbians and gay men to get in touch with one another, to read positive things about ourselves and in general to express ourselves artistically or otherwise.
- Facilitating the formation of similar groups or the emergence of individual activists in other localities.

Currently, KKLGN publishes the periodical GAYa Nusantara, which provides detailed information about the gay and lesbian world. Nusantara means “archipelago,” a term used by Indonesians to describe the diversity of this multicultural nation, whereas gaya literally means “style” or “à la” but as a play on words also means “gay.” Thus, GAYa Nusantara has a double meaning: “archipelago style” and “the gay archipelago.” Gay and lesbian Indonesians see their movement as a gay archipelago linking groups in various cities throughout the country in a national network. This network is then envisioned as part of a global archipelago of gay and lesbian communities. Perhaps gay men and lesbians elsewhere in the world have something to learn from this highly sophisticated and flexible way of conceptualizing the relationship between organizations and cultures that are neither identical nor absolutely different.

The HIV/AIDS epidemic came late to Indonesia, but there is no indication that the archipelago will be spared. Current data (1997) indicate that about 550 Indonesians have HIV or are sick with AIDS, but even the government estimates that this figure is low by a factor of 100 owing to difficulties in testing and a lack of knowledge that the test exists, as well as the meaning of negative or positive results. Approximately 80 percent of known cases can be attributed to sex between men, but, once again, these statistics must be regarded as highly tentative.

Many gay and lesbian organizations have survived by performing HIV/AIDS education, gaining the double benefit of a “cover” and, in many cases, funding from transnational HIV/AIDS agencies. One result is that the epidemic has become a major mediator between “Western” gay and lesbian sexualities and the Indonesian movement, influencing the ways by which the movement—as well as Indonesian society at large—perceive gay and lesbian sexuality. But since lesbians are not seen as at risk for HIV infection by development agencies, the influence of these agencies further marginalizes lesbians, rendering their communities and identities invisible to much of Indonesian society.

Since the early 1990s, the gay and lesbian movement in Indonesia has undergone a remarkable expansion. GAYa Nusantara is now one of several gay and lesbian magazines (e.g., Bulanin Paraikatte in Ujung Pandang, Jaka-Jaka in Yogyakarta, Gaya Betawi in Jakarta); however, only GAYa Nusantara publishes on a regular basis and has a sustained national readership. In addition, the number of gay and lesbian organizations has exploded; at last count there were twenty-eight organizations in places as far-flung as Medan, Pekanbaru, and Ambon. The first lesbian organization, Chandra Kirana, appeared in Jakarta around 1992 and published the magazine Gaya Lestari until 1994; there are now in-
formal lesbian networks in many cities, including Surabaya, Denpasar, and Ujung Pandang. In December 1993, sixteen gay and lesbian groups established a stronger network as a result of the First Indonesian Lesbian and Gay Congress held in Yogyakarta. A second congress was held in Bandung in December 1995, and a third congress took place in Denpasar, Bali, in December 1997.

Tom Boellstorff and Danny Yatim

Bibliography

See also Buddhism; Hinduism; Islam

Inge, William (1913–1973)
Much to the chagrin of Tennessee Williams, his colleague, erstwhile mentor and friend, and, briefly, lover, William Inge was a phenomenally successful playwright who could boast of four major Broadway hits in the 1950s: *Come Back, Little Sheba* (1950), *Picnic* (1953), *Bus Stop* (1955), and *The Dark at the Top of the Stairs* (1957). All were made into Hollywood films. In addition, Inge wrote the hit film *Splendor in the Grass* (1961).

Unfortunately for Inge, his personal life was a misery. He grew up in the Kansas he depicted so powerfully in his plays. He was a schoolteacher before he became an arts critic for a St. Louis newspaper. This Midwestern beginning made him deeply fearful of any exposure of his homosexuality. He spent years in psychoanalysis trying unsuccessfully to cure himself of his sexuality and his alcoholism. He committed suicide in 1973.

Many of the most powerful moments in Inge’s plays center on sexual repression: the alcoholic Doc’s attraction for the young female boarder and ambiguous feelings toward her boyfriend in *Come Back, Little Sheba* and the repressed desire of the spinster schoolteacher Rosemary in *Picnic* are typical, powerful Inge moments. Some have read the anguish of the suicidal Jewish boy, Sammy, in *The Dark at the Top of the Stairs* as a figure of homosexual panic. In the 1950s as part of his psychoanalysis, Inge wrote two one-act plays, *The Tiny Closet* and *The Boy in the Basement*, which are powerful expressions of the fear of exposure of homosexuality and the anguish of the closet.

When Inge created overtly homosexual characters in his plays in the 1960s, he was brutally excoriated by New York critics as one of the corrupting homosexual triumvirate (with Williams and Albee).

John M. Clum

Bibliography

See also Albee, Edward; Theater: Premodern and Early Modern; Williams, Tennessee

Inquisition
Spain
The Spanish Inquisition was established in 1478 by royal authority with the approval of the pope. Its principal task was to investigate heresy and apostasy in the territories controlled by the Spanish crown. A papal inquisition with jurisdiction over the whole church had grown since the 1230s. The Spanish agency was not so much a branch of the papal inquisition as a supplement to it. Issues of heresy and apostasy were particularly urgent for the Spanish monarchy because of the large numbers of new converts to Christianity from Islam and Judaism. Like the papal original, the Spanish Inquisition managed a large bureaucracy that operated according to complicated legal procedures. Inquisitors were allowed to use torture as a means of extracting confessions, and they could also impose a variety of sentences, including fines, confiscations, imprisonment, and exile. In capital cases, the Inquisition handed over or “relaxed” its prisoners to the civil authority for execution. The crime of “sodomy” was not originally within the sometimes jurisdiction of the Spanish Inquisition, even though the papal inquisitors had been authorized to deal with it since 1451. “Sodomy” was typically taken to include male-male copulation, bestiality, and any genital contact between men and women other than insertion of the penis into the vagina. Lesbian activity was more problematic for church lawyers, who sometimes