

**Conflicting and Layered Constructions of (Non-)Identities:
Genders, Sexualities or Others?**

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In this trigger presentation I shall focus on the lived experiences of Indonesian *waria* (male-to-female transgenders), gay men, and other men who have sex with men, specifically on how they construct or do not construct contextualized identities vis-à-vis their immediate peers and communities. I will juxtapose these potentially fluid identities with those constructed by their cultures (often conflated with religious communities, realizing fully that religions can be fluid and contextualized as well) and the overarching pseudo-traditionalized as well as modern Indonesian cultures promoted by the state on the one hand and by the popular media industry on the other. I will then discuss the *waria* and gay movement in Indonesia, specifically the layered meanings of being in the movement, the increasingly vocal human rights discourse after the change of regimes in 1998, which has (sometimes reluctantly and squeamishly, often ignorantly, certainly in a fragmented way) embraced human rights based on sexual orientation and gender identity, and the engagement of the movement with the HIV epidemic and its control by both civil society and the state. I shall use this opportunity to discuss the disconnected response of both the biomedical and the psychosocial scientific establishments to such rich and varied realities.

In all this my aim is to show the various realities we have to work with, which can be dizzying at times, confusing and almost chaotic in others, but we have to work with nevertheless to ensure their physical and psychosocial well-being.